Pseudo-Coordination and Multiple Agreement Constructions

Edited by

Giuliana Giusti

Vincenzo Nicolò Di Caro

Daniel Ross

Pseudo-Coordination and Multiple Agreement Constructions

Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today (LA)

Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today (LA) provides a platform for original monograph studies into synchronic and diachronic linguistics. Studies in LA confront empirical and theoretical problems as these are currently discussed in syntax, semantics, morphology, phonology, and systematic pragmatics with the aim to establish robust empirical generalizations within a universalistic perspective.

For an overview of all books published in this series, please see
benjamins.com/catalog/la

Volume 274

Pseudo-Coordination and Multiple Agreement Constructions
Edited by Giuliana Giusti, Vincenzo Nicolò Di Caro and Daniel Ross

Pseudo-Coordination and Multiple Agreement Constructions

Edited by

Giuliana Giusti
Ca' Foscari University of Venice

Vincenzo Nicolò Di Caro
Ca' Foscari University of Venice

Daniel Ross
University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign &
University of California, Riverside

Table of contents

Preface

This volume grew out of the two PseCoMAC meetings organized by Vincenzo Nicolò Di Caro and Giuliana Giusti at Ca' Foscari University of Venice on May 2–3, 2017, and March 18–19, 2019, with the aim to bring together linguists of different specializations to start a cross-theoretical, cross-disciplinary, cross-areal reflection on issues related to the topic of Pseudo-Coordination and Multiple Agreement Constructions. Daniel Ross was a speaker at the first meeting and joined the group as a co-organizer for the second. The editors have each been working on the topic of Pseudo-Coordination for a number of years, and we are fortunate to now present contributions by many of the researchers who participated in the workshops to explore this fascinating but sometimes uncharted territory.

We would like to thank the invited speakers of the two workshops Theresa Biberauer, Greville Corbett and Rita Manzini, Alessandro De Angelis, Silvio Cruschina and Fabio Del Prete for presenting their inspiring work in the two events and contributing directly or indirectly to the quality of this volume. We also thank all the participants in the workshops, for having responded to the calls of the two workshops from around the world making the cross-linguistic and a cross-theoretical insights possible. We are indebted to the students of the PseCoMAC crew for their help during the workshops, the publishers, collaborators on our own research projects about Pseudo-Coordination, the internal and external peer-reviewers, and of course the contributors to this volume.

We dedicate this volume to the memory of Janne Bondi Johannessen, an old friend of one of us, a great person, and a linguist dedicated to both science and human relations, who passed away while this book was being put together. Now, in the spirit of her enthusiastic and perceptive participation at the first PseCoMAC meeting, let's go and see what Pseudo-Coordination and Multiple Agreement Constructions are all about!

Pseudo-Coordination and Multiple Agreement Constructions

An overview

Giuliana Giusti[1], Vincenzo Nicolò Di Caro[1] and Daniel Ross[2,3]
[1]Ca' Foscari University of Venice / [2]University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign /
[3]University of California, Riverside

This introductory chapter provides background on the phenomena of Pseudo-Coordination (PseCo) and Multiple Agreement Constructions (MACs) with the aim of familiarizing readers with major trends in previous research on these varied phenomena. Common structural and functional properties used to identify PseCo and MACs are described, along with a detailed discussion of the features that make crucial differences within each phenomenon in individual languages and cross-linguistically. We also observe interesting similarities between the two phenomena and across related and unrelated languages. We maintain a pre-theoretical view here that is compatible with the different approaches represented in the volume.

1. Introduction

Many languages of the world exhibit the possibility of stacking more than one verb displaying the same inflectional features for Tense, Aspect and Mood (henceforth TAM) in the presence of a linking element homophonous to a coordinating conjunction, as in (1):

(1) a. *Ramón fue   y   se   cayó.*
Ramon go.PST.3SG and REFL fall.PST.3SG
'Ramon unexpectedly fell.'   [Arnaiz and Camacho 1999: 318; *Spanish*]

b. *Hans prövar och läser.*
Hans try.PRS and read.PRS
'Hans tries to read.'   [Wiklund 1996: 31; *Swedish*]

c. *Koška vzjala   i   umerla.*
cat   take.PST.3SG.F and die.PST.3SG.F
'Suddenly, the cat died.'   [adapted from Weiss 2007; *Russian*]

    d.   *Qaʕdat   wa-katbat…*
         sit.PST.1SG and-write.PST.1SG
         'I was writing…'   [Gamliel and Mar'i 2015: 54–55; *Palestinian Arabic*]

These are said to be instances of Pseudo-Coordination (henceforth, PseCo) because they do not display the semantic and morpho-syntactic properties of a coordination. For example, they refer to a single event and allow extraction of the object of V2. Compare a real coordination in (2) and a PseCo in (3):

(2)   a.   *Mary went to her home town and visited her parents.*
      b. **Who did Mary go to her home town and visit?*

(3)   a.   *Mary will come and visit them tomorrow.*
      b.   *Who will Mary come and visit?*

In this respect the PseCo in (3a) is in some ways more similar to a subordinate infinitival clause such as (4a) than the true coordination in (2a).[1] The same resemblance to infinitival subordination is found in many other languages. The Swedish PseCo in (1b) is semantically and structurally similar to the infinitival construction in (4b):

(4)   a.   *John will come to visit us tomorrow.*
      b.   *Hans prövar att läsa.*
         Hans try.PRS to read.INF
         'Hans tries to read.'   [Wiklund 1996: 31; *Swedish*]

Regarding the coordinative connector, it is not necessarily the synchronic coordinator 'and', as is the case of southern Italian dialects in which the connector *a* is traditionally analyzed as derived from the Latin coordinator AC, which is no longer used as a coordinator (cf. Ascoli 1898; Meyer-Lübke 1899: 591–592; Rohlfs 1969):[2]

(5)   a.   *Passa   a pigghia   u pani.*
         pass.IMP.2SG *a* fetch.IMP.2SG the bread
         'Pass by and fetch the bread.'
                 [Cardinaletti and Giusti 1998; Marsala (Trapani)]

---

1.   More precisely, the meaning of *come and visit* is essentially 'come to visit, and (thereby) visit', with a single-event interpretation, which we can identify as Prior Associated Motion (Lovestrand and Ross 2021).

2.   Because of the grammaticalized nature of PseCo, it should not be surprising that the erstwhile coordinator might split from its source. Compare for example Proto-Polynesian sequential coordinator **ʔo* which in a number of modern Polynesian languages takes on different functions including being used as a complementizer only (Hooper 1997: 213), or consider Russian in Example (1c) where the subordinator *da* 'that' could be substituted for the coordinator *i* (or both together as *da i*) with no change in meaning, as both particles have taken on distinct functions within this construction.

b.   *stéc'*   *a   ssónə*
stand.1sg *a* play.1sg
'I'm playing (an instrument).'   [Andriani 2017: 220; Conversano (Bari)]

Under the diachronic analysis of *a* as derived from Latin AC, the southern Italian constructions in (5) can still be considered cases of PseCo.[3]

In many languages, the connector in PseCo may be optional, but the omission of the connector is usually not free: it depends on the language, the properties of V1, or even the combination of TAM features on the two verbs, as discussed in Section 4. When the connector is missing, the construction resembles Serial Verb Constructions (henceforth, SVCs), that are well-known from West Africa, East Asia, Oceania, creoles and other languages:

(6)   a.   *Mede   aburow migu   msum.*
1sg.take corn   1sg.flow water.in
'I pour corn into water.'   [Aikhenvald 2006: 40; *Akan*, West Africa]
b.   *Kiapa   li-le   li-oi   teuko.*
1pl.incl 1incl.real-go 1incl.real-throw hook
'We'll go fishing.'   [Bolton 1990: 159; *Nuaulu*, Indonesia]

In fact, some researchers have proposed that PseCo could be analyzed as a kind of SVC (e.g., Déchaine 1993: 801; Manzini and Savoia 2005; Manzini, Lorusso and Savoia 2017; Cruschina 2013; Del Prete and Todaro 2020). However, by most traditional definitions, SVCs do not have any linking element, so PseCo would be excluded in principle. Regardless, important insights can be gained by comparing these two construction types, including regarding their monoclausal structure and monoeventive interpretation and that they also may display the same inflection on each verb (see Ross, this volume). Thus, in many languages TAM morphology appears together with subject agreement in both PseCo and SVCs, and in this respect, they can be considered Multiple Agreement Constructions (henceforth MACs), which have agreement on both V1 and V2 with the unique clausal subject, as is clear from the glosses in (7a) and (7b). This makes them different from canonical auxiliary constructions or verbal periphrases in which subject agreement and TAM is realized only once, on the highest functional verb, while the other verb forms have non-finite, non-agreeing morphology, as shown in (7a′) and (7b′):

---

3.   Note however that *a* is homophonous to the Italo-Romance dative preposition which can also function as the subordinating conjunction of an infinitive. Under this hypothesis, the label PseCo is less justified, as claimed by Manzini and Savoia (2005). Some discussion on this is also present in the contributions by Giusti and Cardinaletti and by Manzini and Lorusso in this volume.

(7) a. *u   stok   a f'fattsə*
         it.CL stay.1SG *a* do.1SG
         'I'm doing it.'   [Manzini and Savoia 2005: 689; Putignano (Bari)]

     a′. *lo   sto   facendo.*
          it.CL stay.1SG do.GER
          'I'm doing it.'   [*Italian*]

     b. *sta   sse   l'lava*
         stay.3SG REFL.CL   wash.3SG
         'S/he's washing him/herself.'   [Manzini and Savoia 2005: 694;
                                                        Nociglia (Lecce)]

     b′. *Si   sta   lavando.*
          REFL.CL stay.3SG wash.GER
          'S/he's washing him/herself.'   [*Italian*]

A MAC may also have a connector, but which may be unrelated to a coordinator; in this respect, the construction cannot be technically considered a PseCo. This is certainly the case of the Balkan-style infinitive-loss (cf. De Angelis and Krstić 2014; Ledgeway 2016a), which gives rise to MACs (cf. (8b)) replacing what earlier stages of the language or cognate varieties synchronically would realize as a verbal periphrasis with a non-finite, non-agreeing V2 (cf. (8c)):

(8) a. *Oj'   a mmangiu.*
         want.1SG *a* eat.1SG
         'I want to eat.'   [Ledgeway 2016b: 159; Avetrana (Taranto)]

     b. *Vogghiu mi veni.*
         want.1SG *mi* come.3SG
         'I want him to come.'   [Leone 1995: 68; *North-eastern Sicilian*]

     c. *Vuigliu   mangiari / vèniri.*
         want.1SG eat.INF   come.INF
         'I want to eat / to come.'   [Delia (Caltanissetta)]

Multiple Agreement may be partial, allowing variation in affected inflectional features, for example displaying only subject agreement, as is the case in Swahili (9a) from Carstens (2001). It may not involve verbal periphrases as in the case of multiple concord of nominal features on adjectives, determiners (very common in European languages), and even prepositions embedded in nominal expressions, as is the case in Swahili (9b), from Carstens (1991):

(9) a. *Juma a-li-kuwa a-me-pika   chakula.*
         Juma 3SG.PST.be 3SG.PERF.cook 7.food
         'Juma had cooked food.'   [Carstens 2001: 150; *Swahili*]

b.   *Picha   mpya ya Amira ya   Hasan.*
     9.picture 9.new 9.of Amira 9.of Hasan
     'Hamira's new picture of Hasan. / Hasan's new picture of Amira.'

                              [Carstens 1991: 100; *Swahili*]

As already shown by Coseriu (1966, 1977), PseCo has been studied in a wide range of (especially European) languages, but language-specific or family-specific perspectives have predominated. This language-specific and often theory-specific attitude has not been abandoned in the last half century in favor of a broader perspective. Given that PseCo appears to cut across multiple language families with interesting family-internal variation and family-external common features, cross-linguistic and cross-theoretical perspectives are urgent.

This volume is a testament to the puzzles that PseCo presents linguists to study, and we hope that we have succeeded in bringing together different perspectives in order to build cross-linguistic connections with regard to this phenomenon. In this way, this volume is presented as a call for continued theoretical and comparative research on the topic, which aims to cultivate answers to the following fundamental questions:

i.   Are we dealing with a single general property of language that combines multiple inflected items together or are we dealing with diverse phenomena which must be distinguished?
ii. How can we best capture the morpho-syntactic properties that distinguish PseCo (in the broad sense) from other canonical and non-canonical verbal periphrases present in the languages that display PseCo or have the same functions in other languages?
iii. What is the range of semantic and discourse properties that are associated with PseCo?
iv. What are the properties of Multiple Agreement Constructions in non-verbal environments?

This introduction is intended to orient the reader with regard to the main characteristics of PseCo and a wider perspective provided by different MACs across language families and theoretical persuasions. Section 2 summarizes previous research, with a focus on the most influential studies and findings, including the cross-linguistic distribution of PseCo and some representative examples. Section 3 surveys the common structural and functional properties that have been used to identify PseCo. Section 4 describes variation in these and other features. Section 5 is a brief presentation of relevant MACs. Section 6 is an overview of the chapters in this volume.

2.   Previous research on PseCo

The history of research on PseCo is best understood by distinct, and sometimes iso-lated, research traditions on individual languages or families. PseCo can be found in many related and unrelated languages around the world, although most research has focused on Europe. In this section we provide an overview of some of the major works on this topic (see also Ross 2016a, 2021).

PseCo has been observed for a long time (see Ross 2014a for an overview), at least as early as Juan de Valdés who in his c.1535 manuscript *Diálogo de la lengua* described Spanish *tomar y* 'take and' as an undesirable colloquialism. Much of the earliest commentary on PseCo was prescriptive in nature, although by the mid-1800s some valuable early descriptive accounts were published, such as Aasen (1848: 206) on Danish and Fulci (1855: 156) on Sicilian. By the end of that century, two important studies dedicated to PseCo appeared: Jespersen (1895) on Scandinavian and other languages, and Ascoli (1898) on Sicilian. Soon after that, Poutsma (1917) surveyed English PseCo in detail.

For Semitic languages, PseCo has traditionally been investigated under the label *verbal hendiadys* (from Greek 'one through two') (Gesenius 1844: 270–271; Lillas-Schuil 2006; Lillas 2012). Curiously, the term *verbal hendiadys* has also caught on in some research on Dutch and Afrikaans (Roberge 1994; Haslinger and van Koppen 2002–2003).

A major focus of cross-linguistic research in the previous century centered around the particular expression TAKE AND, which has a remarkably widespread distribution in European languages (Wagner 1955; Coseriu 1966, 1977; Kiparsky 1971; Larsson 1992; Ekberg 1993; Vannebo 2003; Ross 2017), sometimes alongside other V1s in PseCo and sometimes as the only type in a language. Coseriu's work in particular has considered this type of PseCo to be among the so-called *verbal pe-riphrases* (i.e., auxiliary constructions, typically with aspectual function) in Spanish and other Romance languages.

The exceptional properties of PseCo, often with an emphasis on English, also drew the attention of those working on coordination from a theoretical perspec-tive (Gleitman 1965: 293; Ross 1967; Lakoff 1986, among others), and this trend in research persists today (e.g., Kjeldahl 2010; Brown 2017). Of particular interest has been the restriction on any inflectional morphology in the English TRY AND PseCo construction (Carden and Pesetsky 1977; Ross 2013, 2014b, 2015, 2018), similar also to morphological restrictions in Sicilian PseCo discussed below. Another topic of theoretical interest has been the apparent coordination of an imperative and indicative clause functioning as a conditional, as in *Do that again, and I'm leaving!* (Culicover and Jackendoff 1997); although not a focus in this volume (but see

Mitrović this volume), this particular kind of PseCo is remarkably widespread in the languages of the world (cf. Haiman 1983). The concept of Pseudo-Coordination has also been compared with Pseudo-Subordination (Yuasa and Sadock 2002), which is a subordinate (i.e., dependent) form taking on the functional role of coordination.

Following in the footsteps of Jespersen (1895), PseCo has become a prominent theme in research on Scandinavian languages (Kvist Darnell 2008). In fact, the term *pseudokoordination* first appeared in Teleman's (1974) description of Swedish. From this usage it has now become the dominant term in Scandinavian research, and has also spread to other languages, including by Quirk et al. (1985: 978–979) for English. Although this is now the most general term used cross-linguistically and the one adopted in this volume, due to growing but multi-faceted and sometimes idiosyncratic research on the phenomenon, PseCo has also been assigned a bewildering variety of other labels in the literature, especially in consideration of the fact that most studies deal with this phenomenon as specific to a given language or group of languages. Some of these alternative labels are Asymmetric Conjunction/ Coordination (Schmerling 1975; Déchaine 1993), Double Verb Construction, Fake Coordination (Carden and Pesetsky 1977), Subcoordination (Johnsen 1988), Verb-Verb Agreement, Agreeing Complements (Anward 1988), Verbal Hendiadys, Contiguous Coordination (de Vos 2005), Inflected Construction (Cardinaletti and Giusti 1998, 2001, 2003), Doubly Inflected Construction (Cruschina 2013; Todaro and Del Prete 2019; Del Prete and Todaro 2020), Congruence Construction (Nielsen 2011), TMA-copying (i.e., Tense/Mood/Aspect) Construction (Wiklund 2007), and Serial Verb Construction.

While standardized terminology is not necessarily required for productive research on a particular phenomenon, in the case of PseCo in particular it seems that this inconsistency reflects the general disconnectedness of previous research and has obscured cross-linguistic similarities. In fact, a number of authors have reported PseCo in a particular language as an idiosyncratic or even exotic feature, possibly attested only as a quirk of the language they are studying. Thus, one purpose of this volume is to promote awareness of PseCo as a cross-linguistic phenomenon, which we hope in turn will lead to not only continued theoretical research on the languages discussed here, but also expanded documentation of PseCo in more languages around the world.

In summary, fieldworkers, historical linguists, and others should not be dismissive of the possibility that a connecting element has developed from a coordinating conjunction, even though this is not traditionally known as a common grammaticalization pathway (cf. Heine and Kuteva 2002: 43–44; Kuteva et al. 2019: 60).

Among the Scandinavian languages, PseCo is an important feature of Swedish (Josefsson 1991; Wiklund 2007; Hilpert and Koops 2008; Kvist Darnell 2008;

Blensenius and Andersson Lilja, this volume), Norwegian (Lødrup 2002, 2019; Johannessen 1998) and Danish (Bjerre and Bjerre 2007; Nielsen 2011; Biberauer and Vikner 2017); for an overview of the phenomenon in Scandinavian languages, see Hesse (2009) and Kinn, Blensenius and Andersson (2018). It is also found in Faroese (Heycock and Petersen 2012; Ross 2015), but marginal in Icelandic (cf. Wiklund 2007; Jóhannsdóttir 2011).

PseCo is only found dialectally today in Dutch, but it was once more widespread historically, and it is found in Afrikaans (cf. de Vos 2005; Biberauer and Vikner 2017). PseCo is not a typical feature in German, although it is found dialectally (e.g., Ebert 2000; and see Taube forthcoming on Yiddish); the same applies to Frisian, while another similar construction type, traditionally called *imperativus-pro-infinitivo*, features the linker *en* 'and' followed by a verb appearing in imperative form (cf. Hoekstra 2017). Many studies have discussed English PseCo, some of which have already been cited, while most studies dedicated to this topic focus specifically either on the TRY AND construction mentioned above, or on the GO/COME AND construction (e.g., Stefanowitsch 2000; Wulff 2006; Nicolle 2009; Bachmann 2013), although see Hopper (2002) for a more general perspective.

For the Romance languages, most research has followed Coseriu's interest in the TAKE AND construction (which appears to be found in almost all of the Romance languages aside from French: Coseriu 1966, 1977; Ross 2017), but a number of studies have been produced especially about Spanish (cf. Ross 2014; Arnaiz and Camacho 1999; Bravo 2020; Covarrubias et al. 2020; Orqueda et al. 2020; Soto Gómez 2021), as well as Portuguese (cf. Rodrigues 2006; Colaço and Gonçalves 2016; Mendes and Ruda, this volume). It is also an important but less studied feature of Romanian (Guţu-Romalo 1961; Coseriu 1966, 1977; Merlan 1999; Croitor 2017; Bleotu, this volume).

The research on Italo-Romance has focussed on the PseCo that is found with a restricted class of motion and stative verbs, and a few other verbs in southern Italo-Romance varieties of Sicily, Calabria and Apulia (Cardinaletti and Giusti 2001, 2003; Cruschina 2013; Ledgeway 2016b, 2021, among others; cf. Di Caro 2019a for an overview of the relevant literature; see also the chapters by Giusti and Cardinaletti, Manzini and Lorusso, Di Caro and Cruschina in this volume), although diachronically traces of PseCo, especially in the imperative, can also be found in some other Italo-Romance varieties (cf. Rohlfs 1969: 171; Ledgeway 1997 and references cited there). The TAKE AND construction is also found in Italian where it has surprisingly not been researched as extensively as in other Romance languages (Masini, Mattiola and Vecchi 2019; Giusti and Cardinaletti, this volume).

In Slavic and other Indo-European languages, as well as Finno-Ugric languages, PseCo has been predominantly documented via the TAKE AND construction (Coseriu 1966; Kiparsky 1971; Larsson 1992; Ross 2017), although there are also

some specific studies worth mentioning here: Kuznetsova (2006), Kor Chahine (2007), Stoynova (2007) and Weiss (2007, 2012) for Russian, Andrason (2018) and Mendes and Ruda (this volume) for Polish, Škodová (2009, this volume) for Czech, and Kuteva (1999) and Kanchev (2010) for Bulgarian; Nau et al. (2019) for the Baltic languages Latvian and Lithuanian; Svorou (2018a, 2018b) for Modern Greek, as well as Rohlfs (1977), Squillaci (2016) and Ledgeway, Schifano and Silvestri (2018) for the Greek dialects spoken in southern Italy; Manzini and Savoia (2007: 315–318) for Albanian. For Finno-Ugric, see in general Larsson (1992), and in particular Hakulinen et al. (2004: § 1093), Drew et al. (2021) and Airola (2007) for Finnish, and Csató (2001) for Hungarian, as well as Turkish.

For Semitic languages, PseCo is often mentioned in passing in general works and descriptive grammars, and often as *verbal hendiadys* (e.g., Badawi, Carter and Gully 2004 for Arabic, and Huehnergard 1997: 125–126 for Akkadian). Recently a few dedicated studies have begun to explore this topic in detail, for example Gamliel and Mar'i (2015) for Modern Hebrew and Arabic, Di Caro (2017) for Arabic, Boneh (2020) for Modern Hebrew, and Camilleri (2016: 296–302) for Maltese; more generally see also Edzard (2014, this volume).

Although not within the scope of studies presented in this volume, PseCo is also found beyond European and Semitic languages (cf. Ross 2016a, 2021), for example among Austronesian languages in the Formosan languages of Taiwan (Tsai 2007; Tsai and Wu 2012), in Oceanic languages such as Manam (Lichtenberk 1983), and also in some Khoisan languages (e.g., Eaton 2018 on Sandawe; cf. Ross 2016a: 221).

Cross-linguistic studies of PseCo are still a developing area of research (with some important exceptions such as Coseriu 1966, 1977 and Stefanowitsch 1999), but already a number of studies have shown the benefits of comparative approaches, such as Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001) on Sicilian, American English and Swedish; Jørgensen (2003) on Norwegian and Spanish; Ross (2015) on English and Faroese; Di Caro (2017) on Sicilian and Arabic; Nau et al. (2019) on the Baltic region; Drew et al. (2021) on Danish, English, Finnish and Italian; and Mendes and Ruda (this volume) on Polish and Portuguese.

3.   Structural and functional properties of PseCo

A prototypical case of PseCo is with pairs of inflected verbs that are connected by a linking element homophonous to a coordinating conjunction, in the form 'V1[TAM.Agr] *and* V2[TAM.Agr]'. Strikingly, this construction is not interpreted as a coordination of two separate events but as a single complex event. As a consequence of the monoclausal and monoeventive nature of PseCo, some general

characteristics emerge:[4] (i) the order of the two verbs cannot be reversed (cf. (10)), (ii) the construction is not subject to the Coordinate Structure Constraint (cf. Ross 1967: 161), so that, contrary to what happens in real coordinations, arguments related to V2 can be extracted (cf. (11)), (iii) the action expressed by the lexical V2 cannot be negated separately (cf. the English example in (12), adapted from Shopen 1971: 258), and (iv) the two verbs must share the subject (cf. (13)).

(10) a. *I'll go and get some milk.*
     b. **I'll get some milk and go.*

(11) a. **What** *will you go and get?*
     b. ****What** *will you drive and buy?*

(12) a. *They go to buy vegetables every day, but there* **never** *are any vegetables.*
     b. **They go and buy vegetables every day, but there* **never** *are any vegetables.*

(13) a. *I* **go** *and* **get** *some milk.*
     b. **I* **go** *and* **he gets** *some milk.*

In general, V1 is typically restricted to a small class of verbs: most often basic motion verbs like GO and COME, or the basic posture verbs SIT, STAND and LIE, and the verb TAKE in many European languages; and less often, some other verbs including those that would otherwise take an infinitival complement such as *try* in English or *want* in some Italo-Romance varieties.

In contrast, V2 is usually unrestricted,[5] with the general exception of purely stative V2s like BE and KNOW (e.g., **Go and know it*), as well as any V2 that would be semantically and pragmatically incompatible with the preceding V1 (cf. (14)).

(14) **Jeg sidder og   går.*
     I   sit.PRS and walk.PRS
     'I sit and walk.'   [Kjeldahl 2010: 72; *Danish*]

Nevertheless, there are two features that seem to favor some V2s cross-linguistically, i.e., transitivity and agentivity. In Sicilian, for example, [+transitive] V2s are generally always possible (with the exceptions of purely stative verbs), whereas [−transitive] V2s are not accepted or at least disfavored in some varieties (see the discussion in Di Caro 2019a; see also Bleotu, this volume on Romanian). Moreover, V2s entailing an action (e.g., fetch something, call someone, etc.) are generally

---

4. Biclausal accounts of PseCo are also found in the literature (for Romance, see Manzini, Lorusso and Savoia 2017; Manzini and Lorusso, this volume).

5. However, see Di Caro (this volume) for an exceptional case of morphological restrictions on what V2s can enter the construction for some Sicilian dialects.

favored, although this depends on the degree of grammaticalization of V1, in the sense that when V1 loses its original semantics, non-agentive V2s are more likely to be accepted. Finally, we should be careful to distinguish repetitive emphatic co-ordination, also called reduplicative coordination (ReCo) by de Vos (2005), where the same verb is iterated for effect, as in (15):[6]

(15) *Peter går   og **går**.*
      Peter walk.PRS   and walk.PRS
      'Peter walks and walks.'   [Kjeldahl 2010: 72; *Danish*]

Shopen (1971), Cardinaletti and Giusti (1998) and others have suggested a number of tests for PseCo, collected as a list in de Vos (2005), in order to distinguish it from normal coordination. These include, in addition to those already discussed above, reduced argument structure for the verbs (especially V1) or restricted possibility of modification, obligatorily shared inflection on each verb, the inability to negate either verb independently, semantic or pragmatic functions of V1 distinct from its use as a lexical verb, and an obligatorily phonologically reduced, unstressed realization of linking element 'and'.

Language-specific morphosyntactic tests may also show the distinct nature of PseCo, such as clitic climbing in Sicilian varieties as a diagnostic of monoclaus-ality. Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001: 388–389), following Cinque's (2003) insights on restructuring infinitival clauses, compare the Italian infinitival construction in (16), where clitic climbing is optional, according to restructured monoclausal con-struction (16a) vs. non-restructured biclausal construction (16b), and the Sicilian infinitival, where restructuring is generally favored (17a) but non-restructured bi-clausal infinitive is marginally possible (17a′), with Sicilian PseCo in (17b), where clitic climbing is mandatory:

(16) a. ***Lo** vado a prendere.*
          it.CL go.1SG to take.INF
      b. *Vado a prender**lo**.*
          go.1SG to take.INF+it.CL
          'I'll go and take it.'   [*Italian*]

(17) a. ***U** vaju a pigghiari.*
          it.CL go.1SG to take.INF
      a′. ˀ*Vaju a pigghia**llu**.*
          go.1SG to take.INF+it.CL

---

6. In most Sicilian dialects, where the connecting element is not homophonous to the actual coordinator 'and', the construction with the same verb in both positions would be connected with *e* 'and', instead of *a* (as used in PseCo).

b. *U   vaju   a ppigghiu.*
    it.CL go.1SG *a* take.1SG
b′. **Vaju   a (**lu**)   pigghiu(**lu**).*
    go.1SG *a* it.CL take.1SG+it.CL
    'I'll go and take it.'
                    [adapted from Cardinaletti and Giusti 2001: 388; *Marsalese*]

Having established PseCo as a unique phenomenon structurally distinct from normal coordination, the next section turns to some of the main ways in which the properties of PseCo vary cross-linguistically.

4.   Variation in PseCo

Although some properties of PseCo tend to be shared cross-linguistically, it is also important to consider possible dimensions of variation concerning different syntactic, morphological and semantic aspects of the construction. One of the most prominent ways in which PseCo varies is the number of verbs entering the construction as V1, as already shown in examples above, and in fact this may often be a small, closed class of verbs. So, while motion verbs, for example, are quite common cross-linguistically, individual languages may permit only a specific, small set of them in PseCo, while V2 is generally unrestricted, as discussed above. The semantic functions of these V1s may also vary, especially to what extent they retain their literal lexical meanings in PseCo. Motion verbs can retain their meaning of literal motion, but also often undergo semantic bleaching or take on pragmatic functions, including GO taking on an emphatic role marking unexpectedness or self-determination (Sornicola 1976; Stefanowitsch 1999, 2000; Wiklund 2009; Josefsson 2014; Ross 2016b; Cruschina, this volume), as in (1a) above and (18a) below, which is also a typical function of TAKE in PseCo, as in (18b):

(18) a. *She's gone and ruined her dress now.*   [Ross 1967: 170]
      b. *(S-)a   luat   și   a   plecat   în*
          (REFL-)have.PRS.3SG take.PTCP and have.PRS.3SG leave.PTCP in
          lumea largă.
          world wide
          'He took and set off into the wide world.' [Merlan 1999: 168; *Romanian*]

Likewise, SIT, STAND and LIE may follow a well-known path of grammaticalization of posture verbs and take on a progressive-like function (cf. Kuteva 1999; Heine and Kuteva 2002; Newman 2002), as in (19a). But in some languages, GO may be used similarly, as in (19b). And posture verbs may also have a sense of unexpectedness or stubbornness in some usage, as in (19c):

(19) a. *Jeg **står**   og   venter.*
         I   stand.PRS and wait.PRS
         'I'm waiting.'   [Kjeldahl 2010: 30; *Danish*]

     b. *Hon **gick**   og   grunnade.*
         she go.PST and ponder.PST
         'She was pondering.'   [Blensenius 2015: 37; *Swedish*]

     c. ***Sedi***   *i*   *se*   *oplakva*   *vmesto da se   xvane*
         sit.3SG.PRS and REFL complain.3SG.PRS instead to REFL take.3SG.PRS
         za rabota.
         for work
         'S/he has been complaining all the time instead of starting to work.'
                                              [Kuteva 1999: 191; *Bulgarian*]

In fact, V1 GO (especially in the imperative) can even be completely neutralized and
lose its semantics to the extent that the whole PseCo conveys the same meaning as
that of just V2 (cf. Sornicola 1976), as illustrated in (20):

(20) a. ***Va'***   *pigghia*   *sta cosa!*
         go.IMP.2SG fetch.IMP.2SG this thing
         'Go fetch this thing!'

     b. *Pigghia*   *sta cosa!*
         fetch.IMP.2SG this thing
         'Fetch this thing!'
                         [Sornicola 1976: 71; Santo Stefano di Camastra (Messina)]

Looking beyond semantics, the rest of this section will survey some of the major
types of structural variation found in PseCo in different languages.

   In some, but not all, languages with PseCo, there are specific mood, tense and
person restrictions (cf. (21)), subject to a very high degree of variation across lan-
guages. The more morphological richness a given language has, the more likely
it will be that PseCo displays some paradigmatic limitations (cf. Kjeldahl 2010),
although cases are also attested in languages like English as well (cf. Carden and
Pesetksy 1977):

(21) a. Try and win the race! [Then even if you do not succeed, you tried.]
     b. I will try and win the race [but I am tired and might not be able to win].
     c. I try and win the race every time [even though I rarely succeed].
     d. *He tries and win(s) the race every time [but he rarely succeeds].
     e. He did try and win the race [but his injury made it impossible].
     f. *He tried and win/won the race [but his injury made it impossible].
     g. *I am trying and win(ning) the race [but I am too tired].   [Ross 2015: 74]

A multi-faceted scenario emerges, for example, in Sicilian, where at least three
different configurations have been identified. The most recurring configuration

is the one in which PseCo occurs only in some persons of the imperative and the present indicative (extensively discussed in Cardinaletti and Giusti 2001, 2003). In other dialects PseCo is further extended in the preterite indicative, where it is again limited to some persons of the paradigm but following a different pattern (cf. Di Caro, this volume). Finally, a third group of Sicilian dialects can be found in which PseCo is also possible in the imperfect indicative and in the imperfect subjunctive (cf. Di Caro and Giusti 2015; Di Caro 2019b).

The imperative seems to be the favored mood cross-linguistically, so that whenever limited cases of PseCo are found in a given language, they are most likely to be in the imperative (see, e.g., the cases of some modern Dutch dialects, namely the West Flemish of Bruges and the East Flemish of Eeklo described in de Vos 2005: 131, where PseCo survives only in the imperative). In a corpus study of English, Hopper (2002) also finds that even when PseCo is grammatical in all verb forms, the imperative and other non-finite forms are much more frequent in usage.

The indicative is the second most recurring mood in PseCo, with present as the favored tense. A tentative hierarchy of mood/tense selection for PseCo in Sicilian is provided in Di Caro (2019a: 129) based on more general considerations on data mainly from Romance and Germanic:

(22)   imperative > present indicative > preterite indicative > imperfect indicative > imperfect subjunctive

A comprehensive cross-linguistic mood/tense selection hierarchy does not seem to be straightforward, in part because the factors interacting with this selection have not been all analyzed in depth yet. The same holds true for the selection of the persons within a given paradigm, which however seems to be a phenomenon affecting mostly Italo-Romance varieties (cf. Cardinaletti and Giusti 2001, 2003; Di Caro, this volume). Capitalizing on work by Shopen (1971), and Carden and Pesetsky (1977) on English, Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001, 2003) account for the selectional restrictions found in Sicilian PseCo by referring to unmarked and marked forms, the former being the ones licensing PseCo. But other morphological factors (see Cruschina 2013 and references cited there; also Corbett 2016: 82–85) seem to come into play when it comes to the person restrictions.

As regards the connecting element, some varieties display a certain degree of optionality, especially in the imperative. For example, Kjeldahl (2010: 87–88) reports that in Danish PseCo featuring V1 COME in the imperative, the connecting element may optionally be omitted:

(23)   ***Kom   lad   mig mærke dig igen.***
       come.IMP let.IMP me feel.INF you again
       'Come let me feel you again.'   [Kjeldahl 2010: 88; *Danish*]

Optionality of the coordinator is more general in Portuguese and Polish (Rodrigues 2006; Andrason 2018; Mendes and Ruda, this volume), where omission is preferred or obligatory for at least some speakers in some contexts, although in fact especially in the imperative. On the other hand, in American English PseCo contrasts with a functionally similar *go get* construction without the coordinator, which is strictly limited to bare forms of the verb (compare TRY in (21) above), but *go and get* PseCo with an overt coordinator is possible in any inflection. Despite their similar appearance, this contrast in morphosyntactic distribution suggests they are distinct constructions (Shopen 1971; Jaeggli and Hyams 1993; Zwicky 2003; Wulff 2006), with two different origins, one from juxtaposed imperatives ('Go! Look!'), and the PseCo pattern grammaticalized from frequent coordination of motion verbs in discourse.

Furthermore, the connecting element in PseCo is typically phonetically reduced. In Germanic, where the phenomenon is widespread, the connecting element usually has the pronunciation corresponding to a reduced coordinating conjunction and may be obligatorily unstressed. So, for example, the English *and* can be reduced to [ṇ] (cf. Carden and Pesetsky 1977; de Vos 2005). In Mainland Scandinavian, the unmarked pronunciation of *and* in PseCo is homophonous to the infinitival marker (cf. Wiklund 1996: 34, fn. 13), as e.g. in Danish, where the unmarked pronunciation of both *og* (coordinator) and *at* (infinitival marker) is [ɔ].[7]

PseCo normally exhibits multiple agreement, that is, parallel inflection, on V1 and V2, but rarely V1 may appear in a morphologically more basic form (see also Ross, this volume). For example, Bravo (2020: 158–159) reports that Spanish *va* (go.PRS.3SG) can be used as a default form even when it does not agree with the subject or match the tense of V2. In Sicilian, this goes further, such that some V1s (unsurprisingly, the most frequent V1s GO and COME) can occur in reduced, sometimes invariable, forms, sometimes merged with the coordinator (as shown only by reduplication of the initial consonant of V2 (cf. Di Caro and Giusti 2015; Di Caro 2019a; b).[8]

Although typically the connector is the only element intervening between the two verbs, other material can sometimes intervene, varying by language and the degree of grammaticalization of V1. In Sicilian, nothing but the connecting element can separate the two verbs, not even frequency adverbs or floating quantifiers, as shown in (24) (cf. Cardinaletti and Giusti 2001, 2003). In Germanic, some verb

---

7.   In fact, Endresen (1995) has even argued that in spoken Norwegian, the coordinator has fully replaced the infinitive marker in all contexts, although this is not reflected in the orthography.

8.   This, curiously, seems to be orthogonal to their semantic bleaching, in the sense that a reduced or invariable V1 does not have to occur necessarily in a grammaticalized PseCo and can thus retain its semantic of motion.

particles related to the V1 can occur between V1 and V2 (cf. (25)),[9] as well as negation (cf. (26)). Moreover, in verb second order with inversion, the subject can intervene between the two verbs (cf. (27)):

(24) a. *I   picciotti vanno *(tutti) a pigghiano (tutti) u   pani ne sta butìa.*
          the boys   go.3PL all   *a* fetch.3PL all   the bread in this shop
          'The boys all go and buy the bread in this shop.'
      b. *Un vaju   *(mai) a pigghiu (mai) u   pani ne sta butìa.*
          NEG go.1SG never   *a* fetch.1SG never the bread in this shop
          'I never go and buy the bread in this shop.'
                                    [Cardinaletti and Giusti 2001: 390; Marsala (Trapani)]

(25) *Han gik   hen   og   døde.*
       he   go.PST over and die.PST
       'He just died (suddenly)'   [Kjeldahl 2010: 32; *Danish*]

(26) *Han sitter ikke og   leser.*
       he   sit.PRS not and read.PRS
       'He is not reading.'   [Lødrup 2019: 92; *Norwegian*]

(27) *Den boken   satt   Lars och   läste.*
       the book.DEF sit.PST Lars and read.PST
       'Lars was reading the book.'   [Wiklund 1996: 36; *Swedish*]

To summarize, cross-linguistically there is a high degree of variation in PseCo, and although certain common trends emerge, studies of individual languages are required to fully explore this topic, and for that we refer the reader to the detailed studies included in this volume.

5. Multiple Agreement Constructions

Double verb structures like PseCo can be considered a particular case of Multiple Agreement Constructions (MACs), which more generally describes any construction featuring two elements that share agreement features. Some Southern Italo-Romance varieties in Salento, Central and Southern Calabria and Northern

---

9. Note that this may not always be permitted, such as indicated by de Vos (2005) for English in the distinguishing between PseCo (his Contiguous Coordination, ConCo) and what he calls Scene-setting Coordination (SceCo), such that a locative expression with a motion verb would be permitted only in SceCo, e.g. 'go (*to the store*) and…'. What seems to apply cross-linguistically is a clear reduction in the potential argument structure of V1s. Consider also the verb TAKE used intransitively in PseCo in most languages, but with an optional reflexive marker in Romanian in (18b) above.

Sicily feature cases of a specific MAC, which we will call *mu*MAC (following Giusti and Cardinaletti this volume).[10] Contrary to PseCo, the *mu*MAC is biclausal and cannot be generally replaced by a construction featuring an infinitival V2, in line with the 'unpopularity of the infinitive' ascribed by Rohlfs (1969) to those areas of Southern Italy where Greek was spoken until the Middle Ages.

One of the characteristics of the *mu*MAC that set it apart from PseCo is the non-obligatory mood/tense feature sharing between the two verbs, as shown in (28a)–(28d), where the embedded clause is in the present indicative but the matrix clause can be in the imperfect indicative (28a), in the preterite indicative (28b, c), and in the conditional (28d).

(28) a. ***Vulia   mu mi   porta.***
          want.IMPF.3SG *mu* to-me.CL bring.3SG
          'S/he wanted to bring me.'   [Rohlfs 1969: 103; *Southern Calabrian*]

  b. ***Pinsau   mi parti.***
          think.PST.3SG *mi* leave.3SG
          'He thought about leaving.'   [Rohlfs 1969: 103; *Province of Messina*]

  c. ***Vinni   ma ti   viju.***
          come.PST.1SG *ma* you.CL see.1SG
          'I came to see you.'   [Manzini and Savoia 2005: 654; *Sorbo San Basile (Catanzaro)*]

  d. ***Vorria   mu sacciu.***
          want.COND.1SG *mu* know.1SG
          'I would like to know.'   [Rohlfs 1969: 103; *Southern Calabrian*]

Another crucial difference between *mu*MAC and PseCo is that, irrespective of what syntactic account is provided for PseCo (i.e., monoclausal vs. biclausal), the *mu*MAC is consistently considered biclausal. The connecting elements in the *mu*MAC are labeled by De Angelis (2016: 75) as *subordinators* (in the sense of Nordström 2010: 95ff.) since in some Calabrian varieties these elements, originally complementizers, have turned to modal affixes that have lost their stress, having procliticized to the embedded verb. They can also be preceded by another element acting as complementizer, such as *pe*, and cannot be separated from their embedded verb by a negation.

Moreover, in Southern Italo-Romance, procliticization of the pronouns associated with V2 onto V1 is not possible in the *mu*MAC, whereas it is obligatory in PseCo. Compare the position of the clitic pronoun *ti* in (28c) with (29) (see also Giusti and Cardinaletti, this volume).

---

10. This kind of MAC has also been referred to as the Finite Construction by Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001: 373–374), abbreviated in FinCo in later works (cf. Di Caro 2017, 2019a).

(29) a. *Vinni   a ti   vitti.
          come.PST.1SG *a* you.CL see.PST.1SG
      b. *Ti*   vinni   a bbitti.
          you.CL come.PST.1SG *a* see.PST.1SG
          'I came to see you.'   [*Deliano*]

Another structural difference between the two constructions is shown by which verb bears the mood and tense realizations. Whereas in PseCo it is V2 that must necessarily display mood and tense features, to the extent that V1 can appear in an invariable reduced form (such as *o-* in (30b)), in the *mu*MAC it is the V1 that provides the mood and tense features to interpret the utterance (cf. (28)).

(30) a. *u*   'ia   a ffa'fia
          it.CL go.IMPF.1SG *a* do.IMPF.1SG
          'I used to go and do it.' [Manzini and Savoia 2005: 696; Modica (Ragusa)]
      b. *U*   offaceva.
          it.CL *o*-do.IMPF.1SG
          'I used to go and do it.'   [*Catanese*]

As already shown in (28), the Southern Italo-Romance *mu*MAC can appear in a number of configurations too and display different diatopically distributed types of connecting elements, namely *(m)u, (m)i, ma* and *cu*. These connectors function as complementizers of the embedded clause (see De Angelis 2017 for an overview and for additional connecting elements merging with other complementizers).

More generally, we can also consider issues of multiple agreement in other domains and in syntactic theory (Carstens 2001; Hiraiwa 2001, among others), as in (31) below. The question of how multi-valuation or multiple agreement is an area of growing interest in general, and also in particular regarding coordinating constructions, especially in terms of subject agreement and the phenomenon often labeled Closest Conjunct Agreement (cf. Benmamoun, Bhatia and Polinsky 2009; Tat and Kornfilt, this volume).

(31) *Kpeinzen dank-k (ik) morgen   goan.*
       I.think   that-I I   tomorrow go
       'I think that I'll go tomorrow.'   [Carstens 2003: 393; *West Flemish*]

Taken together, PseCo and MACs pose a number of challenges but also opportunities for linguistic research, as shown by the contributions to this volume.

6.   Overview of the contributions

Pseudo-Coordination and Multiple Agreement Constructions are remarkable linguistic phenomena to study because they are challenging from descriptive, comparative, and theoretical viewpoints, yet even partial answers to the questions they introduce can provide important insights into areas such as the morphology-syntax and syntax-semantics interfaces, dialectal variation and language contact, and linguistic typology. Following this introduction, the other papers in this volume offer a variety of perspectives on PseCo and related phenomena, and those contributions are summarized here to conclude our introduction. The first section focuses on PseCo in Romance languages, especially with motion verbs in southern Italian and Sicilian varieties but also with 'take' in Italian and Romanian. The second section turns to PseCo in other languages, notably Slavic, Scandinavian and Semitic. The third section concludes the volume with comparative and theoretical perspectives on PseCo and related phenomena in verbal as well as nominal domains.

Section 1 opens with **Giusti** and **Cardinaletti** who reflect on developments in research on PseCo in Italian and Sicilian varieties since their influential works set in motion the current enthusiastic description and theoretical analysis of PseCo in dialect syntax in Italy two decades ago (Cardinaletti and Giusti 1998, 2001, 2003, 2020). In particular, they add a new empirical perspective to this discussion by including the Italian 'take and' construction with *e* 'and' in comparison to the more extensively studied *a*PseCo construction in southern Italian and Sicilian varieties. This chapter adopts the protocol approach, in order to unite theoretical and descriptive insights and to make the contribution more accessible to a general audience. The authors conclude that the three constructions analyzed represent three distinct structures: 'take' PseCo with *e*, PseCo with *a*, and biclausal Multiple Agreement Constructions with *mu* and other linkers.

Manzini and **Lorusso** continue with this theme, drawing on their earlier work as well (Manzini and Savoia 2005; Manzini, Lorusso and Savoia 2017), considering the theoretical analysis of PseCo from the perspective of a broad dialectal comparison. In particular, they diverge in their theoretical analysis from the trend of other studies to analyze PseCo as monoclausal, arguing that the properties and variation of PseCo across South Italian varieties of Apulia, Calabria and Sicily better fit a biclausal analysis, even with the same inflectional features realized on each verb. By analogy to other finite constructions such as Balkan subjunctives, which are biclausal, the authors argue that a biclausal analysis requires less stipulation and is a better explanation for the observed properties. They analyze progressive constructions in these dialects, formed as PseCo with cognates of standard Italian *stare* 'stand'.

Focusing on one Sicilian dialect, **Di Caro** describes PseCo in Deliano and especially its use with the preterite indicative paradigm, which is not possible in many other Sicilian dialects, where instead PseCo is often restricted to present-tense and imperative forms; additionally, more V1s, although primarily motion verbs, are possible in this dialect. This paper expands on the author's doctoral and continued research on PseCo in Sicilian dialects (Di Caro 2015, 2019a, b), and on other verbal periphrases (Di Caro 2019c), presenting a detailed case study based on judgments collected from 140 speakers. The results support the so-called W-Pattern as a salient feature in the dialect, such that PseCo is only possible for a subset of forms in the paradigm, related to morphomic patterns regarding irregular versus regular forms. Interestingly, there are also inflectional restrictions imposed on V2, such that only those irregular verbs, reflecting distinct inflectional sub-patterns from Latin, are allowed.

Cruschina also investigates Sicilian PseCo, building on previous research (Cruschina 2013; Cruschina and Calabrese 2021), but now turning to the semantic and pragmatic function of the motion verb GO and its use to express surprise and unexpectedness. Often this usage refers to a past event, although via the historical present due to paradigmatic gaps in availability of this construction. Taking the expression of surprise as a conventional implicature, the author suggests that in the same way that motion verbs can grammaticalize as tense or aspect markers, they can also be used for a type of modality indicating surprise or movement away from expectations. It is further suggested that these developments may help to explain the origin of the past-tense auxiliary *anar* 'go' in the history of Catalan.

To close this section, **Bleotu** studies a different Romance language, to propose a preliminary classification of the *(a) lua și* 'take and' construction in Romanian. Although this construction type has been widely observed in European languages (Coseriu 1966, 1977), this chapter addresses the need for a detailed theoretical analysis of this expression in Romanian, based on the results of an acceptability judgment task with 52 speakers. It is shown that the properties associated with this construction differ from those reported by de Vos (2005) for other common types of PseCo, including those with motion or posture verbs, and the TRY type. This study also demonstrates some of the challenges associated with gathering and interpreting data for PseCo constructions that are often systematically ambiguous with normal coordination.

To begin Section 2, **Mendes** and **Ruda** expand the coverage of Romance languages to Brazilian Portuguese in a parallel analysis with Polish. This paper also addresses the 'take and' construction, which is shown to have strikingly similar properties in both languages. Through a series of creative diagnostic tests based on the possible ellipsis of the first verb (TAKE), the authors argue that the second (lexical) verb is the more central component of the PseCo clause. They consider TAKE

to have an expressive function, conveying the attitude of the speaker, rather than contributing narrowly to the syntactic structure or semantics of the sentence. In an appendix, the authors also report variation, both across languages and between speakers, in the use or optionality of the linker 'and' in this construction.

Škodová also studies Slavic PseCo, specifically with the verb *jít* 'go' in Czech, building on this theme from her doctoral studies (Škodová 2009). The morphosyntactic properties of this construction are surveyed in order to distinguish between normal coordination and PseCo. Based on a large corpus study with 1611 tokens of the verb *jít* connected with *a* 'and' to a following verb, 668 are identified as PseCo. PseCo is associated with the past and future tenses, as well as imperatives. The two verbs are considered to form two phases of a single event in a complex predicate, the first as the initialization of the event, and the second indicating the consequent event, such that the verbs cannot be independently negated, modified by adverbials, and so forth. Czech is an interesting example of PseCo, due to highly inflected verbs alongside periphrastic tenses.

Blensenius and **Andersson Lilja** bring us to Scandinavia, the locus of their continued PseCo studies (Blensenius 2015; Andersson and Blensenius 2018a, b; Kinn, Blensenius and Andersson 2018), and take us back in time, with a diachronic corpus study of the development of motion and posture PseCo constructions in Swedish. The semantic and pragmatic functions of three types of PseCo are studied in detail. Motion PseCo with *gå* 'go, walk' can express either a non-goal-directed, progressive-like meaning, or a goal-directed meaning, which often is metaphorically extended to a subjective meaning (see also Cruschina, this volume; Mitrović, this volume). Posture PseCo with *sitta* 'sit' can express a progressive-like meaning, which can be extended to suggest that one sits and continues doing something *instead* of doing something else, which would be preferred. However, these meanings and pragmatic functions are nuanced in several ways, as explored in the chapter, demonstrating that multiple levels of analysis may be required to fully understand PseCo.

Edzard's research began as a collaboration with Janne Bondi Johannessen whose untimely death meant she unfortunately could not participate in this volume despite her enthusiastic participation at our workshop in Venice in 2017 (see also Johannessen and Edzard 2015). This chapter looks beyond Scandinavian PseCo, to draw connections to a wide array of constructions in several Semitic languages and associated terminology. What is striking about these construction types is their variation in form, with regard to the linking element 'and' and the morphology on each verb (whether displaying multiple agreement or not), while expressing similar functions across the languages. Beyond coordination, subordination and pseudo-coordination, also discussed are pseudo-subordination, as well as para-hypotaxis, where an individual construction displays overt marking of both coordination and subordination together (Bertinetto and Ciucci 2012).

Section 3 includes four contributions taking comparative or theoretical perspectives. The first by **Shimada** and **Nagano** is a study of Japanese multi-verb constructions with progressive and perfective aspectual functions. Even though strictly defined these may be better classified as pseudo-subordination than pseudo-coordination (cf. Yuasa and Sadock 2002), given that conjunctive -*te* is a non-finite suffix, substituting for finite inflection on the initial verb, such that the construction does not exhibit multiple agreement, these grammaticalized verb combinations resemble typical PseCo in that the two verbs function together as a unit and are linked by a form that otherwise can mark the function of clause coordination. The authors compare the available readings in Standard Japanese (SJ) and the Fukuoka Japanese (FJ) dialect, concluding that the availability of a progressive interpretation in FJ (but not SJ) reflects not a difference in syntax *per se*, but simply that SJ has not grammaticalized a morpheme to pronounce that particular function.

Tat and **Kornfilt** consider the complementary question to multiple agreement: how and when do constructions *not* agree as expected? Specifically, they describe the phenomenon of partial agreement in Turkish possessive nominal phrases and with nominalized predicates. They argue that partial agreement is *post-syntactic* and that syntax, strictly defined, need not allow for optionality. Instead, it is the realization of agreement, via spell-out to the sensorimotor system, that results in partial agreement phenomena. Although this contribution does not deal with (verbal) PseCo or MAC directly, the insights included here are useful for understanding variation in agreement in general (whether normal, partial, or multiple), focussing on the nominal domain, which is often taken to be parallel to the clausal domain but with a less complex structure.

Mitrović attempts to develop a formal semantic and pragmatic analysis for PseCo with GO in English, with implications for other types of PseCo in general. Expanding on doctoral and other work on coordination (Mitrović 2014, 2021), which introduced Junction as a general device for coordination, this proposal rests on PseCo being a type of improper Junction, such that PseCo can be derived via Dynamic Conjunction, essentially as a way to interpret a coordination-like but deviant expression in which the two apparently conjoined parts are mismatched. The characteristic features of PseCo, distinguishing it from standard coordination, can be systematically derived from this analysis, and a compositional semantic account is presented that also supports the derivation of the pragmatic function of surprise for PseCo with GO (see also Cruschina, this volume).

Ross closes the volume with a broad typological perspective. Drawing on work on the distribution and typology of PseCo (Ross 2016a, 2021), as well as research on Serial Verb Constructions (SVCs), this chapter considers PseCo in the context of multi-verb constructions cross-linguistically. The characteristic features of PseCo – the linker 'and' and multiple agreement, as well as their typical interpretation as

monoclausal expressions of a single event – overlap and vary with features of other multi-verb constructions. A more general category is needed to encompass these types, which are not all included in the traditional definition of SVCs, and this category is introduced as Multi-Verb Predicates (MVPs). In this way, the notion of MVPs can capture the properties that have compelled some researchers to use the term "SVCs" loosely (for example, to explain properties of PseCo), while opening doors between research traditions.

It is encouraging and exciting to be part of such a diverse group of linguists asking the relevant and timely questions brought up in this volume. In addition to the value of these chapters as individual research contributions, we hope that this volume as a whole will continue to promote interest in PseCo, MACs and related topics. In the future, we look forward to seeing connections to more languages, and continued and detailed descriptive and theoretical analyses.

References

Aasen, Ivar. 1848. *Det norske Folkesprogs Grammatik*. Kristiania: Trykt hos Werner & Comp.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2006. Serial Verb Constructions in Typological Perspective. In Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald & Robert M. W. Dixon (eds), *Serial Verb Constructions: A Cross-Linguistic Typology*, 1–68. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Airola, Anu. 2007. Coordinated Verb Pairs in Texts. University of Helsinki Ph.D. dissertation. http://hdl.handle.net/10138/19253

Andersson, Peter & Blensenius, Kristian. 2018a. Matches and mismatches in Swedish [*gå och V*] 'go/walk and V': An exemplar-based perspective. *Constructions and Frames* 10(2). 147–177. https://doi.org/10.1075/cf.00017.and

Andersson, Peter & Blensenius, Kristian. 2018b. En historisk studie av pseudosamordning: kon- struktionen gå och v i svenskan. In Harry Lönnroth, Bodil Haagensen, Maria Kvist & Kim Sandvad West (eds), *Studier i svensk språkhistoria 14* (Vaasan Yliopiston Tutkimuksia 305), 80–101. Vaasan yliopisto. http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-952-476-800-9

Andrason, Alexander. 2018. The WZIĄĆ gram in Polish: A serial verb construction, or not? *STUF – Language Typology and Universals* 71, 577–629. https://doi.org/10.1515/stuf-2018-0022

Andriani, Luigi. 2017. The Syntax of the Dialect of Bari. University of Cambridge Ph.D. dissertation. https://doi.org/10.17863/CAM.15625

Anward, Jan. 1988. Verb-Verb agreement in Swedish. *McGill Working Papers in Linguistics* (Spe- cial Issue on Comparative Germanic Syntax). 1–34.

Arnaiz, Alfredo & Camacho, José. 1999. A Topic Auxiliary in Spanish. In Javier Gutiérrez- Rexach & Fernando Martínez Gil (eds), *Advances in Hispanic Linguistics: Papers from the 2nd Hispanic Linguistics Symposium*, vol. 2, 317–331. Boston: Cascadilla Press.

Ascoli, Graziadio I. 1898. Un problema di sintassi comparata dialettale. *Archivio glottologico italiano*, 14: 453–468.

Bachmann, Ingo. 2013. Has *go*-V ousted *go-and*-V? A study of the diachronic development of both constructions in American English. In Hilde Hasselgård, Jarle Ebeling & Signe Oksefjell Ebeling (eds), *Corpus perspectives on patterns of lexis*, 91–111. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/scl.57.09bac

Badawi, El-Said, Carter, Michael G. & Gully, Adrian. 2004. *Modern Written Arabic: A Comprehensive Grammar*. London: Routledge.

Benmamoun, Elabbas, Bhatia, Archna & Polinsky, Maria. 2009. Closest conjunct agreement in head final languages. *Linguistic Variation Yearbook* 9. 67–88. https://doi.org/10.1075/livy.9.02ben

Bertinetto, Pier Marco & Ciucci, Luca. 2012. Parataxis, Hypotaxis and Para-Hypotaxis in the Zamucoan Languages. *Linguistic Discovery* 10(1). 89–111. https://doi.org/10.1349/PS1.1537-0852.A.404

Biberauer, Theresa & Vikner, Sten. 2017. Having the edge: a new perspective on pseudocoordination in Danish and Afrikaans. In Nicholas LaCara, Keir Moulton & Anne-Michelle Tessier (eds). *A Schrift to Fest Kyle Johnson*. Linguistics Open Access Publications 1. 77–90. http://scholarworks.umass.edu/linguist_oapubs/1

Bjerre, Anne & Bjerre, Tavs. 2007. Pseudocoordination in Danish. In Stefan Müller (ed.), Proceedings of the HPSG07. 6–24. Stanford: Center for the Study of Language and Information.

Blensenius, Kristian. 2015. Progressive constructions in Swedish. Göteborgs Universitet Ph.D. dissertation. http://hdl.handle.net/2077/40179

Bolton, Rosemary A. 1990. A Preliminary Description of Nuaulu Phonology and Grammar. University of Texas at Arlington M.A. thesis.

Boneh, Nora. 2020. Pseudo-grammaticalization: The anatomy of "come" in Modern Hebrew pseudo-coordination constructions. *Proceedings of the Linguistic Society of America* 5(2): 16. https://doi.org/10.3765/plsa.v5i2.4791

Bravo, Ana. 2020. On Pseudo-coordination in Spanish. *Borealis – An international Journal of Hispanic Linguistics* 9(1): 125–180. https://doi.org/10.7557/1.9.1.5365

Brown, Jessica M. M. 2017. Heads and adjuncts: An experimental study of subextraction from participials and coordination in English, German and Norwegian. University of Cambridge Ph.D. dissertation. https://doi.org/10.17863/CAM.14324

Camilleri, Maris. 2016. Temporal and Aspectual auxiliaries in Maltese. University of Essex Ph.D. dissertation. http://repository.essex.ac.uk/17171/

Carden, Guy & Pesetsky, David. 1977. Double-Verb Constructions, Markedness, and a Fake Coordination. Papers from the Thirteenth Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society. 82–92.

Cardinaletti, Anna & Giuliana Giusti. 1998. Motion Verbs as Functional Heads. *GenGenP (Geneva Generative Papers)* 6(1). 50–60.

Cardinaletti, Anna & Giusti, Giuliana. 2001. "Semi-lexical" Motion Verbs in Romance and Germanic. In *Semi-lexical categories*, Norbert Corver & Henk Van Riemsdijk (eds), 371–414. Berlin: De Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110874006.371

Cardinaletti, Anna & Giusti, Giuliana. 2003. Motion Verbs as Functional Heads. In *The Syntax of Italian Dialects*, Christina Tortora (ed.), 31–49. New York: Oxford University Press.

Cardinaletti, Anna & Giusti, Giuliana. 2020. Multiple agreement in southern Italian dialects. In *Linguistic variation: structure and interpretation* [Studies in Generative Grammar 132] Ludovico Franco & Paolo Lorusso (eds), 125–148. Berlin: de Gruyter Mouton.

Carstens, Vicki. 1991. The Morphology and Syntax of Determiner Phrases in Kiswahili. Ph.D. dissertation, UCLA.

Carstens, Vicki. 2001. Multiple Agreement and Case Deletion: Against φ-incompleteness. *Syntax* 4(3). 147–163. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9612.00042

Carstens, Vicki. 2003. Rethinking Complementizer Agreement: Agree with a Case-Checked Goal. *Linguistic Inquiry* 34(3). 393–412. https://doi.org/10.1162/002438903322247533

Cinque, Guglielmo. 2003. The Interaction of Passive, Causative and "Restructuring" in Romance. In *The Syntax of Italian Dialects*, Christina Tortora (ed.), 50–66. New York: Oxford University Press.

Colaço, Madalena & Gonçalves, Anabela. 2016. <V-and-V> constructions in Portuguese: The case of <ir-and-V>. In Mary Aizawa Kato & Francisco Ordoñez (eds), *The morphosyntax of Portuguese and Spanish in Latin America*, 135–156. Oxford: Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190465889.003.0006

Corbett, Greville G. 2016. Morphomic splits. In Ana Luís & Ricardo Bermúdez-Otero (eds), *The Morphome Debate*, 64–88. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198702108.003.0004

Coseriu, Eugenio. 1966. "Tomo y me voy": ein Problem vergleichender europäischer Syntax. *Vox Romanica*, 25, 13–55.

Coseriu, Eugenio. 1977. « Tomo y me voy »: Un problema de sintaxis comparada europea. In *Estudios de lingüística románica*, 79–151. Madrid: Editorial Gredos.

Covarrubias, Magdalena, Guerrero, Silvana, González, Carlos, Jaque, Matías, Orqueda, Verónica & Hasler, Felipe. 2020. *Aquí llegas, pero allá coges*: distribución dialectal de los auxiliares de las construcciones multiverbales de verbos finitos coordinados en español. *Itinerarios* 31. 229–250. https://doi.org/10.7311/ITINERARIOS.31.2020.12

Croitor, Blanca. 2017. Un tip special de coordonare. In *Sintaxa ca mod de a fi: omagiu Gabrielei Pană Dindelegan, la aniversare* [Colecția Personalități Ale Universității Din București], Adina Dragomirescu, Alexandru Nicolae, Camelia Stan & Rodica Zafiu (eds), 149–57. București: Editura Universității din București.

Cruschina, Silvio. 2013. Beyond the Stem and Inflectional Morphology: an Irregular Pattern at the Level of Periphrasis. In *The Boundaries of Pure Morphology*, Silvio Cruschina, Martin Maiden & John Charles Smith (eds), 262–283. Oxford: Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199678860.003.0014

Cruschina, Silvio & Calabrese, Andrea. 2021. Fifty shades of morphosyntactic microvariation: Motion verb constructions in southern Italian dialects. In Marc-Olivier Hinzelin, Natascha Pomino & Eva-Maria Remberger (eds), *Formal Approaches to Romance Morphosyntax*, 145–198. Berlin: De Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110719154-006

Csató, Éva Ágnes. 2001. Turkic double verbs in a typological perspective. In Karen H. Ebert & Fernando Zúñiga (eds), *Aktionsart and aspectotemporality in non-European languages: proceedings from a workshop held at the University of Zürich, June 23–25, 2000*, 175–187. Zürich: Universität Zürich, Seminar für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft.

Culicover, Peter W. & Jackendoff, Ray. 1997. Semantic subordination despite syntactic coordination. *Linguistic Inquiry* 28(2). 195–217.

De Angelis, Alessandro. 2016. Origini formali e funzionali della particella (m)i, (m)u, ma nell'area messinese e calabrese centro-meridionale. In Patrizia Del Puente (ed.), *Dialetti: per parlare e parlarne. Atti del IV Convegno Internazionale di Dialettologia. Progetto A.L.Ba.* (Potenza, Castelmezzano, Lagopesole, 6–8 novembre 2014). 75–95. Venosa: Osanna Edizioni.

De Angelis, Alessandro. 2017. "Between Greek and Romance: Competing complementation systems in Southern Italy". In Piera Molinelli (ed.) *Language and Identity in Multilingual Mediterranean settings. Challenges for Historical Sociolinguistics*. Berlin / New York: De Gruyter. 135–156.

De Angelis, Alessandro & Krstić, Milena. 2014. "Perdita dell'infinito e obviation effect in alcune varietà slave e italo-romanze: per un'analisi contrastiva". In Ivica Pesa Matracki, Maslina Ljubicic, Nada Zupanovic Filipin, Vinko Kovacic (eds) *Atti del Convegno internazionale in onore del Prof. Zarko Muljacic (1922–2009)*. Zagreb: FF-press. 249–260.

de Vos, Mark. 2005. The syntax of verbal pseudocoordination in English and Afrikaans. LOT Dissertation Series 114. Utrecht: LOT.

Déchaine, Rose-Marie. 1993. Serial Verb Constructions. In Joachim Jacobs, Arnim von Stechow, Wolfgang Sternefeld & Theo Vennemann (eds), *Syntax: ein internationales Handbuch zeitgenössischer Forschung* [An International Handbook of Contemporary Research], vol. 1, 799–825. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110095869.1.12.799

Del Prete, Fabio & Todaro, Giuseppina. 2020. Building complex events: The case of Sicilian Doubly Inflected Construction. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 38(1). 1–41. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11049-018-09439-2

Di Caro, Vincenzo Nicolò. 2015. Syntactic constructions with motion verbs in some Sicilian dialects: a comparative analysis. Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia M.A. thesis. http://hdl.handle.net/10579/6229

Di Caro, Vincenzo Nicolò. 2017. Multiple Agreement Constructions: A Macro-Comparative Analysis of Pseudo-Coordination with the Motion Verb *Go* in the Arabic and Sicilian Dialects. *Bucharest Working Papers in Linguistics* 19(2).

Di Caro, Vincenzo Nicolò. 2019a. Multiple Agreement Constructions in Southern Italo-Romance. The Syntax of Sicilian Pseudo-Coordination. PhD dissertation, Ca' Foscari University of Venice.

Di Caro, Vincenzo Nicolò. 2019b. The Inflected Construction in the dialects of Sicily: parameters of micro-variation. In *Italian Dialectology at the Interface*, Silvio Cruschina, Adam Ledgeway & Eva-Maria Remberger (eds), 63–78. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/la.251.03dic

Di Caro, Vincenzo Nicolò. 2019c. Perifrasi verbali deontiche e paradigmi difettivi nel dialetto di Delia, in *Bollettino del Centro di Studi Filologici e Linguistici Siciliani*, 30: 217–244.

Di Caro, Vincenzo Nicolò & Giusti, Giuliana. 2015. A Protocol for the Inflected Construction in Sicilian Dialects. *Annali di Ca' Foscari. Serie occidentale* 49. 393–421. https://doi.org/10.14277/2385-3034/AnnOc-49-15-20

Drew, Paul, Hakulinen, Auli, Heinemann, Trine, Niemi, Jarkko & Rossi, Giovanni. 2021. Hendiadys in naturally occurring interactions: A cross-linguistic study of double verb constructions. *Journal of Pragmatics* (article in press). https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2021.02.008

Eaton, Helen. 2018. *Coordination and Subordination in Sandawe Clauses* (SIL Electronic Working Papers 2018–001). SIL International. https://www.sil.org/resources/publications/entry/76092

Ebert, Karen H. 2000. Progressive Markers in Germanic Languages. In Östen Dahl (ed.), *Tense and Aspect in the Languages of Europe*, 605–653. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Edzard, Lutz. 2014. Complex Predicates and Circumstantial Clause Combining (CCC): Serial Verbs and Converbs in a Comparative Semitic Perspective. In Maria Persson & Bo Isaksson (eds), *Strategies of Clause Linking in Semitic Languages: Proceedings of the International Symposium on Clause Linking in Semitic Languages, Kivik, Sweden, 5–7 August 2012*, 207–230. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

Ekberg, Lena. 1993. The cognitive basis of the meaning and function of cross-linguistic take and V. *Belgian Journal of Linguistics* 8, 21–42. https://doi.org/10.1075/bjl.8.03ekb

Endresen, Rolf Theil. 1995. Norwegian og and å – a Cognitive View. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics* 18(2), 201–218. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0332586500000160

Fulci, Innocenzio. 1855. *Lezioni filologiche sulla lingua siciliana*, Catania, Tip. del Reale Ospizio di Beneficenza.

Gamliel, Ophira & Mar'i, Abd al-Rahman. 2015. Bleached Verbs as Aspectual Auxiliaries in Colloquial Modern Hebrew and Arabic Dialects. *Journal of Jewish Languages* 3(1–2). 51–65. https://doi.org/10.1163/22134638-12340039

Gesenius, Wilhelm. 1844. *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testamente Including the Biblical Chaldee*. (Ed.) E. Robinson. Washington, D.C.: Crocker and Brewster.

Gleitman, Lila R. 1965. Coordinating Conjunctions in English. *Language* 41(2). 260–293. https://doi.org/10.2307/411878

Guţu-Romalo, Valeria. 1961. Semiauxiliare de aspect? *Limba Romînă* 10. 3–15.

Haiman, John. 1983. Paratactic if-clauses. *Journal of Pragmatics* 7(3). 263–281. https://doi.org/10.1016/0378-2166(83)90014-0

Hakulinen, Auli, Vilkuna, Maria, Korhonen, Riitta, Koivisto, Vesa, Heinonen, Tarja-Riitta & Alho, Irja. 2004. *Iso suomen kielioppi*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. http://scripta.kotus.fi/visk/etusivu.php

Haslinger, Irene & van Koppen, Marjo. 2002–2003. De verbale hendiadys als pseudocoördinatie. *Taal en Tongval* 15–16. 102–122.

Heine, Bernd & Tania Kuteva. 2002. *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511613463

Hesse, Andrea. 2009. *Zur Grammatikalisierung der Pseudokoordination im Norwegischen und in den anderen skandinavischen Sprachen*. Tübingen: Francke.

Heycock, Caroline & Petersen, Hjalmar. 2012. Pseudo-coordinations in Faroese. in Kurt Braunmüller & Christoph Gabriel (eds), *Multilingual individuals and multilingual societies. Hamburg Studies on Multilingualism*, vol. 13. 259–280. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/hsm.13.18hey

Hilpert, Martin & Koops, Christian. 2008. A quantitative approach to the development of complex predicates. *Diachronica* 25(2). 242–261. https://doi.org/10.1075/dia.25.2.06hil

Hiraiwa, Ken. 2001. Multiple Agree and the Defective Intervention Constraint in Japanese. *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics* 40. 67–80.

Hoekstra, Eric. 2017. On the Origin and Development of an Embedded V-Initial Construction in Frisian. *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 77(1–2). 171–190. https://doi.org/10.1163/18756719-12340071

Hooper, Robin. 1997. Semantic differentiation between three Tokelauan complementizers. *Oceanic Linguistics* 36(2). 208–226. https://doi.org/10.2307/3622985

Hopper, Paul. 2002. Hendiadys and auxiliation in English. In Joan L. Bybee & Michael Noonan (eds), *Complex Sentences in Grammar and Discourse: Essays in honor of Sandra A. Thompson*, 145–173. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/z.110.09hop

Huehnergard, John. 1997. *A grammar of Akkadian*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.

Jaeggli, Osvaldo & Hyams, Nina. 1993. On the Independence and Interdependence of Syntactic and Morphological Properties: English Aspectual Come and Go. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, 11. 313–346. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00992916

Jespersen, Otto. 1895. En sproglig værdiforskydning: *og = at. Dania: Tidsskrift for Folkemål og Folkeminder* 3. 145–183.

Johannessen, Janne Bondi. 1998. *Coordination*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Johannessen, Janne Bondi & Edzard, Lutz. 2015. Coordinated clause structures in Scandinavian and Semitic involving a finite verb form and an infinitive. In Lutz Edzard (ed.), *Arabic and Semitic Linguistics Contextualized: A Festschrift for Jan Retsö*, 486–505. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvc2rmgq.30

Jóhannsdóttir, Kristín M. 2011. Aspects of the Progressive in English and Icelandic. PhD dissertation, University of British Columbia.

Johnsen, Lars G. 1988. A note on subcoordination. *Trondheim Working Papers in Linguistics* 6. 195–201.

Jørgensen, Annette Myre. 2003. La pseudocoordination verbale en norvégien et en espagnol. *Revue Romane* 38(1). 53–66.

Josefsson, Günlog. 1991. Pseudocoordination – A VP + VP coordination. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 47. 130–156.

Josefsson, Günlog. 2014. Pseudo-coordination in Swedish with *gå* 'go' and the 'surprise effect'. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 93. 26–50.

Kanchev, Ivan. 2010. Семантика, типология и произход на конструкцията *вземам/взема че* (*та, и*) + глагол от свършен вид [On the semantics, typology and origin of the construction *вземам/взема че* (*та, и*) + perfective aspect verb]. *Съпоставително езикознание* [Contrastive Linguistics] 35(3). 40–44. http://www.slav.uni-sofia.bg/index.php/nova-knizhka/611-3-2010

Kinn, Torodd, Blensenius, Kristian & Andersson, Peter. 2018. Posture, location, and activity in Mainland Scandinavian pseudocoordinations. *CogniTextes: Revue de l'Association française de linguistique cognitive* 18. https://doi.org/10.4000/cognitextes.1158

Kiparsky, Valentin. 1971. « Взял и … л ». In Viktora Ivanoviča Borkovskogo (ed.), *Problemy istorii i dialektologii slavjanskich jazykov*, 134–139. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka."

Kjeldahl, Anne. 2010. The syntax of quirky verbal morphology. Ph.D. dissertation. Aarhus: University of Aarhus.

Kor Chahine, Irina. 2007. О Возможном Пути Грамматикализации Русского взять. *Russian Linguistics* 31(3). 231–248. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11185-007-9016-x

Kuteva, Tania A. 1999. On sit/stand/lie auxiliation. *Linguistics* 37(2). 191–213. https://doi.org/10.1515/ling.37.2.191

Kuteva, Tania, Heine, Bernd, Hong, Bo, Long, Haiping, Narrog, Heiko & Rhee, Seongha. 2019. World Lexicon of Grammaticalization. 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316479704

Kuznetsova, Julia. 2006. *The first verb of pseudocoordination as an auxiliary*. Presented at Slavic Linguistic Society 1, Indiana University Bloomington, 2006.

Kvist Darnell, Ulrika. 2008. Pseudosamordningar i Svenska: särskilt sådana med verben sitta, ligga och stå. Institutionen för lingvistik, Stockholms universitet Ph.D. dissertation. http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:su:diva-7490

Lakoff, George. 1986. Frame Semantic Control of the Coordinate Structure Constraint. *Chicago Linguistic Society* 22(2). 152–168.

Larsson, Lars-Gunnar. 1992. "Ta och prata om ringfingret". Om begränsningar i den jämförande språkforskningens möjligheter. *Årsbok (Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundets i Uppsala)* 1991–1992. 87–97.

Ledgeway, Adam. 1997. Asyndetic complementation in Neapolitan dialect. *The Italianist* 17(1). 231–273. https://doi.org/10.1179/ita.1997.17.1.231

Ledgeway, Adam. 2016a. Clausal complementation. In Adam Ledgeway & Martin Maiden (eds), *The Oxford Guide to the Romance Languages*, 1013–1028. Oxford: Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199677108.003.0063

Ledgeway, Adam. 2016b. From Coordination to Subordination: The Grammaticalisation of Progressive and Andative Aspect in the dialects of Salento. In Fernanda Pratas, Sandra Pereira & Clara Pinto (eds), *Coordination and Subordination: Form and Meaning – Selected Papers from CSI Lisbon 2014*, 157–184. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars.

Ledgeway, Adam. 2021. Coming and going in Calabrian. *Revue Roumain de Linguistique* 66(1): 3–35.

Ledgeway, Adam, Schifano, Norma & Silvestri, Giuseppina. 2018. The Expression Of Progressive Aspect In Grico: Mapping Morphosyntactic Isoglosses In An Endangered Italo-Greek Variety. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 116(2). 179–217.
https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-968X.12118

Leone, Alfonso. 1995. *Profilo di sintassi siciliana*. Palermo: Centro studi filologici e linguistici siciliani.

Lichtenberk, Frantisek. 1983. *A Grammar of Manam*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Lillas, Rosmari. 2012. Hendiadys in the Hebrew Bible. An Investigation of the Applications of the Term. University of Gothenburg Ph.D. dissertation. http://hdl.handle.net/2077/29024

Lillas-Schuil, Rosmari. 2006. A survey of syntagms in the Hebrew Bible classified as hendiadys. In Lutz Edzard & Jan Retsö (eds), *Current issues in the analysis of Semitic grammar and lexicon II: Oslo-Göteborg Cooperation 4th-5th November 2005*, 79–100. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Lødrup, Helge. 2002. The Syntactic Structures of Norwegian Pseudocoordinations. *Studia Linguistica* 56 (2). 121–43. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9582.00090

Lødrup, Helge. 2019. Pseudocoordination with posture verbs in Mainland Scandinavian: A grammaticalized progressive construction? *Nordic Journal of Linguistics* 42(1). 87–110.
https://doi.org/10.1017/S0332586519000027

Lovestrand, Joseph & Ross, Daniel. 2021. Serial verb constructions and motion semantics. In Antoine Guillaume & Harold Koch (eds), *Associated Motion*, 87–128. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110692099-003

Manzini, M. Rita, Lorusso, Paolo & Savoia, Leonardo M. 2017. *a*/bare finite complements in Southern Italian varieties: mono-clausal or bi-clausal syntax? *Quaderni di Linguistica e Studi Orientali* 3. 11–59. https://doi.org/10.13128/QULSO-2421-7220-21337

Manzini, Rita & Savoia, Leonardo. 2005. I dialetti Italiani e Romanci. Morfosintassi Generativa, vol. I: Introduzione – Il soggetto – La struttura del complementatore, frasi interrogative, relative e aspetti della subordinazione. Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso.

Manzini, M. Rita & Savoia, Leonardo M. 2007. *A Unification of Morphology and Syntax: Investigations into Romance and Albanian dialects*. London: Routledge.
https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203968154

Masini, Francesca, Mattiola, Simone & Vecchi, Greta. 2019. La costruzione "*prendere e V*" nell'italiano contemporaneo. In Bruno Moretti, Aline Kunz, Silvia Natale & Etna Krakenberger (eds), In *Le tendenze dell'italiano contemporaneo rivisitate: Atti del LII Congresso Internazionale di Studi della Società di Linguistica Italiana (Berna, 6–8 settembre 2018)*, 115–137. Milano: Società di Linguistica Italiana.

Merlan, Aurélia. 1999. Sobre as chamadas "perífrases verbais paratácticas" do tipo « PEGAR E+ V2 » nas línguas românicas (com referência especial ao português e romeno). *Línguas e Literaturas, Revista da Faculdade de Letras, Universidade do Porto* 16. 159–205.

Meyer-Lübke, Wilhelm. 1899 [1890–1902]. *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen* vol. 3, *Romanische Syntax*. Leipzig: O. R. Reisland.

Mitrović, Moreno. 2014. Morphosyntactic atoms of propositional logic: a philological programme. PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge.

Mitrović, Moreno. 2021. *Superparticles: A Microsemantic Theory, Typology, and History of Logical Atoms* (Studies in Natural Language & Linguistic Theory). Dordrecht: Springer.
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-024-2050-0

Nau, Nicole, Kozhanov, Kirill, Lindström, Liina, Laugalienė, Asta & Brudzyński, Paweł. 2019. Pseudocoordination with "take" in Baltic and its neighbours. *Baltic Linguistics* 10. 237–306. https://doi.org/10.32798/bl.365

Newman, John (ed.). 2002. *The linguistics of sitting, standing, and lying*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.51

Nicolle, Steve. 2009. *Go-and-*V, *come-and-*V, *go-*V and *come-*V: A corpus-based account of deictic movement verb constructions. *English Text Construction* 2(2). 185–208. https://doi.org/10.1075/etc.2.2.03nic

Nielsen, Peter Juul. 2011. *Kongruenskonstruktion i dansk: en syntaktisk analyse af indhold og udtryk*. Oslo: Novus.

Nordström, Jackie. 2010. *Modality and Subordinators*. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/slcs.116

Orqueda, Verónica, González, Carlos, Guerrero, Silvana, Hasler, Felipe, Jaque, Matías, Garrido, Claudio & Covarrubias, Magdalena. 2020. *Llegar* no es igual a *coger*. Dos momentos en la gramaticalización de las construcciones multiverbales en español. In Mar Garachana (ed.), *La evolución de las perífrasis verbales en español. Una aproximación desde la gramática de construcciones diacrónica y la gramaticalización*, 287–313. Berlin: Peter Lang. https://doi.org/10.3726/b17520

Poutsma, Hendrik. 1917. Hendiadys in English: Together with some observations on the construction of certain verbs I & II. *Neophilologus* 2(1). 202–218, 284–292. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF01509135 & https://doi.org/10.1007/BF01509152

Quirk, Randolph, Greenbaum, Sidney, Leech, Geoffrey & Svartvik, Jan. 1985. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London: Longman.

Roberge, Paul. 1994. On the origins of the Afrikaans verbal hendiadys. *Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics* 28. 45–81. https://doi.org/10.5774/28-0-67

Rodrigues, Angélica. 2006. "Eu fui e fiz esta tese": as construções do tipo foi fez no portugues do Brasil. São Paolo: Instituto de Estudos da Linguagem, Universidade Estadual de Campinas Ph.D. dissertation. http://repositorio.unicamp.br/jspui/handle/REPOSIP/271023

Rohlfs, Gerhard. 1969. *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti*. Vol. 3, Sintassi e formazione delle parole. Torino: Einaudi.

Rohlfs, Gerhard. 1977. *Grammatica storica dei dialetti italogreci: (Calabria, Salento)*. (Trans.) Salvatore Sicuro. Rev. and extended ed. München: Beck.

Ross, Daniel. 2013. Dialectal variation and diachronic development of *try*-complementation. *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences: Illinois Working papers* 38. 108–147. http://hdl.handle.net/2142/46461

Ross, Daniel. 2014a. El origen de los estudios sobre la pseudocoordinación verbal [The origin of research on verbal pseudocoordination]. *Diálogo de la Lengua* 6. 116–132. http://www.dialogodelalengua.com/articulo/numero6.html

Ross, Daniel. 2014b. The importance of exhaustive description in measuring linguistic complexity: The case of English *try and* pseudocoordination. In Frederick J. Newmeyer & Laurel B. Preston (eds), *Measuring Grammatical Complexity*, 202–216. Oxford: Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199685301.003.0010

Ross, Daniel. 2015. What can Faroese pseudocoordination tell us about English inflection? *LSO Working Papers in Linguistics* (University of Wisconsin-Madison) 10: 74–91. https://langsci.wisc.edu/working-papers-in-linguistics/

Ross, Daniel. 2016a. Between coordination and subordination: Typological, structural and dia-
chronic perspectives on pseudocoordination. In Fernanda Pratas, Sandra Pereira & Clara
Pinto (eds), *Coordination and Subordination: Form and Meaning – Selected Papers from CSI
Lisbon 2014*, 209–243. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars.

Ross, Daniel. 2016b. Going to Surprise: the grammaticalization of itive as mirative. In Jacek
Woźny (ed.), Online proceedings of *Cognitive Linguistics in Wrocław Web Conference 2016*.
Wrocław: Polish Cognitive Linguistics Association & University of Wrocław. http://hdl.han-
dle.net/2142/108897

Ross, Daniel. 2017. Pseudocoordinación del tipo tomar y en Eurasia: 50 años después [Pseu-
docoordination with take and in Eurasia: 50 years later]. Presented August 3, 2017, at
Lingüística Coseriana VI, Lima, Peru. http://hdl.handle.net/2142/110127

Ross, Daniel. 2018. Small corpora and low-frequency phenomena: *try and* beyond contempo-
rary, standard English. *Corpus* 18. https://doi.org/10.4000/corpus.3574

Ross, Daniel. 2021. Pseudocoordination, serial verb constructions and multi-verb predicates:
The relationship between form and structure. PhD dissertation, University of Illinois Urba-
na-Champaign. https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.5546425

Ross, John Robert. 1967. Constraints on Variables in Syntax. Cambridge (Massachusetts): PhD
dissertation, MIT.

Schmerling, Susan F. 1975. Asymmetric coordination and rules of conversation. In Peter Cole &
Jerry L. Morgan (eds), *Syntax and Semantics 3: Speech Acts*, 211–231. New York: Academic
Press.

Shopen, Timothy. 1971. "Caught in the Act". Papers from the Seventh Regional Meeting of the
Chicago Linguistic Society. 254–263.

Škodová, Svatava. 2009. Pseudokoordinace v syntaxi současné češtiny [Pseudo-coordination in
the syntax of contemporary Czech]. Univerzita Karlova v Praze Ph.D. dissertation. https://
is.cuni.cz/webapps/zzp/detail/75132/

Sornicola, Rosanna. 1976. *Vado a dire, vaiu a ddicu*: problema sintattico o problema semantico?
Lingua Nostra 37(3–4). 65–74.

Soto Gómez, Juan Francisco. 2021. Pseudo-Coordination in Spanish: A two constructions anal-
ysis. Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia M.A. thesis. http://hdl.handle.net/10579/18854

Squillaci, Maria Olimpia. 2016. When Greek meets Romance: A morphosyntactic analysis of
language contact in Aspromonte. University of Cambridge Ph.D. dissertation.

Stefanowitsch, Anatol. 1999. The go-and-Verb construction in a cross-linguistic perspective:
image-schema blending and the construal of events. In *Proceedings of the Second Annual
High Desert Linguistics Society Conference*, 1999, Dawn Nordquist & Catie Berkenfield (eds),
123–34. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico: High Desert Linguistics Society.

Stefanowitsch, Anatol. 2000. The English *GO*-(PRT)-*AND*-VERB Construction. *Berkeley Linguis-
tics Society* 26(1). 259–270. https://doi.org/10.3765/bls.v26i1.1158

Stoynova, N. M. 2007. Конструкция типа *взять и сделать* в русском языке. In Ф. И. Дудчук,
Н. В. Ивлиева & А. В. Подобриаев (eds), *Структуры и интерпретации: работы
молодых исследователей по теоретической и прикладной лингвистике*, 144–171. Mos-
cow: Издательство Московского университета.

Svorou, Soteria. 2018a. Constructional pressures on 'sit' in Modern Greek. In K. Aaron Smith &
Dawn Nordquist (eds), *Functionalist and Usage-based Approaches to the Study of Language:
In honor of Joan L. Bybee*, 17–58. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
https://doi.org/10.1075/slcs.192.02svo

Svorou, Soteria. 2018b. Motion Verb Integration and Core Cosubordination in Modern Greek. In Rolf Kailuweit, Lisann Künkel & Eva Staudinger (eds), *Applying and Expanding Role and Reference Grammar*, 281–304. Freiburg: Freiburg Institute for Advanced Studies, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität. https://doi.org/10.6094/978-3-928969-60-4

Taube, Moshe. Forthcoming. Verbal hendiadys in Yiddish (2014 draft). In Neil G. Jacobs, Howard I. Aronson & T. Shannon (eds), *Yiddish and Typology*. http://www.academia.edu/9056438/

Teleman, Ulf. 1974. *Manual för grammatisk beskrivning av talad och skriven svenska*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Todaro, Giuseppina & Del Prete, Fabio. 2019. The morphosyntax-semantics interface and the Sicilian Doubly Inflected Construction. In *Italian Dialectology at the Interface*, Silvio Cruschina, Adam Ledgeway & Eva-Maria Remberger (eds). 131–154. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/la.251.07tod

Tsai, Wei-Tien Dylan. 2007. Conjunctive Reduction and its Origin: A Comparative Study of Tsou, Amis, and Squliq Atayal. *Oceanic Linguistics* 46(2). 585–602. https://doi.org/10.1353/ol.2008.0009

Tsai, Wei-Tien Dylan & Wu, Chun-Ming. 2012. Conjunctive Reduction Revisited: Evidence from Mayrinax Atayal and Southern Paiwan. *Oceanic Linguistics* 51(1). 160–181. https://doi.org/10.1353/ol.2012.0005

Vannebo, Kjell Ivar. 2003. *Ta og ro deg ned noen hakk*: on pseudocoordination with the verb *ta* 'take' in a grammaticalization perspective. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics* 26(2). 165–193. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0332586503001070

Wagner, Max Leopold. 1955. Expletive Verbalformen in den Sprachen des Mittelmeeres. *Romanische Forschungen* 67(1/2). 1–8.

Weiss, Daniel. 2007. The Grammar of Surprise: The Russian Construction of the Type Koška vzjala da umerla ‚Suddenly, the cat died'. In Kim Gerdes, Tilmann Reuther & Leo Wanner (eds.), *MTT 2007: Meaning-Text Theory 2007: proceedings of the 3rd International Conference on Meaning-Text Theory, Klagenfurt, May 20–24, 2007*, 427–436. München: Otto Sagner. http://meaningtext.net/mtt2007/proceedings/

Weiss, Daniel. 2012. Verb serialization in northeast Europe: The case of Russian and its Finno-Ugric neighbours. In Björn Wiemer, Bernhard Wälchli & Björn Hansen (eds), *Grammatical replication and borrowability in language contact*, 611–646. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110271973.611

Wiklund, Anna-Lena. 1996. Pseudocoordination is subordination. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 58. 29–53.

Wiklund, Anna-Lena. 2007. *The Syntax of Tenselessness. Tense/Mood/Aspect-agreeing Infinitivals*. Berlin: De Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110197839

Wiklund, Anna-Lena. 2009. The syntax of surprise: Unexpected event readings in complex predication. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 84. 181–224.

Wulff, Stefanie. 2006. *Go*-V and *go-and*-V in English: A case of constructional synonymy? In Stefan Th. Gries & Anatol Stefanowitsch (eds), *Corpora in Cognitive Linguistics: Corpus-Based Approaches to Syntax and Lexis*, 101–125. Berlin: de Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110197709.101

Yuasa, Etsuyo & Sadock, Jerrold M. 2002. Pseudo-subordination: a mismatch between syntax and semantics. *Journal of Linguistics* 38(1). 87–111. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022226701001256

Zwicky, Arnold M. 2003. Go look at the modern language to test hypotheses about the past [Abstract]. http://web.stanford.edu/~zwicky/lsaabst.qsv.pdf

Romance languages

Theory-driven approaches and empirical advances

A protocol for Pseudo-Coordinations and Multiple Agreement Constructions in Italo-Romance

Giuliana Giusti and Anna Cardinaletti

Ca' Foscari University of Venice

Italo-Romance varieties present at least three types of constructions that cluster together two verbs displaying double tense and double subject agreement and are taken as Pseudo-Coordinations (PseCos) or Multiple Agreement Constructions (MACs). In this paper, we follow Cardinaletti and Giusti's (1998, 2001, 2003, 2020) hypotheses and claim that unification between the PseCos with *a* and the MACs with *mu/mi/ma* or *ku* in Southern Italian dialects is not viable. We adopt a diagnostic tool, which we call a protocol, that clusters the predictions of theory-driven analyses and apply it to the 'take and' construction, which is widespread across dialects and productive in Italian. In doing so, we discuss unobserved facts arising in the well-studied dialectal structures and make fine-grained observations about the less studied 'take and' PseCo in Italian.

Keywords: southern Italian dialects, pseudo-coordination, lack of infinitive, clitic climbing, protocol linguistics, negation raising, 'take and' construction'

Introduction

Pseudo-Coordination (PseCo) and Multiple Agreement Construction (MAC) are often studied together with other constructions such as Serial Verb Constructions (Aikhenvald and Dixon 2006), Pseudo-Subordinations (Yuasa and Saddock 2002), and Converbs (Haspelmath and König 1995). What these constructs have in common is the coexistence of two (or more) verbs unexpectedly sharing (parts of) their verbal inflection because they form a single (though complex) event (Aikhenvald 2011) or displaying the clausal Tense and Agreement inflection on the unexpected Verb (as is the case of Pseudo-Subordination and Converbs, cf. Ross, this volume). Furthermore, if there is a connector between the two verbs, as in the case

of Pseudo-Coordinations, which has the form or can be related to a coordinating conjunction, syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic properties show that the two verbs are not truly coordinated.

The fact that in unrelated languages, we find the same unexpected multiple agreement on two verbs in the same sentence, without them being genuinely (semantically and syntactically) coordinated calls for an explanation from both a typological and formal perspective. From a typological perspective, the comparison with unrelated languages has mostly focussed on the categorization of these phenomena and the observation of different degrees of productivity of such constructions across languages. From a formal perspective, the main issue concerns the universal property that exceptionally clusters together two or more inflected verbs, the parameter(s) that constrain(s) such clustering in different languages, and the interaction of this (parametrized) property with other (parametrized) properties of the languages.

It is clear that the typological and the formal approaches would greatly benefit from one another if the advances they make were shared, but this is rarely the case, due to the lack of a common way of treating and reporting the data. A formal approach can be especially opaque to those who are not familiar with the particular theoretical framework(s), which develop rapidly and focus on achieving explanatory adequacy rather than providing a systematic description of the phenomena. Formal approaches, however, are designed to make predictions that must be tested through controlled diagnostics. In this respect, they can provide an invaluable tool for empirical systematization which is crucial for every type of theoretical approach.

In this paper, we start from Cardinaletti and Giusti's (2020) hypothesis of two different structures that give rise to PseCos and MACs in southern Italian dialects and create a diagnostic tool that allows us to compare these two constructions with a third, more widely attested PseCo, which is productive in standard and colloquial Italian and very common across Romance languages, namely the 'take and' construction (Masini, Mattiola and Vecchi 2019). The diagnostics will support our hypothesis that the 'take and' construction is a third type, which must receive a different theoretical analysis. We will see that the comparison of closely related languages will help us disentangle PseCos and MACs coexisting in neighbouring varieties and even in one and the same variety, thereby providing new empirical data for another debated issue in relation to the dimensions of variation and optionality in cognate varieties (Adger 2006).

1.1   The empirical domain

Let us first define the three constructions for which our diagnostic tool is designed, which we call *e*PseCo, *a*PseCo, and *mu*MAC.

Only the *e*PseCo type, shown in (1), is an authentic PseCo in the sense that the two verbs are connected by the canonical coordinator 'and', even if the construction entirely lacks the properties of a coordination. The sentences are felicitous only if the event is sudden and/or unexpected (as suggested by the translation). We provide an example in standard Italian (where the coordinator is *e*) and one in the Sicilian dialect of Marsala (where the coordinator is *i*):[1]

(1) a. Ora prendo   e parto.   (standard Italian)
     b. Aora pigghio i parto.   (Marsala)
         now take.PRES.1SG and leave.PRES.1SG
         '(You know what?) I'll leave now.'

In the *a*PseCo type, shown in (2), the interpretation is equivalent to a control infinitival, with the additional implicature that the event expressed by V2 is true (for discussion, see Cardinaletti and Giusti 2001; Todaro and Del Prete 2019; Del Prete and Todaro 2020). Here we give examples of two Sicilian dialects that display different restrictions on the persons and tenses allowed in this construction:

(2) a. Vaj'   a pigghiu   u   pani.
         go.PRES.1SG *a* fetch.PRES.1SG the bread
         'I go and buy the bread.'   (Marsala, Cardinaletti and Giusti 2001)
     b. Vinn'   a ffici   a   spisa.
         come.PAST.1SG *a* do.PAST.1SG the shopping
         'I came to do the shopping.'   (Mazzarino, Caltanissetta, Di Caro 2019a)

Traditionally, the connector *a* in (2) is analysed as derived from the Latin conjunction AC 'and' (cf. Rohlfs 1969: par.761). In this perspective, it is a PseCo with a dedicated connector. However, the homophony of *a* with the infinitival connector in (3) and the dative preposition in (4) (both derived from Latin AD) and the opacity of its origin as a coordinator are considered by Manzini and Savoia (2005) and Manzini and Lorusso (this volume) as counterevidence for its pseudo-coordinative nature:

(3) a. Vado   a prendere il pane.   (Italian)
     b. Vaju   a pigghjari u pani.
         go.PRES.1SG *a* take.INF the bread
         'I am going to buy bread.'   (Marsala, Cardinaletti and Giusti 2001)

---

1.   Note that *i* in Marsalese is equivalent to 'and' and should not be confused with *i*, the reduction of *mi* that introduces the MAC in some southern Calabrian dialects.

(4) a. Do   un libro a mia sorella.   (Italian)
     b. Dugno   un libbru a me soro.   (Marsala)
         give.PRES.1SG a   book to my   sister
         'I give a book to my sister.'

On this view, the construction in (2) would be a multiple agreement construction (MAC), parallel to the *mu*MAC type in (5). In (5a), the connector is (*m*)*u* (the variants (*m*)*i* and (unreduced) *ma* are also found across Calabrian and north-eastern Sicilian varieties, cf. De Angelis 2013). It is historically related to the Latin subordinator MODO (which can be glossed in very different ways, a.o. 'as', 'since', 'given that'). Since it is common in southern Italian dialects that aspectual verbs lack embedded infinitival clauses, it is often related to the substitution of infinitive clauses with the embedded subjunctive subordinates, even if in these dialects the subjunctive has now disappeared and is replaced by the indicative. In (5b), we observe the subordinator *ku*, derived from Latin QUOD, which can also appear in monoeventive constructions substituting the infinitive in Salentino dialects. For recent discussion of the origin of the connectors, see De Angelis (2013, 2016, 2017); Ledgeway (2016b); Groothuis (2019) a.o.

(5) a. vinni   mu ti   viju.
         come.PRF.1SG *mu* CL.ACC.2SG see.PRES.1SG
         'I came to see you'   (southern Calabria, Rohlfs 1969: 103)
     b. vɛnɛ   ku llu   viðɛ.
         come.PRES.3SG *ku* CL.ACC.M.SG see.PRES.3SG
         'He is coming to see it'.   (Nociglia, Manzini and Savoia 2005: 694)

Manzini and Savoia (2005) further unify the cases in (2) and (5) with Serial Verb Constructions (SVCs) observing that in some varieties, in some cases, the connectors in (2) and (5) can be missing, as shown in (6) with respect to *a* and in (7) with respect to (*m*)*u*. In (6), we observe that the connector may or must be missing, as is the case in SVCs:[2]

(6) a. vɔ   'maɲdʒə
         go.PRES.1SG eat.PRES.1SG
         'I'm going to eat.'   (Martina Franca, Manzini and Savoia 2005: 690)

---

2.   Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001) argue against considering the PseCo in (2) as a SVC on the grounds that the connector is mandatory in many cases and that the two verbs do not share the same argument structure. In recent years, however, the definition of SVCs has been loosened to include desemanticized connectors and combinations of Vs with different argument structures. This has led some linguists (e.g. Manzini and Savoia 2005; Cruschina 2013; Todaro and Del Prete 2019) to claim that these constructions are verb serializations in non-serializing languages in the sense of Déchaine (1993); cf. Di Caro (2019a) for an overview and a thorough discussion of this debate.

b. vɔnə   (a) m'maɲdʒənə
    go.PRES.3PL (a) eat.PRES.3PL
    'They are going to eat.'   (Martina Franca, Manzini and Savoia 2005: 690)

(7) a. veni   mangia   (Squillace, Chillà 2011: 118)
         come.IMP.2SG eat.imp.IMP.2SG
     b. veni   u mangi
         come.IMP.2SG *u* eat.PRES.2SG
         'Come to eat.'

Unification or differentiation approaches may depend on the theoretical persuasion of the researchers more than actual empirical evidence. For example, Manzini and Savoia (2005) and Manzini and Lorusso (this volume) unify all verbal periphrases under a biclausal analysis, not just (2) and (5), but even auxiliaries combined with past participles or gerundive verbs. In their perspective, the biclausal vs. monoclausal debate loses the significance and prediction power that it has in the restructuring proposal stemming from Rizzi (1982) and developed by Cinque (2001), which correlates monoclausal structure to monoeventive interpretation, clitic climbing, and mandatory anaphoric subjects, and biclausal structure to bieventive interpretation, no clitic climbing, and the possibility that the subject of V2 be non-anaphoric to the subject of V1. The theoretical issues raised by Manzini and Lorusso's unification analysis regard the notion of phase (which must be assumed to be defective in order to capture monoclausality effects in biclausal structures) and the notion of optionality (which is problematic for Economy principles).[3]

However, the unification hypothesis cannot explain why the *a*PseCo in (2) is absent in standard and informal Italian, especially in view of the fact that *e*PseCos are widespread and productive in both the standard and the local varieties.[4] If the connector *a* in the *a*PseCo is the same as the infinitival complementizer *a*, it is not clear why the *a*PseCo is totally absent in Italian, even in the regional varieties of Italian that are in contact with the dialects where the *a*PseCo is productively

---

3. Since any operation, such as Insertion, Merge, Move (or re-merge), is costly (cf. Chomsky 1995, 2001), the expectation is that optionality only involves equally costly derivations or outputs with different interpretations (Biberauer and Richards 2006; Miyagawa 2011). This is not the case with clitic climbing and insertion of the connector. Given that our aim here is not purely theoretical, but mainly addressed towards highlighting the benefits that theoretical hypotheses can have on empirical advances, we do not pursue this issue here. Note however that the three structures proposed in (8) are not in contrast with most assumptions and proposals stated in Manzini and Lorusso's (this volume) unifying hypothesis, which implies a reduced status of the phase projected by V2.

4. The only exception is the fixed expression *Vattelapesca* (lit. go.IMP.2SG CL.ACC.M.SG *a* fish. IMP.2SG 'Go fish it!', intended meaning 'Goodness knows!'), which confirms that in principle the structure is not incompatible with the Italian syntax.

present. This can be easily explained in our differentiation approach, which proposes that the connector *a* (whatever its etymology turns out to be) is simply not present in Italian.

Our aim here is to pin down the predictions of Cardinaletti and Giusti's (2001, 2003, 2020) structural analyses of (2) as monoclausal and (5) as biclausal and extend the comparison to the speaker-oriented 'take and' construction in (1), adopting a recent proposal by Soto Gómez (2020) for Spanish. These three structural analyses will be briefly presented in 1.2. The predictions of the three analyses will be shown to build a diagnostic tool that can be used beyond the theoretical framework from which it originates. We call the diagnostic tool a 'protocol' for the reasons outlined in 1.3. The protocol highlights two clusters of properties, predicted by two different points of diversification as proposed in the formal analyses: the functional status of V1 in (1) and (2) vs. the lexical status of V1 in (3), to be discussed in Section 2, and the different realization of Tense, to be discussed in Section 3. Section 4 draws the conclusions.

1.2   The formal analyses

For the 'take and' Construction in (1), which we label *e*PseCo, we adopt Soto Gómez's (2020) analysis for the Spanish speaker-oriented *y*PseCo given in (8a), where V1 is a functional verb that first merges in a high clausal functional head (Foc) projected by the pseudo-coordinator *e* in CP, while the rest of the clause is canonical, i.e., a full TP where the lexical verb V2 remerges, as is typical in Romance languages and in particular in Italo-Romance.[5] In (8b), we give the structure of Cardinaletti and Giusti's (2020) Inflected Construction, which we label here *a*PseCo, where V1 is a functional verb that first-merges as the head of *t*P, a copy of the lower TP. In (8c), we give the structure of Cardinaletti and Giusti's (2020) Finite Construction, where V1 projects an independent vP and takes a FinP as its complement. FinP is a reduced clausal projection, with the same properties as the non-finite Fin that is found in control and raising infinitives (cf. Rizzi 1997):

(8) a. $[_{FocP}$ V1 $[_{CP}$ *e* $[_{TP}$ V2 $[_{vP}$ V2 …   (*e*PseCo, (1) 'Take and' Construction)
     b. $[_{tP}$ V1 $[_{tP}$ (*a*) $[_{TP}$ V2 $[_{vP}$ V2 …   (*a*PseCo, (2), Inflected Construction)
     c. $[_{TP}$ V1 $[_{vP}$ V1 $[_{FinP}$ (*mu/ku*) $[_{TP}$ V2 [vP V2 …

                          (*mu*MAC, (5), Finite Construction)

---

5.   Soto Gómez distinguishes two types of *e*PseCos in Spanish, an aspectual one (inceptive *y*PseCo) and a discourse-related one (speaker-oriented *y*PseCo). At first sight, Italian only displays the latter one. But more work is needed to pin down the differences between Italian and Spanish, with detailed observations of local varieties of Italo-Romance, which may reveal a more fine-grained differentiation across *e*PseCos in the Italo-Romance domain.

The three proposals in (8) make a number of predictions with respect to many properties that have been noted for PseCos and MACs in Romance languages and are the topic of the first part of this volume (cf. the contributions by Manzini and Lorusso, Di Caro, Cruschina, and Bleotu).

First of all, in no case is the connector a true coordinator. For this reason, the usual arguments against coordination hold of all three constructions and will not be reviewed here, where we claim that these are not sufficient arguments for unification. Another recurrent property is the special aspectual or pragmatic interpretation that may or must be associated with the construction. This is the case with the surprise interpretation of the *e*PseCo, which may be present in the Sicilian *a*PseCo (Cruschina, this volume) or its equivalents (cf. Blensenius and Andersson Lilja, this volume, for Scandinavian; Skodova, this volume, for Czech) but is not present in the *mu*MAC. A third recurrent property is the variability of insertion of the connector in the *a*PseCo and the *mu*MAC. The connector may be optional, obligatory, or obligatorily absent. Pragmatic values and the variability of the connector give rise to variation across neighbouring dialects and across specific combinations of mood, tense, and person features. They need a more fine-grained analysis than that proposed in this contribution but the approach adopted here is adequate to capture them (cf. Di Caro 2019b).

The functional status of V1 in the *e*PseCo (8a) and *a*PseCo (8b) predicts that in these constructions, V1 belongs to a closed class and projects no argument structure (like auxiliaries). Conversely, the lexical nature of both V1 and V2 in the *mu*MAC accounts for the independent projection of the argument structure of V1 and the possibility of disjoint reference of the two subjects (for the special case of the causative verb of motion SEND in *a*PseCo, see Section 2.3 below).

The different nature of the projection under V1 causes the major difference across the three constructions. The CP-layer in the *e*PseCo allows it the largest freedom with respect to Tense and Aspect in the construction: what is crucial is that the two verbs have the same features, such that they can even display compound tenses. In the *mu*MAC, V1 selects a deficient clause (FinP-TP-V2), which has anaphoric Tense and may but need not have an anaphoric subject. The deficient nature of the FinP derives the reduced morphology on V2, which is not found in the two PseCos. The 'fake' nature of the Tense and Aspect features in t (in the *a*PseCo) predicts that in some varieties, the *a*PseCo only displays some cells of the paradigm of V1, including the appearance of reduced forms, in those languages that have reduced forms on auxiliaries. We know that this is not the case for the functional V1 in Foc in the *e*PseCo. The t/TP-layer in the *a*PseCo also predicts a close relation between V1 and V2. It predicts clitic and negation climbing onto V1 and the adjacency requirement between V1 and V2, which can only be separated by the connector. This is not the case in the other two constructions, but for opposite reasons. In the *e*PseCo, the fake inflection on V1 is not a projection of T but of Fin. Clustering of

negation and the clitics must therefore target the only T which is present. In the *mu*MAC, there are two independent Ts, and negation and clitics cannot climb from the subordinate clause to the superordinate clause.

In the next subsection, we organize these properties in a 'protocol' in the sense of Giusti (2011). In the rest of the paper, we apply the protocol to the Italo-Romance domain.

1.3   A protocol for PseCos and MACs in Italo-Romance

As observed by Giusti (2011), achievements in Linguistics are often ignored by contiguous fields that have a major social impact, such as foreign language teaching program design, clinical linguistic rehabilitation, language policies, and fieldwork on heritage languages. Updated knowledge about language in its social and biological aspects could help build more effective actions in all these aspects that involve the inclusion of disadvantaged groups and the well-being of individuals.

Even inside the vast field of Linguistics, scholars of different theoretical persuasions tend to ignore each other's advances due to a generalized incommunicability, caused by the highly abstract theoretical assumptions and specialized terminological tools, which often aim at highlighting the divergences across frameworks or across individual researchers instead of building on common advances. This is particularly unfortunate given that different subfields (syntax, semantics, morphology, phonology, discourse, etc.) and approaches (historical, typological, functional, generative, constructional, just to name the ones represented in this volume) raise different research questions, whose answers complement one another and if presented together would bring about a better understanding of linguistic facts, such as the PseCo-MAC phenomenon.

To overcome this stalemate, in a number of papers Giusti proposes an inclusive and at the same time rigorous methodology that allows the formulation of research questions, the design of experiments, and the presentation of the results in a format accessible to linguists of different persuasions as well as non-linguists who work with language in different fields of the social sciences.[6] The proposed approach has the aim to avoid unnecessary technicalities (such as the ones presented in structures (8a–c) above) without renouncing to depth of insight. It is crucially not

---

6.   The protocol methodology has been applied by Giusti and Zegrean (2015) in building language awareness about heritage Istro-Romanian, a Romance language in contact with Croatian; by Di Caro and Giusti (2015) and Di Caro (2019a) in Pseudo-Coordinations in Sicilian dialects; by Giusti (2021a) in relation to indefinite determiners in Italo-Romance, and by Giusti (2021b) in relation to partitivity in Italian.

a new theory, in addition to the ones already available; nor is it an a-theoretical or anti-theoretical approach. It is called the 'protocol' approach because in science, a protocol is an established procedure, which applies in the same way with the same tools in different but comparable situations. It is intended to ensure comparability in the collection, organization, and presentation of data avoiding disturbances.

General linguistics is used to organizing linguistic results in tables that display [±] values for the crossing point of two different indicators. Such a shared procedure is an accessible but still rigorous procedure. In streamlining the search for parameters or implicational universals of language, the features of the protocol can be organized in clusters of properties that contribute to characterize a given construction and distinguish it from the other.

An example of how the rather complex and theory-internal reasoning conducted in the two previous sections can be presented in a more accessible protocol is the list of properties given in (9), where the [+] and [−] values report what is predicted by the theoretical hypotheses in (8) above. The features have been checked in the literature and in fact have suggested the analyses for the *a*PseCo and the *mu*MAC. What is indicated as [?] has not yet been checked for the less studied *e*PseCo. The discussion of the *e*PseCo will be the original empirical contribution of this chapter, which ultimately shows how the predictions made by theoretical hypotheses raise empirical questions which then produce improved analyses.

In (9a–d), we find the predictions of the hypothesis that V1 is a functional verb in (8a–b) but not in (8c). This cluster of properties could suggest unification of *e*PseCo and *a*PseCo, distinguishing them from the *mu*MAC in which V1 is lexical. The (+) value in parentheses indicates that variation is expected in the presence of this feature. In (9e–h), we list the predictions that the different realization of Tense brings with it. In (8a–b), there is a single T feature, but in (8b), T reprojects in *t*, where the functional V1 first merges. This results in concord of tenses: *t* is a (full or partial) copy of the values of the features in T. In (8c), there are two Ts, one associated to the main verb V1 and one in the subordinate clause. The *a*PseCo is characterized by restrictions on its paradigm, in principle we may expect the same restrictions on the *e*PseCo. We insert a [?] but we already know that this is not the case. The *mu*MAC has no restrictions because V1 is in the T of the main clause. T is also the locus of the clitic cluster and clausal negation. We expect that in the *a*PseCo, clitics and negation attach to the highest projection of T, namely *t*. In the *e*PseCo, the main and only T is associated with V2. In the *mu*MAC we expect clitics and negation to be on either verbs, so not necessarily on V1:

(9) PseCos and MACs in Italo-Romance (predictions)	*a*PseCo	*e*PseCo	*mu*MAC
Functional vs. lexical V1			
a. restricted class of V1	+	+	−
b. absence of argument structure of V1	+	+	−
c. mandatory coreference between the subject of V2 and V1	+	+	−
d. reduced morphology on V1	(+)	(+)	−
The realization of Tense			
e. restrictions in the paradigm (person and Tense)	+	?	−
f. mandatory clitic climbing onto V1	+	−	−
g. clausal negation on V1	+	−	−

There are other predictions, such as the consequences of the monoclausal vs. bi-clausal analysis, or the pragmatic values that such constructions may have (cf. Cruschina, this volume) but the limits of this chapter do not allow us to take them in due consideration.

The protocol in (9) must therefore be viewed as a partial attempt to treat a rather intricate empirical domain within the protocol approach. The rest of the chapter is organized in two sections dedicated to applying the protocol in (9) to the comparative analysis of the three constructions. We will observe how the systematic nature of the protocol raises specific empirical questions which bring about a more complete understanding of the languages under scrutiny.

2.   The functional vs. lexical status of V1

In this section, we review the properties listed in (9a–d) above.

2.1   V1 belongs to a restricted class

One of the main supporting pieces of evidence for the claim that the *a*PseCo and the *mu*MAC are two different structures is the very different ratio of productivity with respect to the class of V1. The *a*PseCo is usually limited to one or few basic motion verbs: e.g. GO, COME, COME BY, SEND in Marsalese (10a), as originally described by Cardinaletti and Giusti (1998, 2001, 2003). Other dialects may have a few more aspectual verbs, as is the case of Delia (10b), which also has START and other motion or stative verbs with grammaticalized aspectual interpretation, such as COME BACK (with iterative meaning), ARRIVE (with resultative meaning), REMAIN (with

durative meaning), cf. Di Caro (2019a) for a protocol approach to Sicilian dialects.[7] In Apulian varieties, the *a*PseCo is found with STAY (expressing progressive aspect) and WANT (Ledgeway 2016a).[8]

This is not the case for the *mu*MAC, which allows all sorts of motion verbs including less basic ones such as COME IN, JUMP, STRETCH OUT, HURRY UP (11a), modals such as CAN, WANT, MUST (11b), aspectual verbs such as START, STOP, KEEP (11c), and even control verbs, such as THINK (11d) (Rohlfs 1969: 106; Manzini and Savoia 2005; Chillà 2011; Cardinaletti and Giusti 2020):

(10) a. Passa   a pigghia   u pani.
       come-by.PRES.3SG *a* fetch.PRES.3SG the bread
       'She comes to get the bread.'   (Marsala, Cardinaletti and Giusti 2001)

     b. Tuirnu   a pigliu   lu pani.
       come-back.PRES.3SG *a* fetch.PRES.1SG the bread
       'I'll go and get the bread again'   (Delia, Di Caro and Giusti 2015)

(11) a. 'llongammu   mi vidimu   a   me zia
       stretch-out.PAST.1PL mi see.PAST.1PL DOM. My aunt.
       'We went to visit my aunt.'   (Roghudi, Maesano 2016)

     b. Pozzu   / Vogghiu   / 'Ndaju   mi 'ccattu
       can.PRES.1SG / want.PRES.1SG / must.PRES.1SG *mi* buy.PRES.1SG
       lu   pani.
       the bread.
       'I can/ want/ must buy the bread.'

     c. 'Ncuminciu   / Finisciu   / Continuu   mi mangiu.
       start.PRES.1SG / finish.PRES.1SG / keep.PRES.1SG *mi* eat.PRES.1SG
       'I'll start / stop / keep eating.'

     d. Pensu   mi partu   dumani.
       think.PRES.1SG *mi* leave.PRES.1SG tomorrow
       'I'm thinking of leaving tomorrow.'
                                (Roghudi, Cardinaletti and Giusti 2020)

The *e*PseCo is limited to TAKE (UP), expressed via two verbs in Italian: *prendere* (*su*) and *pigliare* according to regional varieties (Rohlfs 1969; Masini, Mattiola and Vecchi 2019). This distinguishes Italian from Spanish, which displays a few more

---

7. Di Caro and Giusti (2015, 2018) apply the protocol approach to the systematic investigation of the possible V1 in Sicilian dialects, which also show different restriction patterns as regards tense and person combinations. We can only briefly hint at those here, as we will do in the next sections.

8. Presenting the data would take too much space. We refer the readers to the quoted literature and to Manzini and Savoia (2005: 688–701) for a wealth of data.

verbs notably including GO (cf. Coseriu (1977 [1966], quoted by Masini, Mattiola and Vecchi for his seminal work and, more recently, Bravo 2020 and Soto Gómez 2020). Cases such as (12a)–(13a) taken from the internet by Soto Gómez (2020: 36–37) are not grammatical in Italian (12b)–(13b):

(12) a. … y entonces voy   y   pienso,
      b. *… e poi   vado   e   penso,
          and then   go.PRES.1SG and think.PRES.1SG
          éstas son españolas seguro …
          queste sono spagnole di sicuro
          these.F.PL are Spanish certainly
          '… and then I go and think, these girls are certainly Spanish…'

(13) a. Y no,   no   fui   y   le   dije: " …"
      b. *E no,   non sono andata e   le   ho detto. "…."
          and no, NEG go.PAST.1SG and CL.DAT say.PAST.1SG "…"
          'And no, I didn't go and tell her "…."'

The ungrammaticality of (12b)–(13b) suggests that the *e*PseCo in Italian is not possible with GO. We will observe later that some Italian dialects do have GO in this function as well, creating interesting pairs for comparison with the other two constructions.

2.2   Absence of argument structure of V1

Motion verbs in the *a*PseCo cannot project their goal arguments in Sicilian dialects. Otherwise, V2 must occur in the infinitive. In Marsalese, lexical GO has a clitic cluster formed by reflexive *si* and elative *ni*. This cluster is mandatory in order to express the goal argument. In (14a), the presence of the cluster would be sufficient to qualify V1 as lexical (and block the *a*PseCo), something which is possible in (14b) with the infinitive, which is fully productive in Marsalese, as it is in Italian. In (14c), we observe the case of the *mu*MAC, which is possible with or without the goal complement of GO (examples are taken from Cardinaletti and Giusti 2020):

(14) a. *Si-nni   va   (na   scola)   a travagghia.
          CL.REFL-CL.ELA go.PRES.3SG (to-the school) *a* work.PRES.3SG
                                                                    (Marsala)
      b. Si-nni   va   (na   scola) a travagghiari.   (Marsala)
          CL.REFL-CL.ELA go.PRES.3SG to-the school *a* work.INF
      c. (Si-nni)   va   (a   scola)   mi lavora.
          CL.REFL-CL.ELA go.PRES.3SG (to-the school) *mi* work.PRES.3SG
                                                                    (Roghudi)

In the *e*PseCo, TAKE cannot have a direct object (15a), unlike the case of lexical TAKE with which the direct object is obligatory (15b).[9] The coordination in (15c) is a real coordination, as confirmed by the fact that the surprise interpretation is not required:

(15) a. Ha preso ed è partita.
          has taken and is left
          'She suddenly left.'
      b. *Gianna ha   preso.
          Gianna has taken
      c. Ha preso la   macchina ed   è partita.
          has taken the car   and is left
          'She took her car and left.'

Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001) observed that the motion verb in Marsalese *a*PseCo does not add an agentive role to the construction (unlike what was noted for American English by Shopen (1971) and Jaeggli and Hyams (1993)). Thus the subject of an *a*PseCo has the role assigned by V2, which can be agentive or non-agentive and must be compatible with the andative aspect. In (16), we observe a motion event with an inanimate subject (16a) and a weather verb (16b), selecting a quasi-argument (Chomsky 1981):

(16) a. U   fetu   di frittu ne   vene   a 'ngueta
          The bad-smell of fried CL.ACC.1pl come.PRES.3SG *a* disturb.PRES.3SG
          assupra
          up-here
          'The bad smell of fried food comes up and disturbs us.'
      b. Dumani va   a chiove.
          tomorrow go.PRES.3SG *a* rain.PRES.3SG
          'Tomorrow it will rain.'

---

9. *Prendere* appears in many fixed expressions usually grammaticalizing the concrete notion of 'seizing' (*prendere una lepre* 'seize a wild rabbit') or abstract notion of 'assuming' (*prendere posizione* 'take stand'), which select an internal object. There is also an intransitive use (pointed out by Adam Ledgeway, p.c.), which is synonymous to *attecchire* ('take root'), and an optionally intransitive use (pointed out by Vincenzo Nicolò Di Caro, p.c.), which is synonymous to *prendere la linea* ('connect to the phone line') and selects an electronic device as its subject (*Il telefono qui non prende* 'my mobile does not connect to the line here'). The ungrammaticality of (15b) is therefore due to the incompatibility of the [+animate] subject *Gianna*, which is not only possible but preferable in the *e*PseCo, as shown immediately below. Thus the intransitive use of lexical *prendere* is not related to its insertion in the *e*PseCo.

The *mu*MAC is a construction that substitutes embedded infinitives in southern Italian varieties which display a reduced use of the infinitive or do not have the infinitive at all with the verbs that select a *mu*MAC. It can therefore substitute the Italian 'control' and 'raising' constructions. In control constructions, V1 assigns a role to its external argument independently of the role assigned by V2 to its subject. In raising constructions, V1 assigns no role to the subject and the external argument of V2 is raised to the Subject position of the higher clause. In the dialect of Roghudi, andative GO behaves as a control verb: it is compatible with inanimate subjects (17a) but incompatible with the expletive subject of weather verbs (17b). Conversely, inceptive START behaves like a raising verb: it can occur with any subject role, including the expletive subject of a weather verb (17c). This piece of evidence is one of those empirical questions raised by the systematic character of the protocol methodology, which had gone unnoticed in the theoretical literature:

(17) a. La puzza   veni   mi 'ndi   sconza fin' a ssupra.
        the bad-smell come.PRES.3SG *mi* CL.ACC.1PL disturb up to upstairs
        'The bad smell of fried food, comes upstairs and disturbs us.'

                                                        (Roghudi, Maesano p.c.)

   b. *Oj   va   mi chjovi
       today go.PRES.3SG *mi* rain.PRES.3SG

   c. Ora 'ncigna   mi chjovi
      now start.PRES.3SG *mi* rain.PRES.3SG

The *e*PseCo gives slightly marginal results with inanimate subjects and weather verbs, according to our judgment in (18). Interestingly, only unergative and not unaccusative *piovere* can appear in this case (18b), even if unaccusative verbs are possible as V2 as in (18a) and in the cases already observed above (for the difference between unergative and unaccusative *piovere*, cf. Benincà and Cinque 1992):

(18) a. ˀLa pietra ha preso ed è rotolata giù.
        the stone has taken and has started to roll down
        'The stone unexpectedly rolled down.'

   b. ˀAlle cinque, ha preso ed ha /??è piovuto.
      At-the five has taken and has rained
      'At five, it unexpectedly rained.'

The degraded acceptability of (18b) with auxiliary *be* could be explained by a register clash, since the *e*PseCo belongs to the colloquial register, considering the fact that *piovere* is unergative in the colloquial variety (at least to our native speaker judgment). Note that inceptive aspect on V2 favours the acceptability of inanimate subjects and quasi-arguments: cf. *Alle cinque, ha preso e ha cominciato / si è messo a piovere* 'At five, it unexpectedly started to rain'.

The structure in (8a) with V1 filling the head of a Foc implies no selection of V1 with respect to the subject role. However, a deeper understanding of the mirative implication in this construction may correlate with different types of events and consequently different subject roles. We leave this issue open for the time being.

2.3   Coreference of Subj1 and Subj2

In order to check whether in the *a*PseCo the subject of V2 is mandatorily coreferential to the subject of V1, we consider the causative verb of motion SEND, which requires disjoint reference between the external argument of V1 (the sender) and the external argument of V2 (the person sent to do something) when it is used as a lexical verb taking an infinitival and a theme, as in I_i *sent Mary$_j$ to the market place* PRO$_{j/*i}$ *to buy bread*.

As already noted in previous work (Cardinaletti and Giusti 2001, 2020), and shown here in (19) the subject of SEND used as functional V1 in the *a*PseCo is the sender. The person sent to participate in the subevent expressed by V2 cannot be overt (19b–c). The complex event is an event of fetching bread at the market place (also cf. Todaro and Del Prete 2019 and Del Prete and Todaro 2020): the sentence is true only if the fetching subevent has reached completion, as indicated by the ungrammaticality of the continuation in parentheses in (19a). The *a*PseCo in (19a–c) is thus very different from the infinitival construction in (19d), where the theme is a clitic on the main verb and controls the subject of the infinitival:

(19) a. Mannu   a pigghiu   u pani no   mercato. (*Ma un
          send.PRES.1SG *a* fetch.PRES.1SG the bread at-the market   but   NEG
          si-nni   trova.)
          CL.REFL-CL.PRT find.PRES.3SG
          'I send somebody to buy bread at the market place. (But bread cannot to
          be found).'

     b. *A   mannu   a pigghiu   u   pani
          CL.ACC.F.SG send.PRES.1SG *a* fetch.pres.PRES.1SG the bread
          no   mercato.
          at-the market

     c. *A   mannu   a pigghia   u   pani no   mercato.
          CL.ACC.F.SG send.PRES.1SG *a* fetch.PRES.3SG the bread at-the market

     d. A   mannu   a pigghiari u pani no   mercato.
          CL.ACC.F.SG send.PRES.1SG *a* fetch.INF the bread at-the market
          'I send her to buy bread at the market place.'

This feature is crucially different in the *mu*MAC, which allows disjoint reference between the two subjects:

(20) a. Mannu   figghia-ma   cu pigghia   lu   pane.
         send.PRES.1SG daughter-my *cu* fetch.PRES.3SG the bread
         'I'll send my daughter to fetch the bread.'
                                    (Lecce, Cardinaletti and Giusti 2020)
     b. Mandaria   a   figghi-ma   u pigghia   lu   pane
         send.COND.1SG DOM daughter-my *u* fetch.PRES.3SG the bread
         'I would send my daughter to fetch the bread.'   (Siderno, Maesano 2016)

The structure in (8a) does not have two subject positions for V1 and V2 in *e*PseCo. Technically, we cannot even talk of coreferentiality. This is fully confirmed by the data. There is always a single subject in *e*PseCo, as shown by the ungrammaticality of the second sentence in the two Examples (21):

(21) a. Maria era furiosa con me. *Ha preso e ho ricevuto un pugno sul naso.
         Maria was furious with me. [she] took and [I] got a punch on my nose
     b. Maria era furiosa con me. *Ho preso e mi ha dato un pugno sul naso.
         Maria was furious with me. [I] took and [she] gave me a punch on my nose

2.4   Morphological reductions of V1

The paradigm of V1 is different across Sicilian dialects. Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001: 384) show that in Marsalese, reduced forms are marked for person and tense features and cannot appear in those combinations in which a parallel auxiliary would be ungrammatical. The progressive auxiliary *sta*, which does not appear in a PseCo construction, but cooccurs with a gerundive, shows that the base of the verb, which is identical to the PRES.3SG (22a), can also stand for PRES.1–2SG and PRES.3PL (22b–d) but not for PRES.1–2PL (22e–f) or any person of the imperfect (22g):

(22) a. Sta   ennu a casa.
         stay.PRES.3SG going to home
     b. =Staju   ennu a casa.
         stay.PRES.1SG going to home
     c. =Stai   ennu a casa.
         stay.PRES.2SG going to home
     d. =Stannu   ennu a casa.
         stay.PRES.3PL going to home
     e. ≠ Stamu   ennu a casa.
         stay.PRES.1PL going to home
     f. ≠ Stati   ennu a casa.
         stay.PRES.2PL going to home
     g. ≠ Stava   ennu a casa.
         stay.IPF.3SG going to home

This is also the case of reduced *va* in (23), corresponding to PRES.3SG (23c), which can combine with a V2 inflected for PRES.1–2SG (23a–b) and PRES.3PL (23f) but not PRES.1–2PL (23d–e) and with the imperfect tense even in the 3SG (23g):

(23) a. Va a accattu   u   pani.
          go *a* buy.PRES.1SG the bread
      b. Va a accatti   u   pani.
          go *a* buy.PRES.2SG the bread
      c. Va a accatta   u   pani.
          go *a* buy.PRES.3SG the bread
      d. *Va a accattamu   u   pani.
          go *a* buy.PRES.1PL the bread
      e. *Va a accattati   u   pani.
          go a buy.pres.2pl the bread
      f. Va a accattanu   u   pani.
          go *a* buy.PRES.3PL the bread
      g. *Va a accattava   u   pani.
          go *a* buy.IPF.3SG the bread

Di Caro (2019a) reports what he calls Type 3 PseCo in the Eastern Sicilian dialects: V1 is reduced to a prefixal morphology incorporating the connector (*o-, uo-*),[10] which is found with every non-periphrastic verb forms. In this respect, the only difference with the Spanish *y*PseCo is the reported impossibility of verbal periphrases in V2:

(24) a. Uoppigghiati   u   pani.
          go.*a*.fetch.PRES.2PL the bread
          'You usually go and buy bread.'
      b. Uoppigghiassi   u   pani.
          go.*a*.fetch.SUBJ.PERF.1SG the bread
          'I would go buy bread.'

For the sake of the protocol, we limit our comparison here to the more canonical *a*PseCo (Type 1, in Di Caro's terms), which is therefore different from the Italian *e*PseCo, which allows full person and tense realization on both V1 and V2, as shown in (25) with compound present perfect and past perfect, respectively:

---

10. The formation of *uo/o* as the combination of uninflected *va* and the connector *a* is argued for by Di Caro (2019a; b) on the basis of the phonological doubling it triggers, as displayed by the examples.

(25) a. Eravamo stanche. Abbiamo preso e ci siamo
      be.IPF.1PL tired have.PRES.1PL taken and CL.1PL be.PRES.1PL
      sedute sulle poltrone.
      sat on.the sofas
      'We were tired. We took and sat down on the sofas.'

    b. La mamma era arrabbiata, perché avevate preso e vi
      the mother was angry because have.PRES.2PL taken and CL.2PL
      eravate messi a piangere.
      be.IPF.2PL set to crying
      'Mom was angry because you had unexpectedly burst into tears.'

In Italian, it is not possible to have a reduced inflection on V1. This is however subject to parametrization, since according to Soto Gómez (2020), reduced inflection of V1 is possible in Spanish speaker-oriented *y*PseCo (although not possible in inceptive *y*PseCo). In (26a), the V1 *coge* is the unmarked form of the indicative PRES.3SG, while person (3PL), tense (imperfect), and aspectuality (progressive) of the event is morphologically expressed on V2, which has even a compound tense. The parallel Italian Example (26b) is ungrammatical:

(26) a. Y a Telmo me lo encuentro en una
      and DOM Telmo CL.REFL.1S CL.ACC.3S.M encounter PRES.1SG in a
      sala de ordenadores… y coge y estaban jugando
      room of computers… and take.PRES.3SG and be.IPF.1PL playing
      a un juego de futbol
      to a game of football
      'I found Telmo in a computer room and, hilariously, they were playing a football videogame.'

    b. *… e prende e stavano giocando a un gioco di calcio
      and take.PRES.3SG and be.IPF.1PL playing to a game of football

Soto Gómez's (2020) analysis predicts the possibility of reduced morphology in V1, which otherwise copies the T-features transmitted to Foc through C. This was the prediction formulated in (9d). The prediction was not confirmed by the Italian data. In Italian, we set the parameter to mandatory realizations of the copied features. In this respect, the Spanish *y*PseCo is more similar to the southern Italian *a*PseCo, which has extensively been shown to have reduced morphology (Cardinaletti and Giusti 2001; Cruschina 2013; Di Caro and Giusti 2015, 2018; Ledgeway 2016, 2021, a.o.).

3.   Concord of tenses

We have just observed that the reduced morphology on V1 found in southern Italian dialects is due to concord of tenses in *t*-T, as in (8b), a property which distinguishes the *a*PseCo from both the *e*PseCo and the *mu*MAC. In this section, we present the properties listed in (9e–g) which are predicted by this formal analysis.

3.1   Restriction of Mood, Person, and Tenses

Cardinaletti and Giusti (1998, 2001, 2003) point out that only some parts of the paradigm can appear in the Marsalese *a*PseCo. They analyse it as the result of the semi-lexical nature of V1. Cardinaletti and Giusti (2020) formalize this as a reprojection of T, which we call (little) *t*, a copy of the Mood, Person and Tense features of T. Thus in the part of the lexicon in which the present indicative paradigm of GO is stored, the roots with *va*- are marked with a *t*-feature while the roots with *i*- can only merge with T:

(27)   a.   Vaju   a accattu   u   pani.
              Go.PRES.1SG *a* buy.PRES.1SG the bread
       b.   Vaj   a accatti   u   pani.
              Go.PRES.2SG *a* buy.PRES.2SG the bread
       c.   Va   a accatta   u   pani.
              Go.PRES.3SG *a* buy.PRES.3SG the bread
       d. *Imu   a accattamu   u   pani.
              Go.PRES.1PL *a* buy.PRES.1PL the bread
       e. *Iti   a accattati   u   pani.
              Go.PRES.2PL *a* buy.PRES.2PL the bread
       f.   Vannu   a accattanu   u   pani.
              Go.PRES.3PL *a* buy.PRES.3PL the bread
       g. *Iva   a accattava   u   pani.
              Go.IPF.3SG *a* buy.IPF.3SG the bread

The information on which items are stored in the lexicon of a language as functional (and, in this case, as being able to first merge in *t*) is a matter of low level parametrization, which could even involve individual speaker's grammars. Considerable variation is therefore expected across varieties, as witnessed by Cruschina (2013) and Di Caro (2019a; b), also see Andriani (2017) for the dialect of Bari. In our protocol here, we are just interested in whether there may be restrictions. Lack of restrictions in some variety (e.g. Modica and Mesagne, cf. Manzini and Savoia 2005, Manzini and Lorusso, this volume) is not a counterargument for the proposal. One can just

assume that in given varieties, all entries of the relevant subclass of motion verbs are specified as functional.

The restriction to non-periphrastic tenses is however widely generalized. This makes the *a*PseCo very different from the *e*PseCo, which is very productive in the present perfect, as exemplified above in (15a). The auxiliary may be repeated or not. In either case, the construction has the typical surprise interpretation:

(28) a. Ho   preso e ho   comprato il   pane.
         Have.PRES.1SG taken and have.PRES.1SG bought   the bread
     b. Ho   preso e comprato il   pane.
         Have.PRES.1SG taken and bought   the bread
         'I unexpectedly / suddenly bought bread.'

(29) a. ˀStavo   prendendo e   stavo   andando a casa quando
         Stay.IPF.1SG taking   and stay.IPF.1SG going   home, when
         sei   arrivata tu.
         you   arrived.
     b. Stavo   prendendo e   andando a casa quando sei   arrivata tu.
         Stay.IPF.1SG taking   and going   home, when   you   arrived.
         'I was suddenly about to go home when you showed up.'

The *mu*MAC has independent tenses. Any Tense can appear on V1, while V2 always has present indicative, which is semantically anaphoric to T1. Observe (30a–b), in which V1 has a compound tense (past perfect and present progressive, respectively) and the event of V2 is interpreted as immediately subsequent to it but is formally a present indicative:

(30) a. Era   jutu mi pigghiu   lu   pani.   (Roghudi, Maesano 2016)
         be.IPF.1SG gone *mi* fetch.PRES.1SG the bread
         'I had gone to take the bread.'
     b. Staju   jendu mi pigghiu   lu   pani.
         stay.PRES.1SG going *mi* fetch.PRES.1SG the bread
         'I am going to fetch the bread.'   (Roghudi, Maesano 2016)

Thus, (lack of) tense restrictions would unify *e*PseCos with *mu*MACs and not with *a*PseCos, as reported in (9e).

3.2   Clitic climbing

It is well known that clitics target a functional head in the clause in which they are first merged. They do not undergo iterated movement from one clause to the next. Having two Ts, as in the *mu*MAC, predicts that the clitics associated with V2 cannot cliticize onto V1 and that V1 may only host the clitics associated with it.

Conversely, the reprojection of *t*-T, as in the *a*PseCo, predicts that the clitics target *t*. Finally, if the main T does not reproject and V1 is in a higher head (C), as in the *e*PseCo, the prediction is that the clitic appears in the one and only T projected in the construction, namely the one associated with V2. No optionality is expected in the position of the clitic in the three constructions, as confirmed by the examples in (31)–(33), unlike what we find with restructured infinitives, where the clitic can pro-cliticize on the auxiliary of V1 or be enclitic on the infinitival V2 (34):

(31) a. Ci   u   vaju   a dicu.   (*a*PseCo, Marsala)
          CL.LOC CL.ACC.M.SG go.PRES.1SG *a* tell.PRES.1SG
      b. *Vaju   a ci   u   dicu.
          go.PRES.1SG *a* CL.LOC CL.ACC.M.sg tell.PRES.1SG
          'I'll go and tell him that'

(32) a. *Glie-l'   ho   preso e   ho   detto.
          CL.LOC-CL.ACC.M.SG have.PRES.1SG taken and have.PRES.1SG told
                                                              (*e*PseCo, St. Ital.)
      b. Ho   preso e   glie-l'   ho   detto.
          have.1P.SG taken and CL.LOC-CL.ACC.M.SG have.1P.SG told
          'I took and told him that'

(33) a. *Nci   lu   vaju   mi dicu.   (*mu*MAC, Roghudi)
          CL.LOC CL.ACC.M.SG go.PRES.1SG *mi* tell.PRES.1SG
      b. Vaju   mi nci   lu   dicu.
          go.PRES.1SG *mi* CL.LOC CL.ACC.M.SG tell.PRES.1SG
          'I'll go and tell him that'

(34) a. Ci   u   sta   ennu a diri.
          CL.LOC CL.ACC.M.SG stay.PRES.1SG going to tell.INF
                                              (infinitival construction, Marsala)
      b. Staju   ennu a diri-   ci-   llu.
          stay.PRES.1SG going to tell.INF- CL.LOC- CL.ACC.M.SG
          'I'm about to go and tell him that'

Manzini and Lorusso (this volume) observe that the position of clitics is variable in those dialects and constructions that display no (overt) connector, while it is on V1 in *a*-constructions (with a single exception).[11] They do not discuss the position of

---

11. Brindisi is not far from Mesagne, the dialect in which both the *a*PseCo and the *mu*MAC (with *ku*) occur and both can have a silent connector, as shown by the fact that only in the absence of the connector, the clitic can either be on V1 or on V2. A finer account of the dialect of Brindisi could consider the possibility that *a* in that dialect (or in the grammar of the informant who provided the judgment) is gaining the function of connecting the *mu*MAC. Ledgeway (2012: 476, n.5) and Ledgeway (2016a, footnote 6) show that in the city of Brindisi, the distribution of *a* vs. *ku* is determined by subject coreference vs. disjoint reference.

the clitic in the case of *mu/ku*-constructions but a scrutiny of Manzini and Savoia's (2005) data shows that the presence of *mu/ku* forces the clitic to stay on V2. This state of affairs is predicted by (8b–c) above, which claim that in both cases, the connector can be silent. Since many Apulian dialects have both *a*PseCos and a *mu*MAC (with *ku*), the variability of the position of the clitic can be attributed to the structural ambiguity of the V1-V2 order, as already suggested by Cardinaletti and Giusti (2020).[12]

If the clitic targets T, the analysis of the *e*PseCo in (8a) correctly predicts that in *e*PseCo the clitic is never on V1 because V1 is in Foc, a high clausal projection, even higher than C, which is in turn higher than T onto which the clitic attaches. This is the case of the Italian *e*PseCo with TAKE in (32), and it is found in Marsalese (35), which can also have both TAKE and GO as V1 in the *e*PseCo. Note the minimal pair created by the *e*PseCo with GO in (35b) and the *a*PseCo with GO in (31b) above:

(35) a. Pigghiai   i   ci   u   dissi.
          take.PRF.1SG and CL.LOC CL.ACC.M.SG say.PRF.1SG
          'I took and told him that.'
      b. Vaju   i   ci   u   dico!
          go.PRES.1SG   and CL.LOC CL.ACC.M.SG tell.PRES.1SG
          'I'll go and tell him!'

Clitic placement would therefore unify *e*PseCos with *mu*MAC and distinguish them from the *a*PseCo. But the formal analysis highlights that this cannot be taken as evidence for unification.

3.3   Negation

Clausal negation in Italo-Romance is a clitic that targets Tense and is part of the clitic cluster if clitic pronouns are also present in the clause. We therefore expect to find negation in all the positions where we find the clitics. To negate the complex event created by a motion verb, in both *a*PseCos and *mu*MACs negation is on V1. The two structures in (8b–c) however predict that when it is semantically possible, as with the aspectual verb START, only the *mu*MAC allows negation to occur on V2 leaving V1 outside the scope of negation. This is in fact the case. Contrast the

---

12. Adam Ledgeway (p.c.) points out that in some occurrences of the *mu/mi/ma* and *ku*-constructions, clitic pronouns can appear twice, on both V1 and V2 (see Squillaci 2016:110 for Calabrian dialects). A closer scrutiny of the double realization of the clitic is needed to fully understand the phenomenon, to check whether it is a sign of grammaticalization from the *mu*MAC to the *a*PseCo structure.

*mu*MAC of the dialect of Roghudi in (36) with the *a*PseCo of the dialect of Delia in (37). In Deliano, low scope negation is possible only with the infinitive:[13]

(36) a. Non 'ncignau   mi lavura.   (Roghudi, Maesano p.c.)
          NEG start.PRF.3SG *mi* work.PRF.3SG
          'She didn't start to work.'
      b. 'Ncignau   non mi lavura.
          start.PRF.3SG NEG *mi* work.PRF.3SG
          'She started not to work.'

(37) a. Nun accuminciavu a bbippi.   (Delia, Di Caro p.c.)
          neg start.PRF.1SG *a* drink.PRF.1SG
          'I didn't start to drink.'
      b. *Accuminciavu a nun vippi.
          start.PRF.1SG *a* NEG drink.PRF.1SG
      c. Accuminciavu a nun viviri.
          start.PRF.1SG *a* drink.INF
          'I started not to drink.'

In the *e*PseCo, where V1 is not part of the extended projection of T, despite the full form of its tense morphology, semantic negation cannot target V1. The negation found on V1 in the *e*PseCo (38a) is an expletive negation which reinforces the mirativity interpretation of the construction and does not negate the event. In order to negate the event, negation must be on V2 (38b):

(38) Eravamo tutti lì   per festeggiarlo, …
      be.IPF.1PL all   there for celebrate.INF-CL.ACC.M.SG
      a. … e lui non ha   preso e   se   n'   è andato via?
          and he NEG has PRES.3SG taken and CL.REFL CL.ELA is gone   away
          'We were all there to celebrate him, and – you know what? – he took and went away!'
      b. … e lui ha   preso e   non s'   è   presentato!
          and he have.PRES.3SG taken and NEG CL.REFL be.PRES.3SG presented
          'We were all there to celebrate him, and he didn't show up!'

This effect is predicted by structure (8a) above and obviously makes the *e*PseCo different from the other two constructions.

---

13. Note that in (36b), the negation precedes *mi*, while pronominal clitics follow it as in (33b). Although negation and pronominal clitics are both related to V2, a finer analysis of their placement is needed to account for the different distribution with respect to *mi*, which would impact on the structural hypothesis provided in (8c) above. That hypothesis predicts that negation clusters with the clitics and follows the connector *mi*, as is indeed found in the dialect of Messina, see De Angelis (2017: 147). Whatever the exact position of *mi* in Fin or lower clausal heads, our point remains that MACs are biclausal in a sense in which PseCos are not.

4. Conclusions

The general aim of this paper was to show how a formal theory can be put at the service to design a diagnostic tool for language description, which we have called a protocol. In 1.2, we sketched three formal analyses of two different Pseudo-Coordinations and one Multiple Agreement Construction and argued against a unification account. The protocol presented in 1.3 was built on the predictions of two formal aspects of the three analyses (functional vs. lexical status of V1 and the realization of T). In the rest of the paper, we presented the relevant data, introducing some new data especially regarding the less-studied *e*PseCo. We have shown that a subset of properties would unify the *e*PseCo with the *a*PseCo and another subset would unify it with the *mu*MAC. This shows that from a comparative perspective, limiting the consideration to just some properties is fallacious.

We can now pinpoint in (39) the results of the protocol on the *e*PseCo, which are slightly different from the first predictions in (9). First of all, there is a different degree of restriction on the number of items that appear as V1, according to the degree of their functional status. In the *a*PseCo, V1 is functional (Cardinaletti and Giusti 2001), the number of items that can appear in this function is certainly small, but it is subject to variation (and even subject to extension, according to Di Caro's 2019b sociolinguistic inquiry). The V1 in the *e*PseCo is much more functional (the lexical meaning of 'take' or 'go' is completely lost in the *e*PseCo, while the andative meaning of 'go', 'come', etc. is preserved in the *a*PseCo), it merges much higher in the clausal hierarchy and the class of items that can have this property is very restricted. We symbolize this with a [++] value in (39a). Another small change to be made to the protocol is to note the irrelevance of the notion of coreference between subjects in case of the *e*PseCo (39c), where technically there is no subject of V1. This is reported as a [0] value. A third correction regards the lack of reduced morphology on V1 in Italian *e*PseCo, which is in principle possible but not mandatory, for a functional verb, as is the case of V1 in the *a*PseCo. A straight [−] value in (39d) thus substitutes the [(+)] of the predictions in (9d) and introduces a difference between *a*PseCo and *e*PseCo. The only property that is left in common between the two is lack of argument structure (39b).

The second set of properties concerns the realization of Tense in the three structures. In the *e*PseCo, there is a single T head, much lower than the first merge position of V1; the *a*PseCo displays concord of tenses, that is a reprojection of the features of T in *t* where V1 first merges; in the *mu*MAC, there are two T projections, where the lower one can be anaphoric or bound to the higher one, as with infinitives. We have observed that these different realizations of Tense give different results in the morphological restrictions on the paradigm of V1, clitic climbing, and the position of clausal negation. The results laid out in (39e–g) confirm the

predictions spelled out in (9e–g). The discussion of the different possible scope of negation allowed us to add the complementary property of having negation only on V2, now inserted as (39h). This feature clearly distinguishes the *e*PseCo from the other two constructions.

(39)	PseCos and MACs in Italo-Romance (results)	*a*PseCo	*e*PseCo	*mu*MAC
	Functional vs. lexical V1			
	a. restricted class of V1	+	++	–
	b. absence of argument structure of V1	+	+	–
	c. mandatory coreference between the subjects	+	0	–
	d. reduced morphology on V1	(+)	–	–
	The realization of Tense			
	e. restrictions in the paradigm (person and Tense)	+	–	–
	f. mandatory clitic climbing onto V1	+	–	–
	g. mandatory clausal negation on V1	+	–	–
	h. mandatory clausal negation on V2	–	+	–

We conclude that a unification of the three constructions is not appropriate. Even in the similarities between the *a*PseCo and the *e*PseCo due to the functional status of V1, we observe substantial differences due to the different merging point and the different degree of functional status. The apparent similarities between the *e*PseCo and the *mu*MAC could also be erroneously interpreted as evidence in favour of unification. The addition of property (39h) however clears up a crucial difference, which is the only one to distinguish the *e*PseCo from the other two.

A general highlight of the paper is that labels such as PseCo or MAC or Serial Verbs, on which much discussion focuses in the typological and generative literature, may be illusory (cf. Ross, this volume). The differences and similarities across the three constructions are, to a large extent, irrelevant to their labelling. Only the *e*PseCo is a synchronic pseudo-coordination, due to the homophony of the connector with the coordinating conjunction, but this homophony cannot be considered as the trigger for any property. We decided to use the term PseCo for monoclausal constructions and MAC for the biclausal construction but, again, this is an arbitrary descriptive decision. What the theoretical position allows us to do is to conceive these cases as a continuum of the restructuring process which is captured in the minimalist framework as a complex process of feature sharing instantiated by Merge.

In this paper, we started from a theoretical stance, which made empirical predictions, and organized these predictions into a diagnostic tool which has allowed

us to make empirical advances. The results were presented in the protocol fashion, which is accessible to all linguists, unlike the complex theory-internal issues that are intrinsic to the formal hypotheses we have adopted. The empirical advances however would have not been possible if the theoretical proposals had not existed. We therefore hope to have shown how theory-driven approaches can be made useful to empirical advances as much as empirical advances are crucial for theoretical reflection and how these advances can be shared with the larger community of linguists without giving up a sound and rigorous methodology.

Acknowledgements

Funding

References

Adger, David. 2006. Combinatorial variability. *Journal of Linguistics*, 42: 503–530. https://doi.org/10.1017/S002222670600418X

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2011. Multi-verb constructions: setting the scene. In *Multi-verb construction: A view from the Americas (Brill Studies in the Indigenous Languages of the Americas)*, Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and Pieter Muysken (eds.), 10–27. Amsterdam: Brill. https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004194526.i-313

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. and Robert M. W. Dixon. 2006. Serial Verb Constructions in typological perspective. In *Serial Verb Constructions: A Cross-Linguistic Typology*, Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and Robert M. W. Dixon (eds), 1–68. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Andriani, Luigi. 2017. The syntax of the dialect of Bari. PhD Dissertation, University of Cambridge.

Benincà, Paola & Cinque, Guglielmo. 1992. Sur l'ambiguïté structurale des verbes météorologiques en italien. In *De la musique à la linguistique: Hommages à Nicolas Ruwet*, Liliane Tasmowski and Anne Zribi-Hertz (eds.), 155–162. Ghent: Communication and Cognition: Ghent.

Biberauer, Theresa & Richards, Mark. 2006. True optionality. When the grammar doesn't mind. In *Minimalist Essays* [Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today 91] Cedric Boeckx (ed.), 35–67. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/la.91.08bib

Bravo, Ana. 2020. On Pseudocoordination in Spanish. *Borealis – An international Journal of Hispanic Linguistics* 9(1): 125–180. https://doi.org/10.7557/1.9.1.5365

Cardinaletti, Anna & Giusti, Giuliana. 1998. Motion verbs as functional heads. *GenGenP* 6: 50–60.

Cardinaletti, Anna & Giusti, Giuliana. 2001. 'Semi-Lexical' Motion Verbs in Romance and Germanic. In *Semi-lexical categories. On the function of content words and content of function words* [Studies in Generative Grammar 39], Norbert Corver & Henk van Riemsdijk (eds.), 371–414. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110874006.371

Cardinaletti, Anna & Giusti, Giuliana. 2003. Motion verbs as functional heads. In *The Syntax of Italian Dialects* [Oxford Studies in Comparative Syntax] Christina Tortora (ed.), 31–49. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cardinaletti, Anna & Giusti, Giuliana. 2020. Multiple agreement in southern Italian dialects. In *Linguistic variation: structure and interpretation* [Studies in Generative Grammar132] Ludovico Franco & Paolo Lorusso (eds.), 125–148. Berlin: de Gruyter Mouton.

Chillà, Leonida. 2011. Variazioni sintattiche in alcune varietà meridionali estreme: le strutture a controllo e la selezione dell'ausiliare. PhD dissertation, University of Florence.

Chomsky, Noam. 1981. *Lectures on government and binding*. Dordrecht: Foris.

Chomsky, Noam. 1995. *The minimalist program*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.

Chomsky, Noam. 2001. Derivation by phase. In *Ken Hale: A life in language*, Michel Kenstowicz (ed.), 1–52. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.

Cinque, Guglielmo. 2001. "Restructuring" and the order of aspectual and root modal heads. In *Current Studies in Italian Syntax*, Guglielmo Cinque & Giampaolo Salvi (eds.), 137–155. Amsterdam: Elsevier. https://doi.org/10.1163/9780585473949_009

Coseriu, Eugenio. 1977 [1966]. "Tomo y me voy": Un problema de sintaxis comparada europea. In Coseriu, Eugenio, Estudios de linguistica romanica, 79–151. Madrid: Editorial Gredos [Orig. publ.: 1966. "Tomo y me voy". Ein Problem vergleichender europaischer Syntax. *Vox romanica* 25: 13–55].

Cruschina, Silvio. 2013. Beyond the stem and inflectional morphology: an irregular pattern at the level of periphrasis. In *The boundaries of pure morphology. Diachronic and synchronic perspective*, Silvio Cruschina, Martin Maiden & J. Charles Smith (eds.), 262–283, Amsterdam: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199678860.003.0014

De Angelis, Alessandro. 2013. Strategie di complementazione frasale. Messina: SGB Edizioni.

De Angelis, Alessandro. 2016. Origini formali e funzionali della particella (m)i, (m)u, ma nell'area messinese e calabrese centro-meridionale. In *Dialetti: per parlare e parlarne. Atti del IV Convegno Internazionale di Dialettologia. Progetto A.L.Ba. (Potenza, Castelmezzano, Lagopesole, 6–8 novembre 2014)*, Patrizia Del Puente (ed.), 75–95. Venosa (Pz): Osanna Edizioni.

De Angelis, Alessandro. 2017. Between Greek and Romance: Competing Complementation Systems in Southern Italy. In *Language and Identity in Multilingual Mediterranean Settings*, Piera Molinelli (ed.), 135–155. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110554274-008

Déchaine, Rose-Marie. 1993. Serial verb constructions. *Syntax. Vol 1*. Joachim Jacobs, Arnim von Stechow, Wolfgang Sternefeld & Theo Vennemann (eds.), 799–825. Berlin: de Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110095869.1.12.799

Del Prete, Fabio & Giuseppina Todaro. 2020. Building complex events. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 38(1): 1–41. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11049-018-09439-2

Di Caro, Vincenzo N. 2019a. Multiple Agreement Constructions in southern Italo-Romance. The syntax of Sicilian Pseudocoordination. PhD Dissertation. Ca' Foscari University of Venice.

Di Caro, Vincenzo N. 2019b. The inflected construction in the dialects of Sicily: parameters of microvariation. In *Italian dialectology at the interfaces* [Linguistik Aktuell / Linguistics Today 251], Silvio Cruschina, Adam Ledgeway & Eva-Maria Remberger (eds.), 63–78. Amsterdam: Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/la.251.03dic

Di Caro, Vincenzo N. & Giuliana Giusti. 2015. A Protocol for the Inflected Construction in Sicilian Dialects. *Annali di Ca' Foscari. Serie Occidentale* 49: 293–322.

Di Caro, Vincenzo N. & Giuliana Giusti. 2018. Dimensions of variation: the inflected construction in the dialect of Delia (Caltanissetta). In *Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory 14: Selected papers from the 46th LISRL, Stony Brook, NY*, Lori Repetti & Francisco Ordóñez (eds.) 54–68. Amsterdam: Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/rllt.14.04car

Giusti, Giuliana. 2011. Structural protocols for linguistic awareness enhancing language identity. Research project at CRASSH. University of Cambridge, October-December 2011. http://www.crassh.cam.ac.uk/people/profile/giuliana-giusti

Giusti, Giuliana. 2021a. A protocol for indefinite determiners in Italo-Romance. In *Disentangling Bare Nouns and Nominals Introduced by a Partitive Article* [Syntax & Semantics 43] Tabea Ihsane (ed.), 262–300. Amsterdam: Brill.

Giusti, Giuliana. 2021b. Partitivity in Italian: A protocol approach to a multifaceted phenomenon. In *Partitive Determiners. Partitive Pronouns and Partitive Casem* Petra Sleeman & Giuliana Giusti (eds.) Linguistische Arbeiten. Berlin: de Gruyter (in print).

Giusti, Giuliana & Iulia Zegrean. 2015. Syntactic Protocols to enhance inclusive cultural identity. A Case study on Istro-Romanian clausal structure. *Quaderni di Linguistica e Studi Orientali* 1: 117–138.

Groothuis, Kim A. 2019. Reflexes of Finiteness in Romance. University of Cambridge: doctoral thesis.

Haspelmath, Martin & Ekkehart König. 1995. *Converbs in Cross-Linguistic Perspective. Structure and Meaning of Adverbial Forms – Adverbial Participles, Gerunds*. [Empirical Approaches to Language Typology]. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110884463

Jaeggli, Osvaldo A. & Nina M. Hyams. 1993. On the independence and interdependence of syntactic and morphological properties: English aspectual *come* and *go*. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 11: 313–346. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00992916

Ledgeway, Adam. 2012 [2013]. Contatto e mutamento: Complementazione e complementatori nei dialetti del Salento. In *Lingue e grammatiche. Contatti, divergenze, confronti*, Marina Benedetti (ed.), special issue of *Studi Italiani di Linguistica Teorica e Applicata* 41(3): 459–480.

Ledgeway, Adam. 2016a. From coordination to subordination: the grammaticalization of progressive and andative aspect in the dialects of Salento. In *Coordination and Subordination: Form and Meaning – Selected papers from CSI Lisbon 2014*. Fernanda Pratas, Sandra Pereira & Clara Pinto (eds.), 157–185. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholar Publishers.

Ledgeway, Adam. 2016b. Clausal complementation. In *The Oxford Guide to the Romance Languages*, Adam Ledgeway and Martin Maiden (eds.), 1013–1028. Oxford: Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199677108.003.0063

Ledgeway, Adam. 2021. *Coming* and *going* in Calabrian: The syntax of pseudo-coordination. *Revue Roumaine de Linguistique* LXVI(1), 3–35.

Maesano, Deborah. 2016. The inflected constructions in Southern Calabrian dialects. BA Thesis, Ca' Foscari University of Venice.

Manzini, M. Rita & Leonardo Savoia. 2005. *I dialetti italiani e romanci: morfosintassi. Vol 1*. Alessandria: Edizioni dall'Orso.

Masini, Francesca, Simone Mattiola, Greta Vecchi. 2019. La costruzione "prendere e V" nell'italiano contemporaneo. In *Le tendenze dell'italiano contemporaneo rivisitate. Atti del LII Congresso Internazionale di Studi della Società di Linguistica Italiana (Berna, 6–8 settembre 2018)* Bruno Moretti, Aline Kunz, Silvia Natale, Etna Krakenberger (eds.), 115–137. Roma: Bulzoni.

Miyagawa, Shigeru. 2011. Optionality. In *The Oxford handbook of linguistic minimalism* Cedric Boeckx (ed.), 354–376. Oxford: OUP.

Rizzi, Luigi. 1982. *Issues in Italian syntax*. Dordrecht: Foris. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110883718

Rizzi, Luigi. 1997. On the fine structure of the left periphery. In *Elements of Grammar*. Liliane Haegeman (ed.), 147–161. Dordrecht: Kluwer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-011-5420-8_7

Rohlfs, Gerhard. 1969. *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti, vol. 3: Sintassi e formazione delle parole*. Torino: Einaudi.

Shopen, Timothy. 1971. Caught in the act. *Papers from the Seventh Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*, 254–263.

Soto Gómez, Juan Francisco. 2020. Pseudocoordination in Spanish. A two construction analysis. MA thesis, Ca' Foscari University of Venice. http://dspace.unive.it/handle/10579/18854

Squillaci, M. Olimpia. 2016. When Greek Meets Romance: A Morphosyntactic Investigation of Language Contact in Aspromonte. University of Cambridge: doctoral thesis.

Todaro, Giuseppina & Fabio Del Prete. 2019. The morpho-syntax-semantics interface and the Sicilian *Doubly Inflected Construction*. In *Italian dialectology at the interfaces* [Linguistik Aktuell / Linguistics Today 251], Silvio Cruschina, Adam Ledgeway & Eva-Maria Remberger (eds.), 131–154. Amsterdam: Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/la.251.07tod

Yuasa, Etsuyo & Saddock, Jerry M. 2002. Pseudo-subordination: a mismatch between syntax and semantics, *Journal of Linguistics* 38(1): 87–111. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022226701001256

A bisentential syntax for *a*/bare finite complements in South Italian varieties

Motion verbs and the progressive

M. Rita Manzini and Paolo Lorusso
Università degli studi di Firenze

In South Italian varieties of Apulia, Calabria and Sicily a restricted number of control/raising verbs, including *stay/be, go, come* and *want* embed finite complements, either bare or introduced by *a*. These are not necessarily languages with so-called subjunctive particles; in any event, the latter have a different form. Under monoclausal analyses, verbs like *stay/be, go* etc. are functional heads embedding an inflected predicate. Here we adopt a biclausal analysis under which embedding under *stay/be, go* etc. is a normal clausal embedding. We argue that the biclausal analysis is not only feasible, but also advantageous, from a morpho-syntactic point of view. Focusing on the progressive, we also consider whether the bisentential analysis is compatible with semantic interpretation and how it fares in a typological perspective.

Keywords: complementizer, inflection, clitic, preposition, progressive

1. Basic evidence

In a number of varieties of Apulia, Salento, Sicily in South Italy, a restricted number of verbs, including *go, come, be/stay* and more rarely *want*, embeds finite sentences introduced by the preposition *a*, as in (1). Roughly the same class of verbs in the each of these varieties also allows bare finite embeddings like (2).

(1) vaju a mmandʒu   Calascibetta (Sicily)
     I.go to I.eat
     'I am going to eat'

(2) vɔ mandʒə   Martina Franca (Apulia)
     I.go I.eat
     'I am going to eat'

Manzini and Savoia (2005) propose that *a*/bare finite embeddings have a biclausal structure, namely (3)–(4). (3) takes the *a* subordinator to be the same as the *a* 'to' preposition and not just homophonous or syncretic with it. The bare embedding structure (4) is simply obtained from (3) by elimination of the PP layer.

(3)   . … [$_{PP}$ a [$_{IP}$ DP [$_{I'}$ mmandʒu

(4)   …   [$_{IP}$ DP [$_{I'}$ mmandʒə

By contrast, building on the cartographic work of Cinque (2006), Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001, 2003, 2020), Di Caro and Giusti (2015) argue in favor of a mono-clausal analysis (cf. also Cruschina 2013; Ledgeway 2016), where *go, come, be/stay* are functional projections of the lexical verb; in turn *a* is a meaningless functional element. The present chapter is devoted to reasserting the biclausal analysis. In relation to progressives (embedded under *be/stay*), we further argue that there is no advantage in accounting for variation in terms of a PROG functional head (Cinque 2017), and that the range of observed variation can be handled equally well in non-cartographic terms.

1.1   Basic evidence

In this section and in Section 2 we summarize the data present in the corpus of Manzini and Savoia (2005), as glossed and translated into English by Manzini et al. (2017), with the further addition of data from Conversano (Lorusso 2019). There is no major controversy in the literature regarding the core data. Specifically, as already highlighted by the historical literature (Rohlfs 1969) data like (1)–(2) are a distinct phenomenon with respect from so-called subjunctives of the Balkan type (Romanian, Greek, Albanian), i.e. finite control and raising complements. In Salento varieties, including (5), the role of the so-called subjunctive particle is played by an element of the *k-* complementizer series, namely *ku* (Calabrese 1993; Manzini and Savoia 2005; Ledgeway 2012, Giusti and Cardinaletti, this volume).[1]

(5) a.   au   ku   llu iʃu   Carmiano (Salento)
            I.have PRT it   I.see
            'I have to see it'

     b.   mɛ mintʰu ku   mandʒu
            me I.put   PRT I.eat
            'I start eating'

---

1.   In Calabrian and Sicilian varieties, the embedded finite verb is introduced by *mi/mu* (Trumper and Rizzi 1985; Manzini and Savoia 2005).

The basic reason why the Balkan subjunctive and the *a* finite embedding cannot be in an implicational relation is that their distribution is different. While they co-occur in Salento varieties, there are many Apulian and Sicilian varieties that present *a* finite embeddings but do not have the Balkan-type subjunctive, namely they generally form control and raising predicates with infinitives. Conversely, while the Balkan subjunctive is especially robust in Calabrian varieties, we have scant attestations of *a* finite embeddings.

These external criteria combine with internal distinctions – thus *a* finite embeddings are restricted to a few main predicates, while all other control and raising predicates involve embedded infinitives. Since in (1) above we already exemplified a finite complements embedded under *go*, in (6)–(8) we exemplify *come, be/stay, want*.

(6) lu veɲɲ(u) a ffattsu   Mesagne (Salento)
     it I.come   to I.do
     'I come to do it'

(7) ʃtɔn   a kkɔntanu   Monteparano (Salento)
     they.are to they.tell
     'They are telling'

(8) ti   vɔɟɟu a vveʃu   Brindisi (Salento)
     you I.want to I.see
     'I want to see you'

As already shown in (2), in many of the same varieties and contexts which attest the *a* finite construction, it is possible to embed a finite complement under *go, come, be/stay, want* without any intervening connective; in (9) we give just one example involving *be/stay*.

(9) lu sta ffattsu   Mesagne (Salento)
     it be I.do
     'I am doing it'

Apart from Salento varieties with Balkan-style complementation, other (Apulian and Sicilian) varieties have a productive use of infinitival complements with control and raising interpretation. In fact, as we will see in more detail below, many varieties have the possibility of *a* finite embeddings only in certain tenses and in certain persons. Therefore, *a* finite embedding alternates with *a* infinitival embedding, as in (10).

(10) a. u stek/ste   a ffattsə/ffeʃə   Conversano (Apulia)
         it I.am/you.are to I.do/you.do
         'I am/you are doing it'

b. u stɛmə/stɛtə   a fɛ
    it we.are/you.are to do.INF
    'We/you are doing it'

In Table 1, we summarize the occurrences of *ku* finite embeddings, *a* finite embeddings, bare finite embedding *a* infinitival embeddings in the varieties of the Manzini and Savoia (2005) corpus. Table 1 is comparable to Table 1 of Di Caro and Giusti (2015: 401), except that it includes one extra column, namely bare finite embeddings (V-V$_{fin}$).[2] Varieties are listed in rough geographical order, from Northern Apulia, to Salento and Sicily. We notate only positively attested data, in keeping with the fact that generally Manzini and Savoia do not report grammaticality judgments. We also use indirect negative evidence, i.e. we assume that consistent lack of attestation of, say, infinitival structures in a given group of varieties is to be imputed not to an accidental gap but rather to the actual impossibility of the relevant structures.[3]

---

2.   An anonymous reviewer points out that in the Marsala variety discussed by Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001) the finite complement is normally introduced by the preposition *a*, while the preposition is absent in the imperative. This behavior is not generalized – for instance Manzini and Savoia (2005) report the *a* as optional even in Example (1a), as in (i).

(i)   vaju (a) mmandʒu   Calascibetta (Sicily)
      I.go   to   I.eat
      'I am going to eat'

Thus, in the absence of distributional generalizations, we have simply listed a number of varieties as alternating between the *a* pattern and the bare pattern.

3.   The analysis in Section 3 is firmly placed within current models in generative grammar (Chomsky 1995, 2001; Chomsky et al. 2019), as is Manzini and Savoia's (2005). Because of this, one may wonder about the absence of negative data (grammaticality judgments). This is due to practical restrictions imposed by the need to collect significant samples of data from several (volunteer) speakers over the timespan of an interview, which is best achieved with classical fieldwork methods of elicitation of positive data. Recall that in variation work, it is of the essence to have a reasonably accurate picture not just of the more robustly attested patterns but of the entire range of variation, down to quantitatively less prominent patterns. Though the work of Manzini and Savoia (2005) is not specifically concerned with the phenomenon at hand, the picture of variation it made available has largely been confirmed by subsequent research, specifically on Sicilian varieties, by Di Caro (2019) and by Cardinaletti and Giusti (2020).

Table 1. *a* and bare complements

	ku-V$_{fin}$	*a*-V$_{fin}$	V-V$_{fin}$	*a*-V$_{inf}$
Conversano		+		+
Putignano		+	+	+
Martina Franca		+	+	
Taranto		+	+	
Brindisi		+	+	
Mesagne	+	+	+	
Monteparano	+	+	+	
Torre S. Susanna	+		+	
Carmiano	+		+	
Copertino	+		+	
Nociglia	+		+	
Umbriatico			+	+
Villadoro		+	+	+
Modica		+		+
Calascibetta		+	+	+
Camporeale		+		+

2. Fine-grained evidence

From the overall shape and distribution of the phenomena considered, it is already fairly obvious why biclausal structures of the type supported here, as in (3)–(4), could be dismissed in favor of monoclausal structures. To take just one example, sentences like (7), (9), (10a) simply translate as progressives of the sort which one can easily imagined being conveyed by inflectional means, inviting a treatment of the *be/stay* predicate as an auxiliary (see Cinque 2017 for a crosslinguistic survey of progressives). At the same time, arguments for and against the monoclausal or biclausal analysis typically revolve around finer evidence, which we therefore need to review before proceeding in our discussion.

2.1 Matrix and embedded verb inflections

An important set of parameters revolves around the inflections found on the matrix and embedded verbs. By definition, in the *a*/bare constructions that we are examining, the embedded verb is finite. The matrix verb can also be fully inflected, as attested with *a* embedding in (11), but also with bare embedding, as in (12).

(11) 1s va-ju   a mmantʃ-u   Modica (Sicily)
      2s va-i   a mmantʃ-i
      3s va   a mɪmantʃa
      1p je-mu   a mmantʃa-mu
      2p i-ti   a mmantʃa-ti
      3p va-nu   a mmantʃu-nu
          'I am/You are/etc. going to eat'

(12) 1s u və-ju   cəm-u   Umbriatico (Calabria)
      2s u və-ji   cəm-ɪ
      3s u va   ccəmæ
      1p u jə-mu   camə:-mu
      2p u jə-ti   camə-ti
      3p u və-nu   cama-nu
          'I am/You are/etc. going to call him'

At the opposite end of the scale, the matrix verb may be completely invariant, as in (13), to take just one of many examples.

(13) lu sta ffattsu/ffatʃi/ffatʃi/ffatʃimu/ffatʃiti/ffannu   Mesagne (Salento)
      it be I.do/you.do/he.does/we.do/you.do/they.do
      'I am/You are/etc. doing it'

Often, the matrix verb displays some inflected forms, but a more limited set would be found in other contexts. The forms are reduced in two respects. First, there are fewer forms. Second, the forms that remain, though recognizably related to the full forms, are morphologically simplified (often monosyllabic etc.). For instance progressive *be/stay* in (14a) presents the form *ste* in 2/3 person singular, the form *sta* in 1/2P plural and specialized forms only for 1P singular and 3P plural, namely *stok* and *ston*. Only the latter two forms are shared with *be/stay* of location in (14b). As for the other forms, we may take *sta* to be the bare stem; *ste* may be analyzed as sensitive to person (2/3P singular) or perhaps just to singular number. In (14a) we characterize progressive *be/stay* in terms of its property of embedding a sentence, consistent with the present analysis.

(14) a. sentence selecting *be/stay*   Putignano (Apulia)
          stok/ste/ste/sta/sta/ston
          be-1SG/2SG/3SG/1PL/2PL/3PL
      b. predicate selecting *be/stay*
          stɔkə/stiə/stiə/stamə/statə/stɔnə   dda
          be-1SG/2SG/3SG/1PL/2PL/3PL   there
          'I am/you are/etc. there'

Next, we are interested in whether the matrix and the embedded verb can be inflected for tense as well as for person (and number). At one end of the variation spectrum we find varieties where both verbs bear past tense (see also Di Caro, this volume), as in (15). As for bare embeddings, we have only one example of a bare embedded verb agreeing with the matrix verb in past specifications, as in (16).

(15) u ia   a ffaʃia   Modica (Sicily)
      it go.PST.1 SG to do PST.1 SG
      'I was going to do it'

(16) vulia   vinia   Torre S. Susanna (Salento)
      want PST.3 SG come PST.3 SG
      'He wanted to come'

In most varieties the embedded verb carries Tense specifications, exactly as it carries the agreement inflection, while the matrix verb does not. In the most extreme case, the matrix verb is uninflected, as in (17).

(17) lu sta ffatʃia/ffatʃivi/ffatʃia/ffatʃiumu/ffatʃiuvu/ffatʃiunu
      it be did-1SG/2SG/3SG/1PL/2PL/3PL
      'I was doing it' etc.   Mesagne (Salento)

Conversely, there is a single example of the matrix verb bearing past specifications to the exclusion of the embedded verb namely (18). We return to the peculiarities of this example in Section 3.2.

(18) ulia   lu fattsu   Carmiano (Salento)
      I.wanted it I.do
      'I wanted to do it'

The overall situation with both agreement and tense in *a*/bare finite embedding contexts is laid out in Table 2; this can be in part compared with Table 2 of Di Caro and Giusti (2015: 402). The first three columns correspond to the distribution of number and person agreement (Infl); the last three columns record the distribution of non-present Tense inflections. The headings of the columns are mostly self-explanatory; by $V_{(I)}$-V_I we mean those varieties where the matrix verb is partially inflected (in part of the paradigm and/or with partial inflections). Note that we have not differentiated between *a* and bare finite embeddings.

Table 2. Inflected and non-inflected matrix and embedded verbs

	$V_I V_I$	$V_{(I)} V_I$	$V V_I$	$V_{Past} V_{Past}$	$V_{Past} V$	$V V_{Past}$
Conversano	+					
Putignano		+	+			+
Martina Franca		+	+			+
Taranto		+	+			+
Brindisi			+			
Mesagne	+	+	+			+
Monteparano		+				+
Torre S. Susanna	+		+	+		+
Carmiano	+				+	
Copertino			+			+
Nociglia			+			+
Umbriatico	+					
Villadoro	+					
Modica	+			+		
Calascibetta	+					
Camporeale	+					

2.2 Other parameters

Other parameters of microvariation also play an important role in the theoretical discussion. One has to do with the positioning of object clitics. With *a* embedding, they tend to be on the matrix verb, e.g. (6), (8), (10), (15). But there is one example in the corpus, in (19), where the clitic group is on the embedded verb.

(19) vɔli   a ssi   lu mandʒa   Brindisi (Salento)
     He.wants to himself it he.eat
     'He wants to eat it'

With bare embedding we find many attestations of cliticization on the matrix verb, e.g. (9), (12), (13), (17), but also attestations for embedded clitics, e.g. (18). The overall situation is summarized in Table 3 for both *a* embedding and bare embedding. While it is often the case that patterns of variation cross traditional dialectological boundaries, it must be noted that in Table 3, all varieties that allow the clitic to be associated with the embedded verb in bare finite embeddings are characterized by the possibility of the *ku* complementation pattern – which is independently known to force short cliticization. Note however that *a* is present in Example (19). We return to cliticization patterns in Section 3.3.

Table 3. Position of pronominal clitic

	Cl-V-a-V	V-a-Cl-V	Cl-V-V	V-Cl-V
Conversano	+			
Putignano	+			
Martina Franca	+			
Brindisi	+	+	+	
Mesagne	+		+	+
Monteparano	+		+	
Torre S. Susanna			+	+
Carmiano			+	+
Copertino			+	
Nociglia				+
Umbriatico			+	
Villadoro			+	
Modica	+			
Calascibetta	+		+	
Camporeale	+			

A final parameter has to do with paradigms alternating between *a* embedding, bare embedding, and infinitival embedding, according to person, as already illustrated in (10) and repeated below in (20). In (20), 1PL and 2PL embed an infinitive, while the other persons present *a* finite embedding. Given the discussion of the person splits in Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001, 2003, 2020) and Cruschina (2013), it is important to stress that there is no necessary correlation between splits in complementation pattern and the Romance suppletion pattern whereby 1/2P plural forms of certain verbs are formed from a different root than the other persons.[4] Thus in (21), *a* finite embedding in the singular contrasts with infinitival embedding in the plural. Di Caro and Giusti (2015: 412) also acknowledge this fact; Cardinaletti and Giusti (2020) specifically criticize the morphomic analysis suggested by Cruschina (2013).

(20) a. u stek/ste   a ffattsə/ffeʃə   Conversano (Apulia)
          it I.am/you.are to I.do/you.do
          'I am/you are doing it'

     b. u stɛmə/stɛtə   a fɛ
          it we.are/you.are to do.INF
          'We/you are doing it'

---

4. For instance the standard Italian paradigm of *andare* 'go' in the present indicative is: *vad-o, va-i, va, and-iamo, anda-te, va-nno;* the lexical base *va-* in 1/2P singular and 3P alternates with the lexical base *anda-* in 1/2P plural.

(21) a. mɪ vaju a llavu   Camporeale (Sicily)
         me I.go to I.wash
         'I am going to wash myself'
     b. ɛmu/iti/vannu a mmaɲdʒari
         we/you/they.go to eat.INF
         'We/you/they go to eat.'

If the splits between *a* and bare embedding are brought into the picture the possible patterns increase. In particular, in the varieties of Monteparano, Martina Franca, Brindisi, Putignano and Taranto *a* finite embeddings are only attested in 1P singular and/or 3P (singular or plural). In Table 4 we lay out just a binary parameter between absence and presence of person splits. The reason why we do not break down person splits is that there doesn't seem to be an underlying pattern or set of connected underlying patterns. Cardinaletti and Giusti (2020: 131) refer to their earlier work proposing that "the less marked persons" enter finite embedding. But it is far from obvious that Person markedness varies crosslinguistically, as they patterns of finite embedding do.

Table 4. Person split vs. full person paradigms

	Split V-*a*-V$_{fin}$	Full V-*a*-V$_{fin}$
Conversano	+	
Putignano	+	
Martina Franca	+	
Taranto	+	
Brindisi	+	
Mesagne		+
Monteparano		
Villadoro	+	
Modica		+
Calascibetta	+	
Camporeale	+	

In general, the variation observed observed in Tables 1–4 is inconsistent with traditional ideas about dialectological boundaries: even if certain parametric values tend to be stronger in certain groups of varieties than in others, it is generally possible to find them attested (more sparsely) elsewhere as well. For further details we refer the reader to the original set of data in Manzini and Savoia (2005) or to the almost complete presentation of the corpus presented in English in Manzini et al. (2017).

3.   Syntactic analysis

We concentrate on four points discussed at length by monoclausal theories (Cardinaletti and Giusti 2001, 2003, 2020), namely *a* introducers (Section 3.1), reduced matrix inflections (Section 3.2), clitic climbing (Section 3.3) and finally monoeventivity, to which we return in more detail in Section 4 in connection with progressives. We do not discuss Person splits, because despite their intrinsic interest, they do not seem to interact much with the theoretical issue of monoclausality vs. biclausality, or to be prominent among the arguments put forth by monoclausal theorists.

3.1   The *a* introducer

Recall that part of our proposal concerning the biclausal status of *a* finite complements is that *a* projects PP. We expect the same to be true of infinitival sentences. Thus in (20), the *a* finite embedding in (20a) will have the structure in (22), parallel to (3). The infinitival *a* embedding will have essentially the same structure as in (23).

(22)   . … [$_{PP}$ a [$_{IP}$ DP [$_{I'}$ ffattsə

(23)   . … [$_{PP}$ a [$_{IP}$ DP [$_{I'}$ fɛ

Given (22)–(23), *a* is not just etymologically related to dative *a* 'to/at', but rather it is the very same element, used for purposes of sentential embedding. More mainstream theories accept some degree of grammaticalization (in the sense of Roberts and Roussou 2003), so that for Rizzi (1997) *a* and similar prepositional elements are categorized as C when embedding sentential complements. In any event, adopting the biclausal structure in (22)–(23) allows a relatively straightforward account of the *a* introducer, as identical with the ordinary *a* Romance subordinator; this remains true even if we take Rizzi's (1997) C categorization.

   The monoclausal view lacks a cogent proposal in this respect, especially one capable of establishing a connection between the different occurrences of *a*. In fact, Ledgeway (2016) adopts a biclausal structure for *a* finite embedding though he embraces the monoclausal structure for bare finite embedding. Cruschina (2013) suggests that *a* is a linker and as such meaningless; Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001) simply refer to *a* as a connector.

   In the historical literature, a possible etymology connects the finite *a* introducer to the Latin coordination *ac* 'and' (Rohlfs 1969: § 761) and therefore suggests that structures like (22) are pseudocoordinates (like English *I go and eat*, i.e. *I go to eat*). If so, alternations such as those in Conversano's (20), between *a*+infinitive and *a*+finite verb are a mere matter of homophony between two entirely different

a elements (roughly a preposition/subordinator and a coordinator). More to the point, there is no independent evidence that in the structures at hand the *a* is in fact a coordinator since the coordinator takes the form of *e* in all other contexts.

An altogether different question is why Romance infinitives, as well as the finite embeddings considered here would be introduced by a preposition or a prepositional complementizer. Despite the fact that the scope of the question is much wider than the constructions covered here, we will briefly sketch an answer based on current literature, which calls into question the category C. Specifically, Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2011, 2018a, 2018b), Arsenjievic (2009); Kayne (2010) argue that finite complementizers of the *k-* series in Romance (Italian *che*, French *que* etc.) ought to be treated as *wh*-operators, taking at face value their lexical coincidence with interrogative and relative pronouns. The idea developed by this literature is that so-called complementizers turn a propositional content into a relative clause headed by a silent N (Arsenjievic, Kayne) or into a free relative (Manzini and Savoia). The underlying assumption is that it is impossible to embed propositional content except by nominalizing it, essentially as proposed by Rosenbaum (1967).

Manzini and Savoia (2018a, 2018b) further propose that the nominalization strategy is itself a response to the fact that propositions lack the φ-features content that allows DPs to Agree with *v* and I, therefore receiving case/Visibility in Chomsky's (2001) terms. This Agree Resistance property, as they call it, can lead to various solutions. One of them is the relativization observed in the Romance embedding of finite sentence by a *wh-* pronoun. Another strategy is obliquization, corresponding to the Romance embedding of infinitival sentences under prepositions, mainly *a* and *di/de*.

This set of proposals raises the immediate question why this strategy should normally be restricted to infinitives in Romance, as in (23), and why it would be extended to finite verbs in structures like (22). First, the impression one gets from standard Romance languages that prepositional introducers are restricted to non-finite sentences is incorrect. A case in point is Early Romanian, as illustrated by Hill (2013), where the *de* preposition could also precede finite complements, as in (24). As noted by Hill (2013) in Early Romanian *de* "heads possessives, complements of origin, 'by' phrases, complements of location", establishing its *bona fide* P categorization (Dobrovie-Sorin et al. 2013 on standard Romanian).

(24)   au   poruncitŭ de au   făcut un sicreiu   Early Romanian (Hill 2013)
          has ordered   of they.have made a   coffin
          'He has ordered them to make a coffin'

Sardinian varieties (Jones 1993) provide an interesting example of complement sentences which can equally be introduced by a *k-* complementizer or by a preposition, namely so-called inflected infinitives, as illustrated in (25).

(25) l an   fattu innantis dɛ/ki   ɛnnɛrɛɕɛ   Dorgali (Sardinia)
      it they.have done before of/that you.came
      'They did it before you came'

What seems to matter in (24)–(25) for the presence of an oblique introducer is the absence of independent tenses in the matrix and embedded clause. This is so by definition with inflected infinitives. As for (24), the control reading requires the matrix and embedded verb to agree in tense according to many theorists (Landau 2013, 2015). In short, infinitival embeddings like (23) and *a* finite embeddings like (22) share the property of lacking independent tense specifications – in other words, either the embedded sentence is tenseless (as normally assumed for infinitives) or it agrees in tense with the matrix sentences. Therefore, the distribution of *a*, and in general of prepositional introducers, can be restricted in terms of this property.

Let us then briefly consider bare embeddings. In present terms the simplest analysis is that the bare embedding structure is simply obtained from (22) by elimination of the PP layer, as illustrated in (26), reproducing (2) and (4) above. Evidently, in the absence of an *a* element to place in the cartographic architecture of functional positions, it becomes easier to claim that bare embedding structures are monoclausal. Nevertheless, the issue remains that both matrix and embedded verbs are inflected, for which the routine assumption would be that they head their own clause.

(26) a. vɔ   mandʒə   Martina Franca (Apulia)
          I.go I.eat
          'I am going to eat'
      b. [$_{VP}$ vɔ [$_{IP}$ DP [$_{IP}$ mmandʒə

In short, the evidence we have seen so far is compatible with assigning biclausal structures to *a* and bare finite embeddings, and treating *a* as the normal prepositional subordinator seen in front of infinitives in many Romance languages. In fact, this analysis of *a* seems to be less stipulative than alternatives open under a monoclausal view of the relevant structures.

3.2 Inflection patterns

The data summarized in Table 2 show a lack of independence in the tense specifications of the matrix and embedded sentences; this means that either one of the two verbs may lack tense specifications altogether, normally the matrix verb – or else if tense specifications are present on both verbs, then the tenses agree. A certain amount of asymmetries observed in Table 2 further concern φ-features inflections. Thus, inflection may be realized only on one verb, namely on the embedded verb.

We exemplify this pattern in its starkest form, i.e. both tense and φ-features realized only downstairs, in (27a), reproducing Example (17) above. By contrast, (27b), reproducing Example (15), has both matrix and embedded verbs bear agreeing φ-features and tense inflections. Both patterns have a simultaneous tense and subject control reading comparable to that of infinitival embeddings in English or other Romance languages.[5]

(27) a. lu sta ffatʃivi   Mesagne (Salento)
          it be you.did
          'You were doing it'
      b. u ia   a ffaʃia   Modica (Sicily)
          it I.went to I.did
          'I was going to do it'

Monoclausal accounts by Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001, 2003) and by Ledgeway (2016) focus on the pattern in (27a). According to Cardinaletti and Giusti, the single finite Agr projection in their monoclausal structure is lower than *be/stay, go* etc. and is therefore picked up by the embedded verb, rather than by the superordinate verb. Whatever inflections the latter has, they are "parasitic" on those of the embedded verb. According to Ledgeway (2016) only a lexical VP can project Agr. In bare embedding structures, which he construes as monoclausal, the higher functional verb cannot bear Agr. For cases of overtly inflected superordinate verbs in bare embeddings, he would probably have to resort to the same claim as Cardinaletti and Giusti that the higher agreement is parasitic on the lower one.

Cardinaletti and Giusti's (2001) solution, positioning the relevant class of verbs above Agr, while made possible by cartographic notation, encodes the facts, rather than explaining them. It is not clear why other functional verbs (i.e. auxiliaries) are normally inflected, i.e. lower than Agr, as Ledgeway (2016) also points out. Ledgeway's own proposal, if we understand it correctly, does not overcome this problem. Suppose *be/stay* etc. are directly merged under a functional head and not in VP; this must surely be true of auxiliaries in general, which are nevertheless fully inflected. Nor is the notion of a "parasitic" inflection, necessitated by examples like (27b), given a formalization, as far as we are aware.

Let us then consider the biclausal approach, beginning with tense inflections. Following Giorgi (2009), who builds on Higginbotham (2009), tense is a relational

---

5.   As pointed out by Ledgeway (2016), the pattern in (27a) requires verbs of obligatory control, i.e. *be/stay, come, go* and excludes *want*, which is a non-obligatory control verb; the pattern in (27b) is possible with all these verbs. This may be due to the fact that with a non-obligatory control verb a configuration like (27a) can be read as having disjoint reference between the matrix and the embedded subject, blocking the control reading.

notion anchoring the time of event at the time of the utterance or at the time of the matrix event in an embedded sentence – or both. Non-past (i.e. present) is a two-place predicate introducing a relation between the event argument of the predicate and the utterance time. The content of the non-past relation is that the event time surrounds the utterance time. The past relation holds between the event time and the utterance time, saying that the event time precedes the utterance time.

The agreement in tense observed in examples like (27b) in turn is essentially the same independently known from the study of Romance subjunctives. According to Giorgi (2009), the Romance subjunctive does not have an independent relational content, it only externalizes simultaneity with the matrix event. She suggests that the subjunctive enters Agree with the matrix tense and as a consequence is interpreted as conveying simultaneity with it. We take the same approach to the agreement of the matrix and the embedded verb in (27b).

We identify Agree with the Matching relation between a probe and a goal originally defined by Chomsky (2000: 122–124) as involving feature identity ("identity of the choice of features, not of value") and Minimality, to which we add compliance with the PIC (Phase Impenetrability Condition).[6] Giorgi (2009) assumes that in Romance subjunctives, the latter is satisfied in that Agree takes place via the embedded C phase head. In (27b), with the structure in (28), Agree/Match simply obeys locality in virtue of the absence of an embedded C phasal domain.

(28) $[_{T(e<U)}$ ia]   ... $[_{T(e<U)}$ ffaʃia]
                                                    Match

Next, Giorgi (2009) draws an explicit parallel between the embedded tense inflection in (28), expressing simultaneity of the embedded and the matrix tense, and infinitival embeddings – where the infinitive is again simultaneous to the matrix tense, for instance in (29a) which reproduces (21b) above. In Balkan-type subjunctives, an impoverished embedded tense inflection is found in complements to aspectual and other obligatory control verbs, as in Greek (29b). The embedded verb surfaces in the non-past form independently of the tense of the matrix verb. The example of Carmiano in (18), otherwise isolated in our corpus, seems to connect to this pattern.

---

6. We thank an anonymous reviewer for encouraging an Agree formalization. At the same time s/he wonders about interpretable/uninterpretable and valued/unvalued features. For present purposes we only need a version of Agree which constructs equivalence sets of nodes, interpreted as multiple occurrences of the same content (Manzini and Savoia 2018a and references quoted there).

(29) a. vannu   a mmaɲdʒari   Camporeale (Sicily)
         they.go to eat.INF
         'They go to eat.'
     b. arxizo/arxisa   na grafo   Greek (Roussou 2009)
         begin-1SG/began-1SG PRT write-1SG
         'I begin/began to write.'

In the infinitival context in (29a) the embedded T is traditionally taken to be empty; we have notated this as a free variable content. The value of the embedded T is set by the matrix T in what Giorgi (2009) characterizes again as an instance of Agree. We again adopt this suggestion, along the lines of (30).

(30) $[_{T(e<U)}$ vannu]   … $[_{T(x)}$ mmaɲdʒari]
      └──────────────────────────┘
                  Match

We can now turn to the question of how a lack of inflection on the matrix verb is also licenced, as in (27a). Morphologically, so called uninflected forms consist of the root of the verb (or one of its roots in the case of suppletive *go*) followed by an inflectional class vowel, e.g. *st-a* in (27a). Therefore, it is more appropriate to refer to them as invariable rather than uninflected. This brings them closer to the embedded forms in (29), which in (30) we have construed as being tenseless. However in (27a), the single copy of the tense relation is in the embedded T position, while it is the matrix T position which lacks positively specified content. Nevertheless the tense relation is interpreted as holding of the matrix predicate. Formally, we notate the relation involved in this interpretation as a Match relation once again, along the lines of (31).

(31) $[_{T(x)}$ sta]   … $[_{T(e<U)}$ ffatʃivi]
      └──────────────────────────┘
                  Match

Next, consider the distribution of φ-feature inflections. At least in null subject languages like the ones we are dealing with, it is natural to construe verb inflections as D pronouns, capable of satisfying the EPP position of the sentence. We will then discuss directly the distribution of these D pronouns, abstracting from the question whether empty subjects are also represented. *A*/bare finite embeddings display obligatory control, whereby the subject of the embedded sentence is obligatorily coreferential with the subject of the matrix sentence. Obligatory control into a finite sentence is independently known to be possible, for instance in Balkan languages, provided the embedded verb has the same tenselessness properties as an infinitive (Landau 2013 and references quoted there); (29b) above is a relevant example.
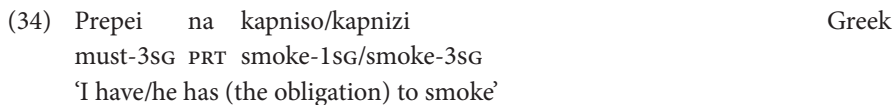
In (27b), matrix and embedded verb agree in φ-features with one another and therefore with their subjects. In this case, it is particularly natural to assume that control instantiates a matching relation along the lines of (32). The second member of the relation is interpreted as anaphoric to the first member – essentially as the second member of the temporal relation in (28). Conversely, (28) is a sort of tense control configuration.

(32)   [$_{TP}$ i[$_{D(φ)}$ a]…   [$_{TP}$ iffatʃi[$_{D(φ)}$ a]
       └────────────────┘
             Match

Obligatory control in Romance generally involves an embedded infinitive; therefore φ-features are present only on the matrix verb. In infinitival control we can take the embedded D inflection to be a "minimal pronoun" (Landau 2015) without independent referential features and hence corresponding to a variable (Manzini and Savoia 2007, 2018a). φ-features present on the matrix verb value the variable, as indicated in (33).

(33)   [$_{TP}$ van[$_{D(φ)}$ nu]   …   [$_{TP}$ mmaɲdʒa[$_{D(x)}$ ri]
       └────────────────────────────────┘
                   Match
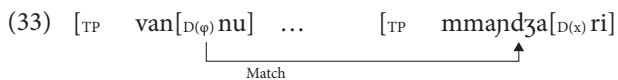
This leaves us with Example (27a), where the matrix verb is invariable and the embedded verb is inflected for φ-features. While most examples of finite obligatory control in Balkan languages reproduce the agreement configuration in (32), structures similar to (27a) are also attested, for instance with the Greek necessity modal *prepei* 'must' in (34). The latter has an invariable 3rd person singular morphology, while the embedded verb is fully inflected for φ-features. The deontic reading of (34) nevertheless implies a control configuration with argument roles assigned by both the matrix and the embedded verbs.

(34)   Prepei   na   kapniso/kapnizi   Greek
       must-3SG PRT smoke-1SG/smoke-3SG
       'I have/he has (the obligation) to smoke'

It is tempting to see (27a) and (34) as representing the mirror image to classical control in (33) or even (32). If so, the matrix D inflection corresponds to a "minimal pronoun" lacking referential features, hence a sort of variable, requiring to be valued by the embedded inflection, along the lines of (35).[7] This might be described

───────────────────────

7.   Another possible candidate for the analysis in (35) is the Italo-Romance deontic modals studied by Benincà and Poletto (1996), exemplified in (i). Benincà and Poletto treat them as functional heads in a monoclausal structure. They make it clear that the meaning is deontic and that raising is not a possible analysis. When the embedded verb is an infinitival, as in (i), the only

as backward control, except that backward control is normally taken to involve a fully inflected matrix verb.[8]

(35) $[_{TP}$ st$[_{D(x)}$ a$]$ ... $[_{TP}$ ffatʃiv$[_{D(φ)}$ i$]$

Match

In short, we contend that there are distinct advantages to biclausality when both verbs are fully inflected (and eventually connected by *a*), as in (27b). Specifically, we capture the continuity of (27b) with finite obligatory control into Balkan-type subjunctive complements – and with the dependent tense interpretation (simultaneity) of Romance-type or Balkan-type subjunctives. Though pattern (27a) is more problematic, we also indicated possible bisentential counterparts.

3.3   Cliticization patterns

Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001, 2003, 2020) lay considerable emphasis on the fact that in their data, clitic climbing is obligatory in *a* finite embeddings. Cardinaletti and Giusti's argument is that the positioning of the clitic on the superordinate verb is predicted if a monoclausal structure is adopted. By contrast, bi-clausal structures may allow clitic climbing, but do not force it, as witnessed by the fact that Italian allows both the embedded position of the clitic and clitic climbing in (36).

(36) a. Vado a vederlo   Italian
          I.go   to see-him
          'I go to see him'
      b. Lo   vado a vedere
          him I.go   to see
          'I go to see him'

Let us then go back to the cliticization data in Table 3. At least in Salento varieties embedded and climbed position of clitics alternate, both in *a* and in bare finite embeddings. In this respect they are similar to the standard Italian alternations between downstairs cliticization and climbing in (37). Thus *a* embeddings in the

---

possible reading is that of arbitrary control (generic reading). In view of the data in Table 3 it is noteworthy that clitic climbing is impossible.

(i) Bisogna farlo   Italian
     Need(s) do.INF-it
     'One needs/we need to do it'

8. Alexiadou et al. (2010) do not include *prepei* sentences in their discussion of backward control in Greek.

Brindisi variety are compatible with upstairs cliticization and with downstairs cliticization, as in (37), cf. (8) and (19) above. It must however be acknowledged that the example in (37b) presenting both short cliticization and *a* embedding is the only one of its kind known to us.

(37) a. ti   vɔɟɟu a vveʃu   Brindisi (Salento)
          you I.want to I.see
          'I want to see you'
      b. vɔli   a ssi   lu mandʒa
          he.wants to himself it he.eats
          'He wants to eat it'

In other Salento varieties bare finite embedding also admit the two possibilities, including embedded cliticization, as in (38b) and matrix cliticization, as in (38a), cf. (9) above. The fact that short cliticization is found only in Salento varieties raises the question whether the pattern may depend on the availability of *ku* structures. If so, monoclausal theorists can claim that even if short cliticization in (38) points to a biclausal structure, this is a bare alternant of *ku* embeddings,[9] and does not say anything about *a* embedding.

(38) a. lu sta ffattsu   Mesagne (Salento)
          it be I.do
          'I am doing it'
      b. vɔɟɟu lu veʃu
          I.want him I.see
          'I want to see him'

Conversely, independently of whether (37)–(38) represent a problem for monoclausal theorists, a potential issue arises for the present biclausal analysis in that in many varieties, specifically Sicilian ones, clitic climbing is actually obligatory both with *a* finite embeddings, as in (39a) and with bare finite embeddings, as in (39b).

(39) a. u   vaju a ccamu   Calascibetta (Sicily)
          him I.go to I.call
          'I am going to call him'
      b. tɪ   va   kʊrkɪ
          you you.go you.lie
          'You are going to lie down'

We take it as uncontroversial that clitic climbing is impossible in the presence of an intervening non-defective CP phase. This conclusion is essentially an updating of Kayne's (2000) classical work in phasal terms. Thus Italian tensed complements do not allow clitic climbing, even when the matrix verb, e.g. *want* in (40), allows clitic climbing with infinitival complements.

(40) *Lo   voglio che tu   chiami   Italian
      him I.want that you call
      'I want you to call him'

Building on Kayne (2000), the clitic alternations in (36) reflect the lack of a phasal C head or the presence of a defective C head, allowing climbing without forcing it. The alternations in (38) reflect the same state of affairs if we accept that they have bisentential structures, along the lines of (41).

(41) a. [$_{IP}$ lu   [$_{IP}$ sta … [$C_{defective}$ [$_{IP}$ ffattsu
      b. [$_{IP}$ vɔɟɟu   … [$C_{defective}$ [$_{IP}$ lu   [$_{IP}$ veʃu

According to monoclausal theorists, structures like (41) are available in Salento varieties as bare alternants of *ku* embeddings, and therefore do not bear on *a* embeddings at all. There is however one piece of evidence that in Salento varieties the alternation in (41) is extended to *a* embeddings, namely the examples in (37). Whatever the status of these examples, we must acknowledge the potential problem for the bisentential analysis posed by varieties where *a*/bare finite embeddings obligatorily require clitic climbing, as in (39).

The intuition is that there are several degrees of defectivity (of the CP phase) in structures of clausal embedding licencing and that different degrees of phasal defectivity licence different degrees of sentence cohesion such as the impossibility of clitic climbing in (40) vs. its possibility in (41) vs. its obligatoriness in (39). So far we have proposed that presence of a C phase head blocks long cliticization and forces short cliticization in (40). Presence of a defective C phase head allows both long cliticization and short cliticization, as in (41).

We may modify the proposal in (41) so that a defective C head is present in short cliticization structures like (41b), where it is allowed by inheritance of features from C, however defective, to I. Structures which present clitic climbing may then be modelled as presenting a C head, however defective. Whatever features I has are the result of matching with matrix I – leading to the association of all I-related functional material with the matrix I. For instance, it is known from Kayne (2000: 44) that clitic climbing correlates with the impossibility of an embedded (clitic) negation.

(42)   a. [IP u [IP vaju ... [PP a   [IP ccamu
       b. [IP tı [IP va   ... [IP kʊrkı

In short, the robust evidence of short cliticization from Salento varieties is not necessarily relevant to the present discussion while Example (37b) with short cliticization under *a* is isolated. Conversely, clitic climbing with *a*/bare finite embeddings is obligatory in Sicilian and Apulian varieties. Since clitic climbing has been used as an argument in favor of (some degree of) clause union at least since Rizzi's (1981) 'restructuring', it is straightforwardly handled by monoclausal theorists. In present terms we have suggested that the degree of sentence cohesion depends on the representation of the C phasal head as present, defective, absent.

4.   The interpretation of the progressive

A final major property that according to Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001, 2003) favors a monoclausal analysis is that *a*/bare finite embeddings involve not two events but a monoeventive interpretation. Indeed *be/stay* followed by *a*/bare finite embeddings has the same meaning as the English *be-ing* progressive. Matters are less clear with *go/come*, though as indicated by Cruschina (2013) for Sicilian, and by Tellier (2015) for the French infinitival construction, they may easily be construed without any implication of physical motion. Just one Sicilian example is provided in (43). As for *want*, we do not know of comparable claims.

(43)   ... e mi   vannu a dunanu   na pizza accussì ladia!
       and to-me they.go to they.give a   pizza so   ugly
       '... and they give me such a bad pizza!'   Sicilian (Cruschina 2013: 279)

Evidently, in order to evaluate the argument from monoeventivity, we need to address the interpretation of the syntactic structures proposed in Section 3. In so doing, we narrow our focus to progressives because of the considerable semantic literature (Portner 2011). Our goal is not to propose our own theory for the interpretation of progressives; nor do we have the ambition of providing a motivation for a particular semantic analysis (as, for example, Cruschina this volume). We simply want to show that the syntactic structures in Section 3 are semantically interpretable. More specifically, we are interested in showing that existing semantics for progressives are in fact bi-eventive; this eliminates the last potential argument in favor of monoclausal structures, namely the intuition that a single event is involved.

Before we proceed to the semantic literature on progressives, let us dwell a little longer on the Romance *a* preposition. According to Manzini and Franco (2016) the

preposition *a* 'to' instantiates a relation, notated ⊆, whose content is what Belvin and den Dikken (1997: 170) call zonal inclusion. In other words, in sentence like *I gave the book to Peter, to* introduces a relation between its object *Peter* and the theme of the verb *the book* such that *Peter* includes *the book*, i.e. possesses it.

In the words of Portner (2011: 1248–49), an important stream of research holds that "a progressive sentence describes part of an event, in the same way that a common noun phrase of the form *part of X* describes part of the individual referred to by X … This approach to the semantics of the progressive can be referred to as the partitive analysis". We refer the reader to Portner's work for a summary of the various accounts proposed in the literature. Despite the "quite unique" nature of some of his ideas, as highlighted by Portner, here we illustrate Landman's (1992) treatment of the progressive, labelled by its author as the Part-of Proposal.

The idea is that "Mary is crossing the street is true iff some actual event realizes sufficiently much of the type of events of Mary's crossing the street". For instance, the sentence in (44a) is true "iff some event is realized in *w* in the past and that event stands in the PROG relation to the type of events of Mary building a house" (Landman 1992: 13–22), as indicated in (44b), where PROG is the relation between events and types (sets) of events mentioned in the part-of proposal.

(44) a. Mary was building a house
      b. $\exists e'[t(e') < now$ and $PROG(e', \lambda e.\exists y$ [house(y) and Build(e) and Agent(e)=Mary and Theme(e)=y])]

The part-of relation involved in Landman's analysis seems indeed to fit in with the present construal of the Romance *a* preposition. Two points about Landman's treatment are salient for present purposes. First and foremost, the logical syntax of the progressive in (44b) is bi-eventive, rather than mono-eventive, making it well suited for the bi-clausal syntax that we are proposing. An operation of lambda-abstraction at the C-I interface, which turns the embedded event into an event type (set), is necessary in order to map the syntax in Section 3 to the semantics in (44b). But this is the kind of enrichment that can reasonably be expected to take place at the interface.

The second important point concerns the nature of PROG. In Landman's terms, "E, the set of events, is ordered by two relations: a relation of 'part-of' and a relation of 'stage-of' […] a stage of an event is a special sort of part of that event". For instance, "if an event is a complete accomplishment event (Mary's building of a house), the result (the house being built) is part of that event". Importantly for present purposes, this is true in exactly the same sense in which "Hanny's hand at a certain interval is part of Hanny at that (or a larger) interval". The last passage is that "not every part of *e* at an interval is a stage of *e*; to be a stage, a part has to be big enough and share enough with *e* so that we can call it a less developed version of *e*". In practice, coming back to (44), what it means is that "in some world, an event

of building a house by Mary goes on, a stage of which goes on in our world at some past interval, a stage, which develops into that event" (Landman 1992: 22–28).[10]

Now, as discussed at the beginning of this section, the *a* preposition in its dative occurrences has a part-whole content, as motivated by Manzini and Franco (2016); Franco et al. (2021). In turn in Section 3.1 we concluded that *a* finite embeddings in Sicilian and Apulian dialects, for instance in (45a), involve the *a* dative preposition, as in (45b).

(45)   a.   stɔk   a   bbeivə   Taranto (Apulia)
             I.stay to I.drink
             'I am drinking'

       b.   … [$_{VP}$ stɔk$_{(e)}$ [$_P$ a$_{(e, e')}$ [$_{IP}$ DP bbeivə$_{(e')}$]]]

In (45) the responsibility for introducing a relation between the event introduced by the main verb *e* and the event property introduced by the embedded sentence falls to the *a* elementary predicate. In this occurrence, the $\subseteq$ part/whole relation holds of event pairs, saying that one event is part of, or a stage of, a second event – or rather a set of events/an event type. This is part of the semantics required by Landman's PROG. Thus, the $\subseteq$ inclusion/location content is a natural candidate to instantiate the relation between events and event properties that a part of the formal semantics literature identifies with the progressive. What holds of examples like (45) including an overt dative preposition, also holds of bare finite embeddings, if PROG (i.e. part/whole) is simply not externalized.

In conclusion, semantic accounts of the progressive are in fact surprisingly easy to map to biclausal structures of the type proposed in Section 3. Syntactic structures of the type proposed here, with two distinct event positions associated with the matrix and embedded verb and an inclusion content attributed to *a* are perfect candidates to express a Landman-type semantics. Conversely, to the extent that Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001: § 3.7.2) list "single event interpretation" amongst the arguments in favor of monoclausality we could legitimately count the semantics of progressives as an argument against them.[11]

---

10. We omit the notion of "continuation branch of an event", despite it being crucial to Landman; we refer the reader directly to his text.

11. An anonymous reviewer suggests a different conclusion namely that "there is no one-to-one correspondence between … event interpretation and monoclausal/biclausal structure". This is possible – though the argument advanced by the reviewer deserves more careful investigation, namely that "Landman's analysis was carried out for the English progressive construction, whose monoclausality has hardly been challenged or disputed". The matter cannot be dealt with here, but we would endorse Kayne's (2000) conclusion that even *have/be* – participle structures are biclausal.

5.   Macrovariation and universals

Focussing on the progressive also allows us to touch on the issue of macrovariation and of the universals underlying it. Suppose that our account holds of progressives of the form V_{fin}-(a)-V_{fin} in Romance. Crosslinguistically, there are many different ways of externalizing progressives, while for all we know progressive is an interpretive universal. What are the consequences of our discussion for both issues?

Typological variation in the progressive forms is the core of recent work by Cinque (2017), on whose important documentation of the phenomenon we rely. As is well known, English, Italian (46a) and Spanish (46b) form the progressives with a copula and an embedded gerund. French (46c) has a (complex) preposition which however embeds an infinitival sentence. Central and Southern regional varieties of colloquial Italian also allow the formation of progressive through the *a* preposition and infinitival embedding as in (46d) – as also shown in the last column of Table 1 and in examples such as (10b).[12] Thus the same meaning can come to be expressed by more than one morphosyntactic format.

(46) a.   Sta piovendo   Italian
            It.is raining
            'It is raining'
      b.   Juan está estudiando   Spanish
            Juan is   studying
            'Juan is studying'
      c.   Il est en train   de pleuvoir   French
            it is   in course of raining
            'It is raining'
      d.   Sta   a studiare   Italian (regional)
            he/she is to study.INF
            'He/she is studying'

Conversely, one form can come to express more than one meaning. Thus, in Italian the progressive reading is compatible with the simple present tense, as in (47a); the same is true in French (47b). In a language like Bulgarian in (47c) the simple present/imperfective is in fact the sole exponent of the progressive.

(47) a.   Piove   Italian
            it.rains
            'It is raining'

---

12. These construction are recalled here at the prompting of an anonymous reviewer. Their structure is already discussed in (23), in reference to Example (10b).

      b. Il pleut   French
           it rains
           'It is raining'
      c. V London vali   mnogo   Bulgarian
           in London it.rains a lot
           'In London it's raining a lot'

Cinque's (2017) theoretical conclusions are based on the cartographic tenet of the 'syntacticization of semantics' (Cinque and Rizzi 2009). Thus, the Bulgarian present (47c) "in contexts compatible with a progressive interpretation actually co-occurs with a silent Progressive aspect head". Italian and French may take the same route as Bulgarian, namely of a silent Progressive head (47a–b) – or else realize Progressive by a periphrasis with the gerund (Italian (46a)) or by a periphrasis with a (complex) PP and the infinitive (French and Italian (46c–d)). Therefore for Cinque all progressives are characterized by an invariant syntactico-semantic structure including the Progressive head. In externalization, this underlyingly universal structure yield several possible syncretic or periphrastic morphophonological outputs.

    Among the arguments that may be adduced in support of this line of thought is the fact that opacity at the PHON (externalization) interface is licenced by what many would consider as the standard morphological framework in minimalism, namely Distributed Morphology (DM, Halle and Marantz 1993). However, though under DM it is possible to have externalizations which are not isomorphic to the underlying syntax, ordinary simplicity measures presumably dictate that a more transparent mapping (requiring fewer operations) is to be preferred to a more opaque one. Everything else being equal, therefore, the more transparent mapping afforded by the biclausal analysis for South Italian progressives should be favored with respect to the less transparent mapping of the monoclausal analysis (meaning linkers, parasitic inflections etc.).

    Transparency at PHON is also linked to learnability, given that this is the only interface through which evidence is accessible to the child. Cinque (2017: 562) explicitly mentions that "if Progressive aspect is a universal category (possibly reflecting the way our cognition analyses the world), a child only needs to recognize which piece of morphology, if any, represents it, even if this has no obvious correspondence to (parts of) its meaning". This statement hides a difficulty, namely that the cartographic model does not simply require a universal concept of progressive, on which we may all agree. It requires much stronger assumptions about the existence of a Progressive syntactic head and of a template ordering it with respect to other functional heads. This is far from a generally accepted postulate – and in fact characterized as "unevolvable" by Chomsky et al. (2019).

Our idea is that the various forms taken by the progressive crosslinguistically are largely compatible with that described for South Italian. To begin with, the typological literature (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994) reports that the progressive often involves a locative embedding. Cinque lists eight groups of languages where different locative strategies are employed, involving a locative PP or a locative main verb. In order to understand why the basic syntax of these languages can be matched to that of South Italian, we need to go back once again to characterization that we gave for the *a* preposition of South Italian.

We indicated that its basic content is that of a dative (possessor/recipient). In present terms this means that it established an inclusion/part-whole relation between its complement and some superordinate argument. As in turns out, in South Italian and in many Romance languages *a* also externalizes locative relations, both state and motion. Crucially, the present approach, which we base on Franco et al. (2021) does not treat location as primitive. On the contrary, we take the general relator meaning of *a* to be primitive; its locative occurrences are a specialization of the part-whole relation. Thus, locative occurrences involve instances where the internal argument of $\subseteq$ is a location (i.e. 'x included by y, y location') and/or the main predicate is directional. In other words, location is a contextual restriction of part-whole.

Therefore, when it comes to the encoding of the progressive by periphrases that are otherwise interpreted as locative, we predict that these expressions surface to the extent that they have a general relator core, connecting to the fundamentally partitive semantics of progressives. We do not in any way imply that specifically locative relations play any role (unlike, say, Mateu and Amadas 1999; Demirdache and Uribe-Etxebarria 2000). In the easiest case, a simple preposition is involved, where one can easily hypothesize the removal of the locative restriction, leaving the basic inclusion relation. South Italian varieties with *a* progressives exemplify this typology, as do some Germanic languages. As Higginbotham (2009) points out, the historical origin of the English Progressive is a prepositional construction involving a gerundive object: "[…] the relic of the preposition is still heard, of course, in those English speakers who say 'John is a'crossing (of) the street'[…]" (Higginbotham 2009: 54). A Germanic language which makes use of an overt preposition is Dutch, as in (48).

(48) Ik ben aan het/'t werken.   Dutch (van Gelderen 1993: 180–182)
      I am   on the   working
      'I am working'.

Cinque (2017) also lists progressives consisting of a copula and an embedded gerund, including English, Italian (46a) and Spanish (46b) among gerunds with a locative externalization. Gallego (2010) and Franco (2015) convincingly argue that

the gerund is a sort of verbal PP; even etymologically, it corresponds to the oblique case (dative/instrumental) of the Latin verbal noun. Therefore Italian (46a) has a syntax similar in all relevant respects to that of (22)–(23). The copula embeds a KP, where the oblique case K is encoded by the inflection of the gerund.

At the same time, as Cinque (2017) points out in his cross-linguistic survey, several languages recruit complex spatial PPs, including locative Axial Parts (Svenonius 2006). Many Romance varieties of North Italy employ *behind*, as in (49); note that *dre* 'behind' is connected to its complement by the elementary relator *a* – as happens in many complex PPs in Romance (Garzonio and Rossi 2016).

> (49) a sun dre   a skrever   Modena (Emilia)
>   I am behind to write
>   'I am writing'

What Axial Parts do in the economy of complex locative PPs is introduce an axis of orientation relating the figure (i.e. the subject of the predication) to the ground (i.e. the complement of the locative PP). This is a specialization of the general relation introduced in (49) by *a*. Examples like (49) involve well-known general processes whereby many Axial Parts can be plied either to a locative or to a temporal/aspectual interpretations. For example, Franco (2015) documents how Italian *dietro* (Latin *de retro*, Emilian *dre*) turns up in formations with meaning of *after(wards)* – following a typologically well attested pattern. Other languages resort to a locative matrix verb. In fact even the verb that we consistently glossed as *be/stay* in Romance could be said to be locative.

Nevertheless, given that locative relations are not crucial to the present account of progressives, we fully expect that languages employ periphrases which involve PPs and/or auxiliaries without locative meaning. According to Cinque (2017), these include the French progressive (46c) formed by *en train de* + infinitive. Thus French use a dedicated aspectual periphrasis to restrict the partitive relation at the heart of the progressive.

Other languages resort to an aspectual matrix verb. For instance, Basque encodes the progressive through both *ari* 'to be engaged', which in fact selects a locative PP. The *ari* progressive is of particular interest in the context of the present discussion in that it involves a biclausal syntactic structure according the theoretical analysis by Laka (2006). The PP can be either a nominal complement (50a), or a nominalized clause (50b), in both instances yielding a progressive meaning.

> (50) a. emakume-a dantza-n ari   da   Basque (Laka 2006)
>   woman-DET dance-LOC engaged is
>   'The woman is dancing'

b. emakume-a ogi-a   ja-te-n   ari   da
    woman-DET bread-DET eat-NOM-LOC engaged is
    'The woman is eating the bread'

Progressive aspect proper, as in (50b), induces a change in case-assignment, as well as a change in the choice of matrix verb type. In the non-progressive counterpart of (50b), namely (51), the external argument *emakumea* 'the woman' carries ergative case (marked by *-k*); the internal argument *ogia* '(the) bread' receives absolutive case, marked zero. In contrast, (50b) has no ergative-marked argument. Following Laka (2006), this is because the verb embedded in the nominalized clause, *jan* 'eat', is not involved in assigning either case or thematic role to 'the woman'. Rather, the theta marking of the subject of the progressive construction is due to the *ari* matrix verb, that selects a PP and determines absolutive case assignment to its subject, as in all other locative constructions in Basque. According to Laka (2006), therefore, (50b) has the structure in (52) where the embedded non-finite (nominalized) verb is in a locative phrase selected by the progressive verb and the matrix subject 'the woman' controls the embedded subject PRO. Thus, the absence of ergative marking for the agent of the event implies a biclausal structure.

(51) emakume-a-k   ogi-a   jaten du   Basque (Laka 2006)
      woman-DET-ERG bread-DET eating has
      'The woman eats the bread'

(52) [emakumea$_i$ [[[[PRO$_i$ ogia ja- $_{VP}$] te- $_{NP}$] n $_{PP}$] ari $_{VP}$] da $_{IP}$]

Cinque (2017) also quotes Laka's work and takes into accounts its conclusions as to the biclausal nature of the construction. Though alternative analyses may be preferable he is prepared to entertain the possibility that "the entire *ari* + PP could perhaps be in the specifier of a silent (Progressive) head". The point we want to make here is that even granting Cinque's conclusions, an abstract Progressive head does not make any contribution independent of that already made by the various components of syntax and meaning individuated by Laka in her analysis. This is essentially the point we would make for South Italian *a*/bare finite embeddings, or in fact for the various locative and non-locative complex PPs briefly reviewed so far.

The question is then whether there are other typologies for which a silent Progressive head might make a crucial contribution. It certainly appears to be promising that some languages lack a specialized progressive periphrasis like Bulgarian; or equivalently may choose to resort to a simple tense anyway to externalize the progressive, as in Italian, French. Let us say that in Bulgarian or in one of the possible grammars of Italian the progressive is not externalized. It is not a matter of contention, then, that in the present Italian may externalize just Tense (event time = utterance time) and not aspect (progressive, habitual, etc.). The question is

whether the disambiguation which this necessitates is performed by the syntax, cartography-style, by means of a Progressive head – or whether the PROG operator (Section 4) can be enriched at the SEM interface. Neither option is intrinsically simpler or more complex in itself – it is a theoretical, not a descriptive choice.

In short, we believe that the syntax we have argued for in detail for the South Italian *a*/bare finite embeddings in Sections 1–4, provides a template for many externalizations of progressive involving simple or complex prepositions, locative, aspectual or of other type – and/or locative/aspectual/copula-like verbs. For this entire family of periphrastic constructions of the progressive the same arguments in principle hold as for South Italian. As argued in Sections 1–4, the addition of an abstract Progressive head to the structure does not add anything that is not already present in the elements overtly realized. In fact, a structure which is easily analyzed as bisentential must be constrained into a monoclausal straightjacket with added opacity at the PHON interface.

At the same time, we have suggested that in instances of radical ambiguity of a given form between the progressive and the non-progressive reading, no syntactic representation of the progressive is present. The PROG operator is enriched at the SEM interface. We have already commented on the theoretical nature of the choice between the solutions. In concluding this section, we should point out that under the present account some unitary characterization of the progressive can be reconstructed in the SEM component – since a partitive PROG relation between event/event types is either externalized by various means or else introduced at SEM. However, there is no universal syntactic category corresponding to this Progressive content. We have no reason to believe that this is not the correct result. Syntactic structures are not necessarily universal but vary in accordance with lexical variation (Chomsky 1995). They are not necessarily isomorphic to meaning but they simply restrict it (in an optimal way).

6.   Conclusions

A bisentential analysis has been proposed to the *a*/bare finite embedding data. Such an analysis can account for the *a* element (Section 3.1) and for the presence of double matrix and embedded inflection (Section 3.2) in a simple way. The presence of reduced inflections on the matrix verb and clitic climbing (Section 3.3) can be explained by reasonably simple parameters. In Section 4 we addressed the question whether bi-clausal structures could be matched to an appropriate semantics, by narrowing the scope of our discussion to progressives. A partitive semantics for progressives can be mapped point by point to our syntax. In discussing the typology of progressives in Section 5 we explicitly endorsed the view that the same progressive

semantics can be supported by different syntactic constructions – and of course the same syntax may be liable to ambiguities subject to pragmatic restrictions. In this sense we have rejected the codification of Progressive as a cartographic functional head – as we have rejected monoclausal analyses for our data.

Acknowledgements

References

Alexiadou, A. E. Anagnostopoulou, G. Iordachioaia & M. Marchis. 2010. "No objection to Backward Control." In *Movement theory of Control*, ed. by Norbert Hornstein, and Maria Polinsky, 89–118 Amsterdam: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/la.154.04ale

Arsenijević, Boban. 2009. "Clausal Complementation as Relativization." *Lingua* 119: 39–50. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2008.08.003

Belvin, Robert, and Marcel den Dikken. 1997. "There, Happens, to, Be, Have." *Lingua* 101: 151–183. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0024-3841(96)00049-6

Benincà, Paola and Poletto, Cecilia. 1996. "The diachronic development of a modal verb of necessity." *University of Venice Working Papers in Linguistics* 6: 29–63.

Bybee, Joan, Revere Perkins, and William Pagliuca. 1994. *The Evolution of Grammar. Tense, Aspect, and Modality in the Languages of the World*. Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press.

Calabrese, Andrea. 1993. "The Sentential Complementation of Salentino: A Study of a Language without Infinitival Clauses." In *Syntactic Theory and the Dialects of Italy*, ed. by Adriana Belletti, 28–98. Torino: Rosenberg and Sellier.

Cardinaletti, Anna, and Giuliana Giusti. 2001. "Semi-lexical Motion Verbs in Romance and Germanic." In *Semi-lexical Categories: The Function of Content Words and the Content of Function Words*, ed. by Norbert Corver, and Henk van Riemsdijk, 371–414. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110874006.371

Cardinaletti, Anna, and Giuliana Giusti. 2003. "Motion Verbs as Functional Heads." In *The Syntax of Italian Dialects*, ed. by Christina Tortora, 31–49. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cardinaletti, Anna, and Giuliana Giusti. 2020. "Multiple Agreement in Southern Italian Dialects." In *Linguistic Variations: Structure and Interpretation – Studies in Honor of M. Rita Manzini*, ed. by Ludovico Franco and Paolo Lorusso SGG, Berlin: Mouton De Gruyter.

Chomsky, Noam. 1995. *The minimalist Program*. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.

Chomsky, Noam. 2000. "Minimalist Inquiries: The Framework". In *Step by Step. Essays on Minimalist Syntax in Honor of Howard Lasnik*, ed. by Roger Martin, David Michaels, Juan Uriagereka, and Samuel Jay Keyser, 89–155. Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press.

Chomsky, Noam. 2001. "Derivation by Phase." In *Ken Hale: A Life in Language*, ed. by Michael Kenstowicz, 1–52. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.

Chomsky, Noam, Ángel J. Gallego, and Dennis Ott. 2019. "Generative Grammar and the Faculty of Language: Insights, Questions, and Challenges." *Special issue of Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 1–38.

Cinque, Guglielmo. 2006. *Restructuring and Functional Heads. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures*, vol. 4, New York: Oxford University Press.

Cinque, Guglielmo. 2017. "On the Status of Functional Categories (Heads and Phrases)." *Language and Linguistics*. 18(4): 521–576. https://doi.org/10.1075/lali.18.4.01cin

Cinque, Guglielmo, and Luigi Rizzi. 2009. "The Cartography of Syntactic Structures." In *The Oxford Handbook of Linguistic Analysis*, ed. by Bernd Heine, and Heiko Narrog, 65–78. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cruschina, Silvio. 2013. "Beyond the Stem and Inflectional Morphology: An Irregular Pattern at the Level of Periphrasis." In *The Boundaries of Pure Morphology*, ed. by Silvio Cruschina, Martin Maiden, and John Charles Smith, 262–283. Oxford: Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199678860.003.0014

Demirdache, Hamida, and Miriam Uribe-Etxebarria. 2000. "The Primitives of Temporal Relations." In *Step by Step: Essays on Minimalist Syntax in Honor of Howard Lasnik*, ed. by Roger Martin, David Michaels, and Juan Uriagereka, 157–186. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.

Di Caro, Vincenzo. 2019. "The Inflected Construction in the dialects of Sicily: parameters of micro-variation." ." In *Italian Dialectology at the Interfaces*, ed. by Cruschina, Silvio, Adam Ledgeway and Eva-Maria Remberger, 63–78, Amsterdam: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/la.251.03dic

Di Caro, Vincenzo, and Giuliana Giusti. 2015. "A Protocol for the Inflected Construction in Sicilian Dialects." *Annali di Ca' Foscari. Serie occidentale* 49, 393–421.

Dobrovie-Sorin, Carmen, Isabela Nedelcu, and Ion Giurgea. 2013. "Genitive DPs and pronominal possessors." In *A Reference Grammar of Romanian. Volume 1: The Noun Phrase*, ed. by Carmen Dobrovie-Sorin, and Ion Giurgea, 309–354. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/la.207.06dob

Franco, Ludovico. 2015. "The morpho-syntax of adverbs of the carpone/i type in (Old and Modern) Italian." *Probus*, vol. 27, pp. 271–306

Franco, Ludovico, M. Rita Manzini, and Leonardo M. Savoia. 2021. "Locative Ps as General Relators: Location, Direction, DOM in Romance." *Linguistic Variation*, 21(1):135–173. https://doi.org/10.1075/lv.00035.fra

Gallego, Ángel J. 2010. "On the prepositional nature of non-finite verbs in Catalan." *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 9:79–102. https://doi.org/10.5565/rev/catjl.95

Garzonio, Jacopo, and Silvia Rossi. 2016. "Case in Italian complex PPs." In *Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory 10, Selected papers from 'Going Romance' 28*, ed. by Ernestina Carrilho, Alexandra Fiéis, Maria Lobo, Sandra Pereira, 121–137, Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/rllt.10.07gar

Giorgi, Alessandra. 2009. *About the speaker*. Oxford: OUP. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199571895.001.0001

Halle, Morris, and Alec Marantz. 1993. "Distributed morphology and the pieces of inflection." In *The view from Building 20*, ed. By Ken Hale and Samuel J. Keyser, 111–176. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.

Higginbotham, James. 2009. *Tense, Aspect, and Indexicality. Oxford Studies in Theoretical Linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199239313.001.0001

Hill, Virginia. 2013. "The Emergence of the Romanian Supine." *Journal of Historical Linguistics* 3 (2): 230–271. https://doi.org/10.1075/jhl.3.2.03hil

Jones, Michael. 1993. *Sardinian Syntax*. London: Routledge.

Kayne, Richard. 2000. *Parameters and Universals*. Oxford: OUP.

Kayne, Richard. 2010. *Comparisons and Contrasts*, 190–227. New York: Oxford University Press.

Laka, Itziar. 2006. "Deriving Split-ergativity in the Progressive: The Case of Basque." In *Ergativity: Emerging Issues*, ed. by Alana Johns, Diane Massam, and Juvenal Ndayiragije, 173–195, Dordrecht/Berlin: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/1-4020-4188-8_7

Landau, Idan. 2013. *Control in Generative Grammar. A Research Companion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139061858

Landau, Idan. 2015. *A Two-tiered Theory of Control*. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.
https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/9780262028851.001.0001

Landman, Fred. 1992. "The Progressive." *Natural Language Semantics* 1: 1–32.
https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02342615

Ledgeway, Adam. 2012. "Contatto e mutamento: complementazione e complementatori nei dialetti del salento." *Studi Italiani di Linguistica Teorica e Applicata*, XLI, 3: 459–480

Ledgeway, Adam. 2016. "From Coordination to Subordination: The Grammaticalisation of Progressive and Andative Aspect in the Dialects of Salento." In *Coordination and Subordination. Form and Meaning. Selected Papers from CSI Lisbon 2014*, ed. by Fernanda Pratas, Sandra Pereira, and Clara Pinto, 157–184. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Lorusso, Paolo. 2019. "A person split analysis of the progressive forms in some Southern Italian varieties." In *Italian Dialectology at the Interfaces*, ed. by Silvio Cruschina, Adam Ledgeway and Eva-Maria Remberger, 203–236. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
https://doi.org/10.1075/la.251.10lor

Manzini, M. Rita, and Ludovico Franco. 2016. "Goal and DOM Datives." *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 34: 197–240. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11049-015-9303-y

Manzini, M. Rita, Paolo Lorusso, and Leonardo M. Savoia. 2017. "A/bare finite complements in Southern Italian varieties: Monoclausal or bi-clausal syntax?" *Quaderni di Linguistica e Studi Orientali (QULSO)* 3: 11–59. Florence: Florence University Press.

Manzini, M. Rita, and Leonardo M. Savoia. 2005. *I dialetti italiani e romanci: Morfosintassi generativa*. 3 vols. Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso.

Manzini, M. Rita, and Leonardo M. Savoia. 2007. *A unification of morphology and syntax*. London: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203968154

Manzini, M. Rita, and Leonardo M. Savoia. 2011. *Grammatical Categories*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511974489

Manzini, M. Rita, and Leonardo M. Savoia. 2018a. *The Morphosyntax of Albanian and Aromanian Varieties*. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501505140

Manzini, M. Rita, and Leonardo M. Savoia. 2018b. "Finite and Non-finite Complementation, Particles and Control in Aromanian, Compared to other Romance Varieties and Albanian." *Linguistic Variation*, 215–264. https://doi.org/10.1075/lv.16003.man

Mateu, Jaume, and Laia Amadas. 1999. "Extended Argument Structure: Progressive as Unaccusative." *Catalan Working Papers in Linguistics* 7: 159–174.

Portner, Paul. 2011. "Perfect and Progressive." In *Semantics: An International Handbook of Natural Language Meaning*, ed. by Maienborn, Claudia, Klaus von Heusinger, and Paul Portner, Vol. 2, 1217–1261. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter

Rizzi, Luigi. 1981. *Issues in Italian Syntax*. Dordrecht: Foris Publications.

Rizzi, Luigi. 1997. "The Fine Structure of the Left Periphery." In *Elements of Grammar*, ed. by Liliane Haegeman, 281–337. Dordrecht: Kluwer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-011-5420-8_7

Roberts, Ian and Anna Roussou. 2003. *Syntactic Change: a Minimalist Approach to Grammaticalization*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511486326

Rosenbaum, Peter 1967. *The Grammar of English Predicate Complement Constructions*. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.

Roussou, Anna. 2009. "In the mood for control." *Lingua*, 119:1811–1836. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2008.11.010

Rohlfs, Gerhard. 1969. *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti, Vol. 3: Sintassi e formazione delle parole*. Torino: Einaudi. Rosenbaum.

Svenonius, Peter. 2006. "The emergence of axial parts." In *Tromsø Working Papers on Language and Linguistics: Nordlyd 33.1, special issue on Adpositions*, ed. by Peter Svenonius. 1–22. University of Tromsø, Tromsø.

Tellier, Christine. 2015. "French Expressive Motion Verbs as Functional Heads." *Probus* 27 (1): 157–192. https://doi.org/10.1515/probus-2013-0020

Trumper, John, and Luigi Rizzi. 1985. "Il problema sintattico di CA/MU nei dialetti calabresi mediani". *Quaderni del Dipartimento di Linguistica* (Università della Calabria) 1: 63–76.

Van Gelderen, E. 1993. *The Rise of Functional Categories*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/la.9

Preterite indicative Pseudo-Coordination and morphomic patterns

The case of the W-Pattern in the dialect of Delia

Vincenzo Nicolò Di Caro

Ca' Foscari University of Venice

This paper discusses the paradigmatic configuration (or 'morphome'; Aronoff 1994) that Pseudo-Coordination (V1$_{[TAM.Agr]}$ *a* V2$_{[TAM.Agr]}$, as in *Jivu a ffici la spisa.* 'I went and did the shopping.') displays in the preterite indicative in Deliano: i.e. the 'W-Pattern' (Di Caro 2019a; Di Caro and Giusti 2018). In the first part, the suppletive nature of the preterite paradigm of the V2s licensing this construction is discussed. These V2s all feature perfective roots (i.e. PYTA roots; Maiden 2018b), such as *fici* 'I made/did' and *dissi* 'I said', which are the ones allowed in the construction, and imperfective roots, such as *facisti* 'you (sg.) made/did' and *dicisti* 'you (sg.) said'. In the second part, new data from a grammaticality judgment-based study on Pseudo-Coordination in Deliano are discussed, with reference to the emergence of the W-Pattern in a specific paradigm. The results clearly show that this morphome is consistently present throughout the sample (11–80 y.o. participants, $N = 140$) and has a "psychological reality" (cf. Maiden 2018b: 1–10), in the sense that it does not seem to be affected by variables such as age or gender, or to be subject to ordering effects.

Keywords: Pseudo-Coordination, Sicilian dialects, preterite indicative, motion verbs, restructuring verbs, PYTA roots, morphomes

1.   Introduction

There is a long tradition discussing Sicilian verbal Pseudo-Coordination (henceforth, PseCo) (cf. Pitrè 1875a; Cremona 1895; Ascoli 1898, 1901; Sorrento 1950; Rohlfs 1969; Stefanini 1970; Leone 1973, 1978; Sornicola 1976) in the literature.[1] Only in the last two decades, however, have detailed accounts on different morpho-syntactic

---

1.   An earlier description of the phenomenon can be traced back to Fulci (1855).

and semantic aspects of the phenomenon emerged (cf. Cardinaletti and Giusti 1998, 2001, 2003, 2020; Cruschina 2013; Ledgeway 2016; Di Caro and Giusti 2015; Accattoli and Todaro 2017; Todaro and Del Prete 2019). The kind of Sicilian PseCo considered in the present work displays: (i) a verb (V1) taken from a restricted class of restructuring verbs; (ii) an optional connecting element *a*; (iii) a lexical verb (V2), sharing mood, tense and person features with V1.[2] The monoclausal configuration featuring two inflected verbs instead of an inflected V1 and an infinitival V2 makes PseCo an instance of a wider phenomenon known as Multiple Agreement Constructions (MACs), typical of many southern Italo-Romance varieties and related to what Rohlfs (1969: § 717) called 'the unpopularity of the infinitive'.[3]

The syntactic behavior of PseCo is not that of a real coordination, since the two verbs, acting as a single predicate, must occur in a fixed order, allow for the *Wh*-extraction of the internal argument of V2, as in a subordination, and allow for a clitic pronoun which is the argument of V2 to procliticize onto V1.[4] The examples in (1)–(3) are from the dialect spoken in Delia (Caltanissetta), whose PseCo belongs to Type 2 (in the sense of Di Caro 2019a), i.e., it is possible only in the present (cf. (1)) and preterite indicative (cf. (2)) and in the imperative (cf. (3)).[5]

(1) a. Vaju   a ppigliu   lu pani.
         go.1SG A fetch.1SG the bread
         'I go and fetch the bread.'

    b. Vjignu   a ffazzu   la spisa.
         come.1SG   A do.1SG   the shopping
         'I come and do the shopping.'

(2) a. Jivu   a bbippi.
         go.PST.1SG A drink.PST.1SG
         'I went and drank.'

---

2.   The interpretation of the optional connecting element *a* as coming from Latin coordinating conjunction *ac* (cf. Cremona 1895; Ascoli 1898, 1901; Rohlfs 1969: § 761) justifies the definition of this construction as Pseudo-Coordination, as described by Teleman (1974) for Norwegian, Quirk et al. (1985) for English, Josefsson (1991) and Wiklund (1996) for Swedish. For a different interpretation of PseCo as a biclausal construction featuring the continuation of Latin preposition *ad* see Manzini and Savoia (2005); Manzini, Lorusso and Savoia (2017), and Manzini and Lorusso (this volume).

3.   For different types of biclausal MACs in southern Italy, see Ledgeway 1998; Damonte 2005, 2009, 2010; De Angelis 2013, 2016, 2017.

4.   For a detailed analysis of the monoclausality of PseCo, I refer the interested reader to Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001: 385–391).

5.   According to Di Caro (2019b), Type 1 PseCo, which is typically found in western Sicily, occurs in the present indicative and in the imperative only.

   b. Vinni   a ffici   la spisa.
      come.PST.1SG A do.PST.1SG the shopping
      'I came and did the shopping.'

(3) a. Va   piglia   lu pani!
      go.IMP.2SG fetch.IMP.2SG the bread
      'Go (and) fetch the bread!'

   b. Vjini   mangia!
      come.IMP.2SG eat.IMP.2SG
      'Come (and) eat!'   (*Deliano*)

Among the dialects featuring Type 2 PseCo, which are generally found in the central provinces of Caltanissetta, Agrigento and Enna, Deliano has recently received some attention for two reasons. Its PseCo in the preterite indicative can license more V1s (e.g., ARRIVE and GO OUT in (4)) than those typically found in the present indicative in the same dialect, namely GO, COME, COME BY and SEND. Moreover, it can license more V1s in the preterite indicative than those found in all the other dialects of the same type (such as, e.g., those spoken in Sommatino, Campobello di Licata and Camastra).

(4) a. Nun l'   arrivà   a ffici.
      NEG it.CL arrive.PST.3SG A do.PST.3SG
      'He/She didn't end up doing it.'

   a'. *Nun l'   arriva   a ffa   mai.
      NEG it.CL arrive.3SG A do.3SG never
      'He/She never ends up doing it.'

   b. Sinni   niscì   a ddissi   ca…
      REFL+LOC.CL go-out.PST.3SG A say.PST.3SG that
      'He/She went and say that…'

   b'. *Sinni   nesci   a ddici   ca…
      REFL+LOC.CL go-out.3SG A say.3SG that
      'He/She goes and says that…'   (*Deliano*; Di Caro 2019b: 165)

Although Di Caro's (2019a) selecting criterion for determining which type of PseCo a given variety displays is the mood(s) and tense(s) available for that variety, Type 2 PseCo is also typically associated with some lexical and paradigmatic restrictions: (i) only some cells of the preterite paradigm are available, and (ii) it is only possible with a restricted class of V2s (cf. Di Caro 2015, 2019a; Di Caro and Giusti 2018). Paradigmatic defectiveness is not at all the exception in Sicilian PseCo. As Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001, 2003) described for Marsalese (the dialect spoken in Marsala, in the western province of Trapani), PseCo in the present indicative and in the imperative generally occurs with a defective paradigm where 1PL and 2PL are not

allowed.[6] As highlighted by Cruschina (2013), who also considered the variety spoken in Mussomeli (Caltanissetta), the combination that emerges from the alternation of allowed and unallowed cells of the PseCo paradigm in the present indicative and in the imperative is a well-known pattern – namely the 'N-Pattern' (cf. Maiden 2004, 2005, 2011, 2018b) – found in the inflection of many Romance verbs, which can also occur in highly grammaticalized verbal periphrases (cf. Cruschina 2013: 276).[7] This and other inflectional patterns are traditionally referred to as 'morphomes' (cf. Aronoff 1994; see also Maiden 2005 and Section 2). Table 1 shows the N-Pattern emerging from PseCo in Marsalese (cf. Cardinaletti and Giusti 2001, 2003) in the present indicative and in the imperative.[8]

Table 1. Present indicative and imperative PseCo in Marsalese with V1 GO and COME

Pres. ind.	V1 GO	V1 COME	(A) + V2 WORK
1SG	**vaju /**	**vegnu**	**a ttravagghju**
2SG	**vai /**	**veni**	**a ttravagghi**
3SG	**va /**	**vene**	**a ttravagghja**
1PL	emu /	vinemu	a ttravagghjamu
2PL	iti /	viniti	a ttravagghjati
3PL	**vannu /**	**vennu**	**a ttravàgghjanu**
Imperative			
1SG			
2SG	**va /**	**veni**	**(a) (t)travagghja!**
3SG	emu /	vinemu	(a) (t)travagghjamu!
1PL			
2PL	iti /	viniti	(a) (t)travagghjati!
3PL			

---

6.   Instances of PseCo with fully-fledged paradigms are described in the dialects spoken in Modica (cf. Manzini and Savoia 2005), Acireale, Catania, Giarre and Marina di Ragusa (cf. Di Caro 2015, 2019a; Di Caro and Giusti 2015), all characterized by the possibility for PseCo to occur also in the imperfect indicative and the subjunctive, corresponding to Di Caro's (2019b) Type 3 PseCo.

7.   For a criticism of Cruschina's (2013) purely morphomic analysis of PseCo paradigmatic defectiveness, see Cardinaletti and Giusti (2020).

8.   The grammatical cells of the paradigms are those in bold; ungrammatical cells are grayed out. In the imperative slots, I have added the 1PL (the exhortative imperative), although this is traditionally left out of the paradigm in the literature, because it is attested in Type 3 PseCo, when construed with an invariable V1 GO. Consider the following example from Giarre, in the province of Catania: *Carusi, oppigghjamu u pani!* 'Guys, let's go (and) fetch the bread!'. Note that the connecting element *a*, which triggers Raddoppiamento Fonosintattico on the initial consonant of V2, is rarely attested with V1 GO but usually found with V1 COME cross-dialectally.

The ungrammatical cells of all the defective paradigms in Sicilian PseCo can be replaced by the Infinitival Construction (InfCo; cf. Cardinaletti and Giusti 2001, 2003), a construction featuring the same V1, an obligatory connecting element *a* (< Lat. *ad*), and a corresponding infinitival V2. The examples of InfCo in (5)–(7) are the counterparts of (1)–(3), while the examples in (8) show a comparison between some ungrammatical instances of PseCo with their grammatical infinitival counterparts.[9]

(5) a. Vaju   a ppigliari lu   pani.
    go.1SG to fetch.INF the bread
    'I go to fetch the bread.'

   b. Vjignu   a ffari   la spisa.
    come.1SG to do.INF the shopping
    'I come to do the shopping.'

(6) a. Jivu   a bbìviri.
    go.PST.1SG to drink.INF
    'I went to drink.'

   b. Vinni   a ffari   la spisa.
    come.PST.1SG to do.INF the shopping
    'I came to do the shopping.'

(7) a. Va   a ppigliari lu   pani!
    go.IMP.2SG to fetch.INF the bread
    'Go to fetch the bread!'

   b. Vjini   a mmangiari!
    come.IMP.2SG to eat.INF
    'Come to eat!'

(8) a. *Jammu a ppigliammu lu   pani.
    go.1PL A fetch.1PL   the bread
    'We go and fetch the bread.'

   a′. Jammu a ppigliari lu   pani.
    go.1PL to fetch.INF the bread
    'We go to fetch the bread.'

---

9. Although an infinitival construction is always possible in the imperative 2SG, PseCo is the preferred option cross-dialectally. Imperative PseCo in the 2SG is so popular, in fact, that it is found even in those varieties in the area around the city of Messina (North-East Sicily) where the construction featuring an infinitival V2 generally competes with a biclausal construction featuring a finite V2 and the connecting element *mi* (i.e., a 'Finite Construction' in the sense of Cardinaletti and Giusti 2001, 2003) in the other available mood/tense combinations (cf. Di Caro 2019a: 127).

b. *Jiti   a ppigliati   lu pani!
    go.IMP.2PL A fetch.IMP.2PL the bread
    'Go (and) fetch the bread!'

b′. Jiti   a ppigliari lu pani!
    go.IMP.2PL to fetch.INF the bread
    'Go to fetch the bread!   (*Deliano*)

What makes the case of Deliano and of some other Type 2 PseCo note-worthy is the fact that the paradigmatic defectiveness of the preterite indicative follows a different pattern than that of the present indicative and imperative, which corresponds to a less frequent version of another attested morphological schema in Ibero- and Italo-Romance (namely the 'E-Pattern'; cf. Maiden 2000, 2001a; b). This pattern excludes 2SG, 1PL and 2PL from the paradigm. The less frequent version of this pattern reintegrates the 1PL in preterite paradigm, so that the resulting pattern (namely the 'W-Pattern'; cf. Di Caro and Giusti 2018) excludes the second persons only. Crucially, preterite PseCo featuring the W-Pattern is only licensed by a re-stricted class of V2s that display paradigmatic alternation between perfective and imperfective roots, the former also being known as 'PYTA roots'.[10] What is crucial for the present work is that morphemes are psychologically real for the speakers.[11] It is this psychological reality, I assume, that imposed a PYTA morphomic distri-bution to preterite PseCo. As proof of this, I will take into account the very high productivity of preterite PseCo and the related high consistency of the W-Pattern in Deliano, by discussing the results of a quantitative study on PseCo in that variety.

The rest of this paper is organized as follows: Section 2 delves into the concept of morpheme, with particular attention to Romance varieties, and discusses the nature of PYTA roots. Section 3 focuses on the morphological characteristics of the preterite indicative in Deliano. Section 4 discusses the relevant results of the quantitative study on PseCo in Deliano. Finally, Section 5 draws the conclusions and offers some alleys for future research on the micro-variation of PseCo in the preterite indicative.

---

10. As Maiden (2018b: 48) reports, the acronym 'PYTA' stands for *perfecto y tiempos afines* or *pretérito y tiempos afines* (perfect/preterite and related tenses), a label frequently used by descrip-tive grammars of Spanish to indicate the set of paradigm cells continuing Latin perfective roots, i.e., the preterite, the synthetic pluperfect, the past subjunctives, and the future subjunctive or just some of these sets of paradigms surviving in a given variety.

11. In those varieties in which PYTA roots appear in more than one mood and tense, as in Ibero-Romance, if any change occurs in a set of cells within a morpheme, all the other sets are affected, although the sets are not semantically related (cf. Maiden 2018b).

2. Morphomic patterns and PYTA roots

A 'morphome' is a structure or pattern that exists at the 'morphomic level', i.e., at the level of morphology, which is to be considered as an autonomous level of linguistic structure, rather than just as the simple intersection of syntax and phonology, hence the title 'Morphology by itself' of Aronoff's (1994) seminal work. The term 'morphome', then, refers to "a systematic distribution of morphological material within the paradigm which has no unique functional (or phonological) correlate" (Smith 2013: 247). As already mentioned, Cruschina (2013: 273) reports that the defectiveness of the PseCo paradigms displayed by dialects such as those of Marsala and Mussomeli, where only the 1sg, 2sg, 3sg and 3pl of the present indicative, and the 2sg of the imperative are allowed, can be explained by a recurrent morphomic pattern in Romance verbal system. This pattern is dubbed the N-pattern (cf. Maiden 2004, 2005, 2011; see also Thornton 2007; Dressler and Thornton 1991) and is also present in defective paradigms (cf. Maiden and O'Neill 2010).[12]

As regards the distribution of the cells of the preterite PseCo in Deliano, Di Caro (2015) notes that those corresponding to the 2sg and the 2pl are not grammatical. In morphomic terms, as suggested by Di Caro and Giusti (2018), this configuration instantiates a W-Pattern. This pattern has also been described recently for another Sicilian verbal periphrasis, namely the AICo (i.e. '*Aviri a* + Infinitive Construction'; cf. Di Caro 2019c), which is a multipurpose periphrasis featuring the functional verb HAVE and an infinitival V2.

As for the lexical restrictions on V2, the only verbs allowed all display the alternation of rhizotonic and arrhizotonic forms (cf. Di Caro 2015; Di Caro and Giusti 2015, 2018), with the exception of two verbs, namely *dari* 'give' and *stari* 'stay', which display all rhizotonic forms but with apophony (i.e., the root vowel turns from -*a*- to -*e*- / -*ji*-) on all the cells of the paradigm except for the 2sg and the 2pl. Although *dari* and *stari* do not display alternation of rhizotonic and arrhizotonic forms, they display the alternation of perfective and imperfective roots (cf. Maiden 2000, 2001a, 2001b, 2018b) as all the other V2s that license preterite PseCo. These are all listed in (9) (adapted and extended from Di Caro 2019c: 235):[13]

---

12. In the case of the present indicative of GO and COME in Table 1, the label 'N-Pattern' is due to the N-shape (in Morse Code, cf. Maiden 2004: 249, fn. 7) resulting from the cells of the paradigms that select the morphemes *va-* and *ve-* respectively. The other morphomic patterns found in Romance (such as the L-, the U- and the E-Pattern) are classified with the letters of the alphabet that most resemble the shape of their paradigmatic distribution.

13. For each verb in (9), the 1sg (perfective root) and 2sg (imperfective root) are provided, except for the weather verb *chjoviri* 'rain', for which the preterite indicative 3sg (perfective root) and present indicative 3sg (imperfective root) are provided.

(9)   Verbs that can enter preterite PseCo as V2 in Deliano

   a.   *chjoviri* 'rain' < Lat. *pluĕre* (PST.3SG *chjoppi*, PRS.3SG *chjovi*);
   b.   *chjùiri* 'shut' < Lat. *cludĕre* (*chjusi, chjuisti*) and its compounds, such as *'nchjùiri* 'shut in' < Lat. *includĕre* (*'nchjusi, 'nchjuisti*), etc.;
   c.   *dari* 'give' < Lat. *dare* (*detti, dasti*);
   d.   *diri* 'say' or 'tell' < Lat. *dicĕre* (*dissi, dicisti*);
   e.   *fari* 'do' or 'make' < Lat. *facĕre* (*fici, facisti*);
   f.   *mìntiri* 'put' < Lat. *mittĕre* (*misi, mintisti*) and its compounds, such as *purmìntiri* 'promise' < Lat. *promittĕre* (*purmisi, purmintisti*), etc.;
   g.   *pèrdiri* 'lose' < Lat. *perdĕre* (*persi, pirdisti*);
   h.   *rùmpiri* 'break' < Lat. *rumpĕre* (*ruppi, rumpisti*);
   i.   *sapiri* 'know' < Lat. *sapĕre* (*sappi, sapisti*);
   j.   *scrìviri* 'write' < Lat. *scribĕre* (*scrissi, scrivisti*);
   k.   *stari* 'stay' < Lat. *stare* (*stetti, stasti*);
   l.   *vìdiri* 'see' < Lat. *vidēre* (*vitti, vidisti*);
   m.   *vìviri* 'drink' < Lat. *bibĕre* (*vippi, vivisti*).

Table 2 shows an example of W-Pattern emerging from PseCo in Deliano with the V2 *vìviri* 'drink'.[14]

Table 2. Preterite indicative PseCo in Deliano with V1 GO and COME

Pret. ind.	V1 GO	V1 COME	A + V2 DRINK
1SG	jivu /	vinni	a bbippi
2SG	jisti /	vinisti	a bbivisti
3SG	ji /	vinni	a bbippi
1PL	jammu /	vìnnimu	a bbìppimu
2PL	jìstivu /	vinìstivu	a bbivìstivu
3PL	jiru /	vìnniru	a bbìppiru

Let us now have a look at how the set in (9) is composed. Most V2s come from Latin third conjugation (infinitive ending in *-ĕre*). Table 3 shows the preterite indicative paradigm of the verbs *diri* 'say/tell', *mìntiri* 'put', and *fari* 'do/make', which display the W-Pattern, like *vìviri* 'drink' in Table 2. Table 4 compares the preterite paradigm of *vìdiri* 'see', which comes from the Latin second conjugation verb *vidēre* 'see' but nonetheless behaves like the verbs in (9), with *sèntiri* 'hear' and *crìdiri* 'believe', which on the other hand display no perfective forms that could enter PseCo in Deliano and thus can only license an infinitival V2.[15]

---

14. As for forms like *bbitti* instead of *vitti* in Table 2, see Di Caro (2015: 15–16) for an overview of the sandhi effects of Raddoppiamento Fonosintattico on some V2s.

15. Another form of BELIEVE is attested in other Sicilian varieties, which unlike *crìdiri* in Deliano (cf. Table 4) displays PYTA roots, i.e., 1SG *critti*, 2SG *cridisti*, 3SG *critti*, 1PL *crìttimu*, 2PL *cridìstivu*,

Table 3. The preterite indicative of *diri* 'say/tell', *mìntiri* 'put' and *fari* 'do/make'

Pret. ind.	*diri* 'say / tell'	*mìntiri* 'put'	*fari* 'do/make'
1SG	**dissi**	**misi**	**fici**
2SG	dicisti	mintisti	facisti
3SG	**dissi**	**misi**	**fici**
1PL	**dìssimu**	**mìsimu**	**ficimu**
2PL	dicìstivu	mintìstivu	facìstivu
3PL	**dìssiru**	**mìsiru**	**ficiru**

Table 4. The preterite indicative of *vìdiri* 'see', *sèntiri* 'hear' and *crìdiri* 'believe'

Pret. ind.	*vìdiri* 'see'	*sèntiri* 'hear'	*crìdiri* 'believe'
1SG	**vitti**	sintivu	cridivu
2SG	vidìsti	sintisti	cridisti
3SG	**vitti**	sintì	cridì
1PL	**vìttimu**	sintjimmu	cridjimmu
2PL	vidìstivu	sintìstivu	cridìstivu
3PL	**vìttiru**	sintjiru	cridjiru

Table 5 displays the preterite paradigm of *dari* 'give' and *stari* 'stay'. Finally, in Table 6 the paradigms of *pigliari* 'fetch', *capiri* 'understand' and *muriri/mòriri* 'die' are shown, which do not feature any perfective roots.

Table 5. The preterite indicative of *dari* 'give' and *stari* 'stay'

Pret. ind.	*dari* 'give'	*stari* 'stay'
1SG	**detti**	**stetti**
2SG	dasti	stasti
3SG	**detti**	**stetti**
1PL	**djìttimu**	**stjìttimu**
2PL	dàstivu	stàstivu
3PL	**djìttiru**	**stjìttiru**

3PL *crìttiru* (e.g. *Lu viddanu si lu critti ca lu motivu era chissu* 'The peasant believed that that was the reason.', cf. Pitrè 1978b). These are relatively recent forms remodelled on *potti* 'could' (cf. Maiden 2018b: 67). Although it is not attested in the literature, it would not be implausible to find an occurrence of preterite PseCo (marked with Surprise Effect) in those dialects featuring these forms (e.g. *Cci iju a ccritti* 'he/she stupidly believed that.').

Table 6. The preterite indicative of *pigliari* 'fetch', *capiri* 'understand' and *muriri/mòriri* 'die'

Pret. ind.	*pigliari* 'fetch'	*capiri* 'understand'	*muriri/mòriri* 'die'
1SG	pigliavu	capivu	murivu
2SG	pigliasti	capisti	muristi
3SG	piglià	capì	murì
1PL	pigliammu	capjimmu	murjimmu
2PL	pigliàstivu	capìstivu	murìstivu
3PL	pigliaru	capjiru	murjiru

Generally, Sicilian infinitives ending in *-iri* are known to display a double pronunciation, namely paroxytone and proparoxytone, regardless of their original Latin counterpart. This phenomenon in Deliano is limited to some verbs, such as *finiri/fèniri* 'end' (the alternation in this verb is disappearing in favor of the paroxytone option), *muriri/mòriri* 'die', *viniri/vèniri* 'come', *valiri/vàliri* 'be worth', *vuliri/vòliri* 'want'.[16] Moreover, some verbs display allomorphs in some of the cells of the preterite indicative. Two cases are relevant for the present discussion: *sèntiri* 'hear' (cf. Leone 1980: 38) and *muriri/mòriri* 'die'. The former features a mixed paradigm in which the cells corresponding to the 1SG, 3SG, 1PL and 3PL are filled by the suppletive perfective (and rhizotonic) forms taken from the Latin verb *intendĕre* 'head to' (which is productive in Italian with the meaning of 'understand', but not in Deliano), within a paradigm otherwise composed of the forms from Latin verb *sentīre* 'hear', as shown in Table 7.

Table 7. Regular and suppletive preterite indicative of *sèntiri* 'hear'

Pret. ind.	*sèntiri* 'hear'	*sèntiri* 'hear'
1SG	sintivu	'ntisi
2SG	sintisti	sintisti
3SG	sintì	'ntisi
1PL	sintjimmu	'ntìsimu
2PL	sintìstivu	sintìstivu
3PL	sintjiru	'ntìsiru

As for *muriri/mòriri*, this verb displays a regular preterite paradigm featuring only imperfective (and arrhizotonic) forms, and an alternative preterite paradigm in which the 1SG, 3SG, 1PL and 3PL cells are filled with perfective (and rhizotonic)

---

16. The root vowel change of the verbs considered, that determines the shift from one verbal class to another (referred to as conjugation metaplasm), is widespread in Southern Italo-Romance (cfr. Rohlfs 1968: 362).

forms, as shown in Table 8. These preterite forms are shared by the reflexive verb *mòvirsi* 'remain', that has *muvisti* in the 2SG and *muvìstivu* in the 2PL.

Table 8. Regular and suppletive preterite indicative of *muriri/mòriri* 'die'

Pret. ind.	*muriri/mòriri* 'die'	*muriri/mòriri* 'die'
1SG	murivu	**morsi**
2SG	muristi	muristi
3SG	murì	**morsi**
1PL	murjimmu	**muìrsimu**
2PL	murìstivu	murìstivu
3PL	murjiru	**muìrsiru**

Interestingly, only the perfective alternative forms of these V2s can enter PseCo, as expected by the W-Pattern:[17]

(10) a. Tutta a nna vota, lu   ji   a 'ntisi.
          all   at a   time   it.CL go.PST.3SG A hear.PST.3SG
      a′. *Tutta a nna vota, lu   ji   a sintì.
          all   at a   time   it.CL go.PST.3SG A hear.PST.3SG
          'All of a sudden, he heard it.'
      b. Ji   a mmorsi   propriu oi.
          go.PST.3SG A die.PST.3SG right   today
      b′. *Ji   a mmurì   propriu oi.
          go.PST.3SG A die.PST.3SG right   today
          'He died today of all days.'   (*Deliano*; Di Caro 2019a: 164)

All the preterite examples provided so far feature GO as V1. But COME, SEND and COME BY, i.e. the other V1s traditionally allowed in Type 1 and 2 PseCo, are all possible:

---

17. In both grammatical examples in (10a, b), the andative meaning of V1 is lost in favor of a Surprise Effect (cf. Sornicola 1976; Cruschina 2013, this volume; see also Ross 2016 for a general overview, and Josefsson 2014; Wiklund 2008 for Swedish). The same holds true for *mòvirsi* 'remain' which, however, does not feature any alternative preterite forms for the 1SG, 3SG, 1PL and 3PL:

(i) a. Ma pirchì si   jiru   a mmuìrsiru   ddruicu?
         but why   REFL.CL go.PST.3PL A remain.PST.3PL there
         'Why on Earth did they stay there?'
     b. Giustu giustu si   ji   a mmorsi   intra.
         right   right   REFL.CL go.PST.3SG A remain.PST.3SG home
         'He/She happened to stay at home.'   (*Deliano*; Di Caro 2019a: 164)

(11) a. Cci   lu   mannammu a scrìssimu   arsira.
          DAT.CL it.CL send.PST.1PL A write.PST.1PL last.night
          'We sent somebody to write it to him/her last night.'

      b. Cci   passavu   a ddissi   nna cosa.
          DAT.CL come.by.PST.1SG A say.PST.3SG a   thing
          'I came by to tell him/her something.'   (*Deliano*; Di Caro 2019a: 164–65)

Moreover, Deliano preterite PseCo enables some more V1s to occur, which are either strongly deviant or not allowed at all elsewhere in the conjugation. These V1s are *accuminciari* 'start', *attaccarri* 'start', *arristari* 'remain' (only in combination of V2 *dari* 'give'; cf. Di Caro and Giusti 2018), *arrivari* 'arrive' and *nescirisinni* 'end up' (lit. 'get out of somewhere') (cf. Di Caro 2019a):

(12) a. Allura, cci   accuminciaru a ddìssiru   paroli.
          then   DAT.CL start.PST.3PL A say.PST.3PL words
          'Then, they started insulting him.'   (*Deliano*; Di Caro 2019a: 69)

      b. Ma iu, siccuimu sugnu sempri lu solitu vizjusu, attaccavu   a
          but I since   be.1SG always the same glutton start.PST.1SG A
          ffici   schifiu.
          do.PST.1SG mess
          'But, since I'm always the same old glutton, I started whining.'
                                                    (*Deliano*; CorDel, *in prep.*)

      c. Cci   arristavu   a ddetti   deci euru.
          DAT.CL remain.PST.1SG A give.PST.1SG ten   euro
          'I still owe him ten euro(s).'   (*Deliano*; Di Caro and Giusti 2018: 60)

      d. Nun l'   arrivà   a ffici.
          NEG it.CL arrive.PST.3SG A do.PST.3SG
          'He/She didn't end up doing it.'

      e. Sinni   niscì   a ddissi   ca…
          REFL+LOC.CL go.out.PST.3SG A say.PST.3SG that
          'He/She went and say that…'   (*Deliano*)

Finally, Deliano displays an instance of rhetorical question featuring two inflected verbs in the preterite indicative consisting of a fixed formula that can host any kind of transitive V1 followed by V2 *fari* 'do/make'.[18] Its structure is 'What did

---

18. Among the diagnostics for the monoclausality of Sicilian PseCo is Clitic Climbing (cf. Cardinaletti and Giusti 2001: 388–90). Although the rhetorical questions in (13) look like instances of preterite PseCo, their objects, which procliticized onto the V1s *chjamavu* and *ammintaru*, refer to those V1s and not to their respective V2s, and thus these biclausal constructions featuring a purpose embedded clause (i.e. *a fficiru*) should be kept apart from PseCo (I thank Anna Cardinaletti for pointing this out to me). I believe that this definitely deserves further research, since it is more evidence of the power that a very high usage verb such as *fari* exerts on a preterite periphrasis to license the double agreement.

1SG/3SG/1PL/3PL V it for?', where the subject must be in one of the persons allowed by the W-Pattern, and V stands for any V1, as in (13):

(13) a. *Cchi lu   chjamavu   a ffici?*
           what him.CL call.PST.1SG A do.PST.1SG
           'What did I call him for?'
       b. *Cchi l'   ammintaru   a fficiru?*
           what it.CL invent.PST.3PL A do.PST.3PL
           'What did they invent it for?'   (*Deliano*; Di Caro 2019a: 166)

The rhetorical construction exemplified in (13) could cast some light on the comprehension of Type 2 preterite PseCo, since the presence of a very high frequency V2 such as *fari* 'make/do' is able to allow for the construction to feature any transitive V1, something which is rather uncommon in the rest of Sicily, where this construction can generally only occur with an infinitival V2. That the high frequency of V2 *fari* can act as a magnet for preterite PseCo is confirmed by the fact that some speakers of western Sicily (an area traditionally associated with Type 1 PseCo) judge the sentence *Ivu/i a ffici a spisa* 'I went and did the shopping' as acceptable in their dialects, although they would not produce it (cf. Di Caro 2019a).

Before turning to Section 3, it is necessary to point out that other verbs within the morphological domain of the Deliano preterite system could theoretically enter PseCo because they feature stem alternation but fail to do so for semantic incompatibility with V1. In general, Sicilian PseCo disallows basic motion verbs, such as GO and COME as V2s, so even though *vèniri/viniri* 'come' displays PYTA roots (cf. Table 2), it never occurs as V2 in PseCo. The same ban holds for some stative verbs such as *aviri* 'have' (i.e. 1SG ***appi***, 2SG *avisti*, 3SG ***appi***, 1PL ***àppimu***, 2PL *avìstivu*, 3PL ***àppiru***),[19] and for modals, such as *putiri* 'can' (i.e. 1SG ***potti***, 2SG *putisti*, 3SG ***potti***, 1PL ***puìttimu***, 2PL *putìstivu*, 3PL ***puìttiru***) and *vuliri* 'want' (i.e. 1SG ***vosi***, 2SG *vulisti*, 3SG ***vosi***, 1PL ***vòsimu***, 2PL *vulìstivu*, 3PL ***vòsiru***).[20]

---

19. Note, however, that whereas *aviri* 'have' is not allowed as V2 in PseCo, the fact that it features PYTA roots is crucial for its being the V1 of the other Sicilian periphrasis that displays the W-Pattern, namely the AICo (e.g., *App'a gghjiri* 'I had to go' vs. **Avist'a gghjiri* 'You had to go'; cf. Di Caro 2019c: 227).

20. It is probably for the same reason that some Deliano speakers do not accept *sapiri* 'know' (cf. (9i)) as V2 in preterite PseCo or judge it as slightly deviant, as in (i):

(i) %Lu   vinni   a ssappi   troppu tardu.
      it.CL come.PST.1SG A know.PST.1SG too   late
      '(Unfortunately) I heard about that too late.'   (*Deliano*)

3.   The morphological characteristics of the preterite indicative in Deliano

Since the paradigm organization of the preterite indicative in Deliano, as in most
Sicilian varieties, is morphologically similar although not identical to that of Italian,
I refer to Magni's (2001) account for Italian. The preterite indicative in Deliano, as
well as in Italian, continues the Latin perfect tense form and displays two different
inflectional paradigms, a regular and an irregular one. The regular paradigm only
displays arrhizotonic forms, whereas the irregular paradigm displays stem alter-
nations featuring both vocalic and consonantal allomorphy. The main difference
between Italian and Deliano with this respect is that, on the one hand, the irregular
paradigm in Italian unexpectedly tends to progressively gain ground, instead of
losing productivity in favor of analogical leveling, as time goes by (cf. Magni 2001),
whereas in Deliano, most of the verbs that should display this irregular pattern in
the preterite indicative have been analogically leveled and now follow the regular
pattern, so that few other verbs than the ones listed in (9) follow the irregular
pattern. With this regard, compare e.g. the rhizotonic Italian preterite forms *colsi*
'I collected', *corressi* 'I corrected', *crebbi* 'I grew', *lessi* 'I read', *punsi* 'I stang', *scelsi*
'I chose' and *torsi* 'I bent' vs. the arrhizotonic Deliano counterparts *cuglivu, cur-
riggivu, criscivu, liggivu, pungivu, sciglivu* and *turcivu*. Table 9 illustrates the forms
of the arrhizotonic preterite of the verbs LOVE and SLEEP in, respectively, Latin,
Italian and Deliano. Table 10 illustrates the pattern of the preterite indicative of the
verb WRITE in the same languages, which features the alternation of rhizotonic and
arrhizotonic forms (adapted from Magni 2001: 77).[21]

Table 9. The arrhizotonic preterite indicative in Italian and Deliano

	AMÀRE	amàre	amàri	DORMÌRE	dormìre	dòrmiri
1SG	AMÀV-I	amài	amàvu	DORMÌV-I	dormìi	durmìvu
2SG	AMAV-ÌSTI	amàsti	amàsti	DORMIV-ÌSTI	dormìsti	durmìstu
3SG	AMÀV-IT	amò	amà	DORMÌV-IT	dormì	durmì
1PL	AMÀV-IMUS	amàmmo	amàmmu	DORMÌV-IMUS	dormìmmo	durmjìmmu
2PL	AMAV-ÌSTIS	amàste	amàstivu	DORMIV-ÌSTIS	dormìste	durmìstivu
3PL	AMAV-ÈRUNT	amàrono	amàru	DORMIV-ÈRUNT	dormìrono	durmjiru

---

21. In Table 9 and 10 I have kept the Latin verbs in capital letters and with the original accents
as in Magni (2001: 77).

Table 10. The rhizotonic preterite indicative in Italian and Deliano

	SCRÌBERE	*scrìvere*	*scrìviri*
1SG	SCRÌPS-I	*scrìss-i*	*scrìss-i*
2SG	SCRIPS-ÌSTI	*scriv-ésti*	*scriv-ìsti*
3SG	SCRÌPS-IT	*scrìss-e*	*scrìss-i*
1PL	SCRÌPS-IMUS	*scriv-émmo*	*scrìss-imu*
2PL	SCRIPS-ÌSTIS	*scriv-éste*	*scriv-ìstivu*
3PL	SCRIPS-ÈRUNT	*scrìss-ero*	*scrìss-iru*

As is clear from Table 10, the 1PL of the preterite in Deliano has retained the rhizotonic form found in the Latin paradigm, which contributes to make up the W-Pattern, while the Italian counterpart displays a new, arrhizotonic 1PL, which according to De Dardel (1958: 97) is the result of the influence of the 2PL. Magni (2001: 77) reports that the origin of the paradigmatic allomorphy in the Italian verb system, which holds true for Deliano as well, partially traces back to Latin. With this respect, she cites Palmer (1954: 266), according to whom in Latin the three aspects of the Indo-European verbal system (i.e., durative, aoristic, and perfect) were reduced to two, so that the Latin verbal system shows a contrast only between the infectum and the perfectum. The perfectum combines the functions of the original aorist and the perfect, i.e. it displays forms that express the imperfective aspect and forms that express the perfective aspect. The preterite paradigms in Table 9 and Table 10 show how the perfect stem is formed in Italian and Deliano. But Latin could form the perfect stem in four different ways. These are listed in (14) (cf. Magni 2001: 78).

(14) Types of perfect formation in Latin

    a. lengthening of the root vowel (as in *fēci* 'I did' < Pres. *facio* 'I do');

    b. reduplication of the Present stem (as in *cecidi* 'I fell' < Pres. *cado* 'I fall');

    c. insertion of the suffix *-s-* (as in *dixi* < **dic-s-i* 'I said' < Pres. *dico* 'I say');

    d. insertion of the suffix *-u-*. This suffix has two allomorphs: the first one, spelled *-v-* and pronounced /-w-/, occurs after a vowel (as in *laudavi* 'I praised' < Pres. *laudo* 'I praise'), while the other one, pronounced /-u-/, occurs after a consonant (as in *volui* 'I wanted' < Pres. *volo* 'I want').

Of the four ways of forming the perfect stem in Latin, the first two are less frequent and tend to disappear in Proto-Romance, with the consequent expansion of the other two types (cf. Magni 2001: 78–79). With the exception of the verb *fari* 'do/ make' featuring the preterite *fici* 'I did/I made', which continues the Latin first type of preterite formation by lengthening of the root vowel, all the other Deliano V2s in (9) are either cases of sigmatic perfects (as those in (14c)), such as *dissi* 'I said' and

scrissi 'I wrote', or, more generally, cases of preterite forms featuring the segment -CC-, such as *ruppi* 'I broke', *vippi* 'I drank', *detti* 'I gave' and *stetti* 'I stayed'.[22]

Now that the picture of the preterite indicative formation in Deliano is clearer, we can consider the nature of the paradigm displaying rhizotonic and arrhizotonic forms, which is the only one allowing for the preterite PseCo to occur. The Latin paradigm of the verb WRITE in Table 10 shows that this kind of Latin perfect displayed the perfective root for all the six persons, regardless of their being rhizotonic or arrhizotonic. On the other hand, the corresponding Deliano paradigm displays the alternation of the perfective and the imperfective roots (i.e. *scriss-* vs. *scriv-*). Once again, the analysis of the Italian verbal system in terms of evolution from Latin is helpful for the understanding of the Deliano counterpart. According to Maiden (1995), the fact that only the arrhizotonic forms of the paradigm display the non-perfective roots is probably accidental and can be explained in morphological terms. At a certain point in the evolution of Classical Latin, the pluperfect subjunctive and the perfect indicative are the only tenses in which the perfective roots survive, after the perfect future, the pluperfect indicative and the infinitive perfective had disappeared. Then, the perfective root undergoes analogical leveling under the pressure of the more widespread non-perfective root and disappears from the pluperfect subjunctive and from the arrhizotonic forms of the perfect indicative. Maiden (1995: 141–142) justifies the resistance of the rhizotonic perfect indicative forms to this leveling with the fact that the introduction of the non-perfective root

---

22. Magni (2001: 79–82) reports that there are Italian verbs featuring a geminate consonant in the preterite indicative, such as *ruppi* 'I broke' and *bevvi* 'I drank', which cannot be explained through regular phonological change, such as the regressive assimilation in consonantal clusters (e.g. PS > ss, x > ss, as in (14c)), or the lengthening of the consonants before the glide [w] (as in (14d)). These preterite indicative geminate forms are traditionally explained by postulating the widespread occurrence of the suffix *-u-* in Proto-Romance, which replaced two of the four ways found in Latin for the perfect formation (i.e. the lengthening of the root vowel shown in (14a) and the reduplication shown in (14b)), so that Latin *rūpi* 'I broke' was replaced in Proto-Romance by **rupui*, Latin *cecidi* 'I fell' was replaced by Proto-Romance **cadui*, etc. (cf. Meyer-Lübke 1895; De Dardel 1958, Lausberg 1969, Tekavčić 1980 and Maiden 1995). However, Magni (2001: 80–81) claims that this traditional explanation is not tenable, because it requires too many reconstructed hypothetical forms that are not confirmed in Romance outside Italian, and because it postulates inconsistent criteria, according to which two similar Latin perfect forms would follow different strategies of perfect formation in Proto-Romance. Therefore, she proposes that these innovations can be explained by the spread of morphologically and cognitively base generalization: since most Italian rhizotonic preterite forms feature a double consonant, these forms may have been considered as a consistent class in Proto-Romance morphology, according to which an irregular preterite may have a segment with a double consonant. According to Magni (2001: 84), then, the Italian verbs featuring a rhizotonic preterite with geminate forms were created *ex novo* and did not developed from Latin following regular paths. I believe that Magni's explanation could hold for Deliano rhizotonic preterite forms as well, where the phenomenon is more restricted, however.

in the rhizotonic slots of the paradigm would have produced forms identical to those of the present indicative. Thus, he refers to those rhizotonic forms as "islands of resistance to this analogical change".

We know that the W-Pattern excludes the 2sG and the 2PL from Deliano PseCo, but besides the fact that these two persons are the only arrhizotonic slots of the paradigm, another factor could now be worth considering, namely the fact that they are also the only persons featuring the imperfective root. Since the perfective, rhizotonic preterite forms – which have resisted leveling, and in Italian have also spread to other verbs – are unpredictable, they must be stored in the mental lexicon as autonomous forms (cf. Magni 2001: 82). It could well be, then, that the PseCo preterite forms are stored in the lexicon of Deliano speakers in the same way. This hypothesis is in line with what Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001) say, *mutatis mutandis*, about the selection of the V1 in Marsalese PseCo, namely that the possibility for a V1 of being part of PseCo is specified in the lexicon for some forms of the paradigm. This, as Di Caro and Giusti (2018: 55, fn. 2) suggest, can be considered as a 'nano-parameter' in the sense of Biberauer and Roberts (2012: 268), i.e. a parameter that regulates one or more individual lexical items. The restriction of Deliano preterite PseCo to the verbs in (9) is regulated by another nano-parameter (cf. Di Caro and Giusti 2018: 66). This V2 nano-parameter depends on its being built on the perfective root, the latter already being an independent entry in the mental lexicon of Deliano speakers.

4.   Assessing the productivity of the W-Pattern in Deliano preterite PseCo

In this section, I take into account the results of the quantitative study on PseCo in Deliano (cf. Di Caro 2019a), with additional data from 70 new participants that adds to the previous set of 70. The study was administered through a questionnaire between the end of 2017 and the beginning of 2019 in Delia. The questionnaire was designed to detect the emergence of the relevant morphomic patterns (namely the N-Pattern for the present indicative and the imperative, and the W-Pattern for the preterite indicative; cf. Section 1 and 2).[23]

4.1   The questionnaire

An analysis of the stratification of the population in Delia preceded the sampling of the first 70 participants (Group A; Di Caro 2019a). The main criteria followed for the selection of the participants in Group A are the following: (i) Participants

---

23. For all the considerations behind the choice of the grammaticality judgment task for the questionnaire, see Di Caro (2019a: 172–175).

under the age of 11 were excluded from the study; (ii) The number of male and female participants should be approximately equal; (iii) Only residents in Delia were selected (i.e. Deliano speakers officially residing in other villages or towns were excluded); (iv) Only one member within the same household was selected (i.e. two relatives who lived in different homes could be selected); (v) Any person who had been living in Delia for long enough to be a resident and who could somehow speak Deliano but who did not have the Italian nationality was excluded, together with any Sicilians who were not native speakers of Deliano. The selection of the participants in Group B followed the same criteria, except for the fact that a participant in Group B could be immediately related to a participant in Group A. Both Group A and Group B represent the age distribution of the population from 11 years of age on, and are divided into three cohorts: (i) Cohort 1 (from 11 years of age to 30); (ii) Cohort 2 (from 31 years of age to 60); (iii) Cohort 3 (from 61 years of age on).[24]

The 4-page paper questionnaire consisted of 44 items divided into two multiple choice question Designs, a single open question, and a set of 7 demographic variables. The questions and the instructions of the questionnaire were written in Italian – but were orally translated into Deliano for those older participants who were not trained in reading and writing, while all the examples were written in Deliano, following the orthographic conventions proposed in Di Caro (2015). However, each example was also read aloud twice by the interviewer. Administering the whole questionnaire took, on average, 15 to 20 minutes, in addition to a 10-minute briefing, and a 30 to 40-minute debriefing, for an overall session of 60–70 minutes per participant. The participants were not timed and were free to change their answers within each of the 19 blocks of items.

Design 1 was made up of 36 items on grammaticality judgments grouped into 8 paradigms. The technique used in the study is similar to that proposed by Collins et al. (2009), where participants were asked to judge each of the sentences of the questionnaire using the following system (adapted from Sobin 1987): (i) Sounds completely natural and it is something I would say; (ii) Sounds kind of odd, but I wouldn't be surprised to hear someone else say it; (iii) Sounds completely wrong and no one would say this. In the questionnaire on PseCo, participants were asked to judge each of the sentences of Design 1 using the following rating system: (i) *Yes*, if the sentence sounds completely natural and it is something the participant would

---

24. In fact, a more fine-grained subdivision of the sample for both groups is possible. The three cohorts are the result of the merging of 14 micro-cohorts whose interval is 5 years for the first 13 cohorts (i.e., from 11 to 15, from 16 to 20 and so on). The last cohort starts with participants from 71 years of age and does not have a top (the oldest participant that could be interviewed was an 80-year-old woman). The first 13 cohorts feature 5 participants each, while the last one has 10 participants in it, as the result of the fact that the number of the population aged 71 or more, according to the latest national survey of 1997, was almost double in comparison to the other age ranges.

say; (ii) *I don't know* (Idk), if the sentence sounds kind of odd, but the participant would not be surprised to hear someone else say it (as in Collins et al. 2009) or if the participant just cannot decide; (iii) *No*, if the sentence sounds completely wrong and no one would say this. The full paradigms that could be tested were GO + FETCH and COME + FETCH in the present indicative, GO + FETCH in the imperative, and GO + DO in the preterite indicative. Three slots of the paradigm (i.e. 1SG, 2SG and 3PL) of COME BACK + FETCH in the present indicative were added to test the acceptability of a V1, i.e. COME BACK, which is rarely allowed in PseCo across Sicily. The paradigms were presented in the canonical order from 1SG to 3PL for all six-person paradigms. The imperative included 2SG, two different types of 2SG in the politeness formula (i.e. *vossìa*), and 2PL.

Design 2 was made up of 7 items concerning the choice between PseCo and the InfCo (or both). In particular, the items relevant for the present discussions are the following: (i) Item 37 tested the productivity of preterite PseCo (GO + WRITE) for 3SG (as in (15a)); (ii) Item 38 aimed at verifying if speakers accept FETCH as V2 in preterite PseCo, by testing 1SG (as in (15b)); (iii) Item 39 aimed at verifying the productivity of the idiomatic combination (REMAIN + GIVE) in preterite PseCo, by testing 3SG (as in (15c)).

(15) a. *La   ji   a scrissi   / a scrìviri   la   littra?*
          it.CL go.PST.3SG A write.PST.3SG   to write.INF the letter
          'Did he go and write the letter?'

   b. *Jivu   a ppigliavu   / a ppigliari lu   pani du   voti.*
       go.PST.1SG A fetch.PST.1SG   to fetch.INF the bread two times
       'I went and fetched the bread twice.'

   c. *Cci   arristà   a ddetti   / a ddari   deci euru.*
       DAT.CL remain.PST.3SG A give.PST.3SG   to give.INF ten euro
       'He still owes him ten euro(s).'   (*Deliano*; Di Caro 2019a: 233)

Finally, the items concerning the 7 demographic variables were: (i) Age; (ii) Gender; (iii) Level of education (set in three levels); (iv) Occupation; (v) Level of 'Delianity', i.e. whether the participant's father and mother were raised – but not necessarily born – in Delia or not (two different items);[25] (vi) Whether the participant had children or not.

---

25. The rationale of the demographic variable 'Delianity' is related to the fact that in Delia it is not infrequent to find people who were born either abroad, or in Italy but outside Sicily, or in other, usually bigger, towns in Sicily. But this could tell us nothing about the kind of dialectal input these speakers were exposed to. A person who was born, say, somewhere in Germany, but who came back to Delia at the age of 2 and spent there the rest of their childhood and youth, is likely to speak a dialect that is affected in no way by their birthplace. On the contrary, having one or both parents raised in places different from Delia (in a context of high micro-variation as regards PseCo), i.e. having a low level of Delianity, could be crucial for the participant's answers.

The main consideration that informed the whole research was that the Italian InfCo was to be expected as always possible in a population basically made up of bilingual speakers. Because the InfCo is the only possible option in Italian, and because Italian is the only available language in official contexts – such as public offices, any mass media communication, and schools – the younger population (corresponding to Cohort 1 in the study) was expected to produce less PseCo than the older one (Cohort 3), which is generally likely to have a lower level of education, less interactions with public offices and a minor exposure to written texts. The first research hypothesis, thus, was that participants in Cohort 1 would accept PseCo less frequently than the ones in Cohort 3, and some participants from the first group – especially the youngest – would not accept PseCo at all. The second research hypothesis was based on this possible difference between Cohort 1 and 3 in accepting PseCo and aimed at assessing the emergence of the expected patterns in the present and preterite indicative, and in the imperative.

4.2   How to detect the emergence of the expected patterns

Design 1 consisted of grammaticality judgments grouped into paradigms. The participants were asked to judge each sentence that formed the paradigms following the three-leveled rating system (i.e. *Yes, Idk, No*). The grid used to test the W-Pattern in the preterite indicative with V1 GO and V2 DO is shown in Table 11:

Table 11. Grid for testing the emergence of the W-Pattern in the preterite indicative

Item	Person	Sentence	Yes	Idk	No
31	1SG	Jivu a ffici la spisa. 'I went and did the shopping.'			
32	2SG	Jisti a ffacisti la spisa. 'You went and did the shopping.'			
33	3SG	Ji a ffici la spisa. 'He/She went and did the shopping.'			
34	1PL	Jammu a fficimu la spisa. 'We went and did the shopping.'			
35	2PL	Jistivu a ffacìstivu la spisa 'You went and did the shopping.'			
36	3PL	Jiru a ffìciru la spisa. 'They went and did the shopping.'			

The combination of the accepted and unaccepted slots of the paradigms made up the possible patterns. All the 'I don't know' (Idk) answers were considered as 'No'. That means that in order to be able to attribute a W-Pattern in the preterite indicative to a given participant, his or her answers were to be as in (16):

(16) Grammaticality judgments combination for the emergence of the W-Pattern
    a.   1sG Yes
    b.   2sG No or Idk
    c.   3sG Yes
    d.   1PL Yes
    e.   2PL No or Idk
    f.   3PL Yes

Any 'Yes' in the 2sG and the 2PL slots, and any 'No' or 'Idk' in the rest of the paradigm were considered as no W-Pattern for that given participant. The system devised to analyse the emergence of the expected patterns allowed for the researcher to discard those patterns featuring 'Yes' and 'No'/'Idk' answers in the 'wrong', i.e. unexpected, places, but it was also a good way to detect what the unexpected patterns had in common. In fact, with few exceptions, the combinations emerged that did not display the W-Pattern (see *infra* Table 13) actually followed another morphomic pattern featuring PYTA roots, namely the E-Pattern (i.e. 1sG, *2sG, 3sG, *1PL, *2PL, 3PL, as in the Italian column of Table 10; cf. Maiden 2000, 2001a, 2001b, 2004, 2011, 2018a).

Moreover, in order to check for the presence of any ordering effect, participants in Group B were given a questionnaire where both the order of appearance of the blocks of items and the order of the slots within any paradigm were randomized. Table 12 summarises the composition of the sample by gender and randomization of the questionnaire.

Table 12. Composition of the sample

	Non-randomized (Group A)	Randomized (Group B)	Group A + B
Male	35	38	73
Female	35	32	67
Total	**70**	**70**	**140**

4.3 Dataset and descriptive analysis

The figures in Table 13 show that the W-Pattern emerged, according to the criterion in (16), 81.4% of the cases in Group A and 90% of the cases in Group B, which demonstrates that randomization of the preterite paradigm did not limit the emergence of the W-Pattern. The participants' age played no role either, since the figures of Cohort 1 and 3 are similar in both groups. The W-Pattern did not emerge in 13 and in 7 cases respectively, but most of the time the difference laid in the 1PL slot, which actually converted it into the E-Pattern. The distribution by gender in Table 14 shows very similar results, too. The degree of certainty shown

by the participants in giving judgments about PseCo was very high throughout the whole questionnaire: they either chose 'Yes' or 'No', with only 112 occurrences of 'Idk' out of 5180 possible 'Idk' counts (37 items per 140 participants). With regard to the six items concerning the preterite PseCo, this degree of certainty was even higher, with just 3 'Idk' out of 840 possible 'Idk' counts. This is shown in Table 15.

Table 13. Emergence of the W-Pattern by age

	Cohort 1 (11–31 y.o.)	Cohort 2 (31–60 y.o.)	Cohort 3 (> 60 y.o)	Group A (non-randomized)
W-Pattern	17	25	15	57
E-Pattern	2	3	5	10
Other	1	2	0	3
Total	**20**	**30**	**20**	**70**
	Cohort 1 (11–31 y.o.)	Cohort 2 (31–60 y.o.)	Cohort 3 (> 60 y.o)	Group B (randomized)
W-Pattern	16	29	18	63
E-Pattern	4	0	1	5
Other	0	1	1	2
Total	**20**	**30**	**20**	**70**

Table 14. Emergence of the W-Pattern by gender

	Male	Female	Group A
W-Pattern	29	28	57
E-Pattern	5	5	10
Other	1	2	3
Total	**35**	**35**	**70**
	Male	Female	Group B
W-Pattern	36	27	63
E-Pattern	1	4	5
Other	1	1	2
Total	**38**	**32**	**70**

Table 15. Summary of the 'Idk' answers

	Group A	Group B	Group A + B
W-Pattern	0	3	3
Other	64	45	109
Total	**64**	**48**	**112**

Table 16 shows the participants' preference of PseCo over the InfCo with regard to the sentence in (15a). In both groups, PseCo outscored the InfCo. On the whole, PseCo was preferred by 72 participants and the InfCo only by 19. The results in Table 17 refers to the example in (15b) and are straightforward: no participant admitted FETCH as V2 in a preterite PseCo, not even as an alternative to the infinitival counterpart (see the 'both' column).[26] Finally, Table 18 shows the results related to the sentence in (15c), where the V1 REMAIN in PseCo is only possible with the V2 GIVE. In this case, the results do not show a clear-cut preference for one of the constructions, as both the InfCo and PseCo are accepted.

Table 16. Preterite PseCo (3SG, GO + WRITE) vs. InfCo

Item 37	InfCo	PseCo	both
Group A	12	41	17
Group B	7	31	32
Total	**19**	**72**	**49**

Table 17. Preterite PseCo (1SG, GO + FETCH) vs. InfCo

Item 38	InfCo	PseCo	both
Group A	70	0	0
Group B	70	0	0
Total	**140**	**0**	**0**

Table 18. Preterite PseCo (3SG, REMAIN + GIVE) vs. InfCo

Item 39	InfCo	PseCo	both
Group A	14	24	32
Group B	15	10	45
Total	**29**	**34**	**77**

As a final remark, we can take into consideration the occurrences of the N-Pattern in the two complete paradigms tested in the questionnaire (i.e., present indicative GO + FETCH and COME + FETCH) to find further evidence of how surprisingly robust the W-Pattern under analysis is. Di Caro (2019a: 117–130) proposes a tentative hierarchy for the appearance of the V1s and one for the appearance of the moods and tenses in Sicilian PseCo. According to the former, if there is a variety that accepts PseCo only with one V1, that V1 must be GO, if the V1s accepted are two, the other

---

26. Recall from Table 6 that verbs from the first conjugation (such as *pigliari* 'fetch') only display imperfective arrhizotonic roots, which are not expected to enter preterite PseCo.

V1 must be COME and so on (i.e., GO > COME > SEND > COME BY > COME BACK > START…). We then expect that the N-Pattern, along with PseCo in general, occurs more frequently with V1 GO than with V1 COME. As shown in Table 19, this expectation is born out in Deliano, with the N-Pattern in the present indicative occurring in 87.9% of the cases with V1 GO and only in 78.6% of the cases with V1 COME. On the other hand, according to the mood/tense hierarchy (i.e., imperative > present indicative > preterite indicative > imperfect indicative > imperfect subjunctive), we expect the W-Pattern in the preterite indicative to occur less consistently than the N-Pattern in the present indicative, provided that the V1 is the same. Nevertheless, the overall figures with V1 GO are alike, with the N-Pattern occurring in 87.9% of the cases and the W-Pattern in 85.7% of the cases (and with 81.4% for both patterns in Group A).

Table 19. Emergence of present PseCo vs. preterite PseCo

	Group A	Group B	Tot.
N-Pattern (GO + FETCH)	57 (81.4%)	66 (94.3%)	123 (87.9%)
Other	13 (18.6%)	4 (5.7%)	17 (12.1%)
N-Pattern (COME + FETCH)	48 (68.6%)	62 (88.6%)	110 (78.6%)
Other	22 (31.4%)	8 (11.4%)	30 (21.4%)
W-Pattern (GO + DO)	**57 (81.4%)**	**63 (90%)**	**120 (85.7%)**
Other	**13 (18.6%)**	**7 (10%)**	**20 (14.3%)**

Naturally, the paucity of the combinations tested in the study under analysis does not allow us to make generalizations with respect to preterite PseCo and how robust the W-Pattern is in Deliano. Too many factors are at interplay. For example, the weight of the high usage V2 *fari* 'do/make' in the W-Pattern tested could have played an important role in justifying the figures in Table 19.[27] In any case, the fact that this morpheme has almost uniformly emerged in a sample with such a wide age range (from one 11-year-old student to three 80-year-old pensioners) makes further research worth doing.

---

27. Note, however, that all the V2s allowed in preterite PseCo in Deliano are to different degrees high usage ones, since this is inherent to all the verbs featuring PYTA roots (cf. Maiden 2018b: 80).

5.   Conclusions

In this paper, we have seen that Sicilian preterite PseCo, as found in the dialect of Delia, displays a paradigmatic configuration, namely the W-Pattern (1sg, *2sg, 3sg, 1pl, *2pl, 3pl), that is similar to what the literature has widely documented for the verbal inflectional system in Italo-Romance in terms of morphemes: the E-Pattern (1sg, *2sg, 3sg, *1pl, *2pl, 3pl; cf. Maiden 2000, 2001a, 2001b, 2018b). The restricted class of V2s licensing this preterite PseCo (cf. (9)) features PYTA roots (i.e., perfective, rhizotonic roots) in the grammatical cells of the paradigm (see Section 2). The diffusion of PYTA roots in the verbal system of Italian and Sicilian has followed different paths, with the latter undergoing analogical leveling at large in favor of a uniform paradigm featuring only imperfective, arrhizotonic roots (cf. e.g. It. *lessi* vs. Del. *liggivu* 'I read.'). The high usage of most of the V2s in (9), such as *dari* 'give', *fari* 'do/make', *vìdiri* 'see' and *vìviri* 'drink', has probably played a crucial role not only in the resistance to this analogical leveling, with the conservation of PYTA roots, but also in fostering the productivity of preterite PseCo. We have also seen further confirmation that it is the morphological nature of the V2 that licenses the construction. On the one hand, when a verb has suppletive preterite forms that display PYTA roots, as is the case of *sèntiri* 'hear' (see Table 7), it is only the suppletive V2 that enters preterite PseCo. On the other hand, none of the 140 participants of the study has accepted the 1sg of the preterite PseCo with go + fetch, since that V2 does not feature any PYTA root (cf. (15b)). Although the questionnaire considered in the study was not designed for preterite PseCo exclusively, the results on the relevant paradigm (go + do) demonstrate the psychological reality of the W-Pattern, a paradigmatic configuration that is not affected by variables such as gender and age, resists ordering effects (see Section 4) and yields very clear judgments by the speakers (see Table 15).

   Several alleys for future research can be proposed from the considerations on the data discussed here. First, a dedicated questionnaire on preterite PseCo in Deliano with complete paradigms featuring different V1s and V2s tested would help detect whether there is a hierarchy of selection for the V2s and whether this hierarchy depends on the usage frequency of the verbs considered. With this respect, a more fine-grained acceptability scale would help define this hierarchy.[28] Second, besides acceptability judgments, tests such as repetitions could provide new hints on the psychological nature of the W-Pattern. Third, the area investigated

---

28. In proposing a new study on PseCo, I am using the concept of 'acceptability' instead of 'grammaticality', in line with Schütze and Sprouse's (2013: 27–28) recommendations.

should be extended to (at least) those varieties in the central provinces of Agrigento, Caltanissetta and Enna that have already been documented to have instances of preterite PseCo (cf. Di Caro and Giusti 2018).

Acknowledgements

References

Accattoli, Matilde & Todaro, Giuseppina. 2017. Verbes de mouvement et grammaticalisation: le cas du sicilien vaffazzu. In *Normes et grammaticalisation: le cas des langues romanes*, Malinka Velinova (ed.), Sofia: CU "Romanistika".

Aronoff, Mark. 1994. *Morphology by Itself*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.

Ascoli, Graziadio I. 1898. Un problema di sintassi comparata dialettale. *Archivio glottologico italiano*, 14: 453–468.

Ascoli, Graziadio I. 1901. Appendice all'articolo Un problema di sintassi comparata dialettale. *Archivio glottologico italiano*, 15: 221–225.

Biberauer, Theresa & Roberts, Ian. 2012. Towards a Parameter Hierarchy for Auxiliaries: Diachronic Considerations. *COPiL*, 6: 267–294.

Cardinaletti, Anna & Giusti, Giuliana. 1998. *Motion verbs as functional heads*. GenGenP 6: 50–60.

Cardinaletti, Anna & Giusti, Giuliana. 2001. "Semi-lexical" Motion Verbs in Romance and Germanic. In *Semi-lexical categories*, Norbert Corver & Henk Van Riemsdijk (eds), 371–414. Berlin: De Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110874006.371

Cardinaletti, Anna & Giusti, Giuliana. 2003. Motion Verbs as Functional Heads. In *The Syntax of Italian Dialects*, Christina Tortora (ed.), 31–49. New York: Oxford University Press.

Cardinaletti, Anna & Giusti, Giuliana. 2020. Multiple Agreement in Southern Italian Dialects. In *Linguistic Variations: Structure and Interpretation – Studies in Honor of M. Rita Manzini* [Studies in Generative Grammar 132], Ludovico Franco & Paolo Lorusso (eds), 125–148. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Collins, Chris, Guitard, Stephanie & Wood, Jim. 2009. Imposters: An online survey of grammaticality judgments. In Patricia Irwin & Violeta Vázquez Rojas Maldonado (eds), *NYU Working Papers in Linguistics*, Vol. 2. New York: New York University Press.

CorDel: Di Caro, Vincenzo Nicolò (in preparation). Corpus del dialetto deliano.

Cremona, Antonino. 1895. Fonetica del caltagironese con riguardi alle principali parlate del siciliano. Acireale: Tip. Ed. Saro Donzuso (repr. 2020, with a preface by Salvatore Menza, Sesto Fiorentino: Apice libri).

Cruschina, Silvio. 2013. Beyond the Stem and Inflectional Morphology: an Irregular Pattern at the Level of Periphrasis. In *The Boundaries of Pure Morphology*, Silvio Cruschina, Martin Maiden & John Charles Smith (eds), 262–283. Oxford: Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199678860.003.0014

Damonte, Federico. 2005. La diffusione della particella 'mi' in alcune varietà messinesi: problemi di metodo. In *Dialetti in città: Atti del convegno Sappada/Plodn (Belluno) 30 giugno – 4 luglio 2004*, Gianna Marcato (ed.), 237–242. Padua: Unipress.

Damonte, Federico. 2009. La particella *mu* nei dialetti calabresi meridionali. In *Quaderni di lavoro ASIt, 9. Studi sui dialetti della Calabria*, Diego Pescarini (ed.), 101–117. Padua: Unipress.

Damonte, Federico. 2010. Matching Moods: Mood Concord between CP and IP in Salentino and Southern Calabrian Subjunctive Complements. In *Mapping the Left Periphery. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures, vol. 5*, Paola Benincà & Nicola Munaro (eds), 228–256. Oxford / New York: Oxford University Press.

De Angelis, Alessandro. 2013. Strategie di complementazione frasale nell'estremo Meridione italiano. Messina: SGB Edizioni.

De Angelis, Alessandro. 2016. Origini formali e funzionali della particella (m)i, (m)u, ma nell'area messinese e calabrese centro-meridionale. In *Dialetti: per parlare e parlarne. Atti del IV Convegno Internazionale di Dialettologia. Progetto A.L.Ba. (Potenza, Castelmezzano, Lagopesole, 6–8 novembre 2014)*, Patrizia Del Puente (ed.), 75–95. Venosa: Osanna Edizioni.

De Angelis, Alessandro. 2017. Between Greek and Romance: Competing complementation systems in Southern Italy. In *Language and Identity in Multilingual Mediterranean settings. Challenges for Historical Sociolinguistics*, Piera Molinelli (ed.), 135–156. Berlin / New York: De Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110554274-008

De Dardel, Robert. 1958. *Le parfait fort en roman commun*. Geneva: Droz.

Di Caro, Vincenzo N. 2015. Syntactic Constructions with Motion Verbs in Some Sicilian Dialects: a Comparative Analysis. Master's Degree Dissertation. Ca' Foscari University of Venice.

Di Caro, Vincenzo Nicolò. 2019a. Multiple Agreement Constructions in Southern Italo-Romance. The Syntax of Sicilian Pseudo-Coordination. PhD dissertation, Ca' Foscari University of Venice.

Di Caro, Vincenzo Nicolò. 2019b. The Inflected Construction in the dialects of Sicily: parameters of micro-variation. In *Italian Dialectology at the Interface*, Silvio Cruschina, Adam Ledgeway & Eva-Maria Remberger (eds), 63–78. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/la.251.03dic

Di Caro, Vincenzo Nicolò. 2019c. Perifrasi verbali deontiche e paradigmi difettivi nel dialetto di Delia, in *Bollettino del Centro di Studi Filologici e Linguistici Siciliani*, 30: 217–244.

Di Caro, Vincenzo Nicolò & Giusti, Giuliana. 2015. A Protocol for the Inflected Construction in Sicilian Dialects. *Annali di Ca' Foscari, Serie Occidentale*, vol. 49: 393–422.

Di Caro, Vincenzo Nicolò & Giusti, Giuliana. 2018. Dimensions of variation: the Inflected Construction in the dialect of Delia (Caltanissetta). In *Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory 14. Selected papers form the 46th Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages (LSRL)*, Stony Brook, New York, Lori Repetti & Francisco Ordóñez (eds), 54–68. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/rllt.14.04car

Dressler, Wolfgang U. & Thornton, Anna. 1991. Doppie basi e binarismo nella morfologia italiana, *Rivista di Linguistica* 3 (1): 3–22.

Fulci, Innocenzio. 1855. *Lezioni filologiche sulla lingua siciliana*. Catania: Tip. del Reale Ospizio di Beneficenza.

Josefsson, Günlog. 1991. Pseudocoordination – A VP + VP coordination. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 47. 130–156.

Josefsson, Gunlög. 2014. Pseudo-coordination in Swedish with gå 'go' and the 'surprise effect', in *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax*, *93*. Lund: Lund University Publications.

Lausberg, Heinrich. 1969. *Romanische Sprachwissenschaft: Einleitung und Vokalismus*, 3 vols. Berlin: De Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111377377

Ledgeway, Adam. 1998. Variation in the Romance infinitive: the case of Southern Calabrian inflected infinitive. In *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 96: 1–61. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-968X.00023

Ledgeway, Adam. 2016. From Coordination to Subordination: the Grammaticalisation of Progressive and Andative Aspect in the Dialects of Salento. In *Coordination and Subordination*, Adriana Cardoso, Ana Maria Martins, Sandra Pereira, Clara Pinto & Fernanda Pratas (eds). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Leone, Alfonso. 1973. Vattel'a pesca, vieni a piglialo. *Lingua Nostra*, 34: 11–13.

Leone, Alfonso. 1978. Sullo scadimento semantico di andare. *Lingua Nostra*, 39: 50–54.

Leone, Alfonso. 1980. *La morfologia del verbo nelle parlate della Sicilia sud-orientale*. Palermo: Centro di studi filologici e linguistici siciliani.

Magni, Elisabetta. 2001. Paradigm organization and lexical connections in the development of the Italian *passato remoto*, in *Yearbook of Morphology* 1999, Geert Booij & Jaap van Marle (eds). Dordrecht: Springer 1999:75–96.

Maiden, Martin. 1995. *A Linguistic History of Italian*. London: Longman.

Maiden, Martin. 2000. Di un cambiamento intramorfologico: origini del tipo *dissi, dicesti* ecc., nell'italoromanzo. *Archivio glottologico italiano*, 85: 137–171.

Maiden, Martin. 2001a. Passato remoto e condizionale nella morfologia storica italoromanza. *L'Italia dialettale*, 62: 7–26.

Maiden, Martin. 2001b. A Strange Affinity: 'Perfecto y tiempos afines'. *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 78: 441–464. https://doi.org/10.3828/bhs.78.4.441

Maiden, Martin. 2004. When lexemes become allomorphs – on the genesis of suppletion. *Folia Linguistica*, 38: 227–56. https://doi.org/10.1515/flin.2004.38.3-4.227

Maiden, Martin. 2005. Morphological autonomy and diachrony, in *Yearbook of Morphology 2004*, Geert Booij & Jaap van Marle (eds). Dordrecht: Springer, 137–75. https://doi.org/10.1007/1-4020-2900-4_6

Maiden, Martin. 2011. Morphological persistence, in *The Cambridge History of the Romance Languages*, Vol. 1, Martin Maiden, John Charles Smith & Adam Ledgeway (eds). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 155–215.

Maiden, Martin. 2018a. New thoughts on an old puzzle. The Italian alternation type *dissi, dicesti*; *feci, facesti*, in *Revue Romane*, 53: 217–260. https://doi.org/10.1075/rro.16007.mai

Maiden, Martin. 2018b. *The Romance Verb. Morphomic Structure and Diachrony*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780199660216.003.0002

Maiden, M. and O'Neill, P. (2010). 'On morphomic defectiveness: evidence from the Romance languages of the Iberian Peninsula'. In Baerman, M., Corbett, G. G., and Brown, D. (eds), *Defective Paradigms: Missing Forms and What They Tell Us*. 103–24. Oxford: Oxford University Press/British Academy.

Manzini, M. Rita & Savoia, Leonardo M. 2005. *I dialetti Italiani e Romanci: Morfosintassi Generativa*. Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso.

Manzini, M. Rita, Lorusso, Paolo & Savoia, Leonardo M. 2017. *A*/bare finite complements in Southern Italian varieties: Monoclausal or bi-clausal syntax? *Quaderni di Linguistica e Studi Orientali (QULSO)* 3: 11–59. Florence: Florence University Press.

Meyer-Lübke, Wilhelm. 1895 [1890–1902]. *Grammaire des langues romanes, vol. 2, Morphologie*. Paris: E. Welter Editeur.

Palmer, Leonard R. 1954. *The Latin Language*. London: Faber and Faber.

Pitrè, Giuseppe. 1978a [1875]. Saggio d'una grammatica del dialetto e delle parlate siciliane, in *Fiabe, novella e racconti popolari siciliani*, vol. I. Palermo: Il Vespro.

Pitrè, Giuseppe. 1978b [1875]. *Fiabe, novella e racconti popolari siciliani*, vol. IV. Palermo: Il Vespro.

Quirk, Randolph, Greenbaum, Sidney, Leech, Geoffrey & Svartvik, Jan. 1985. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London: Longman.

Rohlfs, Gerhard. 1968. *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti*, vol. 2: Morfologia. Turin: Einaudi.

Rohlfs, Gerhard. 1969. *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti*, vol. 3: Sintassi e formazione delle parole. Turin: Einaudi.

Ross, Daniel. 2016. Going to Surprise: the grammaticalization of itive as mirative. In *Online Proceedings of Cognitive Linguistics in Wrocław Web Conference*. Wrocław: Polish Cognitive Linguistics Association and University of Wrocław. Online at: <http://hdl.handle.net/2142/108897>.

Schütze, Carson T. & Sprouse, Jon. 2013. Judgment data. In *Research Methods in Linguistics*, Robert J. Podesva & Devyani Sharma (eds), 27–50. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Smith, John Charles. 2013. The morphome as a gradient phenomenon: evidence from Romance. In *The Boundaries of Pure Morphology*, Silvio Cruschina, Martin Maiden & John Charles Smith (eds), 247–261. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sobin, Nicholas. 1987. The variable status of Comp-trace phenomena. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 5: 33–60. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00161867

Sornicola, Rosanna. 1976. Vado a dire o vaiu a ddico problema sintattico o problema semantico? *Lingua Nostra*, 37 (3–4): 65–74.

Sorrento, Luigi. 1950. *Sintassi romanza: Ricerche e prospettive*. Milan: Istituto editoriale cisalpino.

Stefanini, Ruggero. 1970. Imperativo per infinito in fiorentino. *Lingua Nostra*, 31: 19–20.

Tekavčić, Pavao. 1980. *Grammatica storica dell'italiano*, vol. 2. Morfosintassi. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Teleman, Ulf. 1974. *Manual för grammatisk beskrivning av talad och skriven svenska*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Thornton, Anna. 2007. "Is There a Partition in the Present Indicative of Italian Irregular Verbs?". *Annali Online di Ferrara – Lettere*, 2: 43–61.

Todaro, Giuseppina & Del Prete, Fabio. 2019. The morphosyntax-semantics interface and the Sicilian Doubly Inflected Construction. In *Italian Dialectology at the Interface*, Silvio Cruschina, Adam Ledgeway & Eva-Maria Remberger (eds). 131–154. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/la.251.07tod

Wiklund, Anna-Lena. 1996. « Pseudocoordination is subordination ». *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax*, 58: 29–54.

Wiklund, Anna-Lena. 2008. Creating surprise in complex predication. *Nordlyd* 35, 163–187. Tromsoe University. https://doi.org/10.7557/12.141

CHAPTER 5

Gone unexpectedly

Pseudo-coordination and the expression of surprise

Silvio Cruschina
University of Helsinki

In this paper, I discuss a periphrastic construction involving the verb *go* in Sicilian that is used to express surprise and unexpectedness with respect to a past event. I show that the special meaning and function of this structure is best accounted for by postulating that in this construction the verb *go* is now a functional verb associated with a mirative conventional implicature. In this use, the construction is grammatically in the present tense, but is used within a narrative context to foreground an unexpected or surprising event that happened in the past. To account for the present-tense morphology, I propose that the conversational backgrounds – and in particular the ordering source defining the set of expectations of the conversation participants – can be indexed to the present time. I finally explore the hypothesis that the mirative use of this construction can shed light on the development of the Catalan *go*-past.

Keywords: motion verb, mirativity, conventional implicature, grammaticalization, Sicilian, Catalan, pseudo-coordination, surprise, unexpectedness

1.   Introduction

Periphrastic constructions involving a motion verb are commonly subject to processes of grammaticalization. The verb *go*, in particular, is crosslinguistically a frequent source of grammaticalization for constructions that have developed the function of aspectual or temporal markers (see, e.g., Bybee et al. 1994; Hopper & Traugott [1993] 2003).[1] If we consider the Romance languages, for instance, we

---

1.   Several definitions of grammaticalization are available in the relevant literature (see Joseph 2005). In this paper, I simply follow the most common and theory-neutral definition of grammaticalization as described by Traugott (2003: 654): "the process whereby lexical material in highly constrained pragmatic and morphosyntactic contexts is assigned grammatical function, and once grammatical, is assigned increasingly grammatical, operator-like function".

see that the periphrastic construction with *go* followed by an infinitive retains a movement meaning in Italian, but has acquired a future-tense function in Spanish, French, and Portuguese, and has instead developed into a preterite tense in Catalan (see Squartini 1998). In a handful of the world languages, the deictic motion verb *go* serves as a passive auxiliary; this is the case of Italian *andare* 'go' in combination with participial forms and with a special modal (deontic) meaning (see Sansò & Giacalone Ramat 2016).

Go-periphrases, including particular pseudo-coordination constructions, may also be associated with a surprise value in several languages. In this paper, I discuss the use of a Sicilian periphrastic construction featuring the verb *go* to express surprise and unexpectedness, namely, the *Doubly Inflected Construction* (DIC). On the basis of the Sicilian data, I propose an analysis of the surprise import and its association with a motion-verb construction. More specifically, I show that the special surprise meaning of this structure results from its association with a conventional implicature. I start with a brief description of DIC in Sicilian (§ 2), before providing to a concise overview of other structures available across languages that feature the motion verb *go* and that display a similar mirative usage (§ 3). In Section 4, I propose an analysis that attempts to capture the origins of the surprise implicature, both in cognitive and in formal terms. In particular, I offer a formal definition of the mirative implicature and an explanation of the 'fake' tense that we find with DIC, suggesting that we are dealing with an instance of temporal shift of a modal parameter. In Section 5, I address two comparative questions, namely, whether similar cases of modal shift are attested in the literature and whether the past reference of DIC in its mirative use can in principle generalize and grammaticalize beyond the surprise implicature. The main points of the paper are summarized in Section 6.

2.   The *Doubly Inflected Construction* in Sicilian

The Sicilian *Doubly Inflected Construction* (DIC) is a motion-verb construction that displays multiple agreement. It comprises two inflected verbs, the first of which must be a motion verb (e.g. *jiri* 'go', *viniri* 'come'). The two verbs are inflected for the same features and are connected by the element *a*, a pseudo-coordinator, as shown in (1):[2]

---

2.   The origins and the synchronic status of this element are still somewhat controversial. Since Ascoli (1898, 1901), a long tradition of scholars have considered this element as the continuation of the Latin coordinating conjunction AC used in spoken and late Latin (see also Rohlfs 1969: § 710, § 761, Leone 1973; Sornicola 1976; Cardinaletti & Giusti 2001; Ledgeway 2016; Di Caro 2019a; b). In this sense, the construction is treated as an instance of pseudo-coordination

(1) *Vaju   a mangiu.*
    go.PRS.1SG to eat.PRS.1SG
    'I go (to) eat.'/ 'I'm going to eat.'

DIC exhibits peculiar morphosyntactic properties that provide compelling evidence in favour of the hypothesis that it is a monoclausal construction with the motion verb behaving as a (semi-)functional verb (see Cardinaletti & Giusti 2001, 2003; Cruschina 2013; Di Caro 2015, 2019a; b; Ledgeway 2016; but see Manzini & Savoia 2005; Manzini, Lorusso & Savoia 2017 for the opposite view that DIC instantiates a biclausal structure). Obligatory clitic climbing (2) and the loss of lexical properties such as the ability of the motion verb to select for arguments (3) or adjuncts (4) are considered strong evidence in support of the monoclausality of DIC:

(2) a. *U vaju   a pigghiu.*
        it= go.PRS.1SG to take.PRS.1SG
    b. **Vaju   a pigghiu**lu**.*
        go.PRS.1SG to take.PRS.1SG=it
    c. **Vaju   a **lu** pigghiu.*
        go.PRS.1SG to it= take.PRS.1SG
        'I go to fetch it.'   (Cardinaletti & Giusti 2001: 388)

(3) *Va   (*agghiri a casa) a mangia (*agghiri a casa).*
    go.3SG towards to home to eat.3SG towards to home
    (*Intended reading*: 'Peppe goes home to eat.')
                                              (Cardinaletti & Giusti 2001: 377)

(4) **Peppe va   a mangia c'   a   machina.*
    Peppe go.3SG to eat.3SG with the car
    (*Intended reading*: 'Peppe goes to eat by car.')
                                              (Cardinaletti & Giusti 2001: 379)

Cardinaletti & Giusti (2001, 2003) take the unacceptability of these sentences as evidence that in DIC *go* cannot project either a goal argument (3) or an instrumental adjunct (4), and hence displays the behaviour of a functional verb.

---

in several studies (see, e.g., Ledgeway 2016; Di Caro 2019a; b). In most varieties, however, this element is homophonous with the preposition *a* 'to', from Latin preposition AD, and this has been taken as evidence of its embedding function (Manzini & Savoia 2005; Manzini, Lorusso & Savoia 2017). As argued in Cruschina (2013: 271), the etymological origins of this connecting element are immaterial for the synchronic analysis of DIC, insofar as it is now desemanticized and contributes no meaning to the construction. For the sake of simplicity, I have glossed the connecting element *a* as 'to' because in these varieties it does in fact correspond to the homophonous preposition *a* 'to', and not to the conjunction.

From a morphological viewpoint, in most Sicilian dialects, DIC exhibits a defective paradigm, being available only in the present tense (although not in the 1PL or 2PL) and in the 2SG of the imperative (see Di Caro 2019a for a detailed overview). Even if this defective paradigm cannot be taken as a direct consequence of the monoclausal nature of the construction, it has been claimed to be connected to the morphologization (and grammaticalization) of the periphrasis, which has led to a pattern of defectiveness similar to that found with many irregular verbs (Cruschina 2013).[3]

Despite the fact that the motion verb in DIC has lost its full lexical properties and displays a defective paradigm, semantically DIC still entails movement and physical displacement in most cases. In Sicilian, DIC alternates with a construction that is more like those found in other Romance varieties, where the main verb is an infinitive (e.g. Sic. *vaju a mangiari* [go.1SG to eat.INF]). The infinitival construction is not subject to the same semantic and morphological restrictions as DIC. However, if we compare DIC with the infinitival construction (5), it is very difficult to identify any semantic differences:

(5) a. *Vaju   a pigghiu   u   pani.*
         go.PRS.1SG to take.PRS.1SG the bread
     b. *Vaju   a pigghiari u   pani.*
         go.PRS.1SG to take.INF the bread
         'I go to fetch the bread.'   (Cardinaletti & Giusti 2001: 373)

Even if the motion event subcomponent involved in DIC could be captured in aspectual terms, that is, as *andative* and *venitive* aspects indicating movement away from or towards the speaker, respectively (see Cruschina 2013), the overall meaning is very similar to that of the infinitival construction. By contrast, the two constructions differ substantially with respect to the mirative usage to express surprise or unexpectedness, which is the main focus of this paper.

The mirative use of DIC is limited to the verb *go*, and is characterized by the lack of motion meaning, as shown in (6) from the Sicilian dialect of Santo Stefano di Camastra (in the province of Messina), and in (7)–(9) from the dialect of Mussomeli (in the province of Caltanissetta), from Cruschina (2013: 279):

---

3. Syntactically, the double inflection can be accounted for as a case of multiple agreement within the extended vP which takes place via CONCORD, through a mechanism resembling adjectival agreement (Baker 2008) and independently from the restructuring process that leads to monoclausality (Cruschina & Calabrese 2021; see also Cardinaletti & Giusti 2019).

(6) *Vaiu   a ssientu   ca iddu ci   fici   stu tuortu a*
go.PRS.1SG a hear.PRS.1SG that he   her.DAT= did.3SG this wrong to
sso mugghieri.
his wife
'I heard that he did such a wrong to his wife!'   (Sornicola 1976: 68)

(7) *Cuannu u   vitti   ca sunava   nna banna, vaju   a*
when   him= see.PST.1SG that play.IMPF.3SG in-the band go.PRS.1SG to
pruvu   na gioia!
feel.PRS.1SG a joy
'When I saw him play in the band, I felt such a joy!'

(8) *Arrivammu   dda, nn'u ristoranti, e   mi   vannu   a*
arrive.PST.1PL there in-the restaurant and me.DAT= go.PRS.3PL to
dunanu   na pizza accussì ladia!
give.PRS.3PL a pizza so   ugly
'We arrived there, at the restaurant, and they gave me such a bad pizza!'

(9) *Ogellannu va   a capita   ca ci   vinni   a frevi*
last year go.3SG to happen.3SG that him.DAT= come.PST.3SG the fever
tri   boti!
three times
'Last year it happened that he had a fever three times!'

In this use, DIC is grammatically in the present tense (*vaiu a ssientu* in (6), *vaju a pruvu* in (7), *vannu a dunanu* in (8), *va a capita* in (9)), but is employed within a narrative context to foreground an unexpected or surprising event that happened in the past. All other verbs are indeed in the past tense (e.g. *fici, vitti, sunava, arrivammu, vinni*).

    Crucially, the infinitival construction cannot be associated with the expression of surprise in the past, showing that this special use is limited to DIC only. Indeed, if we replace DIC with the infinitival construction in the examples (7)–(9) above, we obtain ungrammatical results, as shown in (10)–(12):

(10) **Cuannu u   vitti   ca sunava   nna banna, vaju   a*
when   him= see.PST.1SG that play.IMPF.3SG in-the band   go.PRS.1SG to
pruvari na gioia!
feel.INF a joy

(11) **Arrivammu   dda, nn'u ristoranti, e   mi   vannu   a dari*
arrive.PST.1PL there in-the restaurant and me.DAT= go.PRS.3PL to give.INF
na pizza accussì ladia!
a pizza so   ugly

(12) *Ogellannu va   a capitari   ca ci   vinni   a frevi
     last year   go.3SG to happen.INF that him.DAT= come.PST.3SG the fever
     tri   boti!
     three times

Sicilian DIC is not the only motion verb construction featuring *go* that can be used to express surprise. As we will see in the next section, there are several languages in which verbs indicating movement away from the deictic centre can mark an event as unexpected, without necessarily involving motion in space.

3.   Surprise with functional *go*: Crosslinguistic evidence

Crosslinguistically, different types of motion verb constructions can signal a surprising or unexpected event. Here, I concentrate on those constructions featuring the verb *go*. Motion periphrases with pseudo-coordination have acquired the semantic function of expressing surprise and unexpectedness in several languages, including in English, Swedish and Spanish (see De Vos 2005; Wiklund 2009; Josefsson 2014; Ross 2016):

(13) a. *He went and hit me.*   (English)
                    (Carden & Pesetsky 1977: 89, cited in De Vos 2005: 47)
      b. *Look at what he went and did this time!*   (Ross 2016: 2)

(14) *Hon har   gått   och gift   sig.*   (Swedish)
      she have.PRS go.SUP and marry.SUP REFL
      'It so happens that she got married.'   (Josefsson 2014: 27)

(15) *Ramón fue   y   se   cayó.*   (Spanish)
      Ramon went.3SG and REFL fell.3sg
      'Ramon unexpectedly fell.'
                       (Arnaiz & Camacho 1999: 318, cited in Ross 2016: 3)

In these constructions two inflected verbs are combined by means of a pseudo-coordination, but still refer to a single complex event.[4] When the first verb is a motion verb, as in the examples above, the pseudo-coordination construction does not necessarily indicate or imply motion in space, showing that *go* behaves as a kind of functional verb that has been deprived of its lexical properties.

---

4. Here I am considering only the verb *go* as the first conjunct of the construction, but in Mainland Scandinavian, as well as in other languages, the class of verbs that can be used as the first element is in fact larger, although it constitutes a closed class nevertheless (see, e.g., De Vos 2005; Wiklund 2009; Josefsson 2014).

In other languages, infinitival constructions involving *go* may be used with the same mirative function and in the complete absence of any motion meaning. These constructions are typically used in a narrative context to describe or comment on an unexpected event that happened in the past. From a morphological viewpoint, functional *go* can be either in the past tense (16) or in the present (17), but it has a past reference in both cases, creating a contrast between reference and evaluation time (I will return to this contrast in § 4):

(16) *Esther est allée s'   imaginer que tu   l'aimais.*   (French)
Esther is   gone REFL imagine that you her=love.PRS.2SG
'Esther had this crazy idea that you were in love with her. ' (Tellier 2015: 159)

(17) *Avevo   appena pulito per terra e   mi   va   a cadere la teiera.*
had.1SG just   cleaned for floor and on-me= goes to fell.INF the teapot
'I had just cleaned the floor when the teapot fell down.'   (Italian)

A mirative value may also be conveyed by constructions with conative *go*, which simultaneously express the subject's attempt to direct an action that is partially or fully unaccomplished and an element of surprise and unexpectedness spelled out by the following sentence (Dalrymple & Vincent 2015; Cruschina 2018):

(18) a. *I went to sit up and my God it felt like I had just been pushed down 12 flights of stairs.*   (British English)
b. *Swiftly, she went to change the subject – but he beat her to it.*
c. *He went to answer her, but she shook her head dismissively.*
(Dalrymple & Vincent 2015: 2–3)

(19) *Vàiu   ppi mmuzzicari u   turruni, e   mi   rruppi   u renti.*
go.PRS.1SG for bite.INF   the nougat and me= break.PST.1SG the tooth
'I was about to bite into the nougat, when I broke my tooth.'   (Sicilian)
(Leone 1995: 44)

In the examples in (18) and (19), we can observe that the conative construction is used to emphasize that the attempted action denoted by the complement verb is interrupted and is followed by a sudden and unexpected event resulting from the uncompleted action and expressed by the following clause. Originating from a biclausal structure denoting motion for a purpose, this conative construction now shows the properties of a monoclausal syntax and of a single event interpretation that does not necessarily imply movement (see Dalrymple & Vincent 2015; Cruschina 2018).

How can we explain the association between the grammaticalized occurrences of *go* in the constructions described in this section and the mirative meanings? From a cognitive viewpoint, we could argue that this path of grammaticalization is not unexpected. Just as motion verbs can grammaticalize from the spatial domain

to the temporal domain as tense markers, they can also extend into a modal domain. Movement in time, rather than in space, explains why the verb *go* is typically selected for grammaticalization as a future tense auxiliary in several languages such as Spanish (*va a cantar* 'he'll sing'), French (*il va chanter* 'he'll sing') or English (*he's going to sing*) (see, e.g., Bybee et al. 1994: 268). As for surprise and unexpectedness, the specific use of *go* in the above periphrastic constructions can be conceived of as movement or distancing away from the speaker's expectations or beliefs (see also Ross 2016 for a similar proposal).

4.   Mirative DIC: Analysis

As concluded in the previous section, cognitively, the mirative use of *go* to express surprise can be conceived of as movement or distance away from the speaker's expectations or ideal of normality. Formally, the surprise meaning can be defined as a conventional implicature (see Wiklund 2009; Dalrymple & Vincent 2015; Cruschina 2018; Cruschina & Bianchi 2021). In most constructions, this implicature is associated with functional *go* in narrative contexts, talking about the past, although with some structures the narrative present is also possible. Sicilian DIC is always used in the present tense within a narrative context to foreground an unexpected or surprising event that occurred in the past – all other verbs must be in the past tense. The present morphology is in fact unavoidable, because DIC has a defective paradigm and can only be used in the present (and in the 2SG of the imperative, but this is incompatible with the surprise reading for independent reasons). In order to arrive at a satisfactory account of the mirative use of DIC, we therefore need both (i) a formal analysis of the conventional implicature of surprise and unexpectedness, and (ii) an explanation of the 'fake' tense (morphologically present, but semantically past) used with Sicilian DIC. Let us start with the first component.

4.1   The mirative implicature

The grammaticalization of *go* into a functional verb may be concomitant with its association with a conventional implicature of surprise and unexpectedness.[5] Since

---

5.   As observed by an anonymous reviewer, the grammaticalization of *go* does not seem to be a necessary condition for it to be associated with a conventional implicature of the mirative type. This is indeed true if we look at the morphosyntactic properties of the verb. However, as also observed in Section 3, when the mirative implicature arises, the lexical motion meaning of *go* is partially or totally absent. Even if we cannot speak of a causation relationship between the two

unexpectedness involves a comparison between different states of affairs, and thus a conceptualization of possible worlds, we are dealing with a modal conventional implicature:

> Evidence for conceptualization of "other possible worlds" can be seen even at a prelinguistic level in any child or animal that can show surprise, since surprise signals mismatch between a perceived state of affairs and an expected state of affairs.
>
> (Partee 1995: 326)

Despite the fact that the grammaticalization of *go* into a modal verb or auxiliary is typologically not infrequent (see, e.g., Devos & van der Wal 2014), I am not claiming here that *go* in its mirative usage behaves as a proper modal quantifying over a set of accessible possible worlds. In recent studies, Kratzer's (1981, 1991, 2012) analysis of modality in terms of a modal base and an ordering source has been adopted to define the comparative likelihood of alternative propositions, allowing for a formal analysis of mirative conventional implicatures (see Grosz 2012; Bianchi et al. 2015, 2016). Following this line of investigation, I would like to propose that in the special use of DIC the verb *go* is associated with the conventional implicature that the asserted proposition *p* is unexpected with respect to the ranking of the accessible possible worlds according to the speaker's expectations.

Expectations express a criterion or ideal of normality. According to Kratzer (1991: 645), expectations are captured by a stereotypical ordering source, that is, a conversational background that assigns to every world the set of propositions that represent the normal course of events in that world. We could alternatively, and perhaps more simply, assume Portner's (2009: 99) definition of an expectation pattern as an ordering of worlds in terms of 'normality': in this sense, the speaker's expectations correspond to the subset of maximally normal worlds. With this background in mind, we can now define the mirative implicature associated with DIC as follows:

(20) Mirative implicature
      In the subsets of the maximally normal worlds in the modal base there is no world in which the prejacent proposition *p* is true.

This definition does not make direct reference to alternative propositions. All that it states is that the asserted proposition *p* is not true in the maximally normal worlds, and is thus not contained in the set of expectations (see Rett & Murray 2013; Simeonova 2015). A weaker version of this definition would be possible in

---

processes, some correlation must be postulated at the semantic level, which might in turn reflect a structural change. This is an important question, which will require further investigation. On the relationship between meaning change and grammaticalization, see Eckardt (2006: § 2.2).

terms of comparison of alternatives, whereby not *p* is more likely (i.e. is a better possibility) than *p* (see Bianchi et al. 2016 for the notion of better possibility). Let us now turn to the second component of our account of DIC's mirative use: the fake tense.

4.2   The fake tense

The question we now need to address is the following: why does Sicilian DIC in its mirative use display present-tense morphology if the reference time is clearly in the past? The solution I would like to propose is that we are here dealing with a case of 'fake' tense (see Iatridou 2000). What is actually in the present is the time at which we anchor the ordering source defining the maximally normal possible worlds (or the set of expectations): 'my expectations now'. This idea can be implemented following Ippolito's (2004) definition of the accessibility relation, which determines which worlds are possible with respect to each other. The standard notion of an accessibility relation is a binary relation between possible words ($< s, < s, t >>$), while the accessibility relation proposed by Ippolito is slightly more complex and instead consists in "a relationship between a world-time pair and a set of worlds compatible with it ($< s, < i, < s, t >>>, i \in I$ = the set of times)" (Ippolito 2004: 363).

On the basis of this definition, we can assume that conversational backgrounds can be indexed to a specific time. With mirative DIC, the evaluation world in the pair is generally the actual world and the evaluation time of the ordering source must be present.[6] Let us consider Example (8), repeated here as (21):

(21)   *Arrivammu   dda,   nn'u   ristoranti, e   mi   vannu   a*
        arrive.PST.1PL   there   in-the   restaurant and   me.DAT=   go.PRS.3PL   to
        dunanu   na pizza accussì ladia!
        give.PRS.3PL a   pizza so   ugly
        'We arrived there, at the restaurant, and they gave me such a bad pizza!'

The speaker knows that *p* is true at the utterance time, so *p* cannot be unexpected for her, but she presents it as unexpected with respect to the joint commitments that make the common ground. The speaker can indeed continue her statement

---

6.   It must be noted that the present anchoring of the ordering source is a characteristic property of mirative DIC, but not of all constructions featuring functional *go* and expressing surprise or unexpectedness. Most of the constructions reviewed in Section 3 are in fact commonly used in the past tense, although narrative present would also be possible. At the same time, it is important to clarify that I am not claiming that a causal relationship exists between mirative DIC and its defective paradigm. It could well be that the exclusive use of the present tense in Sicilian has resulted from a generalization of the narrative present with this structure.

as follows: *From that time on, I have been aware that the pizza there is bad and I never recommend that place to anybody*. This means that the unexpected import of the mirative implicature is not exclusively anchored to the speaker, but rather, it is interpreted with respect to a modal base that is shared by the conversational participants. This modal base is the *context set*, namely, the set of possible worlds in which all the propositions presupposed by the conversational community are true (Stalnaker 2002). The context set is characterized by the joint commitments of the conversational community at the moment of utterance (see Bianchi et al. 2016). For this reason, the ordering source defining the maximally normal possible worlds (or the set of expectations) must also be shared by the interlocutors and anchored to the present.[7]

This analysis predicts that a sentence with mirative DIC can be felicitously uttered even if the speaker had different expectations at the reference time. Suppose, for example, that the speaker knew that pizza in that restaurant was bad, but she went anyway because her friend works there as a waitress. In this case, the mirative use of DIC in (21) would not be pragmatically felicitous, but it would become so if the expectations change (not only for her but for the interlocutors in general) and are thus different at the speech/evaluation time: she has heard that the pizza-maker changed and that now they serve a delicious pizza in that restaurant. The change of expectations between the reference time and the present time of evaluation fully supports the mirative implicature of DIC. The mirative implicature defined in the previous section is therefore relative to a present time of evaluation.

5.   Further discussion

The account of the mirative use of DIC proposed in this paper implies a temporal shift of a modal parameter: the access to the set of expectations is shifted from the past reference time to a present time of evaluation. We can thus wonder whether similar temporal shifts are found elsewhere in Sicilian or in Romance more generally. Similarly, we may ask whether the use of DIC with present morphology to refer to the past can generalize beyond the modal interpretation, so that *go* is no longer associated with the mirative implicature. The 'modal' imperfect in Romance (Ippolito 2004) appears to constitute a case of temporal shift of a modal parameter,

---

7.   In this sense, DIC's mirative implicature is not subject to the 'recency restriction' on mirativity described in Rett & Murray (2013: 459), according to which all mirative constructions "are licensed only when the speaker has recently learned the at-issue proposition *p*." The speaker uses mirative DIC, therefore, not to indicate that the information is not yet integrated into her store of knowledge, but rather to present this information as new and unexpected for the conversational participants.

but subject to precisely the reverse conditions with respect to DIC: the reference time is present, and the shift of the modal parameter is to the past. As for the second question, a possible example of the generalization of a tense beyond the modal interpretation could be the *go*-past in Catalan, where *go* has been grammaticalized into an ordinary past-tense auxiliary.

5.1   Modal shift to the past

The imperfect tense in Romance may be used with a modal interpretation. For Italian, Ippolito (2004: 360) shows that "at least in some uses, the imperfect has the function of 'distancing' or 'removing' the speaker from the situation (time and place) where she is actually located." Examples of this 'modal' use of the imperfect are given in (22) (from Ippolito 2004: 360–361):

(22) a. *Se potevo,   venivo.*   (hypothetical imperfect)
          if can.IMPF.1SG come.IMPF.1SG
          'If I could, I would come.'
      b. *Vincenzo doveva   essere già   qui.*   (potential imperfect)
          Vincenzo must.IMPF.3SG be.INF already here
          'Vincenzo should be already here.'
      c. *Giochiamo ad un gioco nuovo! Io ero   l'albero, tu   il   cavallo.*
          play.IMP.1PL to a game new   I be.IMPF the-tree you the horse
          'Let's play a new game! I'll the tree, you be the horse.' (imperfect of play)
      d. *Volevo   del   pane, grazie.*   (imperfect of politeness)
          want.IMPF.1SG of-the bread thanks
          'I would like some bread, thanks.'

In these and other uses of the modal imperfect, the past is not interpreted inside the proposition in which it occurs and, hence, it does not locate the event denoted by the main predicate in time. Rather, it must be interpreted as dislocational, in that it shifts the evaluation time to some contextually salient time. According to Ippolito (2004: 363), "what is special about this past is that it does not locate an event in the past but *contributes to the restriction of the accessibility relation.* […] The evaluation world in the pair is generally the actual world; the evaluation time must be a past time." The sentence with the imperfect is true if and only if in all the worlds w that are accessible to the speaker in the actual world at some time t_1 prior to the utterance time t_u, p is true in w. The accessibility relation R gives us the set of speaker's beliefs: set of worlds w' that are compatible with the speaker's doxastic domain.[8]

---

8.   See Section 4.2 for Ippolito's definition of the accessibility relation as a relation between a world-time pair and a set of worlds compatible with it.

A possible further example of modal shifting or displacement to the past, although in different analytical terms, is the mirative imperfect in Andean Spanish:

(23) *¡Juan fumaba!*   (Andean Spanish)
      Juan   smoke.IMPF.3SG
      'Juan smokes!'
      (I wasn't expecting Juan to be a smoker)

According to Torres Bustamante (2012, 2013), in the mirative imperfect, the past tense morphology constitutes the time argument of the modal base (the speaker's set of beliefs); the past thus represents the speaker's past beliefs up to the speech time in which she realizes that the actual state of affairs contradicts her previous beliefs. The surprise associated with mirativity arises as a consequence of the clash between the speaker's previous beliefs and the current state of affairs.

5.2   Past beyond the implicature

One may wonder whether the mirative use of DIC to refer to the past can generalize beyond the modal interpretation, such that the function verb *go* is no longer associated with the mirative implicature. I would like to suggest that this is indeed what happened in Catalan, where *go* has been grammaticalized into an ordinary past-tense auxiliary. Crucially, before acquiring its past-tense function, the *go*-periphrasis was used in Medieval Catalan in similar contexts and with analogous functions, namely, to foreground an unexpected event within a past narrative context (see Colon 1978a; b; Pérez Saldanya 1998; Pérez Saldanya & Hualde 2003; Detges 2004; Cruschina & Kocher 2017):

      (Old Catalan)
(24) *E aquells del rey de Franssa, que viren$_1$ açò, cuydaren$_2$-sa que ·ll rey*
      'And when those [i.e. the men] of-the King of France saw$_1$ this, they-thought$_2$ the King
      d' Aragó fos lahins e no·u tengueren$_3$ a festa, e giraren$_4$ les testes als
      of Aragon was in-there and they were$_3$ not too happy about it, and they-turned$_4$ their
      cavalls e tornaren$_5$-se'n d'esperó vers la ost del rey de Franssa.
      horses' heads and returned$_5$ quickly towards the army of-the king of France.
      E al tornar, passaren$_6$ per ·I· monestir de dones monges de la orda de
      And on [their] return, they-stopped$_6$ by a convent of lady nuns of the Cistercian Order,
      *Sistell, qui era fora la vila de Perpinià, e **van trencar**$_7$ les portes del*
      which was outside the city of Perpignan, and [then suddenly] go.PRS.3PL break$_7$
      monestir e barrajaren$_8$ e robaren$_9$ la sglésia e totes quantes coses hi hach,
      the convent's gates and plundered$_8$ and looted$_9$ the church and everything there was,
      que hanch no·y lexaren$_{10}$ staca que tot no se'n ho
      so-that they did not leave$_{10}$ there [even one] post any-more which

aportassen ab ssi.
they-wouldn't-have-taken with them.'

(Desclot, IV, 13th c., Colon 1978b: 135–136, Detges 2004: 217)

Building on Colon (1978a; b) and Pérez Saldanya (1998), Detges (2004: 216) argues that in Medieval Catalan, as well as in other Medieval Romance varieties, "the GO-construction functions as a marker of suspense: it is a rhetorical device used to represent especially dramatic points of narrative sequences." As shown in (24), the *go*-past is used in the present morphology (*va trencar* [go.PRS.3PL break.INF]) with a past reference ('they broke') within a series of events denoted by verbs in the past-tense morphology, sequentially numbered in Detges' version of the example reported in (24). According to Detges (2004: 217), therefore, "within narrative sequences of discrete foreground events, GO + *inf.* came to be used to foreground the 'turning-point' event, i.e. the most relevant single event or the first element of a sub-series of particularly surprising or noteworthy actions." In other words, this construction is mainly used in the present tense, even if the preceding and following events are described in the past tense.[9] As with the mirative use of Sicilian DIC, the Catalan *go*-construction is thus morphologically present but is used within a past temporal frame.

The emphatic and foregrounding function of the Catalan *go*-construction is generally described as a narrative strategy, but it is important to observe that it was not limited to written texts. As observed by Colon (1978b: 146–147), 16th-century grammarians in France in the Languedoc region and in Catalonia stigmatize this construction as vulgar and illiterate, suggesting that it was also used in the oral language. Its use in private kinds of writing such as diaries and personal letters has also been attested (Steinkrüger 1999).

On the basis of this evidence, we could argue that the narrative strategy used in the written texts is the reflex of a construction that existed in the spoken language, where *go* already referred to past events but still preserved that surprise and counter-expectational implicature as a rhetorical device for the first centuries after its emergence. In other words, the implicature of surprise acts as trigger for reanalysis: indeed, research over the past two decades suggests that meaning change in reanalysis is driven by pragmatic processes, namely, by pragmatic inferences of different types and by the subsequent conventionalization of the originally inferred meaning (e.g. Hopper & Traugott [1993] 2003; Levinson 2000; Eckardt 2006). The surprise implicature arises from a modal interpretation of the original motion meaning, namely, movement away from expectations. In association with

---

9. See Detges (2004: 221) for the discussion of an exception.

this implicature, the construction is mostly used to refer to the past (i.e. to express surprise in the past). Once the implicature disappears, the construction starts to mark only the simple past.[10]

We thus need to add a third path of grammaticalization for *go* verbs, as illustrated in (25):[11]

(25)   Grammaticalization paths of *go*:
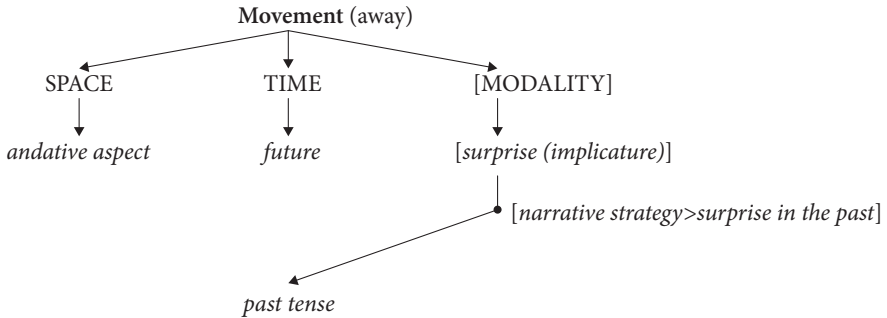
In addition to grammaticalization within the spatial and the temporal sphere, the meaning and function of *go* can also unfold within the modal domain. An inference of movement or distance away from the speaker's expectations or beliefs paves the way for reanalysis. The new meaning of surprise and unexpectedness then becomes part of the conventional interpretation of *go* when used in a narrative context to refer to the past, giving rise to a surprise implicature and to a temporal change. This is the stage of grammaticalization of Sicilian DIC. Once the reference to the past generalizes and the implicature disappears, a *go*-past develops in Catalan.

---

10. The loss of the implicature could be seen as the result of a generalization of the construction to a wider range of application, beyond the mirative implicature. An anonymous reviewer asks why after the removal of the implicature the construction does not revert to its original motion meaning. We could hypothesize that this is indeed what happed in other languages such as Old Occitan and Old French, where the narrative strategy described in Section 5.2 was also in use, but was subsequently lost (see Colon 1987b; Detges 2004).

11. Within Generative Grammar, grammaticalization has been interpreted as the process that creates new functional material and that can be characterized as "reanalysis 'upwards' along the functional structure", in the sense that the new functional item climbs up the tree and is merged in a structurally higher functional position (Roberts & Roussou 2003, van Gelderen 2004). The schema in (25) is meant to descriptively illustrate the change possibilities from a lexical motion verb to a set of functional categories, but it would be interesting to explore whether these functional categories can be identified as functional heads within the syntactic structure. I leave this hypothesis open to future research.

In this sense, the Catalan *go*-past should not be seen as "the unintended by-product of discourse techniques which aimed at rhetorical efficiency hiding a cognitive base" (Detges 2004: 224), but it rather derives from a common path of language change, involving the cognitive and pragmatic processes that typically trigger reanalysis and grammaticalization. What is special about Catalan is that while in Sicilian the surprise implicature is still present and the construction cannot be used to express simple past, in Catalan it has disappeared after causing the change.

It would be natural to wonder whether similar cases of grammaticalization can be found elsewhere in Romance, where the trigger for a process of grammaticalization vanishes after causing the reanalysis. It seems that the HABERE + *inf.* construction in the history of Romance can also be described in similar terms: with this construction, we go from the original possession meaning to a future tense through an intermediate stage where the construction expressed deontic modality (e.g. Lat. HABEO CANTARE / CANTARE HABEO > It. *canterò*; see Fleischman 1982, and Adams 2013, among many others). The modal meaning of the very same construction is still present nowadays in several Romance varieties.

6.   Conclusions

The surprise or foregrounding interpretation of *go*-periphrases is crosslinguistically common. In Sicilian, the mirative implicature is a possible interpretation of DIC when it is used to refer to a past temporal event, although this is by no means the only possible interpretation of the construction. The surprise implicature resulting from a pragmatic inference can be captured in cognitive and formal terms as movement or distance away from speakers' expectations. The present anchoring to the evaluation time justifies the present morphology within a past temporal frame typical of Sicilian DIC, thus representing a case of modal temporal shift of a modal parameter.

Sicilian DIC thus offers an example of the association between a motion-verb construction and a conventionalized implicature of surprise or unexpectedness. In this paper, I proposed an analysis for the rise and development of this implicature, but did not explore the evolution of DIC in diachrony, a task which I leave to future research. From a diachronic viewpoint, however, the present-day mirative use of Sicilian DIC can provide important evidence for the grammaticalization path of *go* through time in other languages such as Catalan.

Acknowledgements

References

Adams, J. N. 2013. *Social Variation and the Latin Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511843433

Arnaiz, Alfredo & Camacho, José. 1999. A topic auxiliary in Spanish. In *Advances in Hispanic Linguistics: Papers from the 2nd Hispanic Linguistics Symposium, Volume 2*, Javier Gutiérrez-Rexach & Fernando Martínez Gil (eds), 317–331. Boston: Cascadilla Press.

Ascoli, G. I. 1898. Un problema di sintassi comparata dialettale. *Archivo glottologico italiano* 14: 453–68.

Ascoli, G. I. 1901. Appendice all'articolo "un problema di sintassi comparata dialettale". *Archivo glottologico italiano* 15: 221–25.

Baker, Mark C. 2008. *The Syntax of Agreement and Concord*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511619830

Bianchi, Valentina, Bocci, Giuliano & Cruschina, Silvio. 2015. Focus fronting and its implicatures. In *Romance languages and linguistic theory 2013: Selected papers from 'Going Romance' Amsterdam 2013*, Enoch O. Aboh, Jeannette C. Schaeffer & Petra Sleeman (eds), 1–20. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/rllt.8.01bia

Bianchi, Valentina, Bocci, Giuliano & Cruschina, Silvio. 2016. Focus fronting, unexpectedness, and evaluative implicatures. *Semantics & Pragmatics* 9 (3): 1–54. https://doi.org/10.3765/sp.9.3

Bybee, Joan, Perkins, Revere & Pagliuca, William. 1994. *The Evolution of Grammar: Tense, Aspect and Modality in the Languages of the World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Carden, Guy & Pesetsky, David. 1977. Double-verb constructions, markedness, and a fake coordination. *Papers from the Thirteenth Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society* 13: 82–92.

Cardinaletti, Anna & Giusti, Giuliana. 2001. 'Semi-lexical' motion verbs in Romance and Germanic. In *Semi-lexical Categories. The Function of Content Words and the Content of Function Words*, Norbert Corver & Henk van Riemsdijk (eds), 371–414. Berlin: De Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110874006.371

Cardinaletti, Anna & Giusti, Giuliana. 2003. Motion verbs as functional heads. In *The Syntax of Italian Dialects*, Christina Tortora (ed.), 31–49. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press.

Cardinaletti, Anna & Giusti, Giuliana. 2019. Multiple Agreement in Southern Italian Dialects. To appear in *Linguistic Variations: Structure and Interpretation. Studies in Honor of M. Rita Manzini*, Ludovico Franco & Paolo Lorusso (eds). Berlin: De Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501505201-008

Colon, Germà. 1978a. El perfet perifràstic català 'va + infinitiu". In *La Llengua Catalana en els seus textos, Volume II*, Germà Colon (ed.), 119–130. Barcelona: Curial.

Colon, Germà. 1978b. Sobre el perfet perifràstic 'vado + infinitiu' en català, en provençal i en francès. In *La Llengua Catalana en els seus textos, Volume II*, Germà Colon (ed.), 131–174. Barcelona: Curial.

Cruschina, Silvio. 2013. Beyond the stem and inflectional morphology: An irregular pattern at the level of periphrasis. In *The Boundaries of Pure Morphology: Diachronic and Synchronic Perspectives*, Silvio Cruschina, Martin Maiden & John Charles Smith (eds), 262–283. Oxford: Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199678860.003.0014

Cruschina, Silvio. 2018. The 'go for' construction in Sicilian. In *Advances in Italian Dialectology: Sketches of Italo-Romance grammars*, Roberta D'Alessandro & Diego Pescarini (eds), 292–320. Leiden: Brill. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004354395_013

Cruschina, Silvio & Bianchi, Valentina. 2021. Mirative implicatures at the syntax-semantics interface: A surprising association and an unexpected move. In *Expressive Meaning across Linguistic Levels and Frameworks*, Andreas Trotzke & Xavier Villalba (eds), 86–107. Oxford: Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198871217.003.0005

Cruschina, Silvio & Calabrese, Andrea. 2021. Fifty shades of grammaticalization: Motion verb constructions in southern Italian dialects. In *Formal Approaches to Romance Morphosyntax: Linking Variation to Theory* [Linguistische Arbeiten], Marc-Olivier Hinzelin, Natascha Pomino & Eva-Maria Remberger (eds), 145–198. Berlin. De Gruyter.

Cruschina, Silvio & Kocher, Anna. 2017. A surprise in the past: The historical origins of the Catalan *go*-past. Talk at Linguistisches Kolloquium, Institut für Romanistik, Vienna, 20 March 2017.

Dalrymple, Mary & Vincent, Nigel. 2015. The *go to* construction. Ms., University of Oxford & The University of Manchester.

De Vos, Mark. 2005. *The Syntax of Verbal Pseudo-Coordination in English and Afrikaans*. LOT Dissertation Series 114. Utrecht: LOT.

Detges, Ulrich. 2004. How cognitive is grammaticalization? The history of the Catalan perfet perifràstic. In *Up and Down the Cline: The Nature of Grammaticalization*, Olga Fischer, Muriel Noorde & Harry Perridon (eds), 211–227. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.59.11det

Devos, Maud & van der Wal, Jenneke (eds). 2014. *'COME' and 'GO' off the Beaten Grammaticalization Path*. Berlin: de Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110335989

Di Caro, Vincenzo Nicolò. 2015. Syntactic Constructions with Motion Verbs in Some Sicilian Dialects: A Comparative Analysis. Ca' Foscari University of Venice, Master's thesis.

Di Caro, Vincenzo Nicolò. 2019a. Multiple agreement constructions in southern in Italo-Romance. The syntax of Sicilian Pseudo-Coordination. Ca' Foscari University of Venice, PhD dissertation.

Di Caro, Vincenzo Nicolò. 2019b. The Inflected Construction in the dialects of Sicily: parameters of microvariation. In *Italian Dialectology at the Interfaces*, Silvio Cruschina, Adam Ledgeway, and Eva-Maria Remberger (eds), 63–78. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/la.251.03dic

Eckardt, Regine. 2006. *Meaning Change in Grammaticalization. An Enquiry into Semantic Reanalysis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199262601.001.0001

Fleischman, Suzanne. 1982. *The Future in Thought and Language. Diachronic Evidence from Romance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gelderen, Elly van. 2004. *Grammaticalization as Economy*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/la.71

Grosz, Patrick. 2012. *On the Grammar of Optative Constructions*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/la.193

Hopper, Paul J. & Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. [1993] 2003. *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Iatridou, Sabine. 2000. The grammatical ingredients of counterfactuality. *Linguistic Inquiry* 31(2): 231–270. https://doi.org/10.1162/002438900554352

Ippolito, Michela. 2004. Imperfect modality. In *The Syntax of Time*, Jacqueline Guéron & Jacqueline Lecarme (eds), 359–387. MIT Press.

Josefsson, Gunlög. 2014. Pseudocoordination in Swedish with gå 'go' and the "surprise effect". *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 93: 26–50.

Joseph, Brian D. 2005. How accommodating of change is grammaticalization? The case of "lateral shifts." *Logos and Language* 6: 1–7.

Kratzer, Angelika. 1981. The notional category of modality. In *Words, Worlds, and Contexts. New Approaches in Word Semantics*, Hans. J. Eikmeyer & Hannes Rieser (eds), 38–74. Berlin: De Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110842524-004

Kratzer, Angelika. 1991. Modality. In *Semantics: An International Handbook of Contemporary Research*, Arnim von Stechow & Dieter Wunderlich (eds), 639–650. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Kratzer, Angelika. 2012. *Modals and Conditionals. New and Revised Perspectives*. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199234684.001.0001

Ledgeway, Adam. 2016. From coordination to subordination: the grammaticalisation of progressive and andative aspect in the dialects of Salento. In *Coordination and Subordination. Form and Meaning. Selected Papers from CSI Lisbon 2014*, Fernanda Pratas, Sandra Pereira & Clara Pinto (eds), 157–184. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Leone, Alfonso. 1973. Vattel'a pesca, vieni a piglialo. *Lingua Nostra* 34: 11–13.

Leone, Alfonso. 1995. *Profilo di sintassi siciliana*. Palermo: Centro di studi filologici e linguistici siciliani.

Levinson, Stephen C. 2000. *Presumptive Meanings: The Theory of Generalized Conversational Implicature*. MIT Press, Cambridge, MA. https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/5526.001.0001

Manzini, M. Rita & Savoia, Leonardo M. 2005. *I dialetti italiani e romanci. Morfosintassi generativa*. Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso.

Manzini, M. Rita, Lorusso, Paolo & Savoia, Leonardo M. 2017. *a*/bare finite complements in Southern Italian varieties: Monoclausal or bi-clausal syntax? *Quaderni di Linguistica e Studi Orientali (QULSO)* 3: 11–59. Florence: Florence University Press.

Partee, Barbara H. 1995. Lexical semantics and compositionality. In *An Invitation to Cognitive Science: Language*, Lila R. Gleitman, Daniel N. Osherson & Mark Liberman (eds), 311–360. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Pérez Saldanya, Manuel. 1998. *Del llatí al català: Morfosintaxi verbal històrica*. València: Publicacions de la Universitat de València.

Pérez Saldanya, Manuel & Hualde, José Ignacio. 2003. On the origin and evolution of the Catalan periphrastic preterite. In *Verbalperiphrasen in den (ibero-)romanischen Sprachen*, Claus D. Pusch & Andreas Wesch (eds), 47–60. Hamburg: Helmut Buske.

Portner, Paul. 2009. *Modality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rett, Jessica & Murray, Sarah E. 2013. A semantic account of mirative evidentials. In *Proceedings of Semantics and Linguistic Theory (SALT)* 23: 453–472. https://doi.org/10.3765/salt.v23i0.2687

Roberts, Ian & Roussou, Anna. 2003. *Syntactic Change: A Minimalist Approach to Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511486326

Rohlfs, Gerhard. 1969. *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti, Vol. 3: Sintassi e Formazione delle Parole*. Turin: Einaudi.

Ross, Daniel. 2016. Going to Surprise: the grammaticalization of itive as mirative. In *Online Proceedings of Cognitive Linguistics in Wrocław Web Conference*. Wrocław: Polish Cognitive Linguistics Association & University of Wrocław. Online at: <https://sites.google.com/site/coglingwroc2/>.

Sansò, Andrea & Giacalone Ramat, Anna. 2016. Deictic motion verbs as passive auxiliaries: the case of Italian *andare* 'go' (and *venire* 'come'). *Transactions of the Philological Society* 114: 1–24. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-968X.12059

Simeonova, Vesela. 2015. On the semantics of mirativity. In *Proceedings of the 2015 annual conference of the Canadian Linguistic Association*, Santa Vinerte (ed.), Online at: <http://cla-acl.ca/actes-2015-proceedings/>.

Sornicola, Rosanna. 1976. Vado a dire, vaiu a ddicu: problema sintattico o problema semantico?. *Lingua Nostra* 37: 65–74.

Squartini, Mario. 1998. *Verbal Periphrases in Romance: Aspect, Actionality, and Grammaticalization*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110805291

Stalnaker, Robert C. 2002. Common ground. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 25(5–6):701–721. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1020867916902

Steinkrüger, Patrick. 1999. Das katalanische perfet perifràstic – ein ehemaliger Evidential? In *Katalanisch: Sprachwissenschaft und Sprachkultur*, Rolf Kailuweit & Hans-Ingo Radatz (eds), 219–235. Frankfurt a. M.: Vervuert.

Tellier, Christine. 2015. French expressive motion verbs as functional heads. *Probus* 27: 157–192. https://doi.org/10.1515/probus-2013-0020

Torres Bustamante, Teresa. 2012. Real tense and real aspect in mirativity. In *Proceedings of Semantics and Linguistic Theory (SALT)* 22: 347–364. https://doi.org/10.3765/salt.v22i0.2650

Torres Bustamante, Teresa. 2013. On the syntax and semantics of mirativity: Evidence from Spanish and Albanian. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University dissertation.

Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 2003. Constructions in grammaticalization. In *The Handbook of Historical Linguistics*, Brian D. Joseph & Richard D. Janda (eds), 624–647. Oxford: Blackwell. https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470756393.ch20

Wiklund, Anna-Lena. 2009. The syntax of surprise: Unexpected event readings in complex predication. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 84: 181–224.

The properties of the '(a) lua şi X' ('take and X') construction in Romanian

Evidence in favor of a more fine-grained distinction among pseudocoordinative structures

Adina Camelia Bleotu
University of Bucharest

This paper presents a preliminary classification of the verbal structure *(a) lua şi X* ('(to) take and X') in Romanian, showing that it represents a special case of pseudocoordination. The structure behaves differently from both coordination structures and other pseudocoordination structures with respect to the tests proposed by de Vos (2005) and Ross (2013) (e.g. the Coordinate Structure Constraint, coordinator substitution, semantic bleaching, VP-deletion, etc.), as shown by an exploratory acceptability judgment task with 52 native speakers of Romanian testing for 16 structural properties. The results suggest that the existing classification of pseudocoordination structures should be revisited in order to accommodate Romanian 'take' as an additional type.

Keywords: classification, pseudocoordination, (pseudo)coordination tests

1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to investigate the verbal structure *(a) lua şi X* ('(to) take and X') in Romanian and to see how it fits into the classification of pseudocoordination. The examples in (1) make use of the verb *ia* (the imperative form of *lua*), and they can be considered natural, typical ways of advising someone to do something (eat/read).

(1) a. *Ia   şi   mănâncă ceva!*
        take.IMP and eat.IMP   something
        'Take and eat something!'[1]

---

1. Examples in this paper are translated literally with 'take and' even if this may not be idiomatic for all speakers of English.

b. *Ia   și   citeşte   o carte!*
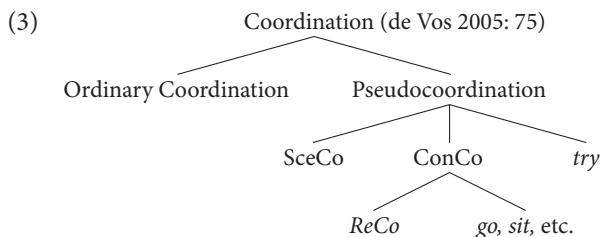   take.IMP and read.IMP a book
    'Take and read a book!'

The structure *take and V* has been observed across Europe in Romance, Germanic, Slavic, Finno-Ugric and other languages (Coseriu 1966; Kiparsky 1971; Larsson 1992; Ross 2016, 2017), as shown in (2); see also Mendes and Ruda (this volume) for Portuguese and Polish.

(2) a. Tomó y se fue.   (Spanish: Coseriu 1977: 109)
         'He (took and) left.'
     b. Ta og fosvinn!   (Norwegian: Vannebo 2003: 174)
         'Just go (lit. take) and disappear!'
     c. On vzjal i ponessja.   (Russian: Kiparsky 1971: 134)
         'He (took and) ran off.'
     d. Meidän kissa otti ja kuoli.   (Finnish: Larsson 1992: 90)
         'Our cat took and died.'

In an article entitled "Tomo y me voy", Coseriu (1966, and 1977 with an added Appendix) gathered examples of the structure resulting from combining the verb *take* + conjunction + another verb from about 30 languages from various sources. He suggested that, from a historical point of view, the origin of *take and X* is due to the influence of Biblical Greek. From a semantic point of view, he argued the structure expresses global aspect, i.e. both inchoative aspect (the onset of an action) and perfective aspect, and that, pragmatically, it is often associated with a sense of unexpectedness. His work inspired further research by many other researchers including Morreale (1966), Kiparsky (1971), Fehling (2000), Larsson (1992), Merlan (1999), Vannebo (2003) and García Sánchez (2004). These later studies added empirical support for the widespread distribution of the construction, although several were unconvinced by Coseriu's hypothesis of an origin in Biblical Greek. Borrowing is indicated by the wide distribution, but possibly also coincidence and independent development in some cases. Recently, Ross (2017) has gathered documentation of this pseudocoordinative structure from more than 50 languages throughout Europe.

However, despite the interest which this structure seems to have spurred, studies on Romanian have been limited (for example, Guţu-Romalo 1961; Coseriu 1966; Merlan 1999; Croitor 2017), with this construction often just mentioned in passing. Given the need for a detailed analysis of its structure, this paper makes use of the tests discussed in de Vos (2004, 2005) and Ross (2013), such as the violation of the Coordinate Structure Constraint, coordinator substitution, semantic bleaching, VP-deletion, etc. On the basis of these tests, I argue that there is need to revisit and expand the classification of pseudocoordinative structures.

De Vos (2005) classifies pseudocoordination into two major classes: SceCo and ConCo. SceCo represents scene-setting pseudocordination, allowing for a particle or a PP after the first conjunct (as in *He went on and laughed*), while ConCo stands for contiguous pseudocoordination, meaning that no particle or PP can intervene between the first conjunct and the rest of the structure (as in *He sat and read*). According to de Vos (2005), ConCo in turn can be of two types: ReCo, meaning reduplicative pseudocoordination (as in *He read and read*), the *go* type (as in *He went and read*); and another distinct type is the *try* construction (as in *I try and read*):

(3)   Coordination (de Vos 2005: 75)

     Ordinary Coordination   Pseudocoordination

                      SceCo   ConCo   *try*

                              ReCo   *go, sit,* etc.

This classification from de Vos (2005) does not include *take* because pseudocoordination with that verb is not found in Afrikaans and only for some speakers of certain dialects in English. Therefore, the current paper investigates the place of *take* within the classification of pseudocoordination, trying to see if it behaves like the typical ConCo, i.e. the *go* or *sit* type, or like the *try* type.

2.   Acceptability judgment task: Materials and procedure

In establishing whether the tests proposed by de Vos (2005) and Ross (2013) apply to the structure in Romanian, the paper relies on an acceptability judgment task administered to 52 Romanian native speakers. This was done to avoid relying only on the author's intuitions and to reach representative conclusions about what speakers consider (un)acceptable.

Each test was run on 4 items in order to eliminate possible variation resulting from individual sentences and to get a clearer and more general picture of speakers' intuitions. 52 test sentences were used. The items were divided in two separate acceptability judgment tasks for reasons of length and ease: one task was administered to 25 Romanian native speakers, while the second task was administered to 27 Romanian native speakers. The native speakers were selected from first-year students at the Faculty of Foreign Languages, University of Bucharest. While not linguists, the subjects possess some general Romanian grammar notions, available to anyone who has graduated from high-school. Moreover, they were tested at the beginning of the academic year, before receiving (extensive) linguistic training. In the tests, apart from 26 test sentences in each questionnaire, 26 fillers were also

used (the same for all participants) in order to avoid possible biases resulting from speakers' awareness of what is being tested. Moreover, the test items and the fillers were randomized in order to prevent speakers from making generalizations and get more reliable answers.

The results of the acceptability tasks are taken to reflect Romanian native speakers' intuitions with respect to the acceptability of certain sentences. The results often reveal a split among speakers rather than a full consensus: sentences are often accepted by x% of the speakers, but rejected by the rest, indicating some variation among speakers. Because of this, if the percentage of acceptability was closer to 100% than to 50%, I considered the structure exemplified in those test sentences (generally) accepted by native speakers. On the other hand, if the percentage was closer to 50% than to 100%, I marked the situation as varying between speakers, and indicated it by means of a case of "Some/ Yes (?)"in the summary of results at the end in Table 1.

In the following section, the tests proposed by de Vos (2005) and Ross (2013) will be applied to the structure from Romanian. Alongside the tests, one or two examples of test items will be provided; for a full list of the test items (as well as fillers) see the Appendix.

As discussed in the conclusion, one limitation of this methodology is that, for most items, the acceptability judgment is given without an indication of the semantic interpretation of the speaker. This results in some difficulty interpreting the results where a given example may be ambiguous between pseudocoordination and ordinary coordination interpretations, thus highlighting one of the challenges in researching pseudocoordination, and which could be revisited in future research. Regardless, these preliminary results are still suggestive of an analysis for Romanian 'take and X' pseudocoordination distinct from the types proposed by de Vos (2005).

3.   Tests for classification as pseudocoordination

This section of the paper presents a selection of tests for pseudocoordination proposed in previous research and summarizes the results from the acceptability judgment task. Syntactic tests are presented in Section 3.1, with semantic tests in Section 3.2 and morphological and phonological tests in Section 3.3.

3.1   Syntactic tests

Many of the tests for pseudocoordination are designed to probe syntactic structure, as shown in the following sub-sections.

3.1.1 The Coordinate Structure Constraint

From a syntactic point of view, the first test used is the violation of the Coordinate Structure Constraint, according to which, in a coordinate structure, no conjunct may be moved, nor may any element contained in a conjunct be moved out of that conjunct (Ross 1967: 89). Nothing can be extracted from the conjuncts unless extraction proceeds in an across-the-board (ATB) fashion, i.e. whether in a coordinate structure, the same constituent may be extracted from within all the conjuncts simultaneously (Ross 1967; Williams 1978). In contrast, in pseudocoordinative structures, both ATB extraction (4a) and non-ATB extraction (4b) are allowed:

(4) a. Ce   să   iau   şi   să   citesc?
       What SBJV take.PRS.1SG and SBJV read.SBJV.1SG
       'What should I take and read?'

     b. La cine   să   iau   şi   să   citesc?
       To whom SBJV take.PRS.1SG and SBJV read.PRS.1SG
       'To whom should I take and read?'

ATB extraction (where an interpretation as either ordinary coordination or pseudo-coordination should be possible) was accepted by 81.15% of the Romanian native speakers who took part in the acceptability judgment task, while non-ATB extraction (allowing for only the pseudocoordination interpretation) was accepted by 60%.[2] This potential for systematic ambiguity between normal coordination and pseudocoordination interpretations must be taken into account for all of the other tests as well.

3.1.2 XP interrupting the verbal string

The second test is represented by XP in the verbal string. The structure behaves like a ConCo, which does not allow XPs in Position C. *Wh*-extraction is used to force a ConCo reading:

(5) a. ??Ion va   lua   şi,   în 20 de minute, va
       Ion will.FUT.3SG take.INF and, in 20 minutes,   will.FUT.3SG
       citi   o carte.
       read.INF a book.
       'John will take and, in 20 minutes, read a book.'

---

2. It is important to remember that acceptability judgments are not direct indications of grammaticality, and they should be interpreted relative to similar judgments for other sentences. For example, in this case, pseudocoordination has lower acceptability than ordinary coordination, but that may reflect frequency or typicality effects, as well as variation among speakers, rather than necessarily a distinction of grammaticality.

b. ??Ce   va   lua   Ion și, în 20 de minute,
   what will.FUT.3SG take.INF Ion and, in 20 minutes,
   va   citi?
   will.FUT.3SG   read.INF
   'What will John take and, in 20 minutes, read?'

The results of the acceptability judgment task show that the XP in the verbal string was considered acceptable in assertives by only 30.05% of the Romanian native speakers, and acceptable in *wh*-questions by 43%. These lower acceptability ratings suggest that interrupting the pseudocoordinated sequence is unnatural, but also that speakers were still likely to interpret these with the pseudocoordinative meaning (rather than as ordinary coordination, i.e. taking the book then later reading it).

3.1.3   *VP-deletion*

Another important test is VP-deletion. In ConCo constructions, partial deletion is not possible, i.e. to elide the second verb:[3]

(6) */??Ia   și   citeşte   și   ia   și   tu!
     take.IMP and read.IMP and take.IMP also you!
     'Take and read and you take too!'

The acceptability judgment task shows that only 20.6% of the Romanian native speakers deemed VP-deletion acceptable. In this respect, the structure behaves like ConCo and unlike SceCo and the *try and X* construction.

3.1.4   *Substituting conjunction with disjunction*

Just like in other pseudocoordinative cases, it is not possible to substitute the co-ordinator with the disjunction *sau* 'or', unless the meaning becomes fully lexical:

(7) */??Ia   sau citeşte   (cartea)!
     take.IMP or read.IMP   book-the
     'Take or read the book!'

Only 13.43% of the Romanian native speakers who responded to the acceptability judgment task considered substituting conjunction with disjunction acceptable.[4]

---

3.   See Mendes and Ruda (this volume) for a discussion of eliding the *first* verb ('take') in Portuguese and Polish pseudocoordination, a possibility that was not included in the current acceptability judgment task, but which may also be the case in Romanian.

4.   Although this appears ungrammatical as pseudocoordination, it would be possible, at least in certain pragmatic conditions, for such a sequence to be acceptable as normal coordination (e.g. 'take or leave the book').

3.1.5   Changing the order of the conjuncts

It is also not possible to change the order of the conjuncts, as supported by the almost universal rejection by the Romanian native speakers who took part in the test (only 2% found it acceptable):

(8) *Citeşte   şi   ia!
     read.IMP and take.IMP
     'Read and take!'

3.2   Semantic tests

Additional tests for pseudocoordination are designed to determine the meaning of the construction, as shown in the following sub-sections.

3.2.1   Compatibility with impersonal subjects

While in ordinary coordination (OCo) constructions (*The missionary preached and the congregation gathered*), the (first) subject is entirely determined by the predicate in the first conjunct, and the second subject is determined by the predicate of the second conjunct, de Vos (2005) argues that, in pseudocoordinative constructions, it is the lexical (second) verb that determines the subject of the entire clause (*It went and rained*). However, while this is true for *go and X* constructions, *take and X* constructions are restricted to animate subjects able to exert control, probably due to the (only partly bleached) meaning of *take*:

(9) *Va   lua   şi   va   ploua   în curând.
     AUX.FUT.3SG take.INF and AUX.PRS.3SG rain.INF in soon
     'It will take and rain soon.'

This type was judged as acceptable by only 2% of the speakers in the study. In this respect, the construction patterns like a SceCo (*He went on and laughed*) or the *try and X* construction.

3.2.2   Semantic bleaching

With respect to semantic bleaching, on the one hand, the verb *lua* 'take' in *lua şi X (take and X)* structures seems to retain more of its lexical meaning than *go* in the ConCo construction *go and die* (as suggested by the previous test for subject selection), while, on the other hand, *go* is already intransitive but *take* anomalously functions intransitively in this construction.[5] Recall that *take and read* could lit-

---

5.   An alternative analysis could be that 'take' selects as its argument 'and' plus the second verb, similar to *try* pseudocoordination; see also Section 3.2.3 below.

erally be interpreted as 'take a book and read it', where the DP has undergone ellipsis. 95.1% of the Romanian speakers found sentences where the verb *lua* 'take' combines with a transitive verb acceptable. These structures are ambiguous between ordinary coordination and pseudocoordination.

(10) Ia   şi   mănâncă ceva!
      Take.IMP and eat.IMP   something
      'Take and eat something!'

Conversely, just fewer than half of the speakers in the study (48.9%) accepted sentences where the verb after *take* is intransitive rather than transitive, such that an ordinary coordination reading is not possible, as in (11). However, the low acceptability of this as pseudocoordination then also suggests that (at least this type of) intransitive predicate is dispreferred in pseudocoordination.

(11) Ia   şi   dansează!
      take.IMP and dance.IMP
      'Take and dance!'

A possible explanation for this could be the fact that the first verb is not fully bleached and retains part of its lexical meaning, which is why it is preferable in structures where the second verb can share the object with the first verb. This result could also be due to the limitation of the acceptability judgment task not identifying whether speakers identified the normal coordination or pseudocoordination meaning for each sentence, but it is also possible that speakers may sometimes similarly take advantage of this ambiguity to allow for a sort of hybrid function of such sentences in discourse, where pragmatic conditions permit the interpretation of 'take' as both a partially-bleached pragmatic marker and literal physical interaction with the object to facilitate the action.

3.2.3   *Semantic subordination*
Unlike normal coordination, the function of this construction resembles subordination, as suggested by a similar paraphrase available in the language:

(12) Ia   de citeşte!
      take.IMP *DE* read.IMP
      'Take (in order) to read!'

83.9% of the Romanian native speakers who participated in the test considered such structures acceptable, and it seems that pseudocoordination with *lua* is interpreted similarly.

3.2.4   *Event structure modification*

While OCo constructions allow *both* to emphasize the combination of two events (*He both swam and (also) ate*), ConCo constructions do not (**He both went and (also) read*). As for the *take and X* construction, it seems to be unacceptable with *şi … şi* in Romanian (more or less corresponding to *both … (also)*), with only 32.95% of the Romanian native informants accepting this type of usage:

(13)   A   şi   luat   şi   citit   cartea.
       AUX.3SG too/both take-PST.PRT and   read-PST.PRT   book-DEF.ART.3SG
       'He both took and read the book.'

3.2.5   *Wide scope reading of the quantifier*

In addition, the construction seems to allow for a wide scope reading of the quantifier *fiecare* 'every', just like ConCo and *try*-coordinations (although there is inter-speaker variation):

(14) ?Un   poliţist   va   lua   şi   citi   fiecare
      INDEF.ART.M.SG policeman.M.SG will.3SG take.INF and   read.INF every
      carte din   bibliotecă.
      book from library.
      'A policeman will take and read every book in the library.'

See the Appendix for details about these items, which additionally asked participants to select an appropriate paraphrase regarding quantifier scope. While the preferred reading seems to be the indefinite with wide scope and the quantifier with narrow scope (i.e., there is a specific policeman who will read every single book in the library), native speakers of Romanian sometimes allowed only the reading where the indefinite has narrow scope and the quantifier has wide scope (i.e., for every book in the library, there is a policeman who will read it) or they allowed both readings. Specifically, 46.15% of the Romanian native subjects I tested opted for the reading where the quantifier has narrow scope, while 23.80% of them opted for the reading where the quantifier has wide scope, and 30.05% of them allowed both readings; in total, 53.80% of the speakers tested seemed to allow the wide scope reading of the quantifier.

3.2.6   *The absence of counterexpectational readings*

Go and… ConCo constructions have been argued to often have an unexpectedness (counterexpectational) reading (Schmerling 1975; Carden & Pesetsky 1977), denoting surprise or mild condemnation on the part of the speaker (Schmerling 1975), as in (15):

(15)   She's gone and ruined her dress now.

This is not always the case, however, and when this counterexpectational meaning is not contextually appropriate, the motion reading of the construction is highlighted, as in (16), which does not seem to express an attitude of surprise or disapproval:

(16)   They went and spent a lovely holiday in Malibu.

Hence, it may be an issue related to the lexical meaning of the second conjunct, which, in certain contexts, can trigger such a reading.

As far as the *lua și…..*'take and…' structure is concerned, according to my view and contrary to Coseriu (1966),[6] it does not necessarily express a counterexpectational reading, although examples such as (17) may highlight a less bleached interpretation of 'take':

(17)   Laura a   luat   și   citit   ce   o   rugasem.
       Laura AUX.3SG take-PST.PRT and read.PST.PRT what 3SG.ACC ask-PST.PRF
       'Laura took and read what I had asked her to.'

3.3   Morphological and phonological tests

From a morphological perspective, the *take and X* construction coordinates two like categories, and each of those verbs has the same inflection.

From a phonological perspective, the prosodic FOCUS falls on the second verb (*Ia și CITEȘTE!* 'Take and READ!'). The FOCUS cannot fall on the coordinator (just like in the other pseudocoordinative constructions) or on the first verb (unlike the case of the *try*-coordination: *TRY and read!*).
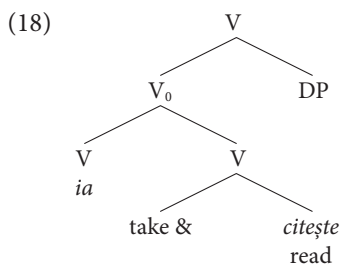
4.   Syntactic analysis

Given the fact that the first verb does not seem to be fully bleached semantically, we could consider either an ellipsis analysis (where the DP is elided, i.e. *take ~~the book~~ and read the book*) or a complex verb analysis (de Vos 2005) as the most suitable syntactic representation of this structure. But note that a basic ellipsis analysis would not distinguish this construction from normal coordination ('buy and read the book', etc.).

---

6.   It is worth mentioning that Coseriu was himself a speaker of Romanian, and that this meaning is well-described for some other languages with 'take' (see Weiss 2008 on Russian, and Wiklund 2008 for a comparative perspective).

On the one hand, an ellipsis analysis does well in accounting for properties such as the absence of full semantic bleaching of Verb A, as well as subject licensing, for instance (see Table 1), given that Verb A seems to restrict the subject through its meaning, only allowing animate subjects able to exert control.

On the other hand, a complex verb analysis does justice to the structure in handling properties such as the behavior with respect to extraction, constituenthood, the impossibility of partial VP-ellipsis, etc., properties which seem to suggest the structure behaves like a unit. Due to its broad explanatory capacity, this seems a better analysis of the structure. Moreover, it does seem to be the case that Verb A is bleached up to a certain point at least, given that more than half of the speakers seemed to accept Verb A in combination with intransitive verbs. Also, instead of arguing for subject restriction by Verb A, one could argue for subject restriction by the (not fully) semantically bleached Verb A or by the verbal complex Verb A+ Verb B. In this way, a complex verb analysis such as that in (18) could still capture the properties that would otherwise suggest an ellipsis analysis.

(18)

```
                    V
                  /   \
               V_0     DP
              /   \
             V     V
            ia    / \
             take &   citeşte
                       read
```

5.   Conclusion

Summarizing the findings in Table 1, based on the acceptability judgment task presented in this paper, Romanian pseudocoordinations with *lua* ('take') seem to behave differently from ConCo, *try* and SceCo.

The *lua și X (take and X)* structure in Romanian seems to pass only some of the tests used for ConCo. This challenges the division of pseudocoordinatives into ConCo and SceCo and *try* and suggests that, just like *try and X*, *take and X* is a unique structure, as shown in the table above. Moreover, like *try*, Romanian *lula* 'take' is an unusual verb to appear in pseudocoordination because it is transitive (Section 3.2.2), and, just like *try*, which may alternatively select a *to*-infinitive as a complement, *lua* can appear in a subordinate construction (Section 3.2.3). Although this has been an exploratory study subject to certain methodological limitations (Section 2), especially the uncertainty of whether the acceptability judgments consistently reflected an interpretation of pseudocoordination (or possibly in some cases normal coordination), the results nevertheless are sufficient to indicate unique

Table 1. Summary of the properties of pseudocoordination structures

Structural tests	OCo	SceCo	*try*	ConCo (*go, sit*)	ReCo	*take* (Rom.)
Non-ATB argument extraction	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes (?)
Non-ATB adjunct extraction	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes (?)
XPs in Position B	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
XPs in Position C	Yes	Some	Some (?)	No	No	Some (?)
Partial VP-ellipsis	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
Coordinator substitution	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
Subject restricted by Verb A	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	N/A	Yes
Semantic bleaching of Verb A	No	No	No	Yes	N/A	No (?)
Semantic subordination	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	N/A	Yes
Distributivity	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
Wide scope reading of quantifier	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes (?)
Restrictions on Verb A	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Counter-expectational reading	No	No	No	Yes (*go*)	No	No
Morphological Sameness	No	Yes	N/A	Yes	Yes	Yes
Focus on Verb A	Yes	No (?)	Yes	No	No	No
Focus on coordinator	Yes	No (?)	No	No	No	No

properties for *take*. Thus, as shown by the data presented here from Romanian, the *take and X structure* appears to require its own place in the classification of pseudocoordinative constructions. An important step for further research would be to compare the properties of *take and X* constructions in other languages to those suggested here to see how these patterns may differ from Romanian (cf. Kanchev 2010), such as the degree of semantic bleaching of *take* and pragmatic functions of the construction.

References

Carden, Guy and David Pesetsky. 1977. Double-verb constructions, markedness and a fake coordination. In *Papers from the 13th Regional Meeting, Chicago Linguistic Society*, Chicago, 82–92. University of Chicago.

Coseriu, Eugeniu. 1966. *Tomo y me voy*. Ein Problem vergleichender europäischer Syntax. *Vox Romanica: Annales Helvetici explorandis linguis Romanicis destinati* 25: 13–55

Coseriu, Eugenio. 1977. « Tomo y me voy »: Un problema de sintaxis comparada europea. In *Estudios de lingüística románica*, 79–151. Madrid: Editorial Gredos.

Croitor, Blanca. 2017. Un tip special de coordonare. In Adina Dragomirescu, Alexandru Nicolae, Camelia Stan & Rodica Zafiu (eds.), *Sintaxa ca mod de a fi: omagiu Gabrielei Pană Dindelegan, la aniversare* (Colecția Personalități Ale Universității Din București), 149–157. București: Editura Universității din București.

Fehling, Detlev. 2000. Noch einmal tomo y me voy. *Vox romanica* (59). 136–142.

García Sánchez, Jairo Javier. 2004. Tomo y me voy: Entre el influjo bíblico y la gramaticalización obvia. *Plurilinguismo, Contatti di Lingue e Cultura* 10. 139–150.

Guţu-Romalo, Valeria. 1961. Semiauxiliare de aspect? *Limba Romînă* 10. 3–15.

Kanchev, Ivan. 2010. Semantika, tipologija i proizxod na konstruktsijata *vzemam/vzema če (ta, i)* + glagol ot svŭršen vid. *Sŭpostavitelno ezikoznanie [Contrastive Linguistics]* 35(3). 40–44. http://www.slav.uni-sofia.bg/index.php/nova-knizhka/611-3-2010. Last accessed 1 July 2021.

Kiparsky, Valentin. 1971. « Взял и … л ». In Viktora Ivanoviča Borkovskogo (ed.), *Problemy istorii i dialektologii slavjanskich jazykov*, 134–139. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka."

Larsson, Lars-Gunnar. 1992. « Ta och prata om ringfingret » Om begränsningar i den jämförande språkforskningens möjligheter. *Årsbok (Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundets i Uppsala) 1991–1992*: 87–97.

Merlan, Aurélia. 1999. Sobre as chamadas "perífrases verbais paratácticas" do tipo « PEGAR E+ V2 » nas línguas românicas (com referência especial ao português e romeno). *Línguas e Literaturas*, Revista da Faculdade de Letras, Universidade do Porto 16. 159–205.

Morreale, Margherita. 1966. «… Fue y le dijo,» «… cogió y se fue.» Observaciones acerca del uso del verbo sin contenido semántico. *Annali del Corso di Lingue e Letterature Straniere dell'Università di Bari* 8. 76–88.

Ross, Daniel. 2013. Verbal Pseudocoordination in English: A syntactic analysis with reference to diachronic, dialectal and cross-linguistic variation. University of Illinois at Urbana- Champaign. Available at http://hdl.handle.net/2142/42581

Ross, Daniel. 2016. Between coordination and subordination: typological, structural and diachronic perspectives on pseudocoordination. F. Pratas, S. Pereira, C. Pinto (Eds.), *Coordination and Subordination: Form and Meaning – Selected Papers from CSI Lisbon 2014*, 209–243. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Ross, Daniel. 2017. Pseudocoordinación del tipo tomar y en Eurasia: 50 años después [Pseudocoordination with take and in Eurasia: 50 years later]. Presented August 3, 2017, at Lingüística Coseriana VI, Lima, Peru. Available online at: http://hdl.handle.net/2142/110127

Ross, John. 1967. Constraints on Variables in Syntax. Ph. D. thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Schmerling, Susan. 1975. Asymmetric conjunction and rules of conversation, P. Cole and J. Morgan (eds.), *Speech Acts*, Volume 3 of *Syntax and Semantics*, 211–231. New York: Academic Press.

Vannebo, K. I. 2003. Ta og ro deg ned noen hakk:on pseudocoordination with the verb *ta* 'take' in a grammaticalization perspective. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics*, 26(2): 165–193. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0332586503001070

de Vos, Mark Andrew. 2004. Pseudo coordination is not subordination. L. Cornips and J. Doetjes (eds.), *Linguistics in the Netherlands 21*, Volume 21: 181–192. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/avt.21.20vos

de Vos, Mark Andrew. 2005. *The syntax of verbal pseudo-coordination in English and Afrikaans*. Utrecht: LOT.

Weiss, Daniel. 2008. *Voz'mu i ne budu!* Zum Inexspektativ im modernen Russischen. In Peter Kosta & Daniel Weiss (eds.), *Slavistische Linguistik 2006/2007: Referate des XXXII. Konstanzer Slavistischen Arbeitstreffens, Männedorf bei Zürich, 18. – 20. September 2006, und Referate des XXXIII. Konstanzer Slavistischen Arbeitstreffens, Potsdam, 4. – 6. September 2007; Gerd Freidhof zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet*, 473–504. München: Sagner.

Wiklund, Anna-Lena. 2008. Creating Surprise in Complex Predication. *Tromsø Working Papers on Language & Linguistics: Nordlyd* 35(1). 163–187. https://doi.org/10.7557/12.141

Williams, Edwin. 1978. Across the board rule application. *Linguistic Inquiry* 9: 31–43

Appendix. Test items used in the acceptability judgment task

ATB extraction

1. Ce să iau şi să citesc?
   'What should I take and read?'
2. Ce să iau şi să mănânc?
   'What should I take and eat?'
3. Ce să iau şi să beau?
   'What should I take and drink?'
4. Ce să iau şi să corectez?
   'What should I take and correct?'

Non-ATB extraction

1. La cine să iau şi să citesc?
   'To whom should I take and read?'
2. Cu cine să iau şi să vorbesc?
   'Who should I take and talk to?'
3. Cu cine să iau şi să discut?
   'Who should I take and discuss with?'
4. La cine să iau şi să stau?
   'Who should I take and stay with?'

XP *in the verbal string*

A. *in assertives*
   1. Ion va lua şi, în 20 de minute, va citi o carte.
      'Ion will take, and, in 20 minutes, will read a book.'
   2. Maria va lua şi, in 4 minute, va mânca un kiwi.
      'Maria will take, and, in 4 minutes, will eat a kiwi.'
   3. Ana va lua şi, în jumătate de oră, va corecta un test.
      'Ana took, and, in half an hour, will correct the test.'
   4. George va lua şi, în 5 minute, va bea o bere.
      'George will take, and, in 5 minutes, will drink a beer.'
B. *in wh-questions*
   1. Ce va lua Ion şi, în 20 de minute, va citi?
      'What will Ion take, and, in 20 minutes, will read?'
   2. Ce va lua Maria şi, în 4 minute, va mânca?
      'What will Maria take, and, in 4 minutes, will eat?'
   3. Ce va lua Ana şi, în jumătate de oră, va corecta?
      'What will Ana take, and, in half an hour, will correct?'
   4. Ce va lua George si, în 5 minute, va bea?
      'What will George take, and, in 5 minutes, will drink?'

VP-deletion

1. Ia şi citeşte şi ia şi tu!
   'Take and read and you take too!'

2. Ia şi mănâncă şi ia şi tu!
   'Take and eat and you take too!'
3. Ia şi corectează şi ia şi tu!
   'Take and correct and you take too!'
4. Ia şi bea şi ia şi tu!
   'Take and drink and you take too!'

Substituting conjunction with disjunction

1. Ia sau citeşte cartea!
   'Take or read the book!'
2. Ia sau mănâncă!
   'Take or eat!'
3. Ia sau corectează!
   'Take or correct!'
4. Ia sau bea!
   'Take or drink!'

Changing the order of the conjuncts

1. Citeşte şi ia! (instead of *Ia şi citeşte!*)
   'Read and take!'
2. Mănâncă şi ia! (instead of *Ia şi mănâncă!*)
   'Eat and take!'
3. Corectează şi ia ! (instead of *Ia şi corectează!*)
   'Correct and take!'
4. Bea şi ia! (instead of *Ia şi bea!*)
   'Drink and take!'

Compatibility with impersonal verbs

1. Va lua şi ploua în curând.
   'It will take and rain soon.'
2. Va lua şi ninge în curând.
   'It will take and snow soon.'
3. Va lua şi tuna în curând.
   'It will take and thunder soon.'
4. Va lua şi burniţa în curând
   'It will take and drizzle soon.'

Semantic bleaching

a. *Compatibility with transitives*
   1. Ia şi mănâncă ceva!
      'Take and eat something!'
   2. Ia şi citeşte o carte!
      'Take and read a book!'
   3. Ia şi bea ceva!
      'Take and drink something!'

4. Ia și corectează ceva!
    'Take and correct something!'
b. *Compatibility with intransitives*
    1. Ia și dansează!
        'Take and dance!'
    2. Ia și dormi un pic!
        'Take and sleep a bit!'
    3. Ia și odihnește-te!
        'Take and rest!'
    4. Ia și distrează-te!
        'Take and have a good time!'

Semantic subordination (paraphrase)

1. Ia de citește ceva! (*de* 'such/so that')
    'Take read something!',
2. Ia de mănâncă ceva!
    'Take eat something!'
3. Ia de corectează ceva!
    'Take correct something!'
4. Ia de bea ceva!
    'Take drink something!'

Event structure modification

1. A și luat și citit cartea.
    'He both took and read the book.'
2. A și luat și mâncat mărul.
    'He both took and ate the apple.'
3. A și luat și corectat testele.
    'He both took and corrected the tests.'
4. A și luat și băut o bere.
    'He both took and drank a beer.'

Wide scope reading of the quantifier

1. Un profesor va lua și corecta fiecare lucrare de licenta.
    'A teacher will take and correct every BA thesis.'
    a. Every BA thesis will be corrected by a different professor.
    b. A certain professor will take and correct every BA thesis.
    c. Both readings
2. Un polițist va lua și citi fiecare carte din bibliotecă.
    'A teacher will take and read every book in the library.'
    a. Every book in the library will be read by a different policeman.
    b. A certain policeman will read every book in the library.
    c. Both readings

3. Un copil va mânca fiecare prăjitură din cofetărie.
   'A child will eat every cake in the sweets shop.'
   a. Every cake in the sweets shop will be eaten by a different child.
   b. A certain child will eat every cake in the sweets shop.
   c. Both readings
4. Un bărbat va lua și bea fiecare bere din bar.
   'A man will take and drink every beer in the bar.'
   a. Every beer in the bar will be drunk by a different man.
   b. A certain man will drink every beer in the bar.
   c. both readings

List of fillers

1. Du-te ieri la cinema!
   'Go to the cinema yesterday!'
2. A luat o sticlă și a aruncat-o.
   'He took a bottle and threw it away.'
3. Ana s-a dus acasă și a dormit mult.
   'Ana went home and slept a lot.'
4. Ana a mormăit că va fugi în curând.
   'Ana grumbled that she would soon run away.'
5. Poliția au urlat la noi să ne luăm bagajele.
   'The police have shouted at us to take our luggage.'
6. Nu-mi ajung timpii să fac tot ce m-a rugat.
   'The times aren't enough for me to do all that you have asked me to.'
7. A și venit acasă, a și gătit.
   'He both came home and cooked.'
8. Din cauza cui trebuie să plecăm?
   'Because of whom do we have to go?'
9. Unde trebuie să plecăm?
   'Where do we have to go?'
10. Copiii mei nu ia bani de la nimeni pe degeaba.
    'My children does not take from anyone just like that.'
11. Fiecare copil a luat o bijuterie.
    'Every child took a jewel.'
    a. Fiecare copil a luat o bijuterie diferită.
       'Every child took a different jewel.'
    b. Fiecare copil a luat aceeasi bijuterie.
       'Every child took the same jewel.'
    c. Both readings
12. Nu ia cartea cu tine când pleci!
    'Do not take the book with you when you go?'
13. Maria a luat o carte și, peste jumătate de oră, s-a apucat să o citească.
    'Maria took a book, and, in half an hour, started to read it.'
14. Ce a luat Maria și, peste jumătate de oră, s-a apucat să citească?
    'What did Maria take, and, in half an hour, started to read?'

15. Toate prăjiturile au fost luate şi mâncate.
    'All the cakes have been taken and eaten.'
16. Copiii nu ia aminte la ce le spui.
    'Children do not take heed of what you tell them.'
17. Ce au visat unde era bine şi frumos?
    'What did they dream where it was cozy and lovely?'
18. Un om va săruta fiecare icoană.
    'A man will kiss every icon.'
    a.   Every icon will be kissed by a different man.
    b.   A certain man will kiss every icon.
    c.   Both readings
19. E important să se citească mult.
    'It is important to read a lot.'
20. Nu ia profesorii atâţia bani cât tine.
    'Professors does not receive as much many as you.'
21. E vital să se ia şi să se bea toată şampania la petrecere.
    'It is vital to take and drink all the champagne at the party.'
22. Viaţa îţi ia dar îţi şi dă.
    'Life takes from you, but also gives you.'
23. Ia prăjitura azi şi mănânc-o mâine!
    'Take the cake today and eat it tomorrow!'
24. A şi luat cartea şi citit-o.
    'He both took the book and read it.'
25. Maria nu se ia uşor de la piaţă.
    'Maria cannot be taken so easily from the market.'
26. Unde s-a dus Maria să ia mere?
    'Where did Maria go to take/buy apples?'

Other languages

Pseudo-coordination and ellipsis

Expressive insights from Brazilian Portuguese and Polish

Gesoel Mendes and Marta Ruda

University of Maryland / Jagiellonian University in Kraków

In this paper, we offer some comments about the syntax of pseudo-coordination in colloquial registers of Brazilian Portuguese and Polish. Focusing on V1-*take (and)* pseudo-coordination, we suggest that, in both of them, V1-*take (and)* belongs to the expressive realm of language and we analyze V1-*take (and)* as an appositive element adjoined to vP in the extended projection of V2. In addition to the meaning of the structure, evidence for the expressive nature of V1-*take (and)* comes from the fact that it can be ignored for ellipsis purposes in contexts such as verb-echo answers, polarity contrast, verb-doubling and VP-topicalization. Evidence for the positioning of V1-*take (and)* at the vP edge is provided by distributional patterns, including the placement of adverbs and sentential negation with respect to V1-*take (and)* and V2. We propose that two minimally different structures are available for pseudo-coordination, depending on whether a coordinator accompanies V1.

Keywords: pseudo-coordination, ellipsis, expressive language, verb-echo answers

1. Introduction

Pseudo-coordination is a type of a structure where two verbs bearing the same inflectional features are combined in a construction referring to a single event. Even though this phenomenon has garnered some interest in both theoretically-oriented and descriptive literature (see, e.g., Lødrup 2002, 2014; Wiklund 2009; Ross 2015; Di Caro 2015, 2019; Cardinaletti & Giusti 2003, 2016; Biberauer & Vikner 2017 and references cited therein), a number of intriguing empirical and analytical questions remain to be answered. This paper aims to contribute to these debates by investigating V1-*take (and)* pseudo-coordination, illustrated in (1) and (2), in elliptical environments in colloquial registers of Brazilian Portuguese and Polish.

(1) O   João pegou   e   saiu.   [BrP]
     the João took.3SG and   left.3SG
     'João left.'

(2) Jan wziął   (i)   wyszedł.   [Pl]
     Jan took.3SG.M   and   left.3SG.M
     'Jan left.'

These structures manifest parallel behaviour in the two languages. Investigating their properties in elliptical environments, we show that the otherwise puzzling data are consistent with the hypothesis that V1-*take (and)* in the two languages is a purely expressive element. Observing some links between pseudo-coordination and appositive epithets, we suggest further that V1-*take (and)* stands in the appositive (adjunction) relation to V2's extended verbal projection. We begin the discussion by providing some general remarks about pseudo-coordination in Brazilian Portuguese and Polish in Section 2. In Section 3 we introduce the phenomenon of verb-echo answers in the two languages, which constitutes an interesting environment for the study of the properties of pseudo-coordination, as we show in Section 4. The unexpected behaviour of the pseudo-coordinate structure under ellipsis, taken together with its inflectional properties, warrants its comparison with appositives, provided in Section 5. Section 6 concludes the main part of the paper, which is followed by Appendix 1, where we offer some additional comments on the use of the coordinator in pseudo-coordination in the two languages.

2.   Pseudo-coordination in Brazilian Portuguese and Polish

In addition to denoting a single event, V1-*take* constructions in both languages show other hallmarks of pseudo-coordination (see Rodrigues 2006 and Almeida & Oliveira 2010 for a discussion of Brazilian Portuguese and Andrason 2018 for a detailed discussion of Polish, including a number of mono-clausality diagnostics).[1] For example, they allow Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC) violations, as in (3)–(4), where the first example sentences show the familiar CSC violation effect, but the second sentences, featuring pseudo-coordination, do not (translations and traces indicate the intended readings).

---

1.   While we offer a mono-clausal analysis of the construction in this paper, we would like to acknowledge that bi-clausal analyses have also been suggested in the literature (see, e.g., the discussion of Southern Italian dialects in Manzini, Lorusso and Savoia 2017 and Manzini and Lorusso, this volume, as well as Manzini and Savoia 2007, who take pseudo-coordination in Albanian dialects to be a bi-clausal restructuring coordinate structure, and Ledgeway 2016, focusing on grammaticalization patterns in the dialects of Salento).

(3) a. *De quem$_i$ que o João comeu e reclamou t_i? [BrP]
   of whom that the João ate.3SG and complained.3SG
   '*Who did João eat and complain about *t*?'

   b. ?De quem$_i$ que o João pegou e reclamou t_i?
   of whom that the João took.3SG and complained.3SG
   'Who did João complain about?'

(4) a. *O kim$_i$ Jan jadł i tyle gadał t_i [Pl]
   about whom Jan ate.3SG.M and so.much chattered.3SG.M
   podczas koncertu?
   during concert
   '*Who did Jan eat and chatter about so much during the concert *t*?'

   b. ?O kim$_i$ Jan wziął (i) tyle gadał t_i
   about whom Jan took.3SG.M and so.much chattered.3SG.M
   podczas koncertu?
   during concert
   'Who did Jan chatter about so much during the concert?'

In addition, unlike what we find with regular coordinations such as *coffee and tea/ tea and coffee*, conjunct reordering is blocked in pseudo-coordination, as in (5)–(6).

(5) a. O João pegou e saiu. [BrP]
   the João took.3SG and left.3SG
   'João left.'

   b. *O João saiu e pegou.
   the João left.3SG and took.3SG

(6) a. Jan wziął (i) wyszedł. [Pl]
   Jan took.3SG.M and left.3SG.M
   'Jan left.'

   b. *Jan wyszedł (i) wziął.
   Jan left.3SG.M and took.3SG.M

The use of the overt coordinator in pseudo-coordination in Brazilian Portuguese and Polish is a complicated issue, subject to variation dependent on the speaker's dialect or idiolect, as well as on the grammatical context in which the structure appears. Throughout this paper we present the Brazilian Portuguese examples as featuring an obligatory coordinator, whereas we present the coordinator in Polish as being optional. As the use of the coordinator is not the main aspect which we would like to focus on here, we postpone some more comments on the matter until Appendix 1 and move on to discuss the interesting context of verb echo answers.

3.   Verb echo answers in Brazilian Portuguese and Polish

Answers to polar (*yes/no*) questions in Brazilian Portuguese and Polish can be provided in the form of the verb repeated from the question, as (7)–(8) illustrate.

(7)   A: O   João   trouxe   açucar?   [BrP]
            the   João   brought.3sg sugar
            'Did João bring sugar?'
      B: Trouxe.
            brought.3sg
            'Yes, he did.'

(8)   A: Czy   Jan   przyniósł   cukier?
            if   Jan   brought.3sg.m sugar
            'Did Jan bring sugar?'   [Pl]
      B: Przyniósł.
            brought.3sg.m
            'Yes, he did.'

This pattern can be taken to result from clausal ellipsis preceded by the movement of the finite verb above the ellipsis site, as schematised in (9)–(11).

(9)
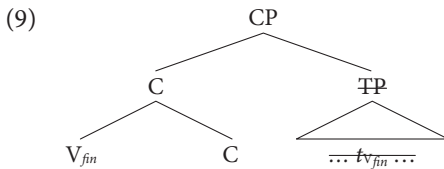
(10) A: O   João   trouxe   açucar?   [BrP]
            the   João   brought.3sg sugar
            'Did João bring sugar?'
      B: Trouxe$_i$ o̶   J̶o̶ã̶o̶ t_i a̶ç̶u̶c̶a̶r̶.
            brought.3sg the João   sugar
            'Yes, he did.'

(11) A: Czy   Jan   przyniósł   cukier?   [Pl]
            if   Jan   brought.3sg.m sugar
            'Did Jan bring sugar?'
      B: Przyniósł$_i$ J̶a̶n̶ t_i c̶u̶k̶i̶e̶r̶.
            brought.3sg.m Jan   sugar
            'Yes, he did.'

Evidence that the subject stays inside the ellipsis site and we are indeed dealing with clausal ellipsis rather than independent argument drop comes, among others, from the fact that the intended subject of a verb-echo answer can have an indefinite interpretation, inherited from the antecedent (see (12)–(13)), which is incompatible with a subject *pro*-drop derivation (see Mendes 2018 for several other testing

environments; see also Holmberg 2016 for a detailed discussion and Kato 2016 for further argumentation regarding Brazilian Portuguese).[2]

(12) A: Alguém trouxe   açucar?   [BrP]
          someone brought.3SG sugar
          'Did anyone bring sugar?'

      B: Trouxe$_i$ ~~alguém~~ t_i ~~açucar~~.
          brought.3SG someone   sugar
          'Yes, someone did.'

(13) A: Czy ktoś   przyniósł   cukier?   [Pl]
          if someone brought.3SG.M sugar
          'Did anyone bring sugar?'

      B: Przyniósł$_i$ ~~ktoś~~ t_i ~~cukier~~.
          brought.3SG.M someone   sugar
          'Yes, someone did.'

According to Holmberg (2016), *pro*-drop is possible in languages like Brazilian Portuguese and Polish when the features of the pronoun are redundant with the agreement features in T. Since indefinites do not have a counterpart in the verbal inflectional morphology, they cannot be dropped independently.[3]

---

2. The example in (12) comes from Holmberg (2016) for European Portuguese. The Brazilian Portuguese and European Portuguese judgements are the same here.

3. Crucially, the Brazilian Portuguese and Polish data exemplified in (12) and (13) respectively contrast with Georgian examples such as (ii) below. Holmberg shows that while Georgian allows verb-echo answers, the subject of a verb-echo answer cannot have the indefinite interpretation in this language.

(i) A: Gushin vano   movida?   [Georgian]
         yesterday vano.NOM came.AOR
         'Did Vano come yesterday?'

     B: (xo) movida
         (yes) came.AOR
         'Yes.'

(ii) A: Gushin vinme   movida?   [Georgian]
         yesterday anyone.NOM came.AOR
         'Did anyone come yesterday?'

     B: xo (*movida)
         yes (*came.AOR)
         'Yes.'

Holmberg (2016) reports similar observations for Syrian Arabic. The difference between languages like Brazilian Portuguese and Polish on the one hand and Georgian and Syrian Arabic on the other can be accounted for if in the former the subject stays inside the ellipsis site, while in the latter the subject is *pro*-dropped (see Holmberg 2016).

When the question involves an auxiliary or a modal verb, it is this verb that is echoed in the answer, as in (14)–(15).

(14) A: O   João vai   trazer açucar?   [BrP]
          the João will.3sɢ bring sugar
          'Will João bring sugar?'
      B: Vai$_i$ o   João t_i trazer açucar.
          will.3sɢ the João   bring sugar
          'Yes, he will.'

(15) A: Czy Jan będzie   przynosił   cukier?   [Pl]
          if   Jan will.3sɢ bring.sɢ.ᴍ sugar
          'Will Jan be bringing sugar?'
      B: Będzie$_i$ Jan t_i przynosił   cukier.
          will.3sɢ Jan   bring.sɢ.ᴍ sugar
          'Yes, he will.'

As we show in the following section, from this perspective, pseudo-coordination manifests some intriguing behaviour.

4.   Pseudo-coordination meets ellipsis

When the polar question is a pseudo-coordinate structure, the answer cannot be constituted by V1-*take* (see also Andrason 2018: 586 for a brief comment about Polish): as (16)–(17) illustrate, it can be constituted by V2 only. Such a pattern is never possible in auxiliary and modal structures.

(16) A: O   João pegou   e   comprou   café?   [BrP]
          the João took.3sɢ and bought.3sɢ coffee
          'Did João buy coffee?'
      B: *Pegou./ Comprou.
          took.3sɢ bought.3sɢ
          'Yes, he did.'

(17) A: Czy Adam wziął   (i) wreszcie kupił   kawę?   [Pl]
          if   Adam took.3sɢ.ᴍ and finally   bought.3sɢ.ᴍ coffee
          'Did Adam finally buy coffee?'
      B: *Wziął./   Kupił.
          took.3sɢ.ᴍ bought.3sɢ.ᴍ
          'Yes, he did.'

B's reply is the same as what it would be if the question were a simple mono-verbal clause built around V2-*buy*. What is more, the two languages make available also other elliptical structures involving focused polarity. Pseudo-coordination behaves similarly in all these structures, as we show in (18)–(26). First, verb repetition coupled with ellipsis can be employed to reverse an assertion from the preceding

context, as in (18)–(19). In this case, it is likewise possible to echo V2, but echoing V1 leads to unacceptability.

(18) A: O   João pegou e   não comprou   o   café.   [BrP]
          the João took.3sg and not bought.3sg the coffee
          'João didn't buy the coffee.'
      B: *Pegou,   sim./ Comprou, sim.
          took.3sg yes   bought.3sg yes
          'He did.'

(19) A: Adam wziął   (i) nie kupił   kawy.   [Pl]
          Adam took.3sg.m and not bought.3sg.m coffee
          'Adam didn't buy coffee.'
      B: *Wziął./   Kupił.
          took.3sg.m   bought.3sg.m
          'He did.'

Similar structures used to confirm a denial show the same effect, as in (20)–(21). This context shows that V1-*take* cannot be used on its own as a response even in a context where speaker B is also irritated at the fact under discussion.

(20) A: O   João pegou e   não comprou   o   café.   [BrP]
          the João took.3sg and not bought.3sg the coffee.
          'João didn't buy the coffee.'
      B: Não, infelizmente não comprou./ *Não, infelizmente
          no   unfortunately not bought.3sg no   unfortunately
          pegou./ *Não, infelizmente não pegou.
          took.3sg no   unfortunately not took.3sg
          'No, unfortunately he didn't.'

(21) A: Adam wziął   (i) nie kupił   kawy.   [Pl]
          Adam took.3sg.m and not bought.3sg.m coffee
          'Adam didn't buy coffee.'
      B: No niestety   nie kupił./   *No niestety
          PRT unfortunately not bought.3sg.m   PRT unfortunately
          wziął./   *No niestety   nie wziął.
          took.3sg.m   PRT unfortunately not took.3sg.m
          'No, unfortunately he didn't.'

The same holds of (22)–(23), which illustrate the structure used to express polar contrast.

(22) A   Ana disse   que o   João pegou e   não comprou   [BrP]
          the Ana said.3sg that the João took.3sg and not bought.3sg
          o   café,   mas comprou/ *pegou   sim.
          the coffee, but bought-3sg took.3sg yes
          'Ana said that João didn't buy coffee, but he did.'

(23) Anna powiedziała, że   Adam wziął   (i)   nie kupił   [Pl]
      Anna said.3SG.F   that Adam took-3SG.M and not bought.3SG.M
      kawy, ale kupił/   *wziął.
      coffee but bought.3SG.M took.3SG.M
      'Anna said that Adam didn't buy coffee, but he did.'

Furthermore, Polish makes available a verb-doubling structure used to express emphatic affirmation.[4] Only V2 can take part in the doubling derivation, as (24) shows.

(24) A: Adam wziął   (i)   nie kupił   kawy.   [Pl]
          Adam took.3SG.M and not bought.3SG.M coffee
          'Adam didn't buy coffee.'
      B: Kupił,   kupił./   *Wziął,   wziął.
          bought.3SG.M bought-3SG.M   took.3SG.M   took.3SG.M
          'He certainly did.'

Another verb-doubling structure, V(P) topicalization, is available in both Brazilian Portuguese and Polish.[5] We observe the same pattern here: V2 can be echoed and doubled, but V1-*take* cannot, as in (25)–(26).

(25) A: O João pegou   e   comprou   café?   [BrP]
          the João took.3SG and bought.3SG coffee
          'Did João buy coffee?'
      B: Comprar, comprou, mas onde   ele colocou, eu não sei.
          buy.INF   bought.3SG but where he put.3SG I not know.1SG
          'As for buying it, he bought it, but where he has put it, I don't know.'
      B′: *Pegar,   pegou,   mas onde   ele colocou, eu não sei.
          take.INF take.3SG but where he put.3SG I not know.1SG

---

4. Though possible in European Portuguese, this type of emphatic affirmation is unavailable in Brazilian Portuguese.
    Along the lines of Martins (2006, 2007, 2013) and Nunes (2004), verb doubling emphatic affirmation in Polish has been analyzed as involving VP ellipsis licensed by Σ and accompanied by the pronunciation of two copies of the verb, made possible due to the fusion of V and C (Ruda 2013):

    (i) $[_{CP}$ C$_{[EMPH]}$ +T+Σ$_{[AFF]}$ +V $[_{TP}$ T+Σ$_{[AFF]}$ +V $[_{ΣP}$ t$_{Σ+V}$ $[_{VP}$ V ...]]]]

5. This construction can be analyzed as involving two independent movement chains: the movement of V to Σ and V(P) topicalization (Ruda 2013; for discussion and alternative analyses proposed for a variety of languages, see Abels 2001; Aboh & Dyakonova 2009; Bondaruk 2009, 2012; Cheng & Vicente 2013; Landau 2006; Trinh 2009; Vicente 2007):

    (i) $[_{CP}$ C $[_{TopP}$ VP Top $[_{TP}$ T $[_{ΣP}$ Σ$_{[AFF]}$ +V t$_{VP}$]]]]

(26) A: Czy Adam wziął   (i)   kupił   kawę?   [Pl]
         if   Adam took.3SG.M and bought.3SG.M coffee
         'Did Adam buy coffee?'
    B: Kupić,   kupił,   ale gdzie ją dał, to   ja nie wiem.1SG.
         buy.INF bought.3SG.M but where her put PRT I not know
         'As for buying it, he bought it, but where he has put it, I don't know.'
    B′: *Wziąć,   wziął,   ale gdzie ją dał, to   ja nie wiem.1SG.
         take.INF took.3SG.M but where her put PRT I not know

The unavailability of echoing V1 and, further, the disregard for its existence as far as the relation between the antecedent and the ellipsis site is concerned can be viewed from the perspective of expressive language.

4.1   Expressive elements under ellipsis

The behaviour of V1 in elliptical contexts parallels the behaviour of pure expressives, which are known to be speaker-oriented (e.g. Potts 2007) and are also disregarded in elliptical structures, as illustrated in (27) adapted from Potts et al. (2009: 364).[6] In (27), speaker B does not share the negative viewpoint regarding the dog, even though the expressive *fucking* is part of the antecedent VP. This implies that the expressive is not included in the elided VPs here.

(27) A: I saw your *fucking* dog in the park.
    B: No, you didn't – you couldn't have. The poor thing passed away last week.

The patterns which we observe with pseudo-coordination under ellipsis in Brazilian Portuguese and Polish thus receive a straightforward explanation if V1-*take* is a purely expressive item here. This analysis is supported by the semantic features of the structure. First, the pseudo-coordinate structure clearly introduces emotional coloring to the utterance, that is the speaker's dramatization, intensification, or emphasis in Brazilian Portuguese (see also Rodrigues 2006) and the speaker's irritation, impatience, insistence, emphasis, or surprise in Polish, among others (see also Andrason 2018 and the references cited therein).[7] Considering this within a

---

6. One characteristic of expressives is that their content contribution is separated from the regular descriptive content. We refer the reader to Potts (2007) for further discussion and a more complete set of the features of expressives.

7. Pseudo-coordination has been reported to introduce speaker-oriented coloring to the utterance in a number of languages. See, among others, Biberauer and Vikner (2017); Josefsson (2014); Ross (2016); Stefanowitsch (1999), and Wiklund (2008). We would like to thank Daniel Ross for drawing our attention to these works.

more formal approach, we can say that the meaning of V1-*take* pseudo-coordination can be described by appeal to its use conditions rather than truth conditions (see Gutzmann 2015 for a discussion of this distinction). Namely, it is straightforward enough to state when such structures are felicitously used (see above), but an attempt at stating the contribution of V1-*take (and)* to the truth conditions of the utterances yields no reasonable results.

Another relevant factor is speaker-orientedness, which can be tested by considering the meaning of the relevant element under embedding. For example, as discussed in Potts (2005: 59), the sentence in (28a) can be employed to report Bush's statement in (28b). The meaning contribution of the item *damn* remains with the speaker and is not attributed to Bush.[8]

(28) a. Bush thinks the *damn* Republicans deserve public support.
    b. *Bush*: The Republicans deserve public support.

Similarly, (29)–(30), which would be appropriate in a context where the speaker dramatizes or is irritated at Anna's statement, show that the contribution of V1-*take (and)* remains with the speaker.

(29) a. A Ana disse   que vai   pegar   e   sair   de casa. [BrP]
        the Ana said.3sg that will.3sg take.inf and leave.inf of home
        'Ana said she would leave her home.'
    b. *Ana*: Eu vou   sair   de casa.
          I   will.1sg leave.inf of home
          'I will leave my home.'

(30) a. Anna powiedziała, że może   wziąć (i) zaprzestać leczenia! [Pl]
        Anna said.3sg.f   that can.3sg take-inf and stop.inf   treatment
        'Anna said that she can stop the treatment!'
    b. *Anna*: Mogę   zaprzestać leczenia.
           can.1sg stop.inf   treatment
           'I can stop the treatment.'

All the abovementioned observations support the hypothesis that V1-*take* pseudo-coordination in Brazilian Portuguese and Polish belongs to the expressive realm of language. With this in mind, in the next section we consider the structural relation between V1-*take* and the rest of the clause.

---

8. As a reviewer reminds us, the expressive realm can also encompass non-speaker-oriented readings.

5.   Pseudo-coordination and appositives

As an expressive structure, V1-*take* pseudo-coordination bears resemblance to appositive epithets (*this idiot Adam*) in the nominal domain. The parallelism is certainly not ideal, as the epithet can clearly be a fully-blown phrasal projection with its own modifiers, unlike V1-*take*. However, just as the appositive epithet encodes the speaker's negative attitude towards the individual being referred to, V1-*take* encodes the speaker's emotions in Brazilian Portuguese and Polish. Furthermore, just as V1-*take* is ignored in elliptical structures in Brazilian Portuguese and Polish, so can be an appositive epithet, as (31)–(32) illustrate.

(31) a. O   João, idiota, finalmente chegou?   [BrP]
          the João idiot finally   arrived.3sg
          'Has this idiot João finally arrived?'
    b. Chegou,   mas ele não é idiota.
          arrived.3sg but he not is idiot
          'Yes, he has, but he's not really an idiot.'

(32) a. Czy ten   idiota Adam wreszcie przyszedł?   [Pl]
          if   this idiot Adam finally   came.3sg.m
          'Has this idiot Adam finally come?'
    b. Przyszedł,   ale on w sumie nie jest idiotą.
          came.3sg.m but he in sum   not is   idiot
          'Yes, he has, but he's not really an idiot.'

Interestingly, these two structures are also similar in terms of inflectional feature sharing. Appositive epithets share the case feature of their anchor, as revealed by the Polish example in (33).

(33) a. widzieć tego   idiotę   Adama   [Pl]
          see.inf this.acc idiot.acc Adam.acc
          'to see this idiot Adam'
    b. z   tym   idiotą   Adamem
          with this.instr idiot.instr Adam.instr
          'with this idiot Adam'

Similarly, V1-*take* shares the verbal inflectional features of V2, as is generally true of pseudo-coordinate structures. These observations suggest that V1-*take (and)* can be analyzed as forming an appositive relation with the extended verbal projection of V2. We suggest that the relevant relation involves adjunction (see, e.g., Potts 2005 for an adjunction-based analysis of appositives).

If verbs are minimally built with the root and a verbalizing head (v), the structure of pseudo-coordination lacking *and* can be represented as in (34). On the assumption that the verbalizer is a phase head (see, a.o., Embick 2010), this analysis is in line with Biberauer & Vikner's (2017) view that speaker-oriented coloring is contributed by elements merged at phase edges.

(34)

```
                CP
          ┌─────┴─────┐
          C           TP
                ┌──────┴──────┐
                T            AspP
                       ┌──────┴──────┐
                      Asp          VoiceP
                             ┌───────┴───────┐
                           Voice            vP
                                      ┌──────┴──────┐
                                     vP             vP
                                  ┌───┴───┐      ┌───┴───┐
                                  v    √-TAKE    v       √
```
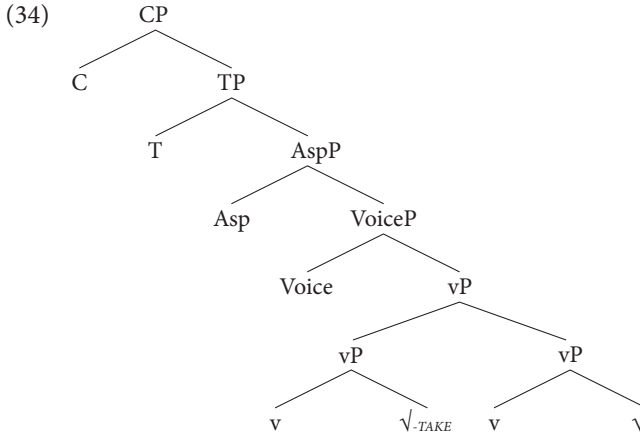
Drawing inspiration from Munn's (1993) adjunction-based analysis of coordination, we suggest further that what adjoins to vP in the structure featuring *and* is an &P containing vP-*take*. While we do not attribute significance to the label &P here, which under Bare Phrase Structure is just a projection of the features contained in *and*, if any, we use it for the clarity of exposition. It should also be noted that in Munn's version of the structure of coordination the second conjunct is a complement of *and* and &P adjoins to the right of the first conjunct. Due to the ordering facts, we cannot retain these assumptions. The exact structure suggested here also differs from Biberauer & Vikner's, where V1 does not form a constituent with *and*, the two being subsequently merged at the edge of vP.[9] This difference accounts for V1 movement-related variation observed in the relevant languages (see (37) and footnote 11 below).

---

9. See also Cardinaletti & Giusti (2016) for an analysis where V1 and the linking element are merged as separate functional heads in the extended verbal projection of V2.

(35)

```
                    CP
                   /  \
                  C    TP
                      /  \
                     T    AspP
                         /   \
                       Asp   VoiceP
                            /    \
                         Voice    vP
                                 /  \
                               &P    vP
                              /  \   /  \
                            vP    & v    √
                           /  \
                          v    √-TAKE
```
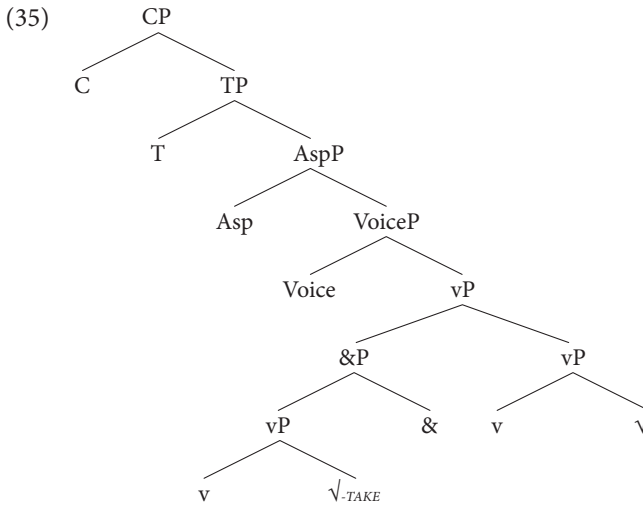
One immediate benefit of this approach is that it provides a straightforward account of cases where V1-*take (and)* is not adjacent to V2 (see (36)–(37)) in terms of the movement of the adjunct to a higher projection.[10]

(36) A   Ana pegou   e   finalmente comprou   café.   [BrP]
      the Ana took.3sg and   finally   bought.3sg coffee
      'Ana finally bought the coffee.'

---

10. Brazilian Portuguese and Polish, where *and* has to be adjacent to V1-*take* and seems to form a constituent with it, thus differ from Danish and Afrikaans, where V1 alone undergoes V2 movement, leaving *and* V2 lower in the structure (except for the so-called quirky V2 cases in Afrikaans, where the entire V1 and V2 complex undergoes V2 movement; see Biberauer & Vikner 2017).

As a reviewer notes, the separation of V1 and *and* from V2 could, in principle, also be achieved by taking the former elements to be merged as high functional heads, as in Cardinaletti & Giusti (2003). However, the negation data offered in (38) and (39) immediately below, speak against this solution, as all other verbal heads which can be taken to be merged high in the structure (e.g. modals) can host the negation marker, unlike V1-*take*. In addition, V1-*take (and)* can also appear below the adjuncts, as (i) illustrates for Polish.

(i) Anna wczoraj   nagle   wzięła   (i) się obraziła.   [Pl]
     Anna yesterday suddenly took.3sg.f and se took.offence.3sg.f
     'Anna suddenly took offence yesterday.'

Finally, another fact which weighs against such an approach is that verb-echo answers in Brazilian Portuguese and Polish typically employ the highest finite verb in the clausal spine (see Section 3). However, as we have shown, V1-*take* cannot be used in verb-echo answers. These observations are also incompatible with Almeida & Oliveira's (2010) suggestion that V1-*take (and)* in Brazilian Portuguese is located in the TP alongside V2.

(37) Anna wzięła   (i) się wczoraj nagle   obraziła.   [Pl]
      Anna took.3SG.F and SE yesterday suddenly took.offence.3SG.F
      'Anna suddenly took offence yesterday.'

The patterns found with sentential negation likewise support the hypothesis that
V1-*take* is not part of the main line of the extended verbal projection of V2. As
noted by Andrason (2018: 589) and illustrated in (39), the negative marker, which
in Polish always attaches to the verb as a prefix (though the orthography requires
it to be spelled separately), cannot attach to V1-*take*. The same holds of Brazilian
Portuguese, as (38) shows.[11]

---

11. A reviewer is interested in data involving expletive negation. In Polish the relevant contexts
follow the same pattern as regular negation. The example in (ia) first shows that expletive nega-
tion is available in Polish. A parallel example with V1-*take (and)* is acceptable when negation is
adjacent to V2, but not when it is attached to V1, as in (ib)–(ic).

(i) a.   Ile   ona nie wydała   na te   wszystkie bibeloty!   [Pl]
          how.much she not spent.3SG.F on these all   trumpery
          'How much she has spent on all this trumpery!'
     b.   ˀIle   ona wzięła   (i) nie wydała   na te   wszystkie bibeloty!
          how.much she took.3SG.F and not spent.3SG.F on these all   trumpery
          'How much she has spent on all this trumpery!'
     c.   *Ile   ona nie wzięła   (i) wydała   na te   wszystkie bibeloty!
          how.much she not took.3SG.F and spent.3SG.F on these all   trumpery
          'How much she has spent on all this trumpery!'

In Brazilian Portuguese the facts are more complicated. As shown in (ii), expletive negation is
available, but, unlike in Polish, it can cliticize to both V1-*take* and V2.

(ii) a.   Imagine o quanto   que o João não incomodou a Maria!   [BrP]
          imagine the how.much that the João not annoyed.3SG the Maria
          'Imagine how much João annoyed Maria!'
     b.   ˀImagine o quanto   que o João pegou e   não incomodou
          imagine the how.much that the João took.3SG and not annoyed.3SG
          a Maria!
          the Maria
          'Imagine how much João annoyed Maria!'
     c.   ˀImagine o quanto   que o João não pegou e   incomodou
          imagine the how.much that the João not took.3SG and annoyed.3SG
          a Maria!
          the Maria
          'Imagine how much João annoyed Maria!'

We need to leave investigating the consequences of these interesting observations for future
research.

(38) a. O   João pegou   e   não comprou   o   café.   [BrP]
        the João took.3sg and not bought.3sg the coffee
        'John didn't buy coffee.'

     b. *Não pegou   e   comprou.
        not took.3sg and bought
        Intended meaning: 'He didn't buy it.'

(39) a. Wziął   nie przyszedł.   [Pl]
        took.3sg.m not came.3sg.m
        'He didn't come.'

     b. *Nie wziął   przyszedł.
        not took.3sg.m came.3sg.m
        Intended meaning: 'He didn't come.'

This is unlike what we find with auxiliary and modal verbs, as shown in (40)–(43).

(40) Ele não quer   vir.   [BrP]
     he not want.3sg come.inf
     'He doesn't want to come.'

(41) Ele não vai   trabalhar.   [BrP]
     he not will.3sg work.inf
     'He won't work.'

(42) Nie chciał   przyjść.   [Pl]
     not wanted.3sg.m come.inf
     'He didn't want to come.'

(43) Nie będzie   pracować.   [Pl]
     not will.3sg work.inf
     'He won't work.'

On the assumption that ordinary coordination involves a structure where both conjuncts are contained within &P (so-called Spec/Head configuration: [&P CONJ1 & CONJ2]; see, e.g., Munn 1987; Kayne 1994), adopting the adjunction-based structure for pseudo-coordination provides a way to capture the extraction (CSC) violation differences. In particular, it can be hypothesised that CSC violation effects arise with the Spec/Head &P structure. As adjuncts are not known to interfere with extraction, such effects are not expected to arise in pseudo-coordinate structures on the current analysis.

Finally, we observe that V1-*take* by itself cannot head a clausal structure in either language, as in (44)–(45).

(44) *O   João pegou.   [BrP]
      the João took.3sg

(45) *Jan wziął.   [Pl]
     Jan took.3SG.M

This implies that V1-*take* is parasitic on another clausal structure and further supports the current analysis on which V1-*take* is a vP adjunct.

The technical question about the way in which the inflectional uniformity of V1 and V2 is achieved presents a nontrivial challenge. A solution according to which the projection of V1 could be more complex than shown in the tree structures above, containing also Voice, Aspect, T, and Mood heads, is insufficient without introducing auxiliary assumptions guaranteeing the uniformity of the values of the relevant features with the values of these features in the extended projection of V2 and prohibiting the introduction of another (subject) argument by the Voice head, if this head is responsible for introducing the Agent into the structure. A more parsimonious solution seems to be to take the v head to contain verbal inflectional features ([Voice], [Aspect], [Tense], and [Mood]) whose values are interpreted at the SM interface with the relevant morphological forms. Along the lines suggested in Ruda (2018) for independent reasons, the valuation process can technically be implemented by adopting the feature-sharing approach to valuation (Frampton & Gutman 2000) and the hypothesis that verbal heads in the clausal spine are successively linked by Agree, by which means the values of the relevant features are passed along the spine. As the subject-verb agreement features are standardly taken to be introduced in T, these may need to be taken to be copied and inserted into the feature matrices of both verbs for morphophonological interpretation to be possible.

We leave evaluating the theoretical options related to verbal inflection in pseudo-coordination for future work here and would only like to note one additional point. Namely, although this requires much more detailed research, the analysis suggested here may also provide a way to approach the grammaticalization process of pseudo-coordination in that the bi-clausal Spec/Head &P structure can be taken to shift towards an adjunction &P (V1-*take and*) structure, which is further reduced to an adjunction V1-*take* structure.

6.   Main conclusions

V1-*take (and)* pseudo-coordination manifests parallel behaviour in Brazilian Portuguese and Polish. On the meaning side, it is used to express the speaker's emotions. On the side of the grammatical behaviour, in contexts of focused polarity, V1-*take* is ignored in elliptical structures, with V2 being available for use. This differs from what we observe with auxiliary and modal verbs, but parallels the behaviour of expressives, which are generally disregarded in elliptical contexts. In

addition, we have shown that V1-*take* cannot host sentential negation, again unlike auxiliary and modal verbs and that V1-*take (and)* can be separated from V2 by various constituents (adverbs, scrambled objects, etc.).

In terms of the structural analysis, we have suggested that V1-*take (and)* pseudo-coordination bears resemblance to appositive epithets. Both of them belong to the expressive realm of language and they are characterised by inflectional feature sharing. V1-*take (and)* can thus be analyzed as forming an adjunction relation with V2's extended verbal projection, as schematised in (46) for the structures without and with a coordinator respectively.

(46)   a.   [$_{vP}$ [$_{vP}$ v √-*take*] [$_{vP}$ v √]]
      b.   [$_{vP}$ [$_{\&P}$ [$_{vP}$ v √-*take*] &] [$_{vP}$ v √]]

Acknowledgements

Funding

References

Abels, Klaus. 2001. The Predicate Cleft Construction in Russian. In Steven Franks & Michael Yadroff (eds). *Formal approaches to Slavic linguistics 9*. Bloomington, IN: Michigan Slavic Publications. 1–19.

Aboh, Enoch O. & Marina Dyakonova. 2009. Predicate doubling and parallel chains. *Lingua* 119, 1035–1065. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2008.11.004

Almeida, Christiane Miranda Buthers de & Maria José de Oliveira. 2010. Gramaticalização do verbo PEGAR em construções perifrásticas [PEGAR + (E) + V2] – uma abordagem formal [The grammaticalization of the verb TAKE in periphrastic constructions [TAKE + (AND) + V2] – a formal approach]. *Revista de estudos da linguagem* 18, 135–164. https://doi.org/10.17851/2237-2083.18.2.135-164

Andrason, Alexander. 2018. The WZIĄĆ gram in Polish: A serial verb construction, or not? *STUF – Language Typology and Universals* 71, 577–629. https://doi.org/10.1515/stuf-2018-0022

Biberauer, Theresa & Sten Vikner. 2017. Having the edge: A new perspective on pseudo-coordination in Danish and Afrikaans. In Nicholas LaCara, Keir Moulton, & Anne-Michelle Tessier (eds). *A schrift to fest Kyle Johnson*. Linguistics Open Access Publications. 1, 77–90.

Bondaruk, Anna. 2009. Constraints on predicate clefting in Polish. In Gerhild Zybatow, Uwe Junghanns, Denisa Lenertová & Petr Biskup (eds). *Studies in formal Slavic phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and information structure*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang. 65–79.

Bondaruk, Anna. 2012. Copy deletion in Polish predicate clefting. In Eugeniusz Cyran, Henryk Kardela & Bogdan Szymanek (eds). *Sound, structure and sense. Studies in memory of Edmund Gussmann*. Lublin: Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski. 55–70.

Cardinaletti, Anna & Giuliana Giusti. 2003. Motion verbs as functional heads. In Christina Tortora (ed.). *The syntax of Italian dialects*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 31–49.

Cardinaletti, Anna & Giuliana Giusti. 2016. Multiple agreement in southern Italian dialects. Ms., Università Ca' Foscari Venezia.

Cheng, Lisa Lai-Shen & Luis Vicente. 2013. Verb doubling in Mandarin Chinese. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 22, 1–37. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10831-012-9095-6

Di Caro, Vincenzo Nicolò. 2015. Syntactic constructions with motion verbs in some Sicilian dialects: A comparative analysis. BA Thesis, Università Ca' Foscari Venezia.

Di Caro, Vincenzo Nicolò. 2019. Multiple agreement constructions in Southern Italo-Romance: The syntax of Sicilian pseudo-coordination. Ph.D. Dissertation, Università Ca' Foscari Venezia.

Embick, David. 2010. *Localism versus globalism in morphology and phonology*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/9780262014229.001.0001

Frampton, John & Sam Gutman. 2000. Agreement is feature sharing. Ms., Northeastern University.

Gutzmann, Daniel. 2015. *Use-conditional meaning*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198723820.001.0001

Holmberg, Anders. 2016. *The syntax of* yes *and* no. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Josefsson, Gunlög. 2014. Pseudocoordination in Swedish with *gå* 'go' and the "surprise effect." *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 93, 26–50.

Kato, Mary Aizawa. 2016. Affirmative polar replies in Brazilian Portuguese. In Christina Tortora, Marcel den Dikken, Ignacio Montoya, & Teresa O'Neill (eds), *Selected papers from the 43rd Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages, New York, 17–19 April, 2013*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 195–212. https://doi.org/10.1075/rllt.9.11kat

Kayne, Richard. 1994. *The antisymmetry of syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Landau, Idan. 2006. Chain resolution in Hebrew V(P)-fronting. *Syntax* 9, 32–66. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9612.2006.00084.x

Ledgeway, Adam. 2016. From coordination to subordination: The grammaticalization of progressive and andative aspect in the dialects of Salento. In Fernanda Pratas, Sandra Pereira & Clara Pinto (eds), *Coordination and subordination. Form and meaning. Selected papers from CSI Lisbon 2014*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars. 157–184.

Lødrup, Helge. 2002. The syntactic structures of Norwegian pseudo-coordinations. *Studia Linguistica* 56, 121–143. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9582.00090

Lødrup, Helge. 2014. How can a verb agree with a verb? Reanalysis and pseudo-coordination in Norwegian. In Miriam Butt & Tracy Holloway King (eds), *Proceedings of LFG14*. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications. 367–386.

Manzini, M. Rita, Paolo Lorusso & Leonardo M. Savoia. 2017. *a*/bare finite complements in Southern Italian varieties: Mono-clausal or bi-clausal syntax? *Quaderni di Linguistica e Studi Orientali/Working Papers in Linguistics and Oriental Studies* 3, 11–59.

Manzini, M. Rita & Leonardo M. Savoia. 2007. *A unification of morphology and syntax. Investigations into Romance and Albanian dialects*. London: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203968154

Martins, Ana Maria. 2006. Emphatic affirmation and polarity: Contrasting European Portuguese with Brazilian Portuguese, Spanish, Catalan and Galician. In Jenny Doetjes & Paz González (eds), *Romance languages and linguistic theory 2004*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 197–223. https://doi.org/10.1075/cilt.278.10mar

Martins, Ana Maria. 2007. Double realization of verbal copies in European Portuguese emphatic affirmation. In Norbert Corver & Jairo Nunes (eds). *The Copy Theory of Movement*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 77–118. https://doi.org/10.1075/la.107.05mar

Martins, Ana Maria. 2013. Emphatic polarity in European Portuguese and beyond. *Lingua* 128, 95–123. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2012.11.002

Mendes, Gesoel. 2018. Verb-stranding clausal ellipsis in Brazilian Portuguese and Polish. Ms., University of Maryland.

Munn, Alan. 1987. Coordinate structure and X-bar Theory. *McGill Working Papers in Linguistics* 4, 121–140.

Munn, Alan. 1993. Topics in the syntax and semantics of coordinate structures. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Maryland.

Nunes, Jairo. 2004. *Linearization of chains and sideward movement*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/4241.001.0001

Potts, Christopher. 2005. *The logic of conventional implicatures*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Potts, Christopher. 2007. The expressive dimension. *Theoretical Linguistics* 33, 165–197. https://doi.org/10.1515/TL.2007.011

Potts, Christopher, Ash Asudeh, Seth Cable, Yurie Hara, Eric McCready, Luis Alonso-Ovalle, Rajesh Bhatt, Christopher Davis, Angelika Kratzer, Tom Roeper & Martin Walkow. 2009. Expressives and identity conditions. *Linguistic Inquiry* 40, 356–366. https://doi.org/10.1162/ling.2009.40.2.356

Rodrigues, Angélica T. Carmo. 2006. Eu *fui e fiz* esta tese: as construções do tipo foi fez no português do Brasil [I went and did this dissertation: the *go do* constructions]. Ph.D. Dissertation, UNICAMP.

Ross, Daniel. 2015. What can Faroese pseudo-coordination tell us about English inflection? *LSO Working Papers in Linguistics*, University of Wisconsin-Madison 10, 1–18.

Ross, Daniel. 2016. Going to surprise: The grammaticalization of itive as mirative. In Jacek Woźny (ed), *Online proceedings of Cognitive Linguistics in Wrocław Web Conference 2016*. Wrocław: Polish Cognitive Linguistics Association & University of Wrocław.

Ruda, Marta. 2013. Wypowiedzi emfatyczne i topikalizacja V(P) z powtórzeniem czasownika jako elipsa VP i realizacja akustyczna dwóch kopii V [Verb doubling emphatic affirmation and V(P) topicalisation as VP ellipsis and acoustic realisation of two copies of V]. *Polonica* XXXIII, 213–243.

Ruda, Marta. 2018. Local operations deriving long-distance relations: Object agreement in Hungarian and the Genitive of Negation in Polish. In Huba Bartos, Marcel den Dikken, Zoltán Bánréti & Tamás Váradi (eds). *Boundaries crossed, at the interfaces of morphosyntax, phonology, pragmatics and semantics*. Dordrecht: Springer. 133–146. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-90710-9_9

Stefanowitsch, Anatol. 1999. The *go-and-Verb* construction in a cross-linguistic perspective: Image-schema blending and the construal of events. In Dawn Nordquist & Catie Berkenfield (eds), *Proceedings of the Second Annual High Desert Linguistics Society Conference 1999*. Albuquerque: High Desert Linguistics Society. 123–134.

Trinh, Tue. 2009. A constraint on copy deletion. *Theoretical Linguistics* 35, 183–227. https://doi.org/10.1515/THLI.2009.011

Vicente, Luis. 2007. The syntax of heads and phrases: A study of verb (phrase) fronting. Ph.D. Dissertation, Leiden University.

Wiklund, Anna-Lena. 2008. Creating surprise in complex predication. *Nordlyd* 35, 163–187. https://doi.org/10.7557/12.141

Wiklund, Anna-Lena. 2009. The syntax of surprise: Unexpected event readings in complex predication. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 84, 181–224.

Appendix 1. A brief note about *and*

Brazilian Portuguese

Rodrigues (2006) reports variability in the use of an overt coordinator in pseudo-coordination in Brazilian Portuguese. Out of the 85 examples of occurrences of V1-*take* extracted from a corpus of colloquial Portuguese spoken in Rio de Janeiro which she analyses, 24 (28%) feature an overt coordinator and the remaining cases lack the coordinator, as shown in (47).[12]

(47)   … Ele pegou   deu   uma gargalhada. …   [BrP]
        he   took.3SG gave.3SG a   laughter
        'He laughed.'   (Rodrigues 2006: 30)

Almeida & Oliveira (2010) also report that V1-*take* is available without a coordinator in a dialect spoken in Matipó in the state of Minas Gerais. The data which we have presented in this paper come from the dialect of Brazilian Portuguese spoken in Curitiba (the South of Brazil), where speakers have a strong preference for using an overt coordinator. As far as we know, variation in the use of the coordinator does not affect the other features analyzed in this paper regarding the structure and function of this construction.

Polish

According to Andrason (2018: 585), *i* 'and' is usually absent in pseudo-coordination in Polish and whenever it is used, it can always be omitted. In some cases, using *i* 'and' results in degraded acceptability or even unacceptability. The examples in (48), marked by Andrason as unacceptable, are provided as an illustration.

(48)   a.   Weź   *i   przestań.   [Pl]
              take.2SG.IMPR   and stop.2SG.IMPR
              Intended meaning: 'Stop!'

---

12. The corpus used by Rodrigues is based on interviews conducted in two periods of time: 1980–1984 and 1999–2000.

   Rodrigues (2006) also observes several instances of V1-*go* and V1-*arrive*, which likewise manifest variation in the use of an overt coordinator.

    b.   Kijem   wziął   *i   go   zabił.
           stick.INSTR took.3SG.M and him killed.3SG.M
           Intended meaning: 'He killed him with a stick.'

    c.   Wziął   *i   się obraził   i   poszedł.
           took.3SG.M and SE got.angry.3SG.M and went.away.3SG.M
           Intended meaning: 'He got angry and went away.'

However, the judgments of examples across speakers vary. One of our informants rejects all examples featuring *i* 'and'. The other informant rejects (48b–c), but accepts (48a). The second author of this contribution accepts (48a), rejects (48c), but finds (48b) at least marginally acceptable. Furthermore, a number of examples parallel to (48a) can be found via internet search, as shown in (49).

  (49) a.   No weź   i   przestań!   [Pl]
           PRT take.2SG.IMPR and stop.2SG.IMPR
           'C'mon, stop!'   [source: https://soniczkovo.blogspot.com/2018/08/odlot.html]

      b.   JolkaM, Ty weź   i   przestań.
           JolkaM you take.2SG.IMPR and stop.2SG.IMPR
           'JolkaM, you stop.'   [Pl, source: http://zamoimidrzwiami.blogspot.com/2014/03/
           swieza-bueczka-na-zamowienie.html]

      c.   Po   prostu weź   i   przestań.
           PREP simply take.2SG.IMPR and stop.2SG.IMPR
           'Just stop.'
             [Pl, source: http://chadonistka.pl/czego-nie-mowic-osobie-chorej-psychicznie/]

The claim that *i* 'and' is always omissible is in accordance with the judgment of the second author of this contribution, but one of the informants provides contradicting judgments for the examples in (50)–(51).

  (50) Weź   ᵗ(i)   tu   wreszcie posprzątaj.   [Pl]
      take.2SG.IMPR   and here finally   clean.up.2SG.IMPR
      'Clean up here finally.'

  (51) Adam wziął   *(?i)   się upił.   [Pl]
      Adam took.3SG.M   and SE got.drunk.3SG.M
      'Adam got drunk.'

In sum, the preference or requirement for one or the other option can be expected to involve an interaction of grammatical and pragmatic factors, whose investigation needs to be left for the future.[13]

---

13. Variation in the presence or absence of the linking element has also been reported for Italian dialects (see Di Caro 2015, 2019).

CHAPTER 8

Pseudo-coordination of the verb *jít* ('go') in contemporary Czech

Svatava Škodová

Institute of Czech Studies, Charles University

This chapter investigates the use of the verb *jít* ('go') in two construction types in the Czech language; they have in common a binary coordinative structure where the verb *jít* is coordinated with any other verb with the coordinator *a* ('and'). These constructions are prototypical coordination (ProCo) and pseudo-coordination (PseCo). The main claim is that even though these two types share the same surface structure *jít-a*-V2, they represent distinct phenomena.

The resolution criteria are based on a two-part analysis. First, PseCo is analysed as a complex predicate. This analysis immediately accounts for a number of properties of PseCo compared to ProCo. Second, the formal features of the construction are linked to its semantic structure: PseCo expresses aktionsart via coordination over sub-stages of events.

I argue that ProCo is a biclausal structure coordinating two separate events, while PseCo coordinates two verbs into one complex predicate and the coordinator *a* ('and') serves for a coordination of sub-stages of this combined event. It appears that the first verb expresses the preparatory phase for the activity denoted by the second verb. The pseudo-coordinative verb in the first conjunct lexicalises a manner component in the internal event structure. The verb 'go' is desemanticized and instead of the meaning of physical motion expresses dynamic aspects of the second event.

This research is based on 1611 examples from the Czech National Corpus, subcorpus SYN2005, from which 923 examples are analysed as ProCo and 668 as PseCo.

Keywords: Aktionsart, coordination, Czech, event structure, pseudo-coordination, serial verbs, verb *jít* ('go')

1.   Introduction

This chapter analyses Pseudo-Coordinations containing the verb *jít* ('go') in the Czech language.[1] The existence of a verbal PseCo in this particular type of language seems rather interesting. Czech is a highly inflectional language which prefers to avoid analytical forms of predicates; the formal dispositions of Czech favour the use of various prefixes and suffixes to express various functions and meanings (see Daneš 1971). Czech has a highly developed system of Aspect and what is known as Aktionsart to express various stages of events (see Filip 2008); this system is based on a combination of prefixes (even cumulated) and suffixes of a verb. Analytical forms are therefore less frequent.

In this text, we understand the PseCo construction as an analytical form for expressing event structure. This form can be considered to be an addition to the central flectional means that are typical for Czech.

The semantic field covered by the given construction in Czech is not monosemantic, but covers a wide range of component meanings (see Škodová 2009: 79–90). In general, we characterize the meaning of these constructions in Czech as follows: the motion verb *jít* adds an aspect of motion or deictic orientation to the overall meaning of the expression, *jít* imparts a motion reading onto an otherwise static verb (or at least one not associated with motion through space). Unlike English, the movement expressed by the verb *jít* takes place only on foot, not by means of a vehicle or other motion. Its basic feature is the regularity of the movement; it brings two fundamental meanings to the PseCo construction, on the one hand the intentionality of the occurrence of the action expressed by V2, on the other hand the initialization of this action.[2]

This research is based on material excerpted from the Czech National Corpus (sub-corpus SYN2005: Čermák et al. 2005). There are 1,611 sentences with the pattern *jít-a*-V2 ('go and V2') in the corpus. All these examples were analysed in accordance with morphological criteria discerning between the Prototypical coordination of independent predicates and Pseudo-Coordinative multiverbal predicates.

---

1.   See also Škodová (2009) on this topic, written in Czech.

2.   For detailed description of the use of the verb to *jít* in Czech see Škodová (2020).

2. Formal arguments for differentiation between PseCo and ProCo

According to Ross (1986), coordinated structures are governed by two fundamental rules: the *Coordinate Structure Constraint* (CSC) and *Across-the-Board* (ATB) movement. According to the *Coordinate Structure Constraint*, no conjunct or other element within a conjunct in the coordinated structure can be moved beyond the border of the conjunct (Ross 1986: 97 et seq.), i.e. * *This is the magazine which John bought the book and _.* The *Across-the-Board* rule states that only an element which has the same value in both conjuncts (i.e. subject, object) can be moved beyond the borders of the coordinated structure and only if it is moved from both conjuncts at the same time, i.e. *Which film did John like _ and Jane hate _?* However, the CSC and ATB rules apply only to ProCo, not PseCo, so exceptions can be used to identify PseCo in Czech and other languages, i.e. *What dress has she gone and ruined _ now?*

Additional criteria based on de Vos (2005: 39–51) are discussed individually in each of the following sub-sections. For the delimitation of PseCo in Czech, we examined these criteria in the context of this highly inflectional language.

2.1 Positional substitution of conjuncts

The first test for the distinction between PseCo and ProCo is the impossibility of a positional substitution of the conjuncts V1*and*V2 in PseCo. In ProCo, the conjuncts are in principle interchangeable, unless the order implies cause-effect or temporal succession, as in (1).

(1) a. *Spadl pod vlak a vlak ho přejel.* (ProCo)
'He fell under a train and the train ran over him.'
 b. ?*Vlak ho přejel a spadl pod vlak.*
?'A train ran over him and he fell under the train.'

In PseCo, however, the positional substitution is never possible. Positional fixation is one of the gramaticalization factors that enables the formation of the construction itself.

As in other languages, the verb V1 is tied to the first position and is semantically bleached. If it were relocated to the V2 position, it would not undergo semantic bleaching; it would be interpreted as a ProCo and the meaning of the sentence would fundamentally change, as in (2), where (2b) can only be interpreted as ProCo.

(2) a. *Horác **šel a posadil se**. Pak se teprve podíval na Goodwina.* (PseCo)
'Horace **went and sat down.** Only then did he look at Goodwin.'
 b. ?*Horác **se posadil a šel**. Pak se teprve podíval na Goodwina.*
(lit. 'Horace **sat down and went.** Only then did he look at Goodwin.')

The positional restriction of verbs in the PseCo structure points to the fact that the whole construction cannot be considered a complex sentence but that the verbs together form an analytical predicate.

2.2   Morphological sameness condition

In ProCo, the morphological features of coordinated verbs can be different because each verb is part of an independent clause given that the coordination applies to whole clauses. In PseCo, morphological sameness of the coordinated verbs (*person*, *number*, *tense, gender*) is required.

2.2.1   *Person and number*

Person and number agreement of the coordinated verbs is caused by the fact that the subject of both verbs must be identical because the PseCo expresses a single event with coordinated phases. Also, it is not possible to express the subject of the second verb on its own in the surface structure. If a subject is inserted into the clause, it would change the anaphoric reading of the subject, such that the the two subjects would not be coreferential, as in (3b), where the pronoun *he* cannot in Czech refer to the subject of V1 (*Amerotke*) but to some other person, not explicitly mentioned in the sentence.

(3) a. *Amerotke šel   a   posadil   se   na křeslo   se*
         Amerotke go.PST.SG.M and sit.PFV.PST.SG.M REFL in armchair with
         šikmým opěradlem.
         slanted backrest
         'Amerotke went and sat down in an armchair with a slanted backrest.'
    b. *Amerotke šel a <u>*on*</u> *se posadil na křeslo se šikmým opěradlem.*[3]
         ('Amerotke₁ **went and** <u>**he**</u>₂ **sat down** on the armchair with the slanted backrest.')

2.2.2   *Tense*[4]

In (4), we illustrate the necessity of temporal sameness of the coordinated verbs in PseCo. In ProCo in Czech, it is possible to use different grammatical tense in each conjunct, e.g. *present+future*, *past+present*, etc. In PseCo, the tense specification

---

3.   In Czech, even in the ProCo, polyeventive interpretation of the sentence is not grammatical, because the verb 'go' is expected to occur with an adverbial expression of purpose, manner, direction, starting or destination point.

4.   In Czech, tense can be periphrastic, and verbs are distinguished for imperfective and perfective aspect (with perfective forms typically derived via prefixes). Past is formed from a historical participle (agreeing with the subject in gender and number), glossed here as PST, which is

must be identical because the verbs express a single event with analytically expressed phases.

(4) a. *Petr šel   a   snědl   celý   oběd.*
      Petr go.PST.SG.M and eat.PFV.PST.SG.M whole lunch
      'Petr went and ate the whole lunch.'
   b. **Petr šel   a   sní   celý   oběd.*
      Petr go.PST.SG.M and eat.PFV.FUT.3SG whole lunch
      ('*Petr went and will eat the whole lunch.')
   c. **Petr jde   a   bude   jíst   celý   oběd.*
      Petr go.PRS.3SG and be.FUT.3SG eat.IPFV.INF whole lunch
      ('*Petr goes and will be eating the whole lunch.')

2.2.3   Aspect and the aspectual sameness condition

Czech is a language with a richly developed morphological system of aspect. Czech uses aspect to express various phases of event structures, and verbal aspect is often combined with adverbial markers of time progress. In the case of ProCo, it is in principle possible to combine perfect and imperfect verbs in any manner. At first glance, it also seems that it is possible for the verbs in PseCo to differ in aspect. In Czech, the verb *jít* ('go') is characterized as imperfect,[5] but it must be noted that it is not a prototypical imperfect verb and in fact exhibits many deviations from prototypical imperfectivity. In the 688 examples of PseCo from the corpus, 607 have a perfect V2 while only 79 have an imperfect V2. According to our observations, the verb *jít* ('go') loses its imperfective characteristics in PseCo and preserves the meaning of the beginning of an event expressed by V2, this meaning of the beginning of an event is perfective in character. For this reason, we characterize the verb *jít* as aspect-neutral, and in the examples it is not glossed with respect to aspect.

Examples (5)–(6) illustrate the placement of perfective verbs in V2 in PseCo.

---

introduced by auxiliary 'be' (in present form) except for third-person. Present tense is expressed with imperfective verbs, whereas the morphological present form of perfective verbs typically expresses a future meaning. Imperfective future is formed with auxiliary 'be' (in future form) plus the infinitive. Additionally, subjects do not need to be expressed overtly given rich subject agreement.

5.   The verb *go* in Czech has two forms: *jít* (perfect) and *chodit* (imperfect). In the prototypical case of perfection, the verb *jít* means to go once, in one direction only; the verb *chodit* then expresses repeated movement and movement in the sense of to 'go and return'. *Chodit* is not used in the PseCo construction.

(5) *Co   je to za nápad, abych   **šel**   a   **urazil***
What is it at idea   so.that.3 go.PST.SG.M and offend.PFV.PST.SG.M
ženu?
woman
'What a (stupid) idea it is that I go and insult a woman!'

(6) *Všichni byli spokojeni, když vtom se Klimešovi znelíbil výrok rozhodčího.*
Šel   *a*   ***vynadal***   *mu, až   jiskry létaly.*
go.PST.SG.M and berate.PFV.PST.SG.M him until sparks flew
'They were all happy until suddenly Klimeš was displeased by the referee's
verdict. He went and berated him until sparks flew.'

In the corpus, we have found 79 examples of PseCo with an imperfective verb in
V2, as illustrated in Example (7).

(7) *Než vylezu na scénu, zavřu oči a strašně se naseru,*
*a   pak **jdu**   a   **zpívám**.*
and then go.PRS.1SG and sing.IPFV.PRS.1SG
'Before I get on stage, I close my eyes and get terribly pissed off, and then I go
and sing.'

In PseCo Examples (5)–(7), the verb *jít* again represents the sudden beginning of
the event expressed by V2. The difference between a perfective V2 and an imper-
fective V2 is that the imperfective would express a durative action in progress.

2.3   Test of the temporal course of events

As another criterion differentiating PseCo from ProCo in Czech, we use the possi-
bility of a parallel or successive course of coordinated events. In ProCo, it is possible
to specify the temporal course of the V2 event with the adverbs *a přitom* ('simul-
taneously, while') for parallel events (8) and *a potom* ('then') for successive events.

(8) *Po   půlnoci se   už   sotva ploužíme,   a   kdo*
After midnight REFL already barely crawl.IPFV.PRS.1PL and who
*může,   drží   se   nějakého povozu, **jde**   a*
can.IPFV.PRS.3SG hold.IPFV.PRS.3SG REFL some   cart   go.PRS.3SG and
***přitom spí**.*   (ProCo)
simult. sleep.IPFV.PRS.3SG
'After midnight, we barely crawl, and whoever can, holds on to a cart and walks
while sleeping.'

These temporal adverbs are not compatible with PseCo, as illustrated in (9b–c).

(9) a. *Třetí diskutant Nerudu drtí:*   *tento umělec **jde***
          third debater   Neruda crush.IPFV.PRS.3SG this artist go.PRS.3SG
          a   napíše   *tak   trapné   věci,   jakým jest*
          and write.PFV.FUT.3SG[6] such embarrassing things as   be.PRS.3SG
          Týden v tichém domě.
          Week in Quiet House
          'The third debater crushes Neruda: this artist goes and writes something
          as embarrassing as *A Week in a Quiet House*.'[6]

    b. #*Třetí diskutant Nerudu drtí: tento umělec **jde**   **a**   <u>**přitom**</u>*
                                                  go.PRS.3SG and simult.

        napíše
        write.PFV.FUT.3SG
        tak trapné věci, jakým jest Týden v tichém domě.
        ('The third debater crushes Neruda: this artist **goes and at the same time
        writes** something as embarrassing as *A Week in a Quiet House*.')

    c. #*Třetí diskutant Nerudu drtí: tento umělec **jde**   **a**   <u>**potom**</u>*
                                                  go.PRS.3SG and then

        napíše
        write.PFV.FUT.3SG
        tak trapné věci, jakým jest Týden v tichém domě.
        ('The third debater crushes Neruda: this artist **goes and then writes** something as embarrassing as *A Week in a Quiet House*.')

These adverbs are not compatible with PseCo because their primary function is to indicate the relationship between two or more events, while PseCo expresses one event with two phases (the beginning of the event via V1 and the core of the event itself via V2), with a temporal relationship and event-structure relationship which cannot be modified.

2.4 Adverbial determination in PseCo

2.4.1 *Linear location of adverbials in PseCo*
Czech is an inflectional language with relatively free word order. This word order is governed by the ***functional sentence perspective***. The relatively free word order and topic-theme rules in Czech mean that adverbials can be placed in any linear position in a sentence, as illustrated in (10).

---

6.   This perfective future (morphologically present) verb form functions here as a sort of narrative present.

(10)   *Každý den jdu   do školy a   neustále se   přitom*
        Every day go.PRS.1SG to school and constantly REFL simult.
        dívám   kolem.   (ProCo)
        look.IPFV.PRS.1SG around
        'Every day when I go to school, I keep looking around.'

In PseCo, the possibilities of adverbial placement are limited. A linear separation of the verb from the coordinator *a* by an adverbial is possible for the second verb (11a), but not the first (11b). The first verb must be immediately adjacent position to the coordinator *a* with no interposed words between them. This strict position is not influenced by the *functional sentence perspective*, but by the grammaticalized PseCo structure.

(11)   a.   *Někdy   po večeři* [***jdu   a   s   chutí si***
              Sometimes after dinner [go.PRS.1SG and with taste REFL.DAT
              natočím   pivo].   (PseCo)
              draw.PFV.PRS.1SG beer]
              'Sometimes after dinner [I go and merrily draw a beer for myself].'
       b.   **Někdy   [***jdu   po večeři] a   s   chutí si***
              Sometimes [go.PRS.1SG after dinner] and with taste REFL.DAT
              natočím   pivo.   (PseCo)
              draw.PFV.PRS.1SG beer
              'Sometimes I [go after dinner] and merrily draw a beer for myself.'

As indicated by brackets, in (11a) the adverbial takes wide scope. This means that the adverbial (in this example the specification of time) determines the whole co-ordinative structure. In (11b), the adverbial is tightly connected with the preceding verb, which would divide the construction into two independent sentences and change the interpretation to ProCo.

    If the adverbial is postposed after V1, its semantic adverbial scope affects the preceding event in V1 and its temporal location. In PseCo in (11a), the verb *jít* expresses the initial state of a complex event. It is therefore impossible to interrupt the linear order of components in PseCo, which is one of its defining properties.

    From the linear position of adverbials and their scope, it is clear that PseCo is an analytical form of a predicate with two components: [[*jít a*] V2]. The coordinator *a* is not independent (as in a complex sentence), but part of the first component. It is necessary to explore the character of *a* which partially loses its function of a sentence coordinator. If this is coordination, it would be coordination within an analytical form of this multiverbal construction. At the same time, it is also necessary to explore the quality of this coordinator as a particle with the function of an intensifier.

In ProCo, adverbials can appear in various positions relative to the verb, as illustrated in (12).

(12) a. *Zkrátka a   dobře <u>velmi</u> <u>pomalu</u> jsem   šel   a   v*
Short   and well   very   slowly be.PRS.1SG go.PST.SG.M and in
jednom kuse   jsem   na to myslel.
one   piece be.PRS.1SG at   it think.IPFV.PST.SG.M
'In short, I walked very slowly, constantly thinking about it.'

b. *Zkrátka a dobře jsem   šel   <u>velmi</u> <u>pomalu</u> a v jednom*
be.PRS.1SG go.PST.SG.M very   slowly
kuse jsem na to myslel.

Moving an adverbial in PseCo into the position after V1 changes the meaning of the construction; in this a case, there is a shift towards the ProCo interpretation as in (13c).

(13) a. *Pak pšišel   doktor a   žek,   Popper, vy   máte*
Then come.PST.SG.M doctor and say.PST.3SG, Popper, you   have.PRS.2PL
bronxitis! 'Tak Džeku šel   a   leh   si
bronchitis! So   Džek go.PST.SG.M and lie.PST.SG.M REFL.DAT
do postele.   (PseCo)
in   bed
'Then the doctor came and said, Popper, you have bronchitis! So Jack went and laid down in bed.'

b. *Tak Džeku <u>rychle</u> [šel   a   leh   si   do postele].*
quickly [go.PST.SG.M and lie.PST.SG.M REFL.DAT in bed]
'So Jack <u>quickly</u> [went and laid down in bed].'   (PseCo)

c. *Tak Džeku [šel   <u>rychle</u>] a   leh   si   do postele.*
[go.PST.SG.M quickly] and lie.PST.SG.M REFL.DAT
'So Jack [went <u>quickly</u>] and laid down in bed.'   (ProCo)

2.5   Restriction on the range of adverbials in PseCo

2.5.1   *Locative adverbials in PseCo*

Another feature differentiating PseCo from ProCo is a restriction on the type of adverbials in that are compatible with V1 in PseCo: adverbials referring to the lexical meaning of the verb are not permitted. Thus, with the verb *jít* ('go'), it is not possible to use spatial adverbials: location, trajectory and start or end point of a movement, which would change the interpretation of PseCo into ProCo: compare PseCo in (14a) to ProCo in (14b), depending on the use of the location adverb.

(14) a. *Uhla zabil padesátkrát víc lidí ne tím nožíkem, ale tím, že je nakazil.*
      *A   když tu   nemoc rozesel všude   kolem, **šel**   **a***
      And   when here disease spread everywhere around go.PST.SG.M and
      sám   na ni umřel.   (PseCo)
      himself on it die.PFV.PST.SG.M
      'Uhla killed fifty times more people not with his knife, but by infecting
      them.
      And when he spread the disease all around, he went and died from it
      himself.'

      b. *A   když tu   nemoc rozesel všude   kolem,*
      And   when here disease spread everywhere around
      šel   domů a   sám   na ni umřel.   (ProCo)
      go.PST.SG.M home and himself on it die.PFV.PST.SG.M
      'And when he spread the disease all around, he went home and died from
      it himself.'

Any spatial adverbial modifying *jít* ('go') restricts its function to literal motion,
making it semantically incompatible with PseCo. It does not matter whether the
adverbial is preposed or postposed relative to the verb,[7] while both positions are
possible in ProCo.

2.5.2   *Temporal adverbials in PseCo*

Another differentiating feature of PseCo and ProCo is the use of adverbials ex-
pressing a period of time. The possibilities of the adverbial word order in ProCo
are illustrated in (15). The examples in (16) show that this is not possible in PseCo.

(15) a. *Jirka šel **tři roky** tam a tři roky zpátky a přinesl králi zlatá jablka.* (ProCo)
      'Jirka went there for **three years** and three years back and brought golden
      apples to the king.'

      b. *Jirka šel **dlouho** tam a dlouho zpátky a přinesl králi zlatá jablka.* (ProCo)
      'Jirka went for a **long time** there and a long time back and brought golden
      apples to the king.'

(16) a. **Jirka **pět minut** šel a otevřel dveře.*   (PseCo)
      'Jirka went for **five minutes** and opened a door.'

      b. **Jirka **krátce** šel a otevřel dveře.*   (PseCo)
      'Jirka **briefly** went and opened a door.'

While it is possible to combine a verb with a durative meaning with an adverbial
specifying duration in ProCo, this is impossible in PseCo. The incompatibility arises

---

7.   Kuznetsova (2006: 7) reaches a similar conclusion for Russian when examining which se-
mantic adverbial types are incompatible with the verb *vzjat'* ('take') in PseCo.

because *jít* is not an independent verb. Our hypothesis is that in PseCo, *jít* loses its durativity, instead taking on an ingressive function. Because ingressivity refers to a point in time, it is impossible to specify any duration for this action. Examples (16b) and (17b) show that PseCo is not even compatible with the nonspecific adverbials such as *dlouho* 'for a long time' or *krátce* 'shortly'.

2.5.3   Other adverbials in PseCo

Adverbials with non-local and non-durative semantics do not conflict with PseCo because they do not emphasize the lexical semantics of physical movement in space or the duration of an event. As shown in (17), the adverb *opatrně* 'carefully' takes scope over the entire PseCo construction.

(17) *Ale sotva by   ďábel sám toho nešťastníka svedl k tomu, aby <u>opatrně</u>*
      But hardly would devil himself unfortunate led to it   that carefully
      šel   a   zabil   *starého strýce.*   (PseCo)
      go.PST.SG.M and kill.PFV.PST.SG.M old   uncle
      'But not even the devil himself would lead the unfortunate man to <u>carefully</u> **go and kill** his old uncle.'

2.5.4   Summary

In this section, we have compared the behaviour of adverbials in PseCo and ProCo. We have shown that locative adverbials can be used only in ProCo because they evoke the primary, lexical meaning of the first verb *jít* ('go'). This meaning is bleached in PseCo, and therefore cannot be strengthened by modification.

The construction itself is also limited in the options for adverbial location, which is otherwise quite free in Czech sentences. Adverbials cannot interrupt the integrity of the PseCo construction by separating *jít* from the connector *a* 'and'.

3.   Negation in PseCo

Another way in which PseCo differs from ProCo is negation. In this section, the combinatorial options of negation in ProCo and PseCo are described and compared.

3.1   Combinatorial options of negation in ProCo

Applying negation to the prototypical coordination of two conjuncts in a complex sentence permits four combinations of positive and negative verbs as illustrated in (18)–(21).

(18)	*Petr*	***šel***	*do školy*	***a***	***koupil***	*si*	*rohlík.*	[+]
	Petr	go.PST.SG.M	to school	and	buy.PFV.PST.SG.M	REFL.DAT	roll	[+]
	'Petr went to school and bought a roll.'							
(19)	*Petr*	***ne-šel***	*do školy*	***a***	***ne-koupil***	*si*	*rohlík.*	[−]
		NEG-go.PST.SG.M	to school	and	NEG-buy.PFV.PST.SG.M	REFL.DAT		[−]
	'Petr did not go to school and did not buy a roll.'							
(20)	*Petr*	***šel***	*do školy*	***a***	***ne-koupil***	*si*	*rohlík.*	[+]
		go.PST.SG.M	to school	and	NEG-buy.PFV.PST.SG.M	REFL.DAT		[−]
	'Petr went to school and did not buy a roll.'							
(21)	*Petr*	***ne-šel***	*do školy*	***a***	***koupil***	*si*	*rohlík.*	[−]
		NEG-go.PST.SG.M	to school	and	buy.PFV.PST.SG.M	REFL.DAT		[+]
	'Petr did not go to school and bought a roll.'							

There are causal and temporal pragmatic restrictions on how negation can be combined in ProCo, as seen in the Examples (22)–(25).[8]

(22) *Josef K. **napsal** dopis **a vložil** ho do obálky.*
'Josef K. wrote a letter and put it in the envelope.'

(23) *Josef K. **nenapsal** dopis **a nevložil** ho do obálky.*
'Josef K. did not write a letter and did not put it in the envelope.'

(24) ?*Josef K. **nenapsal** dopis **a vložil** ho do obálky.*
(Intended: 'Josef K. did not write a letter and put it in the envelope.')

(25) *Josef K. **napsal** dopis, **a nevložil** ho do obálky.*
'Josef K. wrote a letter and did not put it in the envelope.'

If pragmatics is not taken into account, there are four possibilities for the combination of positive and negative predicates in ProCo, each allowed by the grammatical system of Czech, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Combinatorial options of negation in ProCo

Predicate 1	Connector	Predicate 2
+		+
+	*a* 'and'	−
−		+
−		−

---

8.   For the use and truth conditions of conjunctions, see Cmorej (2002: 93–94), from which (22) was adopted.

3.2 Combinatorial options of negation in PseCo

Negation in PseCo behaves differently than in ProCo. The most typical configuration, without negation on either verb, is shown in (26): [+] [+]. This option is unrestricted and does not display any other peculiarities.

(26) *Jako bych*   **šel**   *a   sám   si*   **plivl**
      As   would.1SG go.PST.SG.M and myself REFL.DAT spit.PFV.PST.SG.M
      do obličeje.
      in   face
      'As if I went and spat in my own face.'

The second potential combination is with positive V1 and negated V2: [+] [−]. As shown in (27), this configuration is not possible in PseCo.

(27) *A   sám   šel*   *a   **ne-zavřel***   *dveře mezi*
      And himself go.PST.SG.M and NEG-close.PFV.PST.SG.M door   between
      oběma pokoji.
      both   rooms
      (lit. 'And he went and did not close the door between the two rooms.')

This combination is not feasible due to the internal integrity of the connection. Again, because PseCo does not express two events but two phases of one event, it is not possible to negate just one phase of the event. Similarly, the third potential combination [−] [+] is not acceptable in PseCo either, as shown in (28).

(28) *A   sám   **ne-šel***   *a   zavřel*   *dveře mezi*
      And himself NEG-go.PST.SG.M and close.PFV.PST.SG.M door   between
      oběma pokoji.
      both   rooms
      (lit. 'And he did not go and closed the door between the two rooms.')

This combination negates the beginning of the event, while its culmination is indicated as successful, contradicting the internal structure of the event. The impossibility of both of these mixed negation types confirms that PseCo is not a complex sentence, but a multiverbal construction expressing separate phases of one event.

The fourth combination [−] [−] is viable in PseCo, but quite rare in real usage. Only 5 examples of this PseCo combination have been found in the Czech National Corpus; one example is provided in (29). With both verbs marked with negation, the meaning of negation takes wide scope over the whole PseCo event.

(29) *Nebo **jsi**   **ne-šel**   *a*   *ne-našel**
      Or   be.PRS.2SG NEG-go.PST.SG.M and NEG-find.PFV.PST.SG.M
      sis   *dceru*   *vévody, se*   *kterou ses*
      REFL.DAT.be.PRS.2SG daughter duke   with whom REFL.be.PRS.2SG
      oženil?
      marry.PFV.PST.SG.M
      'Or did you not go and find the Duke's daughter whom you married?'

These combinatorial options for negation in PseCo are summarized in Table 2.
These options are restricted in comparison to ProCo as discussed in the previous
section.

Table 2. Combinatorial options of negation in ProCo

V 1	Connector	V2
+		+
*+	*a* 'and'	−
*−		+
−		−

The most frequent combination in PseCo is [+] *a* [+], neither verb negated; the
constructions with mixed negation, [−] *a* [+] and [+] *a* [−], are impossible, while
[−] *a* [−] with two negated verbs is possible, but quite rare. This limitation is because
PseCo does not coordinate two predicates, but forms a single analytic predicate.
The verbs of this predicate represent different phases of one event. The verb *jít* ('go')
loses its primary meaning of movement in space and gains the meaning of the on-
set of an event, or inceptivity. The second verb in the construction represents the
semantic core of the the event itself. Once we interpret PseCo this way, it becomes
obvious why negation possibilities are restricted. The first verb cannot be negated
independently because it is not possible to negate the phase of initialization and
at the same time claim that the event has occurred. The second verb cannot be
negated independently because in order for the initialization to be successful, so
must the consequent event. Thus PseCo is considered to be one compact unit of a
telic character, such that the whole combined event must be accomplished as a unit.
The two verbs represent phases of the event structure, requiring negative concord
between the individual components. This construction can undergo negation only
as a whole, with negation marked twice, once on each verb, as in (29).

4. Comparison of *jít* ('go') used in PseCo and with infinitives

PseCo with *jít* ('go') can be compared not only with ProCo, but also with other alternative constructions. In Czech, there is also a construction with an infinitive V2, which is quite common. Examples (30)–(31) demonstrate interchangeability of these two constructions.

(30) a. *Když vidím,   že týmu mohu   pomoci,   jdu*
When see.IPFV.PRS.1SG that team can.PRS.1SG help.PFV.INF go.PRS.1SG
a udělám   to.
and do.PFV.PRS.1SG it
'When I see that I can help the team, I go and do it.'

a′. *Když vidím,   že týmu mohu   pomoci,   jdu*
When see.IPFV.PRS.1SG that team can.PRS.1SG help.PFV.INF go.PRS.1SG
to udělat.
it do.PFV.INF

(31) a. *Ale když se děvče souží   a nakonec jde   a*
But when REFL girl   torments and eventually go.PRS.3SG and
pustí   si   plyn.
release.PFV.PRS.3SG REFL.DAT gas.
'But a girl torments herself and eventually goes and turns on the gas.'

a′. *Ale když se děvče souží   a nakonec si   jde*
But when REFL girl   torments and eventually REFL.DAT go.PRS.3SG
pustit   plyn.
release.PFV.INF gas

These two constructions, PseCo and infinitive, are quite similar and can be considered syntactic substitutes.[9] This possibility of substitution in a text can be used as a test of PseCo in Czech: the structure with the infinitive cannot be used in cases where the verb *jít* ('go') expresses its primary semantics of physical movement. This means that infinitival substitution is possible with PseCo (30)–(31), but not ProCo (32).

---

9. See also Wulff (2006) for a statistical comparison of similar constructions in English using collostructional analysis and distinctive co-lexeme analysis, suggesting that even syntactic near-equivalents may have distinctive usage trends regarding which verbs are most likely to appear in each construction type.

(32) a. *Jeho pes rovněž tím směrem **šel**   **a**   o   pár minut*
          His dog also   that direction go.PST.SG.M and about few minutes
          *později **se** **vracel**   silnicí zpět.*   (ProCo)
          later   REFL return.IPFV.PST.SG.M road   back
          'His dog also went in that direction, and a few minutes later walked the
          road back.'
    a′. **Jeho pes rovněž tím směrem **šel**   **se**   **vracet**   silnicí*
                                        go.PST.SG.M REFL return.IPFV.INF
          zpět o pár minut později.

5.   Quantitative comparison of PseCo and ProCo

This section summarizes the quantitative results for the occurrence of PseCo in
comparison to ProCo in the Czech National Corpus (SYN 2005: Čermák et al.
2005), focusing on particular morphological characteristics of the construction.
We found **1,611** clauses with binary coordination using the connector *a* 'and' and
the verb *jít* ('go') in the position V1; **923** of these examples can be characterized as
ProCo and **688** as PseCo.

   We begin with indicative present, as shown in Figure 1: there are 348 occur-
rences in total, of which 316 are ProCo and 32 PseCo. PseCo thus occurs the least
often in the indicative mood and present tense.
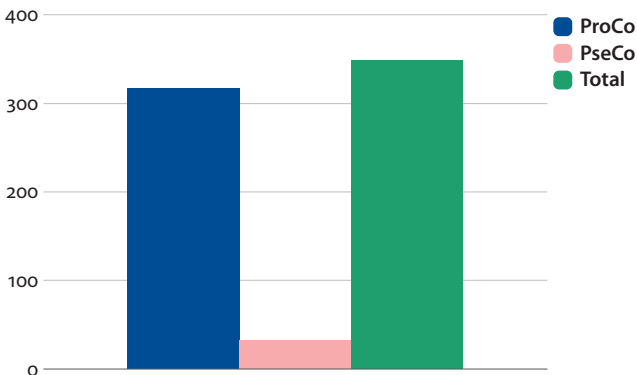
Figure 1. ProCo and PseCo in indicative present

Figure 2 illustrates the distribution of ProCo and PseCo by person/number in in-
dicative present. The occurrence of PseCo in this morphological combination is
quite peripheral.
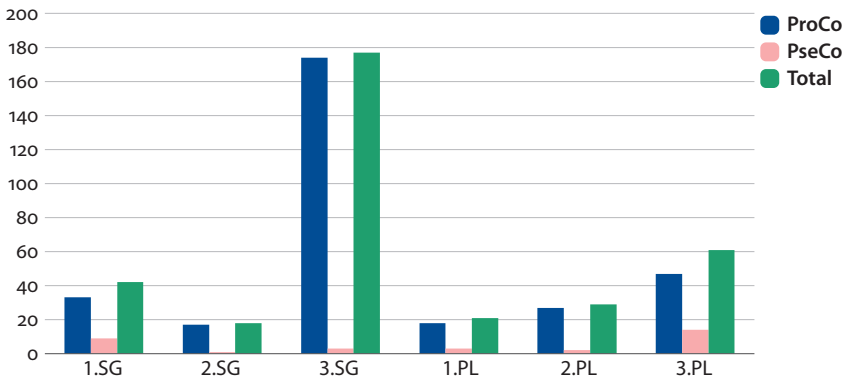
Figure 2. ProCo and PseCo in indicative present: Distribution of grammatical persons

Figure 3 reflects the occurrence of ProCo and PseCo in indicative future. In this inflection, PseCo is more frequent than ProCo: there are 91 occurrences of PseCo and 40 occurrences of ProCo. A possible explanation is that the semantics of PseCo is compatible with the future tense: *a sudden decision to act*.
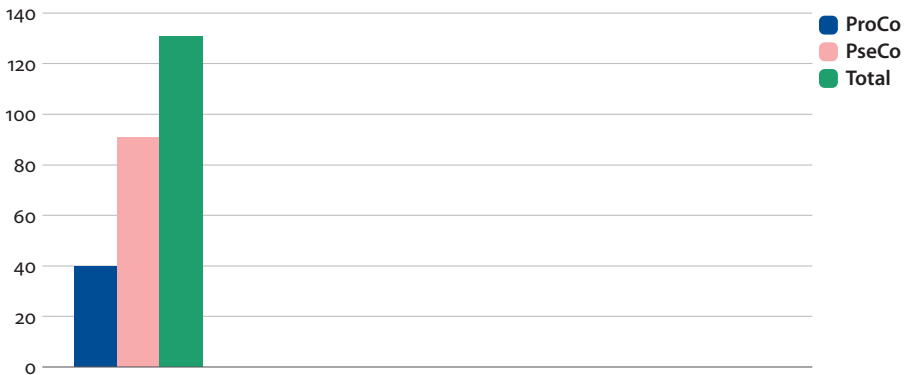
Figure 3. ProCo and PseCo in indicative future

The meaning of PseCo is described as **intentional**, and the speaker is the ideal subject for referring about his/her own intentions to fulfil a future action. The hypothesis of the reason for higher occurrences of PseCo in the future tense is confirmed by the distribution of particular persons (Figure 4), where 1.sg is most common for PseCo. Notice also that in 3.SG ProCo is more common, where the speaker may not know the intention of a third party.
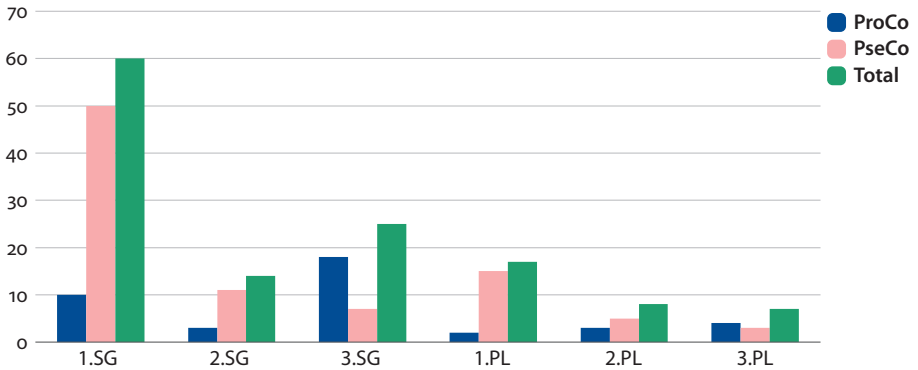
Figure 4. ProCo and PseCo in indicative future: Distribution of grammatical persons

Figure 5 shows the frequencies in indicative past. There are 484 total occurrences, of which 327 are ProCo and 157 are PseCo. This means the number of ProCo constructions is significantly higher in the past tense than the number of PseCo.

Figure 5. ProCo and PseCo in indicative past

The distribution of PseCo by grammatical person in indicative past in Figure 6 shows that the occurrence is distributed similarly for ProCo and PseCo. The most frequent person is the 3.SG, probably as the object of narration. These findings correspond to general quantitative research about the frequency of grammatical persons in combination with tense and mood (Těšitelová 1985: 195).
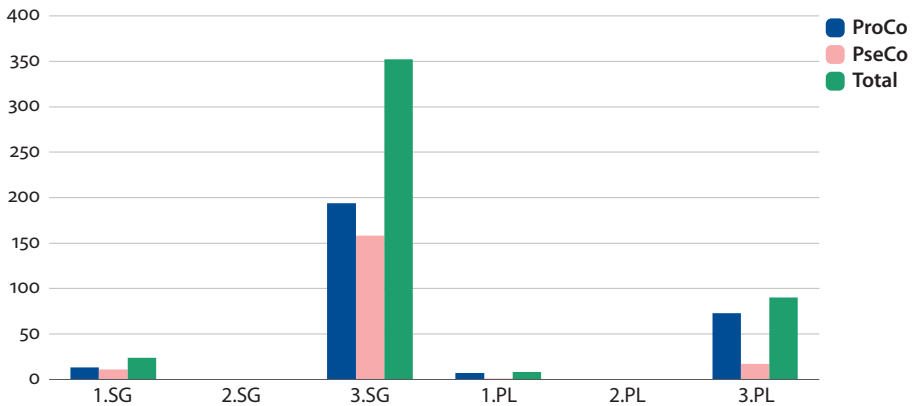
Figure 6. ProCo and PseCo in indicative past: Distribution of grammatical persons

The frequency of ProCo and PseCo in the indicative mood of all three Czech tenses demonstrates that both forms, ProCo and PseCo, are most common in the past as shown in Figure 7. The reason for this prevalence, in our opinion, is the need to add dynamics to a static event when referring to it. On the contrary, the occurrence of PseCo is lowest in the present tense because the semantics of PseCo (the feature of intentionality) contradicts the actual progress of an event in the present. In cases where PseCo is used in the present tense, it refers instead to a non-current present. The frequency of PseCo in the future tense seems quite surprising and is most likely related to the specific features of PseCo. As mentioned above, PseCo carries the feature of **intentionality and the willingness** to accomplish the event coded in V2.
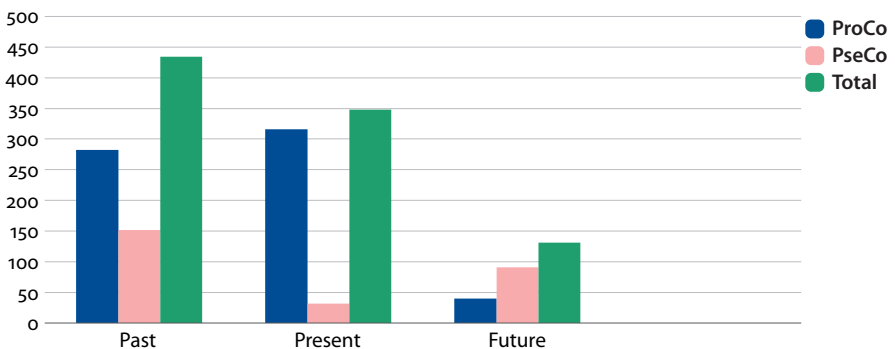
Figure 7. ProCo and PseCo in different tenses

Figure 8 illustrates the use of PseCo and ProCo in the imperative mood. 382 total examples were found, of which 83 were ProCo and 299 were PseCo. In this morphological form, PseCo is significantly more common than ProCo.

Figure 8. ProCo and PseCo in the imperative mood

6.   Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to show the existence of the PseCo construction as an analytical construction in Czech as a highly inflectional language. We have analysed PseCo with the verb *jít* ('go') in the position V1. We have used material from the Czech National Corpus, particularly the subcorpus SYN 2005. To define PseCo in Czech, we have used criteria described in previous research and suggested additional criteria specific for PseCo in Czech. Finally, we have presented quantitative data illustrating the frequency of PseCo in connection with selected grammatical features.

In the course of the chapter, we have discussed that PseCo with the verb *jít* ('go') in Czech exhibits the following characteristics:

– no ordering flexibility of the conjuncts V1 and V2;
– morphological sameness of both verbs for person, number and tense;
– immediate adjacency of V1 and the connector *a* 'and': no interrupting words;
– restriction on locative and temporal adverbials compatible with the verb *jít* ('go');
– restricted use of negation in PseCo: both verbs may be negated, or neither.

Finally, we have illustrated the influence of adverbial scope on the interpretation of PseCo, and we also compared PseCo with the infinitive construction.

The specific features of PseCo can be used to illustrate the differences between ProCo and PseCo. While ProCo connects two separate events, supported by the

possibility of temporal modification, independent valence of the predicates and possibility for independent negation, the combinatorial possibilities of PseCo are quite limited. It has been shown that PseCo in Czech does not coordinate two events semantically, or predicates syntactically, but instead represents a coordination on the level of individual parts of multiverbal constructions forming a single predicate.

Funding

References

Cmorej, Pavel. 2002. *Úvod do logické syntaxe a sémantiky*. Praha: Triton.

Čermák, František et al. 2005. *SYN2005: žánrově vyvážený korpus psané češtiny*. Ústav Českého národního korpusu FF UK: Praha. <http://www.korpus.cz>

Daneš, František. 1971. Pokus o strukturní analýzu slovesných významů. *Slovo a slovesnost* 32: 193–207.

Filip, Hana. 2008. Events and Maximalization. In *Theoretical and Crosslinguistic Approaches to the Semantics of Aspect*, Susan Rothstein (ed), 217–256 Amsterdam: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/la.110.10fil

Kuznetsova, Julia. 2006. The first verb of pseudocoordination as an auxiliary. Presented at Slavic Linguistic Society 1, Indiana University Bloomington. <http://www.indiana.edu/~sls2006/Handouts/KuznetsovaSLS.pdf> (24 April 2008).

Ross, John Robert. 1986. Infinite Syntax! Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Corporation.

Škodová, Svatava. 2009. Pseudokoordinace v syntaxi současné češtiny [Pseudo-coordination in the syntax of contemporary Czech]. Ph.D. dissertation, Univerzita Karlova v Praze. <https://is.cuni.cz/webapps/zzp/detail/75132/>

Škodová, Svatava. 2020. The verb *jít* as a representative of a motion event in space in texts by non-native speakers of Czech, *SALi 11*, Special issue, 2020: 88–111. <https://studiezapliko vanelingvistiky.ff.cuni.cz/>

Těšitelová, Marie. 1985. *Kvantitativní charakteristiky češtiny*. Praha: Academia.

de Vos, Mark. 2005. *The Syntax of Verbal Pseudo-Coordination in English and Afrikaans*. Utrecht: LOT.

Wulff, Stefanie. 2006. *Go*-V and *go-and*-V in English: A case of constructional synonymy? In *Corpora in cognitive linguistics: corpus-based approached to syntax and lexis*, Stefan Th. Gries & Anatol Stefanowitsch (eds), 101–25. Berlin: de Gruyter.

In search of subjective meaning in Swedish pseudocoordination

Kristian Blensenius[1] and Peter Andersson Lilja[1,2]
[1]University of Gothenburg / [2]University of Borås

This study provides a discussion of the development of subjective meaning associated with the motion-verb pseudocoordination *gå och* V 'go/walk and V' and the posture-verb pseudocoordination *sitta och* V 'sit and V', using historical and present-day linguistic data. It is claimed that an interpretation in terms of item-based analogy and entrenchment of frequent meaning clusters is the most plausible analysis for the development of subjective (and pejorative) meaning associated with *gå och* V. The study of *sitta och* V is preliminary, but the results indicate that the subjective meaning of this construction is less entrenched that that of the *gå och* V construction and that the subjective overtone of subjectivity may be a result of the combination of the social/cultural meaning of the posture and certain intrinsically pejorative verbs, together with certain locatives.

Keywords: pseudocoordination, motion verb, posture verb, subjective meaning, Swedish

1. Introduction

Pseudocoordination in Swedish and in Mainland Scandinavian includes constructions of the type VERB 1 *och* 'and' VERB 2, in which the verbs seem to be in a paratactic relation although the first verb is auxiliary-like. Certain first verbs are recurrent in the literature, and they are also mentioned in the Swedish Academy grammar (SAG, Vol. 4, p. 902–909), where common types include *gå och* V 'go/walk and V(erb)', *sitta/stå/ligga och* V 'sit/stand/lie and V', *vara och* V 'be and V', and *ta och* V 'take and V'. They are associated with different semantic characteristics in the literature, notably those of the types *gå och* V and *sitta/stå/ligga och* V, which are often considered aspectual in one way or another. Constructions with *gå och* V

have been associated with event initiation as well as with duration,[1] and 'sit/stand/lie and V' with imperfectiveness.

Another, more pragmatic, meaning has also been acknowledged, especially in recent years. It can be labelled a "subjective" meaning. For example, a sentence like *de har gått och gift sig* (lit. they have gone/walked and married) 'they have married' has been associated with "surprise" (e.g. Wiklund 2009), and certain types of *sitta/stå/ligga och* V have been called pejorative (more on this in Section 2).

The main aim of this study is to discuss the development of a meaning of subjective evaluation associated with the motion-verb pseudocoordination *gå och* V 'go/walk and V' and the posture-verb pseudocoordination *sitta*[2] *och* V 'sit and V', using historical and present-day language data. We use Breed's (2017: 4) term *subjective meaning*, referring to the speaker's "attitude or mind-set […] towards a particular situation" (related concepts in the literature include *interpretative*, *pejorative*, and *speaker-perspective-related meaning*).

We take a usage-based approach to grammar and grammatical change and assume that linguistic patterns are shaped by variably routinized patterns of associations (Bybee 2010). Instances of use, words and phrases that show formal and semantic similarities, "are grouped together in cognitive representation. From such a grouping a construction can emerge" (Bybee 2006: 718). Constructions can be described as pairings of form and function or meaning, organized hierarchically representing different levels of schematicity.

2.   Swedish *gå och* V and *sitta och* V

On the highest schematic level, pseudocoordinations in Swedish are constructions of the type V1 (verb 1) *och* 'and' V2 (verb 2) with an asymmetric meaning relation between V1 and V2. Normally, V1 and V2 share inflectional properties, and the construction exhibits certain grammatical properties that make it different from regular coordination (see Lødrup 2019: 90–92). Typical V1s include posture verbs such as *sitta* 'sit', *stå* 'stand', and *ligga* 'lie' and motion verbs like *gå* 'go, walk'. The constructions *gå och* V and *sitta och* V in the present study are sub-types. The former construction can be subdivided into different goal-orientational meanings

---

1.   The *ta och* V construction (see Coseriu 1966: 17f.) has been associated with similar meanings as the goal-oriented *gå och* V construction (see Wiklund 2009: 185), but whereas other *gå och* V constructions, e.g. the durative *gå och fundera* (lit. go/walk and ponder), are aspectually more similar to *sitta/stå/ligga och* V, *ta och* V refers to (momentary) event initiation and to events with an agentive subject role (Vannebo 2003: 173).

2.   For broader studies on pseudocoordination in Swedish, see e.g. Kvist Darnell (2008) and Kinn et al. (2018).

which in turn can be considered as different meaning clusters (i.e. be labelled as different constructions).

2.1   *gå och* V

The construction *gå och* V includes meaning variants with non-goal oriented as well as goal-oriented meaning. In (1a), an example of non-goal oriented meaning is provided, whereas (1b) and (1c) gives two variants of goal-oriented meaning.

(1) a. *Hon gick   och funderade på livet.*
         she walked and thought   on life.DEF
         'She was (walking around)[3] pondering about life.'
     b. *De gick   och handlade mat.*
         they walked and bought   food
         'They (walked away/went out and) bought food.'
     c. *De har gått   och gift   sig.*
         they have walked and married REFL
         'They have married.'[4]

The non-goal oriented construction, as in (1a) above, is commonly described as de-noting atelic aspect (e.g. Hesse 2009; Kinn 2018) or a non-resultative light verb con-struction (Josefsson 2014). The goal-oriented construction in (1b) is also claimed to carry some kind of aspectual information. For example, Hultman (2003: 311) refers to it as expressing an event with a "transition", and Wiklund (2009) and Josefsson (2014), analyzing *gå* as a light verb, describe the goal-oriented version as a resulta-tive construction foregrounding the initiation or onset of the event. However, there is no agreement in the literature: Andersson & Blensenius (2018) instead assume that the goal-oriented construction denotes intention rather than aspectual mean-ing, also alternating with a construction with the infinitival marker *att* 'to' instead of *och* 'and' and an infinitival V2, i.e. *gå att* V.INF 'go (away) to V', up until the early 20th century in Swedish.[5]

---

3.   Parentheses around 'walking', 'walking around' etc. in examples means that the 'walking' meaning is present in certain contexts. For example, (1a) can indeed describe a specific situation in which somebody was actually walking around in a room while, seemingly, thinking about life. It can also be used for describing more habitual 'thinking-about-life' events, which can go on for years, where no literal walking is observed.

4.   The translation, then, indicates that the example expresses no literal meaning of 'walking' (however, it does not rule out the possibility that the subject referents in a special context did walk to their wedding ceremony).

5.   *att* and *och* are often pronounced the same way 'å', but the lack of finite inflection on V2 disambiguates an infinitival construction.

The goal-oriented construction of the type illustrated in (1c) above has been associated with different subjective meanings. Ekberg (1993: 131) suggests that the speaker marks a subjective attitude, e.g. surprise, towards the event. From different perspectives, Wiklund (2009) and Josefsson (2014) argue that this type has a punctual meaning and a "surprise effect", a meaning of unexpectedness or suddenness. Josefsson (2014) proposes that the surprise effect associated with the (1c) type of *gå och* V is related to the use of a certain type of the polysemous verb *gå*, with the meaning 'happen'. The assumption is that an experiencer role (associated with *gå* in this particular use) that cannot be expressed in the syntax is carried by an inherent speech participant, a logophoric agent, that becomes an experiencer without control. This is in essence the surprise effect (Josefsson 2014: 45). However, there is no agreement in the literature when it comes to the analysis of the surprise meaning. Ross (2016) analyzes surprise-like readings in multi-verb constructions with 'go' and 'come' cross-linguistically as the subject referent's deviation from an expected course of events. Other studies, e.g. Andersson & Blensenius (2018), take a slightly different approach and argue for a constructional usage-based approach to the "subjectification" process of Swedish *gå och* V, suggesting a historical extension from older uses in pejorative contexts (see further Section 3).

2.2   Posture-verb pseudocoordination, e.g. *sitta och* V

Pseudocoordination with posture-verb V1s is primarily used with atelic V2s (Blensenius 2015; also see Tonne 2001 for Norwegian). These V2s are often used by themselves in Swedish and then describe roughly the same "ongoingness" as a corresponding pseudocoordination. For example, (2a) and (2b) can describe the same aspectual semantics depending on context, the primary difference being that the reader's (assumed) posture can be included in (2a).

(2)   a.   *Hon satt och läste   i en bok.*
           she sat and read.PST in a   book
           'She read/was reading in a book (while sitting).'
      b.   *Hon läste   i en bok.*
           she read.PST in a   book
           'She read/was reading in a book.'

Blensenius (2015) questions the idea that Swedish pseudocoordination with posture-verb V1s has a full-fledged progressive meaning, or a meaning similar to the English progressive, as commonly assumed in the literature (e.g. Johansson 1987; Ebert 2000; Henriksson 2006, and Hesse 2009). Evidence suggesting that pseudocoordination is not a progressive construction includes the fact that there is no obvious change of aspect in sentences with posture-verb pseudocoordination,

compared to sentences with the corresponding simple V2 verb (cf. similar argumentation for other Mainland Scandinavian languages in Behrens et al. 2013; Kinn et al. 2018, and Lødrup 2019). Furthermore, the notion of bleaching or (semantic) grammaticalization is not always significant and does not seem to be a specific aspect of pseudocoordination but rather a characteristic of posture verbs in general. The first verb of a pseudocoordination can appear in sentences that are equally semantically bleached outside pseudocoordination as inside it. For example, *sitta* 'sit' is often use as a simple verb outside pseudocoordination with very abstract lexical meaning:

(3) *Hon sitter i   fängelse.*
    she sits   in prison
    'She is in jail.'

In (3), *sitta* is actually more abstract than *sitta* in many pseudocoordinations; a pseudocoordination with *sitta* as V1 often requires that the speaker at least imagines that the subject referent is actually sitting, whereas 'sit' in (3) does not provide much more lexical information than an existential ('be') verb. Taken together, this may facilitate a constructional analysis of pseudocoordination; the bleaching in pseudocoordination may be a result of coercion effects rather than loss of inherent lexical features (Michaelis 2004; Andersson & Blensenius 2018).

   Pragmatic functions in terms of subjective meaning have been assumed not only for *gå och* V but also for *sitta och* V or its counterparts in other Mainland Scandinavian languages. Henriksson (2006: 140) notes in a short passage that posture-verb pseudocoordination with the short locatives *här* 'here' or *där* 'there' can be "emotiv-pejorativ verwendet" in Swedish, giving the following example (our translation into English):

(4) *Här sitter   du   och tittar   på teve!*
    here sit.PRS you and watch.PRS on TV
    'Here you are (sitting) watching TV!'

Henriksson's (2006) brief mentioning of the "emotiv-pejorativ" use seems to be the only account of subjective use of posture-verb pseudocoordination in Swedish. There is one brief mentioning of subjective meaning in Norwegian and Danish by Lødrup (2019: 96), who notes that examples such as the Norwegian (5) express a negative attitude. The situation is that the speaker addresses the subject referent, saying that 'You always talk about health', and continues:

(5) *Og   nå   sitter   du   der   og   røyker   en stor sigar!*
    and now sit.PRS you there and smoke.PRS a   big cigar
    'And now you are smoking a big cigar!'   (Adapted from Lødrup 2019: 96)

Other accounts include Biberauer & Vikner (2017), who briefly mention the function of subjective, or "speaker-perspective-related", meaning in Danish and Afrikaans. Lemmens (2005: 185) notes a connotational feature for Dutch infinitival posture-verb constructions, and Breed (2017) provides an analysis of postural verbs in Afrikaans. Fraser (2018) assumes that the use of posture verbs in a "non-literal" sense can develop a meaning of speaker evaluation. It could be noted – considering that the aspectual and grammatical(ization) status of Swedish pseudocoordination is rather unclear – that a majority of the accounts of subjective meaning assume a quite high degree of grammaticalization of the posture verb focusing on the continuation of events. Examples include Breed (2017), who assumes a route of grammatical evolution from progressive to modal in Afrikaans, and Fraser (2018), analyzing speaker evaluation with the grammaticalized "non-literal" 'sit' in English, relating it to the temporal interval expressed by the posture verb. To sum up: two claims appear central in earlier research, a) the centrality of aspectual meanings of pseudocoordination, and b) the grammaticalization and bleaching of V1s such as *sitta* 'sit', *gå* 'go/walk' and *ta* 'take'. In our search for subjective meanings in Swedish pseudocoordination, we challenge both of these claims. In Section 3, we present empirical data from two sub-studies which suggest that subjective meanings emerge independently from any bleaching and grammaticalization of the V1s discussed. A usage-based and constructional approach seems suitable to explain how and why novel subjective meanings become central parts of the constructions under study. The sub-study on *gå och* V extends a previous corpus study, whereas the sub-study on *sitta och* V is a preliminary study which we aim to extend in further work.

3.   Subjectivity in pseudocoordination

3.1   Study 1: Swedish *gå* 'go/walk' *och* V

The goal-oriented *gå och* V construction is present already in Old Norse with the conjunction *og/ok* 'and' (Holm 1958). In Old Swedish (c. 13th–15th century), the construction includes verbs of physical motion, perception or communication in the V2-slot, commonly *lägga sig* 'lay down', *se* 'see' and *tala* 'speak'. Note that *gå och lägga sig* 'go/walk and lay down' is the most frequent instantiation of the construction during all periods in the history of Swedish (Andersson & Blensenius 2018, s. 170). In Present-day Swedish, the construction is lexicalized to the degree that the presence of *gå* 'go/walk' is frequent whenever the verb *lägga sig* is used. In Old Swedish, the pragmatic meanings of the construction are hard to pin down, such as a sense of pejorativity. However, over time, other reflexive verbs also enter into usage due to item-based analogy, often supported by the adverb *åstad* 'away' (lit.

from the spot). In these cases, there is a pejorative/negative interpretation or an inference of rashness, as shown in the examples in (6).[6]

(6) a. *att pojken   som **gått åstad och gift**   sig   med nån*
       that boy.DEF REL went away and married REFL with some
       *finnflicka   Deruppe, råkat   i **sådan fattigdom** och **sånt elände***
       Finnish.girl up.there ended.up in such   poverty   and such misery
       att […].   (19th C)
       that
       'that the boy who suddenly married with some Finnish girl up here, had ended up in such poverty and misery that […]'

   b. *Detta grep   den 70 årige   förälskade Holmberg så djupt att   han*
      this   grabbed the 70.year.old in love   Holmberg so deep that he
      ***gick åstad och hängde sig**.*   (19th C)
      went away and hang   REFL
      'This shook the seventy-year old enamored Holmberg so deep that he suddenly hanged himself.'

The adverb *åstad* 'away' is frequently used in a figurative sense in the *gå och* V construction during the 19th century and has developed a meaning of 'rashness' together with intransitive motion verbs (SAOB: dictionary entry for *sta*). Later, the construction includes non-agentive V2s and the adverb *åstad* also seems to become redundant. It may be the case that the adverb becomes redundant when a pejorative/negative inference is being coded as a part of the construction, i.e. entrenched as a part of a more schematic meaning level due to high frequency.

(7) *och så skulle hon gå   och bli   kär   i **en sådan odåga***
    and so should she walk and went in.love in a   such   good.for.nothing
    som Wachenfeldt!   (1922)
    as   Wachenfeldt!
    and then she would fell in love with such a good-for-nothing as Wachenfeldt!

In (7), an explicit inference of pejorative/negative meaning is coded in the context (in bold). Constructions with *gå och bli* ADJ 'go/walk and become + ADJECTIVE' are common during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Our data indicate that a field of social relations or events referring to love, marriage and the like are important

---

6. The presentation is based on an extensive corpus study from the Old and Modern Swedish periods (between the 12th and 19th century) in the corpus tool Korp (Borin et al. 2012) with over 100 million tokens (primarily newspapers from the 19th century). The total amount of *gå och* V constructions counts to over 7,000 tokens (Andersson & Blensenius 2018).
    We searched for all possible spelling variants and all inflections ("lemgrams") of *gå + och +* verb, allowing up to one unrestricted word in between V1 *gå* and *och*.

for the subsuming development of *gå*-PCs with subjective meaning in Present-day Swedish. Later in the 20th century the construction spread even to other types of non-agentive VPs in the second slot as in *gå och bryta benet* 'go break one's leg', still referring to the agent's clumsiness or rashness. One way of interpreting the reinforcement of subjective or pejorative meaning is an analysis in terms of mismatch and coercion effects. In (7) there is a mismatch between an agentive motion meaning in *gå* 'go/walk' and a non-agentive V2 *bli kär* 'fall in love', i.e. the construction could be said to express non-compositional meaning. The non-compositional meaning is then resolved by the override principle (Michaelis 2004; Andersson & Blensenius 2018), that is, the meaning of the verbs conforms to the meaning of the construction. The idea here is that a construction with a non-agentive V2 like *gå och bli kär* (lit. 'go and fall in love') is interpreted agentively, and the clash between the construction's agentivity and the EXPERIENCER role of V2's subject facilitates the subjective or pejorative meaning (e.g. 'she consciously went and fell in love').

The non-goal oriented *gå och* V construction includes *movement* without a goal. In Old Swedish, the first clear examples of this kind include the verb *spatsera* 'walk/stroll' as V2, which is semantically similar to *gå* 'go/walk' itself. Example (8) illustrates an instance from Old Swedish:

(8) *hwars clostermänniskios siäl, huilke idkelika   oc   daghlika skulde*
     every monasterymens soul REL   continuously and daily   should
     *wistas **gaa oc   spadzcera***   (15th century)
     reside go   and stroll
     'every monastery soul, which continuously and daily should reside, walk and stroll around'

We argue that examples like (8) may have been the catalyst for a non-goal-oriented construction with *gå* in Swedish, different to for example English where *go* has developed into a future marker. In (8), there is no obvious pejorative/negative meaning present but from the 17th century on the most common instances of the non-goal-oriented construction include V2s rereferring to specific, funny or odd ways of walking such as *sprätta* 'strut', *vanka* 'saunter', and *lulla* 'toodle':

(9) *Farväl i   fulla Lustresande! Er **gå och lulla** jag slipper   se*
     farewell you drunk lust.travellers! You go and toodle I do.not.have.to see
                                                                    (19thC)
     'Farewell you drunk pleasure seekers! I don't have to see you go around toodling'

To walk in a funny or odd way is certainly associated with pejorative meaning in our view. The context also commonly strengthens a pejorative inference in cases like this (*drunk pleasure seekers* in (9)). The non-goal-oriented construction is common also in Present-day Swedish, sometimes having a pejorative inference (cf. SAG vol. 4, p. 905):

(10) *Hon springer och frågar om   allt   och alla.*
     she   runs   and asks   about everything and everyone
     'She is running around asking about everything and everyone.'

Table 1 illustrates the most frequent instances of V2s associated with *gå och* V with a goal-oriented and non-goal-oriented meaning, respectively. V2 in italics illustrate a cluster of reflexive instances of goal-oriented *gå och* V that seem to strengthen the subjective-pejorative meaning over time, possibly using the very frequent reflexive *lägga sig* 'lie down' (lit. lie oneself) as a structural template. Non-goal oriented constructions, including V2s such as *spatsera* 'walk/stroll', *sprätta* 'strut', and *tigga* 'beg', are often associated with a subjective overtone in Modern and Present-day Swedish as well.

Table 1. Top 15 V2s in the *gå och* V construction over time

Old Swedish		Early Modern Swedish		Late Modern Swedish			
1200–1500		1500–1800		1800–1860		1860–1900	
se 'see'	10 (9.90)	beta 'graze'	4 (3.92)	lägga sig 'lie down'	84 (5.85)	lägga sig 'lie down'	360 (6.40)
lägga sig 'lie down'	8 (7.92)	*hänga sig* 'hang oneself'	4 (3.92)	se 'see'	83 (5.78)	se 'see'	292 (5.19)
tala 'speak'	5 (4.95)	bereda 'prepare'	4 (3.92)	tigga 'beg'	47 (3.27)	bära 'bear in mind'	164 (2.91)
predika 'preach'	4 (3.96)	tjäna 'serve'	4 (3.92)	hämta 'fetch'	37 (2.59)	läsa 'study'	129 (2.29)
bedja 'pray'	4 (3.96)	spatsera 'stroll'	3 (2.94)	söka 'seek'	37 (2.59)	tänka 'think'	114 (2.02)
besöka 'visit'	3 (2.97)	tala 'speak'	3 (2.94)	vänta 'wait'	26 (1.81)	söka 'seek'	90 (1.60)
spatsera 'walk/stroll'	3 (2.97)	lägga sig 'lie down'	3 (2.94)	sälja 'sell'	26 (1.81)	höra 'hear'	67 (1.19)
kyssa 'kiss'	3 (2.97)	sprätta 'strut'	2 (1.96)	ta 'take'	25 (1.74)	*hänga sig* 'hang oneself'	67 (1.19)
hämta 'fetch'	2 (1.98)	bedja 'pray'	2 (1.96)	tala 'speak'	24 (1.67)	hämta 'fetch'	57 (1.01)
fråga 'ask'	2 (1.98)	vanka 'saunter'	2 (1.96)	spatsera 'stroll'	22 (1.53)	*dränka sig* 'drown oneself'	56 (0,99)
lyfta upp 'lift up'	2 (1.98)	fråga 'ask'	2 (1.96)	*hänga sig* 'hang oneself'	22 (1.53)	*inbilla sig* 'imagine'	56 (0,99)
svära (ed) 'swear (oath)'	2 (1.98)	hämta 'fetch'	2 (1.96)	beta 'graze'	20 (1.39)	köpa 'buy'	51 (0.90)
söka 'seek'	2 (1.98)	två 'wash'	2 (1.96)	sätta sig 'sit down'	20 (1.39)	tala 'speak'	51 (0.90)
säga 'say'	2 (1.98)	beklaga 'regret'	2 (1.96)	tänka 'think'	19 (1.32)	beta 'graze'	49 (0.87)
ta 'take'	2 (1.98)	skilja 'separate'	2 (1.96)	*dränka sig* 'drown oneself'	19 (1.32)	*förälska sig* 'fall in love'	47 (0.85)
	total: 101		total: 102		total: 1,435		total: 5,625

An interpretation in terms of item-based analogy is the most plausible analysis for the diachronic development sketched here (cf. Andersson & Blensenius 2018), that is "the process by which a speaker comes to use a novel item in a construction […] a novel item is gradient and based on the extent of similarity to prior uses of the construction (Bybee 2010: 57)." Over time, more and more V2s occupy the V2-slot based on form and meaning similarity with prior uses.[7]

In summary, we assume that the subjective overtone of *gå och* V construction can be traced back to an early motion use in pejorative contexts.

3.2   Study 2: Swedish *sitta* 'sit' *och* V

Posture verbs have been much discussed in relation to pseudocoordination as described in Section 2 above, but the subjective meaning has not been treated very much, certainly not for Swedish. In order to fill some of this descriptive gap, we search for subjective meaning with *sitta och* V in Old and Modern Swedish in 3.2.1, and in 3.2.2, Present-day Swedish is studied. In a diachronic study on Swedish, Hilpert & Koops (2008) shows that *sitta* in pseudocoordination changes its argument structure and increases in syntactic cohesion. Still, the verb *sitta* 'sit' are rather stable during time, including a backgrounded locative meaning, which suggest that the verb in pseudocoordination has the status of a light verb rather than an auxiliary. However, Hilpert & Koops (2008) do not focus on meaning potential of the *sitta och* V construction. In general, there are rather few instances with *sitta och* V in Old Swedish and a subjective meaning is not easily identified. In the search for a subjective meaning, we present the results of a preliminary study including the locatives *här* 'here' and *där* 'there'. The locatives are discussed in relation to a subjective, pejorative meaning in earlier studies (see Section 2.2).

3.2.1   *Old and Modern Swedish sitta* här/där *och* V

A search in the Old and Modern Swedish periods (based on the same material as study 1 in 3.1 above) shows that constructions with *sitta* 'sit' and *här*/*där* 'here/there' are associated with atelic V2s and the semantic fields of communication, perception and cognition. See Table 2.

One way of interpreting the results is that basic events facilitated by a general sitting posture are commonly associated with the verb *sitta* 'sit' over time. Note that several of the top V2s correspond to the ranking of V2s in Present-day Scandinavian, for example the communicative verbs V2s *prata* 'talk' and *läsa* 'read' and frequently used verbs of cognition and perception such as *se* 'see' and *vänta* 'wait'. Communicative events together with verbs of consumption, work and use of

---

7.   We follow Bybee (2013) in keeping type and token frequency separate.

Table 2. Top V2s in the construction *sitta här/där och* V 'sit here/there and V' in Old and Modern Swedish (1200–1900)

Search: ['*sit here/there* x* *and* V'] Total: 674 tokens		Search: ['*here/there sit* x *and* V'] Total: 191 tokens	
Top 10 V2s	**#**	**Top 10 V2s**	**#**
vänta 'wait'	37	*prata/tala* 'talk'	12
se 'see'	32	*läsa* 'read'	4
stirra 'stare'	13	*se* 'see'	4
skriva 'write'	12	*läsa* 'read'	4
läsa 'read'	12	*sova* 'sleep'	3
prata/tala 'talk'	11	*skriva* 'write'	3
höra 'hear'	10	*sova* 'sleep'	3
tänka 'think'	10	*gråta* 'cry'	2
spela 'play'	10	*vänta* 'wait'	2
gråta 'cry'	9	*le* 'smile'	2

* We searched for all possible spelling variants and all inflections ("lemgrams") of *sitta* + *och* + VERB, allowing up to one unrestricted word in between V1 *sitta* and *och*, represented by "x".

hand are commonly used together with *sit* regardless of the use of deictic pronouns (Kinn et al. 2018: paragraph 70) in Present-day Mainland Scandinavian.

In (11), we illustrate the only instance from Old Swedish referring to 'begging'.

(11) *O   qwinna hwat lim   hafwer thu mist aff thynom lykama mædhan thu*
Oh woman what limb have   you lost of your   body   while   you
siter her oc   thigger oc   födher *thik ey heldir thyno handa ærwodhe*
sit   here and beg   and feed   you not rather your hand work
'Oh woman, what limbs have you lost from your body when you are sitting here begging instead of earn your living by hand work'   (15th century)

In (11), the V2 *tigga* 'beg' is obviously more or less pejorative in itself, and it is not clear how the posture verb *sitta* contributes to this particular meaning. However, a situational locative meaning is straightforward as the woman spoken to is in a sitting position.

Example (12) shows two instances with *sitta här* 'sit here' and *sitta där* 'sit there', respectively, in Modern Swedish.

(12) a. *Hur länge behagar det frun   att* **sitta här och prata** *och hindra mig*
how long pleases it mam to sit   here and talk   and prevent me
ifrån att sofva   (19th century)
from to sleep
'How long does it please you, mam, to sit here talking, and prevent me from sleeping'

b. *Om det är en grefve som **sitter där** och kråmar sig!*
   if   it   is a   count REL sits there and prances REFL
   'It is certainly a count that sits there and prances about.'   (19th century)

These examples obviously have subjective (pejorative) meaning. The passivity associated with *sitta* 'sit' together with deictic adverbs referring to spatial location and an agentive subject in second and third person seem to support a subjective meaning.

3.2.2   *Present-day Swedish*

In an ongoing study of Present-day Swedish, we are able to include a large amount of dialogue material from discussion forums and Twitter. Using the same search strings as in the study above, in the same corpus tool, but instead using a much larger corpus of present-day newspaper texts (543.81 million tokens) and fiction (18.07 million tokens), together with a very large amount of texts produced in discussion forums and Twitter (9.6 billion tokens), we identified the following results:

Table 3. Top V2s in the construction *sitta här/där och** V 'sit here/there and V'

Search: ['*sit here/there* x *and* V'] Total: 17,980 tokens		Search: ['*here/there sit* x *and* V'] Total: 16,445 tokens	
Top V2s	**#**	**Top V2s**	**#**
skriva 'write'	4,305	*vara* 'be'	360
vara 'be'	4,183	*vänta* 'wait'	284
fundera 'ponder'	3,648	*ha* 'have'	249
vänta 'wait'	3,515	*fundera* 'ponder'	190
läsa 'read'	2,600	*äta* 'eat'	175
försöka 'try'	2,441	*skriva* 'write'	142
ha 'have'	2,051	*tro* 'think, believe'	116
gråta 'cry'	1,728	*försöka* 'try'	111
säga 'say'	1,589	*vänta* 'wait'	111
gnälla 'whine'	1,168**	*dricka* 'drink'	110

* The search also included the very informal variants of *och* 'and', namely *å* and *o*. Note that the infinitive marker *att* is not confused very often in posture-verb pseudocoordination in Present-day Swedish.
** All results in this column concern examples with the locative *här* 'here'.

This is of course a statistically rough search, but it gives a hint as to which verbs are frequently used as V2. As seen, only one V2 has a subjective (pejorative) touch: *gnälla* 'whine', and many verbs are frequent and with general lexical meaning, e.g. *vara* 'be' and *ha* 'have', which make them difficult to categorize without going into detail of every sentence. We can illustrate the problem with the most frequent V2 in the left-hand search, *skriva* 'write', which in isolation may look neutral. However, its complements may be of many different types, ranging from neutral (13a) to clearly

subjective and pejorative, seemingly in part depending on whether the (underlying) subject is the speaker (13a) or a second or third person (13b):

(13)   a.   ***Sitter här och skriver**   på lite   skolarbete*
             sit.PRS here and write.PRS on some schoolwork
             'Sitting here writing some homework'

       b.   *Tror du jag **sitter här och skriver** fel   med vilja?*
             think you I   sit.PRS here and write.PRS wrong with will
             'Do you think I am sitting here deliberately misspelling?'

So, one needs to investigate the complements and the rest of the context in detail, as in (13b), in order to receive a fuller picture of the subjective use. This is judged to be unfeasible in the present corpus study; subjectivity is often notoriously difficult to establish in each sentence, let alone tens of thousands of them.

The large amount of data allows us to include words in our search strings that presumably add more to the subjective content. Apart from *här/där*, the taboo words *fan* 'damn' and *helvete* 'hell' can be included in the position in front of the posture verb. Since there are very few tokens of this type, we can afford to present complete instances of constructions (base form represents all inflections, including e.g. the supine, which is part of the perfect tense, and the infinitive):

Table 4. Top strings in the construction *fan/helvete sitta* x *här/där och** V 'damn/hell sit x here/there and V'

Search: ['*damn/hell sit* x *here/there and* V'] Total: 205 tokens	
Top strings	**#**
helvete sitta du här och gnälla 'hell sit you here and whine'	7
fan sitta du här o skriva 'damn sit you here and write'	5
fan sitta du här och fråga 'damn sit you here and ask'	4
fan sitta jag där och spela 'damn sit I there and play'	4
fan sitta du där och böla 'damn sit you there and wail'	4
fan sitta du här och gnälla 'damn sit you here and whine'	4
fan sitta jag här och skryta 'damn sit I there and brag'	2
fan sitta där och se 'damn sit there and look'	2
fan sitta där och se ut 'damn sit there and look-like'	2
fan sitta jag här och surfa 'damn sit I here and surf'	2

* The search also included the very informal variants of *och* 'and', namely *å* and *o*.

Here we find more subjective V2s: apart from *gnälla* 'whine' (e.g. *Och varför i helvete sitter du här och gnäller?* 'And why the hell are you sitting here whining?') also *böla* 'wail' and *skryta* 'brag'. For now, these results will have to be viewed as suggestions for further research.

In summary, there is no clear indication in our material that *sitta och* V constructions came to develop a subjective meaning in terms of item-based analogy. This is possibly a result of the types of texts present in corpora of older Swedish, which generally lack dialogic texts. Also, we suggest that the subjective meaning is less related to the construction and more related to the meaning of the posture verb, together with the *här/där* 'here/there' and, in relevant cases, taboo words. In this case, the social/cultural meaning of comfortable, relaxed position associated with sitting (cf. Newman 2002: 2) may seem somewhat irritating to the listener in certain situations. Obviously, it is also the result of V2s with inherent negative connotation. It also seems to be related to the fact that the 'sitting' in V1 does not obviously facilitate the V2 event (see Kinn et al. 2018): there is no obvious relation between sitting and, for example, whining, at least not as obvious as between sitting and, say, eating dinner. This facilitation issue would benefit from further research.

4.   Summary and conclusions

The main aim of this article was to give an account of how common pseudocoordinations in Swedish may have come to develop a meaning of subjective evaluation, commonly pejorative-negative. Our data support the view that pseudocoordination with posture and motion verbs as V1s are associated with subjective meaning strengthened during time especially for the *gå* 'go/walk' *och* V-type. This is not to say that all pseudocoordinations are subjective (or that they cannot be associated with aspect at all). However, a number of constructions seem to have reinforced subjective meaning over time rather than express aspect.

Our proposal that subjective meanings are strongly associated with the construction itself due to common use in negative and pejorative contexts over time suggests a usage-based model to grammar (Goldberg 2006; Bybee 2010). As Bybee (2013) states, "In a model in which semantic representations contain only a core or abstract meaning and inferences are calculated on the fly in each context, there is no way for an implication/inference to stick to a construction." She proposes an exemplar-based model to constructions that could record inferences made in each instance of use, and gradually become conventionalized as part of the meaning (2013: 56). This proposal highlights the notion of pragmatic strengthening of the whole construction rather than semantic bleaching and grammaticalization of the motion and posture verbs included.

Our data suggest that the many subjective instances of *gå och* V from the 19th century are based on agentive constructions, such as the frequent reflexive instances including *lägga sig* 'lay.down REFL', *hänga sig* 'hang REFL', and *dränka sig* 'drown

REFL'. This supports a gradient development and usage-based view on the subjectification process rather than a more abrupt reanalysis of *gå* as suggested by Josefsson (2014). In sum, regarding *gå och* V, we argue for a more holistic model in terms of constructional change due to item-based analogy. As for the *sitta och* V, the picture is less clear (and there is no established alternative analysis). At the same time, we do believe that subjective meaning can be established through use in specific contexts, supported by both the meaning of the posture verb, deictic adverbs and the sometime inherently subjective meanings of V2s.

Like the fact that the posture verb is not necessarily more bleached in pseudocoordination than in general usage, the subjective meaning of pseudocoordination is not necessarily a feature of (present-day) pseudocoordination. Cf. Lemmens (2005: 209), who notes that Dutch *liggen* is strongly associated with inactivity and decay, for example in *Lig niet te zeuren!* (lit. *lie not to whine*). As seen in (14), subjective evaluation with 'sit' is evident outside pseudocoordination as well:

(14) *det är inte nyttigt att **bara sitta hemma** hela   dagarna*
       it   is not   healthy to just sit.INF at.home whole days.DEF
       'just sitting at home all day is not healthy'

The second verb, V2, also contributes to the subjective meaning of the sentence by often having negative connotations. The frequent use of *skvallra* 'gossip' is an example.

(15) *de   **skvallrar**   och snackar skit bakom min rygg*
       they gossip.PRS and talk.PRS shit behind my   back
       'they are gossiping and talking shit behind my back'

Combined with a V1 like 'sit', typically representing a comfortable position of the subject referent, the speaker's subjective judgment of the subject referent can indeed be accentuated due to some kind of meaning conflict between being in a comfortable position and at the same time doing something that the speaker evaluates as e.g. negative.

In future work, more attention should be given to the meaning or function of pseudocoordination in different situations, e.g. different genres. An idea could be that these constructions evoke different meaning potentials in different contexts (Norén & Linell 2007). To identify the variation and meaning potentials, we need more detailed analysis of pragmatical variables such as genre, text type, speech act, speaker involvement and much more.

Abbreviations in examples

PRS   present
PST   past
REFL   reflexive

References

Andersson, Peter & Blensenius, Kristian. 2018. Matches and mismatches in Swedish [*gå och* V] 'go/walk and V'. An exemplar-based perspective. *Constructions and Frames 10*(2), 147–177. https://doi.org/10.1075/cf.00017.and

Behrens, Bergljot, Flecken, Monique, & Carroll, Mary. 2013. Progressive Attraction: On the Use and Grammaticalization of Progressive Aspect in Dutch, Norwegian, and German. *Journal of Germanic Linguistics*, *25*(2), 95–136. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000020

Biberauer, Theresa. & Vikner, Sten. 2017. Having the edge: A new perspective on pseudo-coordination in Danish and Afrikaans. In Nicholas LaCara, Keir Moulton, & Anne-Michelle Tessier (Eds.), *A Schrift to Fest Kyle Johnson* (pp. 77–90). Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts.

Blensenius, Kristian. 2015. Progressive Constructions in Swedish. Diss. Gothenburg: University of Gothenburg.

Borin, Lars, Forsberg, Markus, & Roxendal, Johan. 2012. Korp – the corpus infrastructure of Språkbanken. *Proceedings of LREC 2012* (pp. 474–478). Istanbul: ELRA.

Breed, Adri. 2017. The subjective use of postural verb in Afrikaans. *Evolution from progressive to modal. Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics Plus*, *52*(1), 1–21.

Bybee, Joan. 2006. From Usage to Grammar: The Mind's Response to Repetition. *Language*, 82(4), 711–733.

Bybee, Joan. 2010. *Language, Usage and Cognition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511750526

Bybee, Joan. 2013. Usage-based theory and exemplar representations for constructions. In Thomas Hoffmann & Graeme Trousdale (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Construction Grammar* (pp. 49–69). Oxford. Oxford University Press.

Coseriu, Eugenio. 1966. "Tomo y me voy". Ein Problem vergleichender europäischer Syntax. *Vox Romanica*, *25*, 13–55.

Ebert, Karen H. 2000. Progressive markers in Germanic languages. In Östen Dahl (Ed.), *Tense and Aspect in the Languages of Europe* (pp. 605–653). Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Ekberg, Lena. 1993. Verbet *ta* i metaforisk och grammatikaliserad användning. *Språk och stil*, *3*, 105–139.

Fraser, Katherine. 2018. Polysemous posture in English: a case study of non-literal meaning. In Alexandra Anna Spalek & Matthew Gotham (Eds.), *Approaches to Coercion and Polysemy, Oslo Studies in Language*, *10*(*2*), 9–28.

Goldberg, Adele. 2006. *Constructions at Work. The Nature of Generalization in Language*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Henriksson, Henrik. 2006. *Aspektualität ohne Aspekt? Progressivität und Imperfektivität im Deutschen und Schwedischen*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.

Hesse, Andrea. 2009. *Zur Grammatikalisierung der Pseudokoordination im Norwegischen und in den anderen skandinavischen Sprachen*. Tübingen & Basel: A. Francke Verlag.

Hilpert, Martin & Christian Koops. 2008. A quantitative approach to the development of complex predicates. *Diachronica*, *25*, 240–259. https://doi.org/10.1075/dia.25.2.06hil

Holm, Gösta. 1958. *Syntaxgeografiska studier över två nordiska verb*. Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, Institutionen för nordiska språk.

Hultman, Tor G. 2003. *Svenska Akademiens språklära*. Stockholm: Svenska Akademien.

Johansson, Bengt. 1987. Att uttrycka progressiv aspekt. *Diverse: Vänskrift till Bertel Fortelius 3.8.1987* (pp. 37–49). Åbo: Åbo Akademi.

Josefsson, Gunlög. 2014. Pseudocoordination in Swedish with *gå* 'go' and the "surprise effect". *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax*, *93*, 26–50.

Kinn, Torodd. 2018. Pseudocoordination in Norwegian. Degrees of grammaticalization and constructional variants. In Coussé, P. Andersson, & J. Olofsson (Eds.), *Grammaticalization meets construction grammar* (pp. 75–106). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/cal.21.c4

Kinn, Torodd, Blensenius, K., & Andersson, P. 2018. Posture, location, and activity in Mainland Scandinavian pseudocoordinations. *CogniTextes*, *18* (Online: https://journals.openedition.org/cognitextes/1158) https://doi.org/10.4000/cognitextes.1158

Kvist Darnell, Ulrika. 2008. *Pseudosamordningar i svenska. Särskilt sådana med verben* sitta, ligga *och* stå. Diss. Stockholm: Stockholm University.

Lemmens, Maarten. 2005. Aspectual posture verb constructions. *Dutch Journal of Germanic Linguistics*, *17*(3), 183–217. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542705000073

Lødrup, Helge. 2019. Pseudocoordination with posture verbs in Mainland Scandinavian: A grammaticalized progressive construction? *Nordic Journal of Linguistics*, *42*, 87–110. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0332586519000027

Michaelis, Laura A. 2004. Type shifting in construction grammar: An integrated approach to aspectual coercion. *Cognitive Linguistics*, *15*(1), 1–67. https://doi.org/10.1515/cogl.2004.001

Newman, John. 2002. A cross-linguistic overview of the posture verbs 'sit', 'stand', and 'lie'. In John Newman (Ed.), *The Linguistics of Sitting, Standing and Lying* (pp. 1–24). Amsterdam: Benjamin. https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.51.02new

Norén, Kerstin & Linell, Per. 2007. Meaning potentials and the interaction between lexis and grammar. Some empirical substantiations. *Pragmatics*, *17*, 387–416. https://doi.org/10.1075/prag.17.3.03nor

Ross, Daniel. 2016. Going to surprise: the grammaticalization of itive as mirative. In Jacek Woźny (Ed.), *Online Proceedings of Cognitive Linguistics Wrocław Web Conference 2016*. (Online: https://sites.google.com/site/coglingwroc2/a-z-full-papers)

SAG = Teleman, Ulf, Hellberg, Staffan & Andersson, Erik. 1999. *Svenska Akademiens grammatik*. Vol. 1–4. Stockholm: Norstedts ordbok.

SAOB = *Ordbok över svenska språket utgiven av Svenska Akademien*. Lund 1897–. (In addition to the online version: saob.se.)

Tonne, Ingebjørg. 2001. *Progressives in Norwegian and the Theory of Aspectuality*. Oslo: University of Oslo.

Vannebo, Kjell Ivar. 2003. Ta og ro deg ned noen hakk: on pseudocoordination with the verb *ta* 'take' in a grammaticalization perspective. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics*, *26*, 165–193. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0332586503001070

Wiklund, Anna-Lena. 2009. The Syntax of Surprise: Unexpected event readings in complex predication. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax*, *84*, 181–224.

Pseudo-coordination, pseudo-subordination, and para-hypotaxis

A perspective from Semitic linguistics

Lutz Edzard

University of Erlangen-Nürnberg

The phenomena of pseudo-coordination and, to a lesser degree, pseudo-subordination have been recognized to play an important role in Semitics linguistics, notably in the realm of converb (gerund) and serial verb constructions, albeit under different scholarly labeling. As the distinction between coordinated (paratactic) and subordinated (hypotactic) structures is often blurred in this context, this paper additionally refers to the concept of "para-hypotaxis". As will be shown, this choice of terminology, further elaborating on a basic model proposed by Yuasa and Sadock (2002: 91), is useful to describe an analyze a number of phenomena in the domain of complex predicates, in both ancient and modern Semitic languages.

Keywords: asyndetic, converb, infinitive, para-hypotaxis, posture verb, serial-verb construction, syndetic

1. Introduction

With respect to Semitic data, the phenomena of pseudo-coordination and, to a lesser degree, pseudo-subordination have received attention implicitly in the realm of converb (gerund) and serial verb constructions (cf., e.g., Woidich 2002; Versteegh 2009; Edzard 2014; Johannessen and Edzard 2015; cf. also, e.g., Ross 2016: 211 and Ross 2018); at least within Semitic linguistics, there is no general agreement on terminology. As a point of departure, here is a basic Boolean scheme that illustrates the relation of syntax and semantics in the different types of coordination and subordination (1):

(1) Scheme   (Yuasa and Sadock 2002: 91)

Name	Syntax	Semantics
Simple coordination	Coordinate	Coordinate
Pseudo-coordination	Coordinate	Subordinate
Simple subordination	Subordinate	Subordinate
Pseudo-subordination	Subordinate	Coordinate

Yuasa and Sadock illustrate this model with examples of Yiddish nominal (pseudo-) coordination and (pseudo-)subordination, as reflected by different agreement patterns. While their typology also captures many instances of verbal (pseudo-) coordination and (pseudo-)subordination, there are cases that do not match that elementary Boolean scenario. For one thing, the situation in the verbal verbal realm is blurred by the fact that conjoined verbal phrases exist with and without intervening conjunctions. Furthermore, the distinction (often enough relying on a European language intuition) between coordination and subordination is not a trivial matter. Conditional sentences, for instance, which intuitively are analyzed as consisting of a subordinated (hypotactic) protasis and an apodosis (main clause) can surface as paratactic, (pseudo-)coordinated structures in various languages and language registers, e.g., *you touch my car, I break your face* 'if you touch my car, (then) I will break your face' (a well-known bumpersticker in New York City) (cf., e.g., Edzard 2012).

Before turning to the core topic of this paper, the different types of coordination of finite and non-finite verb forms, typical examples of pseudo-coordination in Semitic will be briefly reviewed. We start out with cases of pseudo-coordination, i.e. cases, where, in spite of the coordinating syntax, subordination obtains on the semantic level. Typically, such constructions involve verbs as first constituents, which are semantically reduced (or bleached). Syndetic constructions with a posture verb are not unusual in both older and more recent language varieties of Semitic. The first verb can even be morphologically reduced/grammaticalized to a verbal modifier. In (2), representing Levantine Arabic, the posture verb *qaʿdat* 'she sat' is semantically bleached (reduced) or, if one so pleases, grammaticalized (on this construction, cf. Fischer 2002).

(2)   Pseudo-coordination with a posture verb in Levantine Arabic

(cf. Ross 2016: 211)

qaʿdat   wa-katbat
sit.PF.3SG.F and-write.PF.3SG.F
'She was writing …'

A Biblical-Aramaic example of pseudo-coordination with a posture verb, here *qām* 'to arise', is the following (3):

(3)   Pseudo-coordination with a posture verb in Biblical Aramaic

(cf. Andrason and Koo 2020: 10 ; Andrason 2019)

bēḏayin qāmū   zərubbāʾel bar-šəʾaltīʾēl   wə-yēšūaʿ   bar-yōṣāḏāq
then   rise.PF.3PL PN   son.CS-PN   and-PN   son.CS-PN
wə-šārīw   lə-miḇnē(ʾ) bēṯ   ʾĕlāhā dī b-īrūšlem
and-begin.PF.3PL to-build.INF house.CS God   REL in-Jerusalem
'Then Zerubbael the son of Shealtiel and Jeshua the son of Jozadaq arose and began to build the house of God, which [is] in Jerusalem.'   (Ezra 5:2)

Syndetic constructions with motion verbs occur as well; these are typologically close to the following type represented in (5) and (6). Here is an example of pseudo-coordination with a motion verb, *ʾaqdämku* 'I preceded', which is best rendered by an adverb (4).

(4) Pseudo-coordination with a motion verb   (cf. Rubin 2005: 33)
     ʾaqdämku   wa-nägärku-kəmu
     precede.PF.1SG and-tell.PF.1SG-2PL.M
     'I told you beforehand.'   (1 Thess 3:4) (Gəʿəz)

Closely related to the previous type are constructions, which in the Semiticist tradition sometimes are subsumed under serial verb constructions, even though a categorization as complex predicates or "verbal hendiadys" may be more appropriate. Again, the first semantically bleached or grammaticalized verb may again be best rendered by an adverb. The prototypical case here is to do something again, as expressed by the verb forms *way-yōsēp* 'and he added' and *atūr* 'I returned' in Biblical Hebrew and Akkadian, respectively, as in the following two Examples (5) and (6):

(5) Syndetic serial-verb constructions in Biblical Hebrew
     way-yōsēp   ʾaḇrāhām way-yiqqaḥ   ʾiššā(h)
     and-add.PRET.3SG.M Abraham and-take.PRET.3SG.M wife
     'And Abraham took once again a wife.'   (Gen. 25:1)

(6) Syndetic serial-verb constructions in Akkadian   (cf. Huehnergard 2005: 125)
     atūr-ma   wardam ana bēli-ya   aṭrud
     return.PRET.1SG-and slave.ACC to   lord.GEN-1SG send.PRET.1SG
     'I sent the slave to my lord again.'

Comparable asyndetic constructions occur both in Classical Arabic and in more recent colloquial registers of Arabic. Next to the already encountered verb *rigiʿ* 'he returned' one notably finds the ingressive verb *qāmū* 'they began', as in the following two Examples (7) and (8):

(7) Asyndetic serial-verb construction in Middle Arabic (cf. Versteegh 2009: 196)
     qāmū   taqātalū
     get_up.PF.3PL.M fight.PF.3PL.M
     'They began to fight with each other.'

(8) Asyndetic serial-verb construction in Cairene Arabic (cf. Woidich 2002: 128)
     rigiʿ   hirib   tāni
     return.PF.3SG.M flee.PF.3SG.M second.time
     'He fled a second time.'

2.   Syntactic coordination of finite and non-finite verb forms

In the following, I will turn the attention to conjoined verbal phrases containing both a finite and a non-finite verb form (not necessarily in that order), with a focus on Semitic. A *priori*, the structures to be investigated are syntactically coordinated, while their semantic may be either coordinated or subordinated. Borderline cases exist, too, hence the denomination "para-hypotaxis" (here due to Daniel Ross, written communication; cf. Bertinetto and Ciucci 2012), a terminological reflection of the hybrid scenario. At any rate, these constructions are clearly distinct from cases of pseudo-coordination consisting of two finite verbs (sometimes labeled "verbal hendiadys" in traditional Semitic studies, see above).

   The starting point of our syntactic and semantic discussion of cases of pseudo-coordination and pseudo-subordination is the following (cf. Johannessen and Edzard 2015): On the surface, one finds a typologically fascinating parallel between a case of pseudo-coordination in Norwegian, consisting of a finite verb form coordinated with an infinitive, and a syntactically comparable case of pseudo-subordination in a number of older Semitic languages and – typologically – even beyond (e.g., in the Bantu language Swahili). In honor of Janne, the Norwegian example is introduced first (9):

(9)   Pseudo-coordination in Norwegian (finite verb form joined with an infinitive)
   De   ble   stående   og   vente
   they become.PRET stand.PRS.PART and wait.INF
   'They remained standing, waiting.'   (cf. Lødrup 2002: 138)

Aside from the second verb being in the non-finitive form, Example (9) represents a canonical case of pseudo-coordination, insofar as syntactic coordination is matched by semantic subordination. "Waiting" is conceptually subordinated to "remain standing" (i.e. they stood inorder to or in the process of waiting).[1]

   In Biblical Hebrew, a comparable structure is occasionally attested as well (cf., notably, Rubinstein 1952 and Morrison 2013). However, as already mentioned above, the term "pseudo-coordination" (and Yuasa and Sadock' scheme) meets its limitations here, as one – as a rule – does not encounter semantic subordination of the non-finite verb form. Therefore, the concept of "para-hypotaxis" makes sense in this context. (In an earlier attempt to categorize these examples I also had pondered the concept of "pseudo-subordination" here, but in view of the intervening coordinating conjunction I now opt for the suggested term para-hypotaxis.) The paratactic (coordinating) aspect in the following constructions is reflected by the

---

1.   For the analysis of further cases of pseudo-coordination in Scandinavian languages cf. also Lødrup 2014 and Gjersøe 2016. A fundamental analysis of infinitivals in in general was performed by Wiklund (2007).

coordinated syntax and semantics of the verbs (sowing and harvesting in (10), revealing and choosing in (11), fasting and mourning in (12)), the hypotactic (sub-ordinating) aspect is reflected by the circumstance that the second verb appears in a form usually reserved for subordinated actions (10) – (12):

(10) Para-hypotaxis in Biblical Hebrew (finite verb form joined with a semantically coordinated infinitive)

zəra'tem   harbē(h) wə-hāḇē(')   mə'āṭ
sow.PF.2PL.M much   and-harvest.INF.ABS little
'You have sown much but harvested little.' (Hag 1:6) (cf. Morrison 2013: 267)

(11) Para-hypotaxis in Biblical Hebrew (finite verb form joined with a semantically coordinated infinitive)

hă-niḡlō   niḡlēṯī   'el bēṯ   'āḇī-ḵā
INT-be_revealed.INF.ABS be_revealed.PF.1SG to house.CS father.CS-2SG.M
bi-hyōṯ-ām   bə-miṣrayim lə-ḇēṯ   par'ō(h)
in-be.INF.CS-3PL.M in-Egypt   for-house.CS Pharaoh
ū-ḇāḥōr   'ōṯ-ō   mik-kol šiḇṭē   yiśrā'ēl …
CONJ-choose.INF.ABS OBJ-3SG.M from-all tribe.PL.CS Israel …
'Did I not clearly reveal myself to your ancestor's family when they were in Egypt under Pharaoh? And did I not choose him from all the tribes of Israel …'   (1 Sam 2:27–28) (cf. Morrison 2013: 267)

(12) Para-hypotaxis in Biblical Hebrew (finite verb form joined with a semantically coordinated infinitive)

kī   ṣamtem   wə-sāp̄ōḏ
CONJ fast.PF.2PL.M and-mourn.INF.ABS
'When you fastened and mourned'.   (Zech 7:5) (cf. Morrison 2013: 267)

Importantly, the first finite verb form can also be imperfective, as in the following two examples. Again, the paratactic (coordinating) element in the following con-structions is reflected by the coordinated syntax and semantics of the verbs (buying and selling in (13), searching and giving in (14)):

(13) Para-hypotaxis in Biblical Hebrew (finite verb form joined with a semantically coordinated infinitive)

wə-ḵī-timkərū   mimkār la-'ămīṯe-ḵā   'ō qānō(h)
and-CONJ-buy.IPF.2PL.M sale   for-fellow.CS-2SG.M or buy.INF.ABS
miy-yaḏ   'ămīṯe-kā   'al   tōnū   'īš
from-hand.CS fellow.CS-2SG.M NEG.PROH oppress.IPFV.2PL.M man
'eṯ-'āḥī-w
ACC-brother.CS-3SG.M
'And if you sell anything to your neighbour, or buy of your neighbour's hand, you shall not wrong one another.'
                                        (Lev 25:14) (cf. Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 596)

(14) Para-hypotaxis in Biblical Hebrew (finite verb form joined with a semantically coordinated infinitive)

yəḇaqšū   la-meleḵ   nəʿārōṯ   bəṯūlōṯ
search.JUSS.3PL.M for.DEF-king young_woman.PL virgin.PL
wə-nāṯōn   tamrūqē-hɛn
and-give.INF.ABS ointment.PL.CS-3PL.F

'Let there be sought (lit. "let them seek") for the king young virgins fair to look on […] and let their ointments be given to them.'

(Est 2:2–3) (cf. Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 596)

The following examples representing Northwest-Semitic, Central Semitic, and South Semitic likewise illustrate the categorization "para-hypotaxis" introduced above. Again, while an infinitive usually marks a semantically subordinated event, in the following examples the events mostly occur on the same coordinated level. A possible explanation – and this holds for the previous Biblical Hebrew examples as well – may be that once the tense/aspect of the first event is firmly established by a finite verb form the relevant morphological information can be "economized" in a subsequent verb form, leaving just a bare infinitive (or verbal noun). Here are examples in the languages Phoenician, Safaitic (old Northern Arabic), and Sabaic, (15)–(18):

(15) Para-hypotaxis in Phoenician   (cf. Hackett 2013)
      (finite verb form joined with a semantically coordinated infinitive)
      wa-šibbirtī/šabartī milīṣīm   wa-taroq   ʾanokī kull ha-raʿ
      and-break.PF.1SG villain.PL and-uproot.INF 1SG   all   DEF-evil
      'And I shattered the villains and uprooted all the evil.'

(16) Para-hypotaxis in Safaitic   (cf. Al-Jallad 2015: 182)
      (finite verb form joined with a semantically coordinated infinitive)
      rʿy   h-rmḫ   bql   w   kmʾt
      pasture.PF.3SG.M DEF-camel.COL herbage and gather_truffles.INF
      'He pastured the camels on spring herbage and gathered truffles.'

(17) Para-hypotaxis in Safaitic   (cf. Al-Jallad 2015: 182)
      (finite verb form joined with a semantically coordinated infinitive)
      w   wrd   f   nyt   (b-)ʾmtn
      and go_to_water.PF.3SG.M and migrate.INF (in-)Libra
      'And he went to the water, and then migrated when the sun was in Libra.'

(18) Para-hypotaxis in Sabaic   (cf. Nebes 1988: 54)
      (finite verb form joined with a semantically coordinated infinitive)
      w-yʾttmw   w-tqdm   w-rtḍḥn
      and-regroup.PRET.3PL.M and-advance.INF and-engage_in_battle.INF
      'And they [the Sabeans] regrouped, came to a confrontation, and joined in battle.'

In part of these examples, (15) and (16), the events occur strictly on the same level. In the other examples, the final event (expressed by an infinitive) is indeed the end of a chain of actions, without, however, reflecting subordination, e.g., as a final consequence of the previous events. Therefore, the labeling "para-hypotaxis" is justified.

3. Typological considerations

The previous examples match the scenario described by Mauri (2017) as "clause chaining", i.e. "a clause-linking strategy which stands in between coordination and subordination, combining the lack of embeddedness of the former with the dependence of the latter" (Mauri 2017: 274). Structures involving converbs are attested in several branches of Afroasiatic, Semitic, Berber, Cushitic, and Omotic (on this point, see below). In the light of widespread grammatical convergence, it is thus no surprise to encounter para-hypotactic structures also in Niger-Congo languages such as Swahili, where the phenomenon has been investigated, notably by Schadeberg (2010) as well as Riedel and de Vos (2017).

Again, the events in most of the following examples are generally occurring on the same level, reading and writing in (19), drying out and getting damaged in (20), visiting and giving advice (21), leaving and going (22), as well as going in and sitting (down) (23). In (24), however, one may recognize a certain similarity to the Norwegian Example (9), waiting being somewhat subordinate to sitting down. In Examples (22) – (24) (cf. Schadeberg 2010: 111, 113), noun class 15 marks the infinitive:

(19) Para-hypotaxis in Swahili   (cf. Erickson and Gustafsson 1984)
      (finite verb form joined with a semantically coordinated infinitive)
      wa-na-andika na   ku-soma
      3PL-PRS-write and INF-read
      'They write and read.'

(20) Para-hypotaxis in Swahili   (cf. Erickson and Gustafsson 1984)
      (finite verb form joined with a semantically coordinated infinitive)
      mi-mea   i-me-kauka   na   ku-haribika
      NC4-plant NC4-PF-dry_out and INF-get_damaged
      'The plants are dried out and got damaged.'

(21) Para-hypotaxis in Swahili   (cf. Erickson and Gustafsson 1984)
      (finite verb form joined with a semantically coordinated infinitive)
      A-na-tu-tembelea ma-shamba-ni na   ku-tu-shauri
      3SG-PRS-1PL visit NC6-field-LOC and INF-1PL-give_advice
      'He visited us on the fields and gave us advice.'

(22) Para-hypotaxis in Swahili   (cf. Schadeberg 2010: 111)
      (finite verb form joined with a semantically coordinated infinitive)
      Choso mara   moja   a-li-toka   ofisi-ni   kw-ake
      Choso NC9.instance NC9.one SM.NC1-PST-exit office-LOC NC17-POSS.NC1
      na   kw-edna kw-a   m-kubwa w-ake   w-a   kazi
      and NC15-go NC17-CON NC1-big NC1-POSS.NC1 NC1-CON work
      'Choso at once left his office and went to his boss.'

(23) Para-hypotaxis in Swahili   (cf. Schadeberg 2010: 113)
      (finite verb form joined with a semantically coordinated infinitive)
      A-ka-ingia   na   ku-keti juu   y-a   ki-ti …
      SM.NC1-SUBS-enter and NC15-sit above NC9-CON NC17-chair
      'He went in and sat on the chair …'

(24) Para-hypotaxis in Swahili   (cf. Schadeberg 2010: 113)
      (finite verb form joined with a semantically coordinated infinitive
      A-li-rudi   nyumba-ni   mw-ake   a-ka-kaa   na
      SM.NC1-PST-return NC9.house-LOC NC18-POSS.NC1 SM.NC1-SUBS-sit and
      ku-ngojea habari   zi-ji-lete   z-enyewe
      NC15-wait NC10.news SM.NC10-REFL-bring.OPT NC10-self
      'He returned into his house, sat (down) and waited for the news to bring itself.'

Non-finite verbal elements do not only comprise infinitives and verbal nouns *per se*, but also converbs. Where attested in Semitic and wider Afroasiatic, converbs can either occur in a fixed form or with person affixes agreeing with the subsequent finite verb forms. The phenomenon is in no way restricted to Afroasiatic, but occurs, e.g., also in Turkish (cf. Johanson 1995). There are different theories about the emergence of converbs in Semitic, either invoking a special type of suffix conjugation or a sort of inflected infinitive (cf., e.g., Edzard 2014). Contrary to the infinitives in the examples above, converbs as a rule asyndetically precede co-occurring finite verb forms. As a rule, the action expressed by the converb is a pre-condition for the action expressed by the main finite verb, but the two actions can also temporally overlap, much in the way that the actions expressed by complex predicates do (cf., e.g., Meyer 2012). Relevant Amharic examples of such a type of syntactic and semantic subordination are (25) and (26):

(25) Asyndetic converb construction in Amharic
      gäbto   täqämmäṭä
      come_in.CVB.3SG.M sit_down.PF.3SG.M
      'he came in and sat down' ("[he] coming in he sat down")

(26) Asyndetic converb construction in Amharic
      ləǧ-u   roṭo   gäbba
      child-DEF run.CVB.3SG.M come_in.PF.3SG.M
      'the boy came in running' ("the boy [he] running he came")

More relevant, however, for the present discussion are constructions, in which a converb-like form syndetically (i.e. with a conjunction) precedes a finite verb form. In the following two examples, two converb-like constructions *ka-hărīm-ī* 'as my lifting' (Biblical Hebrew) and *pʾl ʾnk* 'my making' (Phoenician), i.e. infinitives followed by either an enclitic pronominal suffix or an independent pronoun (as stated above, this is one of the theories regarding the underlying structure of converbs in a Semitic perspective) are followed by a finite verb (cf. also Lipiński 2010). As the semantics of the resulting constructions are more of a subordinating character, while the syntax is basically coordinating, a categorization as pseudo-subordination is possible in principle. A categorization as "para-hypotaxis", in line with the analysis of the finite verb forms plus infinitive construction, seems equally possible. Here are the two Biblical Hebrew and Phoenician Examples (27) and (28):

(27) Syndetic converb(-like) / para-hypotactic construction in Biblical Hebrew
(cf. Lipiński 2001: 427)

wa-yhī	*ka-hărīm-ī*	*qōl-ī*	*wā-ʾeqrāʾ*
and-be.PRET.3SG.M	as-lift.INF-1SG	voice-1SG	and-cry.PRET.1SG

'Lifting up my voice I cried.' (Gen 39:18)

(28) Syndetic converb(-like) / para-hypotactic construction in Phoenician
(cf. Lipiński 2001: 427)

pʾl	*ʾnk*	…	*l-rbt-y*	…	*w-šmʿ*	*ql*
make.INF	I	…	to-lady-1SG	…	and-hear.PF.3SG.F	voice(-1SG)

'I having made (this) … for my Lady …, she heard my voice.'

4. Conclusion

In summary, Yuasa and Sadock's (2002) modular syntax and semantics model is a useful point of departure, but not an exhaustive model for the analysis of the intricacies that can be observed in Semitic. On the one hand, syndetic and asyndetic structures coexist that blur the distinction between complex predicates (or verbal hendiadys) and regular coordination. One the other hand, the basic patterns of coordination (parataxis) and subordination (hypotaxis) are blurred in that not only syntactically coordinated structures with subordinate semantics (pseudo-coordination) and syntactically subordinated structures with coordinated semantics (pseudo-subordination) exist, but also semantically coordinated structures with a hybrid syntax between coordination and subordination, to wit syndetic coordination of finite verb forms with infinitives or converb-like forms with finite verb forms. The latter structures can be labeled "para-hypotaxis in a meaningful way. At any rate, the theoretical discussion involving the concepts of pseudo-coordination and pseudo-subordination greatly enhances the analysis of the formally hybrid Semitic data discussed in this paper.

Acknowledgements

This paper is dedicated to the memory of Janne Bondi Johannessen, one of whose special fields was the formal analysis of coordination (Johannessen 1996, 1998), and with whom the present author co-wrote a related article in 2015. Her input to this new paper is gratefully acknowledged, but as Janne, due to her untimely death, unfortunately had no opportunity to react to the reviewers' comments, the present author, while focusing uniquely on the Semitic material, has to assume sole responsibility for the content.

Abbeviations

ABS	absolute	M	masculine
ACC	accusative	NC	noun class
COL	collective	NEG	negator/negative
CON	connexive (genitive linker)	OBJ	object
CONJ	conjunction	PF	perfect(ive)
CS	construct	PL	plural
CVB	converb	POSS	possessive
DEF	definite	PRET	preterite
F	feminine	PRS	present tense
GEN	genitive	PST	past tense
INF	infinitive	REL	relative
INT	interrogative	SG	singular
IPFV	imperfective	SM	subject marker
JUSS	jussive	SUBS	subsecutive tense marker
LOC	locative		

References

Al-Jallad, Ahmad. 2015. *An Outline of the Grammar of the Safaitic Inscriptions*. Leiden: Brill. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004289826

Andrason, Alexandar. 2019. "Categorial gradience and fuzziness – The QWM gram (Serial Verb Construction) in Biblical Hebrew." In: Gideon R. Kotzé, Christian Locatell, and John Messarra (eds.). *Ancient Texts and Modern Readers: Studies in Ancient Hebrew Linguistics and Bible Translation*, 100–126. Leiden: Brill.

Andrason, Alexander, and Bonsam Koo. 2020. "Verbal serialization in Biblical Aramaic." *Altorientalisch Forschungen* 47 (1): 3–33. https://doi.org/10.1515/aofo-2020-0001

Bertinetto, Pier Marco and Ciucci, Luca. 2012. Parataxis, Hypotaxis and Para-Hypotaxis in the Zamucoan Languages. *Linguistic Discovery* 10(1): 89–111.<doi:10.1349/PS1.1537-0852.A.404>

Edzard, Lutz. 2012. "The hypotaxis-parataxis dichotomy and elliptic conditional clauses in Semitic." In: Rebecca Hasselbach und Naʿama Pat-El (eds.). *Language and Nature. Papers Presented to John Huehnergard on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday*, 13–25. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

Edzard, Lutz. 2014. "The finite–infinite dichotomy in a comparative Semitic perspective." In: Azeb Amha, Ronny Meyer, and Yvonne Treis (eds.). *Explorations in Ethiopian Linguistics: Complex Predicates, Finiteness and Interrogativity*, 205–223. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Erickson, Helen and Marianne Gustafsson. 1984. *Umoja ni Nguvu*. Uppsala: Church of Sweden Mission.

Fischer, Wolfdietrich. 2002. "Unterordnende und nebenordnende Verbalkomposita in den neu-arabischen Dialekten und im Schriftarabischen." In: Werner Arnold and Harmut Bobzin (eds.). "*Sprich doch mit deinen Knechten aramäisch, wir verstehen es!" 60 Beiträge zur Semitistik. Festschrift für Otto Jastrow zum 60*. Geburtstag, 147–163. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Gjersøe, Siri. 2016. "Sharing properties of pseudo-coordination in Norwegian." In: Katja Barnickel, Matías Guzmán Naranjo, Johannes Hein, Sampson Korsah, Andrew Murphy, Ludger Paschen, Zorica Puškar, and Joanna Zaleska (eds.). *Replicative Processes in Grammar*, 351–376. Universität Leipzig: Institut für Linguistik.

Hackett, Jo Ann. 2013. Presentation on Phoenician inscriptions at the University of Oslo, May 24, 2013.

Huehnergard, John. 2005. *A Grammar of Akkadian*, 2nd edition. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

Johannessen, Janne Bondi. 1996. "Partial agreement and coordination. Remarks and Replies." *Linguistic Inquiry* 27: 661–676.

Johannessen, Janne Bondi. 1998. *Coordination*. Oxford University Press, New York, Oxford.

Johannessen, Janne Bondi, and Lutz Edzard. 2015. "Coordinated clause structures in Scandinavian and Semitic involving a finite verb form and an infinitive." In: Lutz Edzard (ed.). *Arabic and Semitic Linguistics Contextualized. A Festschrift for Jan Retsö*, 486–505. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvc2rmgq.30

Johanson, Lars. 1995. "On Turkic converb clauses." In: Martin Haspelmath and Ekkehard König (eds.). *Converbs in Cross-Linguistic Perspective. Structure and Meaning of Adverbial Verb Forms – Adverbial Participles, Gerunds*, 313–347. Berlin: de Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110884463-010

Lipiński, Edward. 2001 (2nd ed.). *Semitic Languages. Outline of a Comparative Grammar*. Leuven: Peeters.

Lipiński, Edward. 2010. "Le gérondif en phénicien." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 55/1: 1–10. https://doi.org/10.1093/jss/fgp033

Lødrup, Helge. 2002. "The syntactic structures of Norwegian pseudocoordinations." *Studia Linguistica* 56/2: 121–143. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9582.00090

Lødrup, Helge. 2014. "There is no reanalysis in Norwegian pseudocoordinations (except when there is)." In: Hans Petter Helland and Christine Meklenborg Salvesen (eds.). *Affaire(s) de grammaire*, 43–65. Oslo: Novus Press.

Mauri, Simone. 2017. "Clause chaining across the Sahara." in: Ilaria Micheli (ed.). *Cultural and Linguistic Transition Explored: Proceedings of the ATrA Closing Workshop: Trieste, May 25–26, 2016*, 274–290. Trieste: Edizioni Università de Trieste.

Meyer, Ronny. 2012. "The converb in Amharic." In: Domenyk Eades (ed.). *Grammaticalization in Semitic*, 165–191. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Morrison, Craig E. 2013. "Infinitive: Biblical Hebrew." In: Geoffrey Khan (ed.). *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*, Volume 2: G–O, 266–269. Leiden: Brill.

Nebes, Norbert. 1987. "Zur Konstruktion von Subjekt und Objekt abhängiger Infinitive im Sabäischen." In: Christian Robin and Muḥammad Bafāqīh (eds.). *Ṣayhadica – Recherches sur les inscriptions de l'Arabie préislamique offertes par ses collègues au Professeur A.F.L. Beeston*, 75–98. Paris: Geuthner.

Nebes, Norbert. 1988. "The infinitive in Sabaean and Qatabanian inscriptions." *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 18: 63–78.

Riedel, Christina, and Mark de Vos. 2017. "Swahili coordinated infinitives and non-canonical case-marking." *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 38/2: 265–288. https://doi.org/10.1515/jall-2017-0012

Ross, Daniel. 2016. "Between coordination and subordination: typological, structural and diachronic perspectives on pseudocoordination." In: Fernanda Pratas, Sandra Pereira, Clara Pinto (eds.). *Coordination and Subordination: Form and Meaning – Selected Papers from CSI Lisbon 2014*, 209–243. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Ross, Daniel. 2018. "An Afroasiatic perspective on the definition of Serial Verb Constructions." Poster at the 46th North Atlantic Conference on Afroasiatic Linguistics. California State University, Long Beach, CA.

Rubin, Aaron D. 2005. *Studies in Semitic Grammaticalization*. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004370029

Rubinstein, Arie. 1952. "A finite verb continued by an infinitive absolute in Hebrew." *Vetus Testamentum* 2: 362–367. https://doi.org/10.1163/156853352X00471

Schadeberg, Thilo. 2010. "Conjoint infinitive clauses in Swahili." In: Franck Floricic (ed.). *Essais de typologie et de linguistique generale. Mélanges offerts à Denis Creissels*, 107–118. Lyon: ENS éditions.

Versteegh, Kees. 2009. "Serial verbs." In: Kees Versteegh (ed.). *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, Volume IV. Q–Z, 195–199. Leiden: Brill.

Waltke, Bruce K., and Michael P. O'Connor. 1990. *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*. Winona Lake Eisenbrauns.

Wiklund, Anna-Lena. 2007. *The Syntax of Tenselessness Tense/Mood/Aspect-agreeing Infinitivals*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110197839

Woidich, Manfred. 2002. "Verbalphrasen im asyndetischen Perfekt im Ägyptisch- Arabischen." *Estudios de Dialectologia Norteafrocana y Andalusí* 6: 121–192.

Yuasa, Etsuyo, and Jerry M. Sadock. 2002. "Pseudo-subordination: a mismatch between syntax and semantics." *Journal of Linguistics* 38: 87–111. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022226701001256

Comparative and theoretical

Ambiguities in Japanese pseudo-coordination and its dialectal variation

Masaharu Shimada and Akiko Nagano

University of Tsukuba / University of Shizuoka

This paper addresses Japanese pseudo-coordination containing an existential verb by focusing on the two types of existential verbs, one taking an animate subject and the other taking an inanimate subject. Though both can form a pseudo-coordination expression, one is two-way ambiguous in aspectual interpretation, and the other is not. Moreover, dialectal variation is observed. This paper attempts to explain the difference between the two interpretations of Japanese pseudo-coordination and assigns a different structure to each interpretation. More specifically, in one interpretation, existential verbs are truly existential verbs of a lexical category, and in the other interpretation, they are functional categories. Based on this analysis, dialectal variation is also explained based on the notion of externalization.

Keywords: aspect, dialectal variation, existential verbs, externalization, Japanese, morphology, suppletion, syntax, voice

1. Introduction

Japanese has a kind of multi-verb expression that looks quite similar to pseudo-coordinations in European languages. Commonly called *V-te V* construction in the literature, it takes the form of a two-verb sequence mediated by the conjunctive marker *-te*. The right-hand verb, head in a head-final language, is limited to a small number of highly frequent specific items. For example, *iru* 'exist,' which is typically used as an independent lexical verb as illustrated in (1), can take an action verb such as *hasiru* 'run' and produce the complex verbal expression *hasit-te iru* '(lit.) run-CONJ exist,' as shown in bold type in (2):

(1) *John-ga   kooen-ni iru.*
John-NOM park-DAT exist.PRES
'John is in the park.'

(2)   *John-ga   kooen-de **hasit-te   iru.***
      John-NOM park-LOC run-CONJ exist.PRES
      'John is running in the park.'

In (2), only the right-periphery verb *iru* is inflected for tense. However, it functions as a kind of aspectual marker rather than a verb of existence in this case, expressing progressive aspect. The subject of the sentence in (2) is assigned an agentive theta role by the first verb *hasit-te* 'run,' which is a nonfinite form of the verb *hasiru* 'run.' The form *hasit-te* is derived from the past tense form *hasit-ta* '(lit.) run-PAST,' and the past tense marker *-ta* is substituted for *-te*, which is a form of the conjunction glossed as CONJ.[1,2]

To see the closeness of *V-te V* and pseudo-coordination, witness the following sentences where *-te* coordinates two TPs:

(3)   a.   *John-ga   hasit-te   Mary-ga   arui-ta.*
           John-NOM run-CONJ Mary-NOM walk-PST
           'John ran, and Mary walked.'
      b.   *Mary-ga   hasit-te   John-ga   aruku-daroo.*
           Mary-NOM run-CONJ Johon-NOM walk-MOD
           'Mary will run, and John will walk.'
      c.   *John-ga   hasit-te, Mary-ga aru-ke.*
           John-NOM run-CONJ Jim-NOM walk-IMP
           'I order that John run and Mary walk.'

Japanese is a head-final language, and again, in (3a–c), only the right-periphery verbs carry the verbal inflectional morphology: past marker in (3a), modality marker expressing future inference in (3b), and imperative marker in (3c). As the English translations show, the first verbs in the *-te* form, though phonetically identical among the three sentences, are interpreted with the same TAM feature value as the final, inflected verbs. Also, considering the role of multiple agreement in the discussion of pseudo-coordination (Giusti et al. this volume, § 5), we add that Japanese does not have subject-verb agreement morphology. Thus, *watashi* 'I,' *watashitachi* 'we,' *kimi(tachi)* 'you (PL),' or *karera* 'they' can be used in lieu of *John* and *Mary* in (3a–c) without changing the form of the two verbs.

---

1.   See Nakatani (2013) on this point. The form *hasit-te* can be analyzed as a TP.

2.   The verb *iru* 'exist' is not the only predicate that takes *V-te* complements to produce pseudo-coordinations in Japanese. Verbs like *morau* 'get,' *kureru* 'give,' *miru* 'see,' and *simau* 'finish' and adjectives like *hosii* 'want' can also take *V-te* complements to form *V-te V* expressions. The *-te iru* expression is thus only one type. For detailed and relevant discussions of these expressions, see Nakau (1973), Shibatani (1978), McCawley & Momoi (1986), Nakatani (2013), among others.

V-te V constructions differ from ordinary, free coordinations such as (3) in that the final verb is restricted to a small class of verb such as *iku* 'go,' *kuru* 'come,' *iru* 'be, lie,' *aru* 'be,' *tatsu* 'stand,' *miru* 'see,' *yaru* 'give,' and *morau* 'get.' The verb list is amazingly common to the one observed for the selection of the first verb of pseudo-coordination in European head-first languages (Giusti et al. this volume, § 3)). Also, *V-te V* construction in general exhibits the following basic properties of pseudo-coordination identified by Giusti et al. (ibid.): (i) the order of the two verbs cannot be reversed, (ii) the action expressed by the first lexical verb cannot be negated separately, (iii) the two verbs must share the subject. Consider (3a–c), which are not *V-te V* construction so that the two verbs have different subjects; the order of the two verb phrases can be reversed, and the first lexical verb can be independently negated taking the form *V-nai-de* (verb stem-NEG-CONJ).

Below, we refer to one particular type of *V-te V* construction as pseudo-coordination and provide a detailed examination of its highly grammaticalized use. The *V-te V* in which the final verb is originally an existential verb conveys not only progressive meanings, as illustrated in (2), but also perfective or resultative meanings (Kuroda 1979, Teramura 1984, Mihara 1997, among others). For instance, when *iru* takes accomplishment VPs such as *ronbun-o kaku* 'write a paper,' we have a two-way ambiguous sentence, as illustrated in (4):

(4) *John-ga   ronbun-o   **kai-te**   **iru**.*
    John-NOM article-ACC write-CONJ exist.PRES
    'John is writing a paper' or 'John has completed a paper.'

The sentence in (4) can be interpreted as representing either the process to reach the terminal point of writing or the resultant state of the completion of writing. This dual interpretation poses a question of how the progressive interpretation and the perfective interpretation are generated, and many proposals have been made, including those from a generative syntactic perspective (Mihara 1997).

In this paper, we focus on another type of pseudo-coordination expression in Japanese. Before discussing it, note that Japanese has another existential verb *aru* 'exist,' exemplified as follows:

(5) *Funsui-ga   kooen-ni aru.*
    fountain-NOM park-LOC exist.PRES
    'There is a fountain in the park.'

The difference between the two existential verbs *iru* and *aru* lies in the selectional restriction to their subject. *Iru* takes an animate subject, whereas *aru* takes an inanimate subject:

(6)   a.   *John-ga/kuma-ga   kooen-ni iru/*aru.*
          John-NOM/bear-NOM park-LOC exist.PRES/exist.PRES
          'John/A bear is in the park.
      b.   *Funsui-ga   kooen-ni aru/*iru.*
          fountain-NOM park-LOC exist.PRES/exist.PRES
          'There is a fountain in the park.'

The animate subject *John* or *kuma* 'bear' and *iru* co-occur in (6a), while the inanimate subject *funsui* 'fountain' and *aru* co-occur in (6b).

   Despite the difference in the selectional restriction, the existential verb *aru* can also combine with other verbs to form a pseudo-coordination, often called a *-te aru* expression. A typical example is given in (7):

(7)   *Kuruma-ga michi-ni   **tome-te   aru.***
       car-NOM   street-LOC park-CONJ exist.PRES
       'There is a car parked in the street.'

The verb *tomeru* 'park,' attached to the conjunctive marker *-te*, combines with *aru* to make the expression *tome-te aru*. Interestingly, unlike *-te iru* sentences, *-te aru* sentences have no progressive interpretation. Therefore, (7) does not refer to the situation where someone is parking a car in the street; that is, it only means that the car has already moved to the parking area and is in the state of being parked. The questions to be addressed in this paper are related to this interpretative difference between *-te iru* and *-te aru* sentences. More specifically, we are concerned with a dialectal variation of *-te aru* sentences, a variation between Standard Japanese (SJ) and Fukuoka Japanese (FJ). FJ is a dialect spoken in Fukuoka Prefecture in the Kyushu region of western Japan.[3] SJ and FJ share *aru* for inanimate existentials, but like many other western dialects, FJ uses *oru* instead of *iru* for animate existentials. The distribution is summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. Existential verbs in Standard Japanese and Fukuoka dialect

Subject animacy	Standard Japanese	Fukuoka dialect
Animate	*iru*	*oru*
Inanimate	*aru*	

This paper is organized as follows. In Section 2, we observe the difference in interpretation between *-te aru* sentences in SJ and those in FJ. In Section 3, we attempt to explain the difference pointed out in Section 2, adopting and adapting Mihara's

---

3.   Our dialectal data are based on our two-year fieldwork study in several areas within the Kyushu district. One of the authors is also a native speaker of FJ.

(1997) and Matsuoka's (2019) analysis of *-te iru* sentences. In Section 4, to support our proposal in Section 3, we turn to another contrast in pseudo-coordination between SJ and FJ that Urushibara (2003) addresses from a generative theoretic point of view. In Section 5, we summarize our analysis.

2. Description of *-te aru* sentences in SJ and FJ

In this section, we observe the fundamental properties of *-te aru* expressions in SJ and FJ. In particular, we focus on the behaviors of *-te aru* expressions in FJ that are worth considering for deepening the understanding of pseudo-coordination. Let us begin by considering the typical example of *-te aru* sentences in SJ.

2.1   *Aru* as an intransitivizer

Previous studies, such as Martin (1975), Miyagawa (1989), Jacobsen (1992), and Tsujimura (2007), have noted that *aru* can act as an intransitivizer, attaching to a transitive verb. Consider the SJ example in (8). This is a sentence with the transitive verb *tometa* 'parked':

(8) *John-ga   michi-ni   kuruma-o tometa.*
     John-NOM street-LOC car-ACC   park.PAST
     'John parked the car in the street.'

If *aru* is attached to the transitive verb mediated by the conjunctive marker *-te*, then the *-te aru* sentence in (7), repeated here, is produced.

(7) *Kuruma-ga michi-ni   **tome-te   aru.***
     car-NOM   street-LOC park-CONJ exist.PRES
     'There is a car parked in the street.'

(7) can be analyzed as being derived from a sentence like (8) such that the original object *kuruma* 'car' is promoted to the subject and the original animate subject *John* disappears. In this sense, it looks like a passive sentence. As mentioned in Section 1, this construction allows only the perfective or resultative interpretation. Moreover, the perfective or resultative situation should be perceived as resulting from an action affecting the inanimate argument. Therefore, (9a), whose active counterpart is (9b), does not make sense unless the result of hitting, such as the existence of a hole or the change of a shape, can be recognized on the door:

(9) a. *To-ga   tatai-te   aru.*
      door-NOM hit-CONJ exist.PRES
      '*The door has been knocked on.'
      'The shape of the door has been changed by hitting it.'
   b. *Dareka-ga   to-o   tataita.*
      someone-NOM door-ACC knock.PAST
      'Someone knocked on the door.'

Merely denoting the completion of the action is not enough. A sentence like (7) is thus often called an intransitivized resultative. A kind of voice change and the perfective or resultative interpretation are fundamental properties of the *-te aru* sentences that we are examining.

2.2   Intransitivizing resultatives in FJ

As we have observed in the previous subsection, *-te aru* sentences allow only a perfective interpretation, showing a kind of voice change. Certainly, this holds for SJ, but it does not necessarily hold if we turn to other dialects, such as FJ. In FJ, *-te aru* is often contracted as *chaa*. Henceforth, we also call *-te aru* sentences in JF *chaa* sentences.

Consider (10a). This *chaa* sentence is an FJ counterpart of (7), which can be analyzed as being derived from a transitive sentence such as (10b):

(10) a. *Michi-ni   kuruma-no* **tome-chaa**-*bai.*
      street-LOC car-NOM   park-CHAA SFP
      'There is a car parked in the street.'
    b. *John-ga   michi-ni   kuruma-ba tometa.*
      John-NOM street-LOC car-ACC   park.PAST
      'John parked the car in the street.'

As indicated in the translation, (10a) has a perfective reading as an intransitivizing resultative sentence, and this is parallel to the *-te aru* sentence in SJ. However, FJ sharply contrasts with SJ in that *chaa* sentences can also have a progressive interpretation. That is, (10a) can additionally be translated as 'A car is being parked in the street.'

Note that (10a) ends with the bound element *-bai*. As discussed in Nagano (2016), *-bai* is an information focus marker that attaches to a predicate at the end of a declarative sentence. The *-chaa* sentence naturally ends with this marker for information structural reasons. Like the sentence-final particle *-yo* in SJ, *-bai* helps informants' understanding; but ultimately, the grammaticality of *-chaa* sentences does not depend on the presence of *-bai*, nor do all *-chaa* sentences end in this focus marker.

Likewise, the FJ counterpart of (9a), given in (11), can be interpreted as a progressive:

(11)   *To-no   tatai-**chaa**-bai.*
      door-NOM hit-CHAA SFP
      '*The door has been knocked on.'   (perfective)
      'The door is being knocked on.'   (progressive)

It cannot be accepted as a sentence denoting merely the completion of action, which is observed in SJ as well. However, the progressive interpretation of (11) is unique to FJ. We must then ask ourselves how the two interpretations are syntactically distinguished and why SJ and FJ differ in a progressive reading of *-te aru* sentences. Before discussing these matters, in the next subsection we further describe FJ *chaa* sentences in the progressive use.

2.3   Some characteristics of *-te aru* sentences in FJ

The following list describes three main properties of *chaa* sentences:

a.   The involvement of the agentive causer is implied in *chaa* sentences. In other words, *chaa* sentences always have transitive counterparts whose subject is the agent, and *chaa* detransitivizes an agentive transitive verb.
b.   The subject of *chaa* sentences is inanimate. In other words, the object of their transitive counterpart is inanimate.
c.   Only the object marked with the accusative case can be promoted to the subject of *chaa* sentences.

Let us consider them in detail one by one. Property (a) says that the event described by *chaa* sentences should be an event induced by someone's intention. Therefore, the transitive counterpart of the *chaa* sentence in (11) should be something like (12a), not (12b):

(12)   a.   *{Dareka/John}-ga   to-ba   tataki-yoo-ga.*
           somebody/John-NOM door-ACC knock-AUX-SFP
           '{Somebody/John} is knocking on the door.'
     b.   *Kaze-ga   to-ba   tataki-yoo-ga.*
           wind-NOM door-ACC lash-AUX-SFP
           'The wind is lashing against the door.'

(11) implies the existence of a person who is intentionally knocking on the door. Therefore, a transitive sentence with an inanimate subject such as (12b) cannot be the underlying sentence of a *chaa* sentence.

Even a sentence with an animate subject cannot derive a *chaa* sentence if it bears theta roles other than agents. For example, (13a) cannot be a source of a *chaa* sentence in (13b), since the main verb *morau* 'receive' requires a recipient theta role for its external argument:

(13) a. *John-ga   purezento-o moratta.*
          John-NOM present-ACC receive.PAST
          'John received a present.'
      b. **Purezento-no moroo-chaa-bai.*
          present-NOM receive-CHAA-SFP.
          (Intended: 'A present is being received.' or 'A present has been received.')

The involvement of an agent in a *chaa* sentence is also suggested by the following example in which the sentence-initial adverbial phrase *mise-ni hairoo-te* 'in order to drop into a shop' can function as a modifier:

(14) *Mise-ni   hairoo-te   kuruma-no tome-chaa-bai.*
      store-DAT enter.MOD-COMP car-NOM   park-CHAA-SFP
      'A car is being parked in order to drop into a shop.'

(15) shows the same thing. The adverb *wazato* 'intentionally' can be a modifier of a *chaa* sentence, while *tamatama* 'accidentally' cannot.

(15) *{Wazatto/*Tamatama}   to-no   tatai-chaa-bai.*
      Intentionally/accidentally door-NOM knock-CHAA-SFP
      a. 'The door is being knocked on on purpose.'
      b. *'The door is being knocked on by chance.'

Chaa sentences have an intentional denotation, and their transitive counterparts should have an agentive subject. Nevertheless, such an agentive subject never surfaces in *chaa* sentences, even in the *niyotte* 'by' form, in contrast with passive sentences:

(16) *(*Dareka   niyotte) to-no   tatai-chaa-ga.*
      Somebody by   door-NOM knock-CHAA-SFP
      'Somebody is knocking on the door.'

Next, consider property (b). Property (a) is a condition on the subject of the transitive counterpart of a *chaa* sentence, whereas property (b) is a condition on its surface subject. As shown in (17), a *chaa* sentence allows only an inanimate subject:

(17) *{To/*John}-no   tatai-chaa-bai.*
      door/John-NOM knock-CHAA-SFP
      a. 'The door is being knocked on.'
      b. '*John is being slapped.'

Unlike the inanimate DP *to* 'door,' *John* cannot be a subject in (17). This is a strict restriction on *chaa* sentences.

The surface subject of *chaa* sentences occurs as an object in their transitive counterparts. Property (c) is a condition on the subject of *chaa* sentences in its original position. The surface subject of *chaa* sentences should be originally an accusative object in transitive sentences. Note that the subjects of the well-formed *chaa* sentences observed so far are all accusative objects in the original transitive sentences. For example, the subject of the *chaa* sentence in (10b) occurs as an object in the transitive counterpart in (10a). If the dative (or locative) object in (18a) is promoted to the subject of a *chaa* sentence, it results in the ungrammatical sentence in (18b):

(18) a. *John-ga   furo-ni   haitta.*
        John-NOM bath-DAT enter.PAST
        'John took a bath.'

     b. **Huro-no   haic-chaa-bai.*
        bath-NOM enter-CHAA-SFP
        'Someone is taking a bath.'

On the other hand, the DP *huro* 'bath' properly occurs as a subject of a *chaa* sentence in (19b), since it functions as an accusative object in the original transitive sentence, as shown in (19a):

(19) a. *John-ga   huro-o   wakasita.*
        John-NOM bath-ACC heat.PAST
        'John heated the bath.'

     b. *Huro-no   wakasi-chaa-bai.*
        bath-NOM heat-CHAA-SFP
        'The bath is being heated.'

Similarly, the contrast between (20b) and (21b) suggests that there is a requirement like (c) on the original object. The DP *kaigan* 'beach' can be a subject of a *chaa* sentence as long as it occurs as an accusative object in the original transitive sentence. (21b) is a bit odd without a proper context but sounds qualitatively different from (20b).

(20) a. *John-ga   kaigan-ni   suwatta.*
        John-NOM beach-LOC sit.PAST
        'John sat on the beach.'

     b. **Kaigan-no   suwat-chaa-bai.*
        beach-NOM sit-CHAA-SFP
        'Someone is being sitting on the beach.'

(21)   a.   *John-ga   kaigan-o   aruita.*
              John-NOM beach-ACC walk.PAST
              'John walked along the beach.'
        b.   *ʔKaigan-no   arui-chaa-bai.*
              beach-NOM walk-CHAA-SFP
              'Someone is walking along the beach.'

Property (b) and property (c) show that the surface subject of a *chaa* sentence should be an accusative inanimate object in the original transitive sentence. In sum, while a theta role is a crucial factor for the subject of the original transitive sentence, as property (a) states, case is a crucial factor for the original object.

2.4   Research questions

Given the SJ-FJ difference in the interpretation of *-te aru* sentences observed so far, we need to address the following questions:

(22)   a.   Why are *-te aru/chaa* sentences in FJ ambiguous in aspectual interpretation while *-te aru* sentences in SJ are not?
        b.   How are progressive and perfective *chaa* sentences structurally distinguished?

In the following section, we attempt to answer these questions and propose an analysis for the *-te aru* expression.

3.   Explanation of *-te aru* sentences in SJ and FJ

In this section, we first address the second question in (22b) in Section 3.1, and based on its solution, we try to answer the first question in (22a) in Section 3.2.

3.1   A structural difference between the two readings of *chaa* sentences

To consider how the interpretive difference between progressive and perfective *chaa* sentences is reflected in their structural difference, we rely on a syntactic diagnostic using VP idioms. The bold parts of (23) are instances of VP idioms in Japanese:

(23)   a.   *John-ga   Nancy-ni   **shiraha-no**   **ya-o**   tateta.*
              John-NOM Nancy-DAT white feather-GEN arrow-ACC put up.PAST
              'John singled Nancy out for a mission.'

b. *John-ga* **sazi-o** *nageta.*
John-NOM spoon-ACC throw.PAST
'John gave up.'

c. *John-ga* *ano mondai-ni* **keri-o** *tsuketa.*
John-NOM that issue-DAT end-ACC attach.PAST
'John brought that issue to an end.'

For example, the VP in (23a) *shiraha-no ya-o tateta* '(lit.) put up a white feather' has an idiomatic meaning of 'single out someone for a position or a mission.' The VPs in bold in (23b) and in (23c), *sazi-o nageta* '(lit.) threw a spoon' and *keri-o tsuketa* '(lit.) attached an end,' also have idiomatic meanings of 'give up something' and 'bring something to an end,' respectively.

Note that the sentences in (23) can be all converted into *chaa* sentences, as shown in the following FJ examples:

(24) a. *Nancy-ni* **shiraha-no** *ya-no* *tate-chaa-yo.*
Nancy-DAT white feather-GEN arrow-NOM put up-CHAA-SFP
'Nancy is being singled out for a mission.'
'??Nancy has been singled out (for a mission).'

b. **Sazi-no** *nage-chaa-ga.*
spoon-NOM throw-CHAA-SFP
'Someone is giving up that activity.'
'??Somebody has given up that activity.'

c. *Ano mondai-ni* **keri-no** *tsuke-chaa.*
that issue-DAT end-ACC attach-CHAA
'Someone is bringing that issue to an end.'
'?*Someone has brought the issue to an end.'

Interestingly, as the translations show, the idiomatic reading of *chaa* sentences is possible only under progressive interpretations. Perfective *chaa* sentences allow only literal interpretations.

Notably, passive sentences in SJ also retain the reading of VP idioms, as originally pointed out by Harada (1977). The relevant data are as follows:

(25) a. *Kare-ni* **shiraha-no** *ya-ga* *tate-rareta.*
he-LOC white feather-GEN arrow-NOM put up-PASS.PAST
'He was singled out (for a position, a mission).'

b. **Sazi-ga** *nage-rareta.*
spoon-NOM wash-PASS.PRES
'That activity has already been given up.'

    c.   *Kono mondai-ni-wa* **keri-ga**   *tsuke-rareta.*
        This   issue-LOC-TOP end-NOM attach-PASS.PAST
        'This issue has been brought to an end.'

Given that passive sentences have a derived subject promoted from an object position with the external theta role suppressed, the facts in (24) suggest that *chaa* sentences in progressive readings have structures equivalent to passive sentences and that their nominative DPs are derived subjects.[4] Those in perfective readings, on the other hand, have base-generated subjects.

    Interestingly, Mihara (1997) reached a similar conclusion about *-te iru* sentences in SJ. As shown in (4), repeated here as (26) for convenience, they are ambiguous between perfective and progressive interpretations.

(26) *John-ga   ronbun-o   kai-te   iru.*
      John-NOM article-ACC write-CONJ exist.PRES
      'John is writing a paper' or 'John has completed a paper.'

Applying syntactic diagnostics such as idiom and quantifier scope tests to *-te iru* sentences in SJ, he observes that the progressive *-te iru* sentence has a raising structure, while the perfective one has a control structure. The idea is roughly schematized as follows:

---

4. The Japanese VP *ashi-o arau* '(lit.) leg-ACC wash' has an idiomatic reading, meaning 'give up something.' An anonymous reviewer correctly pointed out that it is hard to passivize under the idiomatic interpretation, as shown as follows:

(i) **Ashi-ga   araw-areta.*
     leg-NOM wash-PASS.PAST
     'Something was given up.'

It has been observed in the literature that the inalienable possessed object cannot be passivized in Japanese, and (i) is thus its illustration. Interestingly, *chaa* sentences are possible even when inalienable possession is involved:

(ii) *ʔAno katsudoo-kara ashi-no   aroo-chaa-ga.*
     that activity-from leg-NOM wash-pass-SFP
     'Someone is giving up that activity.'

The contrast above suggests that passive sentences and *chaa* sentences are different in some way.
    Note also that Japanese allows nominative objects, which raises a possibility that nominative DPs in *chaa* sentences in progressive readings are nominative objects (cf. Saito 2012, Takezawa 2015). Given the space limitations and the scope of this paper, we will not explore this possibility here. Our proposal discussed in Section 4 is compatible with a nominative object approach as well.

(27) a. Progressive *-te iru* sentences

```
            S
         /     \
       NPᵢ      VP
              /    \
             S      V
           /   \    |
          tᵢ   V-te  i (ru)
```
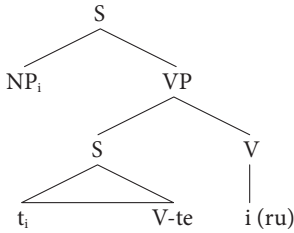
b. Perfective *-te iru* sentences

```
            S
         /     \
       NPᵢ      VP
              /    \
             S      V
           /   \    |
         PROᵢ  V-te  i (ru)
```
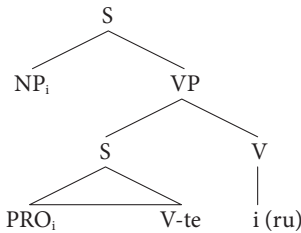
In progressive interpretations, the predicate *iru* functions as a raising predicate, and the subject is raised to the topmost position from the embedded subject position. In contrast, in perfective interpretations, *iru* takes a base-generated subject that controls PRO in the embedded subject position.

At this stage, fundamentally accepting Mihara's insight into the difference between progressive and perfective *-te iru* sentences in SJ, we could describe the structural distinction between progressive and perfective *chaa* sentences as follows, with the alternation rule that changes *-te aru* realized as *chaa*:

(28) a. Progressive *chaa* sentences

```
            S
         /     \
       NPᵢ      VP
              /    \
             S      V
           /   \    |
          tᵢ   V-te  a (ru)
```
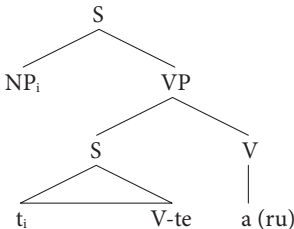
b. Perfective *chaa* sentences

```
            S
         /     \
       NPᵢ      VP
              /    \
             S      V
           /   \    |
         PROᵢ  V-te  a (ru)
```
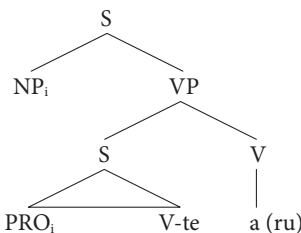
However, it is not enough to assume that *chaa* sentences are structurally ambiguous between (28a) and (28b). Their passive-like characteristics do not follow from this assumption only. It also does not explain why *-te aru* sentences in SJ and FJ behave differently, as stated in (22a). In the next section, we attempt to answer these questions.

3.2   Proposals

Mihara's (1997) view that we fundamentally accept is that the two aspectual readings of *-te iru* sentences in SJ are derived from different structures. Note that Mihara is not the only researcher who posits two different structures for *-te iru* sentences. For example, Matsuoka (2019), though concerned with just the progressive interpretation, also develops the idea that there are two structural sources for *-te iru* sentences: one has a control structure, and the other has a simplex structure. He attributes the progressive reading to the structure consisting of the lexical existential verb and its PP complement, abstractly described as 'be (exist) in the place/state of V-ing.' His idea is based on Laka's (2006) analysis of Basque, in which the progressive meaning is expressed with that structure.

Applying Matsuoka's analysis to Example (26), one possible structure would be as follows:

(29)   *[John-ga₁ [PP [NP PRO₁ ronbun-o   kai-te] ∅P] iru]*
       John-NOM   article-ACC write-CONJ exist.PRES
       'John is writing a paper.'

In this case, the final verb *iru* is a lexical existential verb and takes its argument *John-ga* as a base-generated subject. The *V-te* part, *ronbun-o kai-te* '(lit.) article-ACC write-CONJ,' constitutes a PP as a whole. The P head is phonetically null, signified as ∅, and takes a nominal phrase consisting of PRO and *ronbun-o kai-te*. The PP is taken by the lexical verb *iru*, and PRO in the PP is controlled by the base-generated subject of the existential verb *iru*.

The other possibility is illustrated by (30), taken from Matsuoka (2019):

(30)   *[[PP [NP Kaze-ga   konoha-o yurasi-te] ∅P]   iru_ASP]*
           wind-NOM leaf-ACC shake-CONJ   exist.ASP
       'A wind is ruffling the leaves of the tree.'

Matsuoka proposes that *iru* in (30) is not a fully lexical verb but a grammaticalized functional verb that comes from the lexical verb *iru*. It behaves as a functional head *ASP* contributing to an aspectual interpretation and does not take a subject. This type of *iru* thus forms a simplex structure for *-te iru* sentences.

What Matsuoka emphasizes as a motivation of his analysis is that the distinction between the structures of (29) and (30) reflects the selectional restriction of the subject of *-te iru* sentences in SJ. Sentences with an animate subject take the structure of (29), and those with an inanimate subject take the structure of (30). Note that the subject in (29) is an argument of the lexical verb *iru* 'exist.' As observed in Table 1, the existential verb *iru* takes only animate subjects, whereas the existential verb *aru* takes only inanimate subjects. Matsuoka considers that the animate subject occurs in *-te iru* sentences in the structure depicted in (29), conforming to the selectional restriction of the lexical verb *iru*. Its agentive interpretation comes from the theta role assigned to PRO by the verb in *V-te* complements. When the inanimate subject appears in *-te iru* sentences, on the other hand, *iru* is a functional verb rather than a lexical verb, constituting a simplex structure, and the selectional restriction of the lexical *iru* is irrelevant.

In this paper, we assume, following Mihara, that the progressive and perfective interpretations are distinguished structurally, and we also adopt Matsuoka's idea that the existential verb can be lexical or functional in *V-te V* structures. We propose a solution to the research questions by combining both Mihara's and Matusoka's insights.

First, consider the perfective *-te aru* sentence in SJ and that in FJ realized as a *chaa* sentence. Based on the diagnostic using VP idioms discussed in Section 3.1, we conclude that they take a control structure. The perfective *-te aru* sentence, or the perfective *chaa* sentence, in (31), for example, has the structure in (32):

(31) *Kuruma-ga {tome-te   aru/tome-chaa}.*
car-NOM   park-CONJ exist.PRES/park-CHAA
'There is a car parked in the street.'

(32) *[Kuruma-ga₁ [PP [NP PRO_arb pro₁ tome-te] ∅_P] aru]*

This structure is parallel to that proposed by Matsuoka for the *-te iru* sentence constituted by the lexical existential verb *iru*. In (32), *aru* is a lexical existential verb and takes *kuruma-ga* '(lit.) car-NOM' as a base-generated matrix subject and a clausal PP complement *tome-te* '(lit.) park-CONJ.' The empty pronominal *pro* is always coreferential with the matrix subject. The agent theta role is assigned to arbitrary PRO_arb in the PP by the embedded verb, which is the subject of the embedded clause.

Thus, the perfective *-te aru* sentence, or the perfective *chaa* sentence, seems quite similar to a *tough* construction. The difference between *-te <u>iru</u>* sentences and *-te <u>aru</u>* sentences lies in the alternation of case. In the *-te aru* sentence, the surface subject is interpreted as an object in its transitive counterpart, not a controller of PRO in the embedded clause. The same relationship between the matrix subject and the embedded object is observed in the *tough* construction, which suggests that

a parallel analysis of *-te aru* sentences and *tough* constructions would be possible. A detailed consideration is beyond the scope of this paper, leaving it for future research.

Next, consider the progressive *-te aru* sentence, which is allowed in FJ only as a *chaa* sentence. Recall that VP idioms are interpretable in the progressive *chaa* sentence, while the original object in VP idioms surfaces as a nominative DP. Thus, the progressive *chaa* sentence has a raising structure. In fact, Mihara (1997) applied a raising structure to the progressive *-te iru* sentence in SJ, as mentioned earlier.

Considering that the FJ counterpart of *-te iru* is *-te oru* (see Table 1 in Section 1), we propose that the progressive *chaa* sentence is derived from the corresponding transitive *-te oru* sentence in the progressive reading.[5] Furthermore, adopting Matsuoka's idea that *iru* heading *V-te* of non-control structure is a functional category inducing aspectual interpretations, we assume that the functional category for voice alternation attaches to the progressive *-te oru* sentence to derive the progressive *-te aru* sentence, that is, the progressive *chaa* sentence.

Consider the sentence in (31) again, for example. As mentioned, it is aspectually ambiguous. When it is interpreted as progressive, the structure is as follows (for the morphology of the aspectual verb, see below):

(33) $[[_{PP} [_{NP} \triangle$ *Kuruma-ga tome-te*$]$ $\varnothing_P]$ $oru_{ASP}]$ *VOI*$]$
                        car-NOM   park-CONJ   exist.PRES
          'The car is being parked.'

VOI in (33) is a functional head that induces a voice change of the progressive *-te oru* sentence. As a structure of the progressive *-te oru* sentence, we adopt Matsuoka's proposal. Specifically, we assume that in the structure of the progressive *-te oru* sentence, whether it has animate or inanimate subjects, the functional aspectual *oru* introduces the *V-te* clause without taking an argument as its subject. The original *V-te* clause in (33) thus has a transitive structure like $[_{NP}$ *John-ga kuruma-o tome-te*$]$ '(lit.) John-NOM car-ACC park-CONJ.' Due to the functional head *VOI*, a kind of voice change similar to passivization occurs. The external argument is then suppressed, and the subject position becomes empty. $\triangle$ in (34) signifies the emptiness of the subject position. As observed in the literature, Japanese sentences should have at least one nominative DP, and the original object *kuruma* 'car' is marked with the nominative case particle *-ga*. Note that this analysis can explain the interpretation of VP idioms, since the nominative DP was originally an object that formed a constituent with a verb.

_____

5.   Strictly speaking, *V-te oru* in FJ is contracted into *V-too* or *V-toru*. However, we refer to the construction in the non-contracted form for the ease of understanding the parallelism between SJ *V-te iru* and FJ *V-te oru*.

Our proposal illustrated in (33) captures the parallelism between the progressive *-te oru* sentence and the progressive *-te aru/chaa* sentence in FJ. The latter is derived based on the former, and the difference lies in the existence of the functional head *VOI*. That is, VOI changes the progressive *-te oru* sentence into the progressive *-te aru/chaa* sentence. Morphologically, it means that *aru* in the progressive use is not a lexical category but is a surface word form for the complex structure *[oru + VOI]*. The phonological form of the lexical category *aru* 'exist' is utilized for the amalgamation of *oru* and the voice-changing *VOI*. As Matsuoka proposes for SJ, the progressive *oru* is a functional category, as is VOI. Therefore, this is a case of a functional element realized suppletively. Consider the following explanation from Bybee (2015: 110), for example:

> Suppletion is particularly common in verbal paradigms and favors tense and aspect distinctions (Veselinova 2003). In other words, there are more cases of suppletion like that found in *go/went* where the different stems correspond to different tenses than other types. A suppletive distinction between perfective and imperfective is also common. For instance, in Spanish the preterit (perfective) of the verb 'go' is *fue* (3rd sg.) while the imperfect (imperfective) is *iba* (3rd sg.). […] The Irish verb 'to go' also shows suppletion for tense and aspect. The imperfective aspect stem is derived from the present by sound change, but the past and future forms come from different lexical sources.   (Bybee 2015: 110)

In our view, FJ possesses two types of *aru.* The perfective *aru* is a lexical verb of existence, while the progressive *aru* is a suppletive form for the complex of the functional categories.

The suppletion analysis explains how and why SJ and FJ differ in the progressive reading of *-te aru* sentences. Considering language variations from the minimalist perspective, they can be reduced to the process of externalization, that is, the phonological realization of abstract syntactic structures (Chomsky 2016, for example). Although computation in syntax should not differ across languages, a pattern of phonological realization and a correspondence between abstract syntactic structures and surface phonological forms can vary among languages. This is the source and substance of the diversity of human language.

(33) is an abstract morphosyntactic structure of a progressive *-te aru* sentence and is a well-formed structure for any language. This is a matter of the CI interface. Turning to the SM interface side, that is, the phonological form side, how (33) is phonologically realized can vary across languages. The structure in (33) is a well-formed one for both FJ and SJ. However, only FJ has a mapping function connecting the structure in (33) to the specific form. In contrast, SJ does not have any externalizational option for (33). The form *aru* cannot be used for the surface form of the functional complex *[iru + VOI]*. Therefore, even if SJ builds a well-formed

structure in (33), it cannot externalize it with an appropriate form. That is why *-te aru* sentences in SJ have no progressive interpretation. Since *aru* in the perfective *-te aru* sentence is a lexical verb, no suppletion is involved in the occurrence of perfective *aru* in SJ or in FJ.

In summary, *aru* in the perfective *-te aru* sentence is a lexical verb, taking its subject. The *V-te* clause of this case is similar to an infinitival clause of *tough* constructions. In contrast, *aru* in the progressive *-te aru* sentence is a suppletive form for the grammaticalized existential verb. Since SJ does not have this mapping rule, the progressive *-te aru* sentence is not found in SJ.[6]

4.   Supporting evidence for the suppletion analysis

In Section 3.2, we proposed that *aru* can be used for suppletive realization of a functional element. In this section, we show another phenomenon that involves this type of *aru* in FJ.

4.1   Another phenomenon

As discussed so far, the *-te iru/oru* sentences are ambiguous in aspectual interpretation in both dialects. As is observed in the literature, however, FJ aspectual particle *-yoo* can disambiguate the two interpretations. It is a dedicated marker of the progressive. Thus, compare the ambiguous *-te iru* sentence in (4), repeated here again as (34), with the *-yoo* sentence in (35):

(34)   *John-ga   ronbun-o   **kai-te   iru**.*
       John-NOM article-ACC write-CONJ exist.PRES
       'John is writing a paper' or 'John has completed a paper.'

(35)   *John-no   ronbun-ba   **kaki-yoo**.*
       John-NOM article-ACC write-PROG
       'John is writing a paper.'

---

6.   Based on the observation that *chaa* sentences are similar in progressive interpretation to SJ constructions consisting of a passive form and *-te iru* forms such as (i), an anonymous reviewer suggests that *[iru + VOI]* is realized as *-(r)are-te-iru* 'PASS-CONJ-exist' in SJ:

(i)   *to-ga   tatak-**are-te-iru***
      door-NOM hit-PASS-CONJ-exist-PRES
      'The door is being hit.'

As mentioned in note 6, passive sentences and *chaa* sentences should be properly distinguished, and as discussed in Shimada & Nagano (2019), we do not consider that *-(r)are-te-iru* and *chaa* share the same morphosyntactic structure.

When the particle *yoo* attaches to the verb *kaku* 'write,' producing the expression *kaki-yoo*, it bears a progressive meaning. Note that the first verb *kaku* 'write' takes not the *-te* form but the so-called adverbial form.

Urushibara (2003) is concerned with this type of pseudo-coordination in FJ and pays attention to sentences like (36):

(36) *Ima kaigi-ga   ari-yoo-yo.*
      Now meeting-NOM exist-PROG-SFP
      'Now, they are holding a meeting.'

The multi-verb expression in (36) is *ari-yoo* '(lit.) exist-PROG.' As Urushibara points out, the fact that (35) is acceptable is surprising when compared with its SJ counterpart. The following is the JS *te-iru* sentence corresponding to (36):

(37) **Ima kaigi-ga   at-te   iru.*
       Now meeting-NOM exist-CONJ exist.PRES
       'Now, they are holding a meeting.'

In SJ, the existential verb *aru* can take eventive nouns like *kaigi* 'meeting,' as shown in (38):

(38) *Kyoo kaigi-ga   aru.*
      today meeting-NOM exist.PRES
      'Today, we have a meeting.'

Existential verbs are stative, so they are incompatible with progressive contexts. Therefore, it is just as expected that the SJ existential verb *aru* cannot co-occur with the progressive *-te iru* form, as in (37). It is surprising that the FJ existential verb *aru* seems to co-occur with the progressive particle *-yoo* in (36). Significantly, the co-occurrence is not allowed when the subject is an entity:

(39) a. **Kooen-ni funsui-ga   ari-yoo.*
          park-LOC fountain-NOM exist-PROG
          'Now, they are holding a meeting.'
      b. **Tana-ni   hon-ga   ari-yoo-yo.*
          shelf-LOC book-NOM exist-PROG-SFP
          'There are books on the shelf.'

Entity nouns such as *funsui* 'fountain' and *hon* 'book' cannot co-occur with *ari-yoo*. Note that the behavior of *ari-yoo* in (36) is not exceptional. There are many similar examples where an eventive NP occurs as a subject of *ari-yoo*:

(40) *Shoogakkoo-de   undookai-no   ari-yoo-yo.*
      elementary school-LOC sports meeting-NOM exist-PROG-SFP
      'The elementary school is holding a sports meeting.'

Therefore, the surprising grammaticality in (36) and (40) needs explanation.

Urushibara (2003) attempts to account for the data in the generative framework. She pays attention to the fact that eventive nouns, not entity nouns, can occupy the subject position of *ari-yoo*. Assuming that *aru* in (36) and (40) is an existential verb and that, unlike the entity noun, the eventive noun has an event argument, she proposes the mechanism called "event transfer." According to her analysis, the event argument of the eventive noun in (36)/(40) is transferred to the existential verb *aru* and licenses the functional head to realize the progressive particle *-yoo*.

Urushibara's idea of event transfer is attractive in that it explains why only the eventive noun co-occurs with *ari-yoo*. Other eventive nouns, however, do not always co-occur with *ari-yoo*. For example, *jisin* 'earthquake,' *jisuberi* 'land-slide' and *joohatsu* 'evaporation,' which can be seen as nouns denoting events, cannot co-occur with *ari-yoo*:

(41) a. *{jisuberi/jishin}-no   ari-yoo-bai.
         land-slide/earthquake-NOM exist-PROG-SFP
         'There will be an earthquake.'
     b. *Mizu no   joohatsu-no   ari-yoo-bai.
         water-GEN evaporation-NOM exist-PROG-SFP
         'There will be water evaporation.'

If *ari-yoo* is replaced with the simple past tense form *atta* 'existed,' the sentences become acceptable:

(42) a. {jisuberi/jishin}-no   atta.
         land-slide/earthquake-NOM existed
         'There was {a land-slide/an earthquake}.'
     b. Mizu no   joohatsu-no   atta.
         water-GEN evaporation-NOM existed
         'There was water evaporation.'

The acceptability of (42) and that of (36) are parallel, and the ungrammaticality of (42) is thus more difficult to understand with Urushibara's approach. In addition, to explain the difference between SJ and FJ illustrated in (36) and (37), she assumes that the transferred event argument cannot license the projection of an aspectual functional head in SJ. Unfortunately, at this stage, the assumption seems rather ad hoc.

4.2 Proposal

The suppletion analysis explored here, on the other hand, overcomes the empirical problem shown in (41) and explains the dialectal difference with no additional device. Our fundamental idea is that *aru* in *ari-yoo* is not a lexical existential verb but a suppletive form for *suru* 'do' found in a specific environment. The contrast between acceptable cases such as (36) and (40) and unacceptable cases such as (41) is understandable when we consider whether they have transitive counterparts or not.

Let us compare (36) and (42a, b). The three sentences all take intransitive constructions, with the event noun appearing as a nominative subject. What is important here is that only (36) has a transitive, *suru*-based counterpart, as shown by the contrast between (43) and (44):

(43) *Kare-ga kyoo kaigi-o suru.*
he-NOM today meeting-ACC do.PRES
'Today, he organizes a meeting.'

(44) a. **Kare-ga {jisuberi/jishin}-o sita.*
he-NOM land-slide/earthquake-ACC did
'He experienced {a land-slide/an earthquake}.'
 b. **Kare-ga mizu no joohatsu-o sita.*
he-NOM water-GEN evaporation-ACC did
'He did water evaporation.'

In (43), *aru* is replaced with functional transitive verb *suru* 'do,' which takes an agentive subject and a theme object. As a result, the nominative subject in (36) is changed to the accusative object, and the nominative pronoun *kare-ga* 'he' is inserted into the subject position. This way, the transitive sentence is produced. The eventive noun in (40), *undookai* 'sport meeting,' can also be an accusative object of the transitive verb *suru* 'do':

(45) *Shoogakkoo-ga kyoo undookai-o suru.*
elementary school-NOM today sport meeting-ACC do.PRES
'The elementary school holds a sports meeting today.'

However, the transitivization is not possible for (42a, b). (44a, b) show that *atta* in (42a, b) do not alternate with *sita* 'did.' We then have the following descriptive generalization:

(46) The availability of *ari-yoo* expressions depends not on the availability of a corresponding *aru* intransitive sentence but rather on the availability of a corresponding *suru* transitive sentence.

The generalization in (46) implies that there is something like a voice change in the *ari-yoo ~ suru* alternation. Applying the suppletion analysis proposed in Section 3, it can be said that *ari-yoo* expressions are derived based on *suru* transitive sentences. The functional category VOI attaches to a transitive sentence with the functional verb *suru*, detransitivizing the original *suru* sentence. With Example (43), this can be illustrated as follows:

(47) *[kare-ga kyoo [kaigi-o   suru]   VOI].*
     he-NOM today meeting-ACC do.PRES
     'Today, he organizes a meeting.'

The functional category *VOI* suppresses the agentive theta role, and then the object *kaigi* becomes a nominative DP, as shown in (48):

(48) *[△ kyoo [kaigi-ga   suru]   VOI].*
     today meeting-NOM do.PRES
     'Today, he organizes a meeting.'

Finally, the sequence *[suru + VOI]* is phonologically realized as *aru*. This analysis thus implies that *aru* in *ari-yoo* is not a lexical verb but a surface phonological form for *[suru + VOI]*. The verb *suru* is a functional verb and is expected to have an event argument intrinsically. Thus, the word form *aru* can attach to the progressive particle *yoo*. Even if *aru* itself is a surface phonological form, the abstract morphosyntactic structure relevant to interpretation contains the action verb *suru*. Therefore, the progressive particle *yoo* is licensed. The examples in (41) are unacceptable even in FJ, since they do not have corresponding transitive sentences to which *VOI* can attach to produce the *aru* sentences.

    The most welcome consequence of this analysis is that the dialectal difference in the co-occurrence of *aru* with progressive elements such as *-te oru* and *-yoo* is immediately explained. Recall that SJ has no externalization rule for *[iru + VOI]*. If this means that *VOI* cannot be involved in phonological realization at all in SJ, then it is also lacking in the surface form for *[suru + VOI]*. *Aru* in SJ is uniquely an existential verb that is stative in nature. Therefore, it does not co-occur with a progressive expression like *-te iru*. In contrast, *aru* in FJ can be either a lexical verb or a suppletively used form.

5.   Summary and some remarks

In this paper, we have discussed some issues regarding -te iru and -te aru expressions, pseudo-coordination expressions in Japanese composed of existential verbs such as iru or aru. Specifically, we have been concerned with a form of dialectal variation that has not been observed yet. The aspectual interpretation of the -te aru/chaa sentence in FJ is ambiguous between a perfective reading and a progressive reading, whereas the SJ counterpart allows only a progressive reading. In this respect, SJ and FJ sharply contrast with each other. We have mainly addressed the following questions:

(49)   a.   Why are -te aru/chaa sentences in FJ ambiguous in aspectual interpretation while -te aru sentences in SJ are not?
       b.   How are progressive and perfective chaa sentences structurally distinguished?

Based on a diagnostic using VP idioms, we pointed out that the progressive -te aru/chaa sentence has a raising structure, whereas the perfective -te aru/chaa sentence has a control structure.

Mihara (1997) draws a similar conclusion about -te iru sentences in SJ. The progressive one has a raising structure, and the perfective one has a control structure. Matsuoka (2019) argues that -te iru sentences should be divided into two types according to the status of iru. In one type, iru is a lexical existential verb taking a subject, and in the other type, it is a grammaticalized functional category. Our proposals based on our own observations and insights from previous studies are as follows:

(50)   a.   In both SJ and FJ, aru in perfective -te aru, which can be pronounced as chaa in FJ, is a lexical existential verb and takes 'DP-ga' as its base-generated subject. The V-te clause has a structure similar to the infinitival clause of tough constructions.
       b.   The progressive -te aru/chaa sentence in FJ is based on the progressive -te iru/oru sentence. Aru is a phonological realization, or a suppletive word form, of the combination of progressive oru and functional category VOI. VOI induces the voice change.
       c.   SJ does not have the progressive -te aru because SJ has no externalization rule for VOI.

The proposed suppletion analysis has been empirically supported. It easily explains the distribution of ari-yoo, another pseudo-coordination expression in FJ, and the difference between ari-yoo and its SJ counterpart.

Note that both *-te iru* sentences and *-te aru* sentences in a perfective interpretation involve a lexical existential verb and that the former requires an animate subject while the latter requires an inanimate subject. Given that *-iru* and *-aru* are lexical verbs in this usage, it is expected that the selectional restriction of each verb is reflected in pseudo-coordination as well. Turning to *-te iru* sentences and *-te aru/chaa* sentences in progressive interpretation, *iru* and *aru* behave differently in selectional restriction. As Matsuoka (2019) pointed out, *iru* can select inanimate subjects as well as animate subjects in a progressive interpretation, as shown in (30). In contrast, *-chaa* progressives always have inanimate subjects, as indicated in (17). Assuming that *iru* in the progressive use is a grammaticalized functional category, the selectional restriction may no longer be relevant in the progressive *-te iru*. However, *aru* still seems to be sensitive to the selectional restriction even when it is used as just a surface realizational form for functional categories. This fact might suggest the need to deepen our understanding of the selectional restriction.

Acknowledgements

Funding

Abbreviations

Abbreviations used in the gloss are as follows.

ACC	accusative
CHAA	contracted form of *-te aru* in Fukuoka Japanese
CONJ	conjunctive form
DAT	dative
GEN	genitive
IMP	imperative
LOC	locative
MOD	modality
NEG	negation
NOM	nominative
PASS	passive
PAST	past tense form
PERF	perfective
PRES	present tense form
PROG	progressive
SFP	sentence-final particle
TOP	topic

References

Bybee, Joan. 2015. *Language Change*. Cambridge: CUP. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139096768

Chomsky, Noam. 2016. *What Kind of Creatures Are We?* NY: Columbia University Press.

Harada, S. I. 1977. Nihongo ni 'henkei' wa hitsuyoo da [Japanese needs 'transformation']. *Gekkan Gengo* 68, 88–95.

Hayashi, Shintaro and Fujii, Tomohiro. 2015. String vacuous head movement. *Gengo Kenkyu* 147: 31–55.

Jacobsen, Wesley. 1992. *The Transitive Structure of Events in Japanese*. Tokyo: Kurosio.

Kuroda, S.-Y. 1979. On Japanese passives. In *Explorations in Linguistics: Papers in Honor of Kazuko Inoue*, George Bedell, Eichi Kobayashi & Masatake Muraki (eds), 305–347. Tokyo: Kenkyusha.

Laka, Itziar. 2006. Deriving split ergativity in the progressive. In *Ergativity*, Alana Johns, Diane Massam & Juvenal Ndayiragije (eds), 173–195. Dordrecht: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/1-4020-4188-8_7

Martin, Samuel. 1975. *A Reference Grammar of Japanese*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Matsuoka, Mikinari. 2019. '*teiru*' shinkoobun no toogokoozoo to suuryoofukushi no kaishaku ni tsuite [syntactic structures of 'teiru' progressives and the interpretation of adverbial quantifiers]. In *Nihongo Toogoronkenkyuu no Hirogari* [Toward an Integrated Approach to Japanese Syntax], Koichi Takezawa et al. (eds.), 25–44. Tokyo: Kurosio.

McCawley, James D. & Momoi, Katsuhiko. 1986. The constituent of *-te* complements. *Papers in Japanese Linguistics* 11: 1–60. https://doi.org/10.1515/jjl-1986-1-202

Mihara, Kenichi. 1997. Dooshi no asupekutokoozoo [Aspect of verbs]. In *Voisu to Asupekuto* [Voice and Aspect], Kenichi Mihara & Ryuichi Washio (eds), 107–196. Tokyo: Kenkyusha.

Miyagawa, Shigeru. 1989. *Structure and Case Marking in Japanese*. San Diego: Academic Press. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004373259

Nagano, Akiko. 2016. Morphological realization of Focus Head in Hakata Japanese. *Tsukuba English Studies* 35: 1–31.

Nakatani, Kentaro. 2013. *Predicate Concatenation: A Study of the V-te V Predicate in Japanese*. Tokyo: Kurosio Publishers.

Nakau, Minoru. 1973. *Sentential Complementation in Japanese*. Tokyo: Kaitakusha.

Saito, Mamoru. 2012. Case checking/valuation in Japanese: Move, Agree or Merge? *Nanzan Linguistics* 8: 109–127.

Shibatani, Masayoshi. 1978. Nominalization. In *Handbook of Japanese syntax*, Masayoshi Shibatani, Shigeru Miyagawa & Hisashi Noda (eds), 271–331. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Shimada, Masaharu & Nagano, Akiko. 2019. "*-te aru*" bun ni mirareru bunpookan sai [On a dialectal variation the Japanese "*-te aru*" construction]. In *Nihongo Toogoronkenkyuu no Hirogari* [Toward an Integrated Approach to Japanese Syntax], Koichi Takezawa et al. (eds.), 45–64. Tokyo: Kurosio.

Takezawa, Koichi. 2015. Mieru' ninshikikoobun no toogokoozoo to 'te'kei jutsugo no toogo to imi [Syntactic structures of 'mieru' constructions of cognition and syntax and semantics of 'te' predicates]. In *Goiimiron no Aratana Kanoosei o Sagutte* [Further Exploration into Lexical Semantics], Yoko Yumoto & Naoyuki Ono (eds), 243–273. Tokyo: Kaitakusha.

Tsujimura, Natsuko. 2007. *An introduction to Japanese linguistics*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Urushibara, Saeko. 2003. On the form and meaning of aspectual markers. In *Empirical and Theoretical Investigations into Language*, Shuji Chiba et al. (ed), 778–792. Tokyo: Kaitakusha.

Veselinova, Ljuba N. 2003. *Suppletion in Verb Paradigms: Bits and Pieces of a Puzzle*. Stockholm: Stockholm University.

Partial versus full agreement in Turkish possessive and clausal DP-Coordination

Deniz Tat[1,2] and Jaklin Kornfilt[3]

[1]UiT The Arctic University of Norway / [2]Leiden University /
[3]Syracuse University

In Turkish nominal phrases and clauses where a coordinated possessor or subject is related to agreement morphology on the possessee or the nominalized predicate, respectively, agreement is realized either in full or in partial expression. The choice between the two is determined in certain cases by syntactic phenomena, suggesting that agreement must figure in syntax. However, partial possessor agreement appears to result from a relationship between the possessee or nominalized predicate, and the last conjunct only, hinting that it is also subject to linear locality conditions. We conclude that the agreement phenomenon in languages results from conditions that apply in syntax proper and from conditions that apply in a post-syntactic component separately, which can alter the output of syntax proper where applicable.

Keywords: Partial agreement, Turkish, narrow syntax, linear locality conditions, post-syntactic morphology

1. Introduction

In this chapter, we present a case of partial agreement observed in Turkish nominal phrases and clauses, where a coordinated possessor or subject is related to agreement morphology on the possessee or the nominalized predicate, respectively, either in full or in partial expression (for related discussion of subject agreement on finite verbs, see Section 7 and Köylü 2018). We show that, on the one hand, the choice between the two options is determined in certain cases by syntactic phenomena, suggesting that agreement must figure in syntax. On the other hand, partial possessor agreement appears to result from an agreement relationship between the possessee or nominalized predicate, and the last conjunct only, hinting that it is also subject to linear locality conditions, conditions which are defined by

a post-syntactic morphological component that interprets terminals linearly, rather than hierarchically, following spell-out as commonly accepted in the Distributed Morphology literature (see Halle and Marantz 1993, 1994; Embick 2010). We therefore conclude that the agreement phenomenon in languages results from conditions that apply in syntax proper and from conditions that apply in a post-syntactic component separately, which can alter the output of syntax proper where applicable.

Note that many other chapters in this volume deal with various kinds of multiple agreement. For example, in many of these studies, a phenomenon is addressed whereby two coordinated VPs, each hosting a tense and an agreement marker, refer to a single event. In those cases, we observe multiple realizations of agreement, where we would expect a single one (see Giusti, Di Caro and Ross, this volume for an overview). In this chapter, we take up a different but related issue. Our goal is to understand the underlying mechanisms that lead to the opposite observation: where we expect realizations of multiple agreement, we observe only a single one.

2.   Background

A number of languages allow partial agreement between a coordinated subject and a verb, such that only one of the conjuncts seems to determine the features that are realized on the verb. A well-known example is Lebanese Arabic first conjunct agreement, where a postverbal subject can agree either fully (1a) or partially (1b) with the preceding verb (Aoun, Benmamoun and Sportiche 1994: 208). The authors explain this seemingly optional choice between full or partial agreement by claiming that partial agreement results from coordinating clauses (rather than NPs, which would semantically behave like a plural NP).

(1)   a.   *Keeno   Kariim w   Marwaan ʕam yilʕabo.*
            were.**PL** Kareem and Marwaan ASP   playing.**PL**
            'Kareem and Marwaan were playing.'
      b.   *Keen   Kariim w   Marwaan ʕam yilʕabo.*
            was.**3M.SG** Kareem and Marwaan ASP   playing.**PL**
            'Kareem and Marwaan were playing.'

Marušič, Nevins and Saksida (2007) show that last conjunct agreement is possible in Slovene also, where only the last conjunct's gender features of a preverbal coordinated subject gets realized on the following verb. The authors claim that the ConjP can compute number and person features but not gender features, and therefore propose a principle that allows the phrase structure to agree with the gender features of the closest conjunct in terms of precedence. This is exemplified in (2), where the verb *prodajala* carries the gender feature (neuter) of the last conjunct only:

(2) *Radirke in   peresa so   se   prodajala najbolje.*
erasers.F and pens.N AUX REFL sold.N.PL the best
'The majority of the sold items were erasers and pens.'

<div align="right">(Marušič, Nevins and Saksida 2007: 211)</div>

In what follows, we show that Turkish exhibits a case of (apparently) optional partial agreement in the nominal domain (possessive and clausal DPs), where number and person features that are computed by the phrase structure can be manipulated in a component that follows syntax. To be more specific, we show that what is computed by syntax can be realized in two possible ways: either in a cumulative agreement marker that bears the sum of the features of all conjuncts, or in the realization of only the features of the last conjunct, i.e. of the conjunct which is linearly the closest to the host of agreement. This observation provides a convincing piece of evidence that realizational theories of morphology, such as Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993, 1994; Harley and Noyer 1999), contribute in capturing the dual nature of agreement systems, which can be sensitive to both syntactic computation and linear order.

3. Turkish partial agreement in the nominal domain

Turkish has a two-way number system (singular and plural) and a three-way person system (1st, 2nd and 3rd), and employs three verbal and one nominal agreement paradigms accordingly. The verbal paradigms are used when the subject is in an agreement relation with the matrix verb.[1] Which of the three paradigms is used depends on whether the matrix (that is, non-nominalized) verb ends with (i) the past tense marker or the conditional, (ii) the optative or (iii) elsewhere in Standard Turkish, as exemplified below respectively.

(3) a. Ev-e   git-ti-k
        home-DAT go-PST-1PL
        'We went home.'
    b. Ev-e   gid-e-lim
        home-DAT go-OPT-1PL
        'Let's go home.'

---

1.   Actually, we should say here "tensed verb", rather than "matrix verb", given that there are certain types of embedded clauses whose verb is not, as it typically is, nominalized. Such tensed verbs which serve as the predicate of an embedded clause exhibit the verbal agreement paradigms, rather than the nominal paradigm.

c. Ev-e   gid-eceğ-iz
    home-DAT go-FUT-1PL
    'We will go home.'

The nominal paradigm, on the other hand, is used in possessive phrases and in nominalized clauses, where the subject is marked with genitive (rather than nominative) case and the nominalized verb hosts agreement markers that are in agreement with the subject's person and number features. This type of nominalization is typical of embedded clauses in Turkish, where both relative clauses and complement/adjunct clauses are, in general, nominalized. The examples below demonstrate agreement in the nominal domain with respect to a possessive phrase and a nominalized clause, respectively.

(4) a. Senin ev-in
         your   home-2SG.POSS
         'your home'
     b. Senin ev-e   gid-eceğ-in-i   duy-du-m
         your   home-DAT go-FUT-2SG.POSS.ACC hear-PST-1SG
         'I heard that you will/would go home.'

Turkish exhibits a type of partial agreement in the possessive/DP domain (a domain to which nominalized clauses belong as well, as we have seen above and shall revisit later), where the possessee is marked overtly with the person and number features of the possessor while the possessor is genitive-marked, with the possessive phrase thus exhibiting "double marking" in the typology proposed by Nichols and Bickel (2013), as exemplified in (4a) and (5a).[2] When the possessor (or the subject of a nominalized clause) is a coordinate structure, then the possessee (or the nominalized predicate of a nominalized clause) hosts either the sum of the number and person features of the possessor conjuncts or the number and person features of the last conjunct only. One has to consider the possibility that the choice between the full agreement in (5b) or the partial agreement in (5c) is thus optional, especially because there is no semantic difference between the two, while (5d), where there is first conjunct agreement only, is ungrammatical.

(5) a. *senin hayal-ler-in*
         your   dream-PL-**2SG**
         'your dreams'

---

2.   The agreement markers in (4) and the ones in the subsequent examples belong to the nominal agreement paradigm in Turkish, which differs from the verbal paradigms, as we mentioned earlier. Since all our examples relevant to this chapter involve nominal agreement, we have not included this information in our glosses for reasons of space and ease of reference.

b. *senin ve   benim hayal-ler-**imiz***
   your and my   dream-PL-**1PL**
   'your and my dreams'

c. *senin ve   benim hayal-ler-**im***
   your and my   dream-PL-**1SG**
   'your and my dreams'

d. **senin ve   benim hayal-ler-**in***
   your and my   dream-PL-**2SG**
   Intended: 'your and my dreams'

One might wonder whether the ungrammaticality in (5d) results from the linear order – whether agreement targets the first or the second conjunct – or from a violation of the featural hierarchy such that 1st person is more unmarked than 2nd person (see Harley and Ritter 2002). Although there is a relative difference in the grammaticality of (6a) and (6b), which may indeed result from a hierarchical difference in featural specification, partial agreement unquestionably results from linear proximity. A naturally-occurring example from the Internet in (6c) confirms that partial agreement is only available to the last conjunct. The relative difference in acceptability between (6a) and (6c) may result from interspeaker variation or from the sentential position of the ConjP in the latter example, where the ConjP is a predicate nominal. The crucial point is that none of the examples in (6) is categorically ungrammatical like the example in (5d) where the agreement targets the nonadjacent conjunct.

(6) a. ??*benim ve   senin hayal-ler-**in***
       my   and your dream-PL-**2SG**
       'my and your dreams'

   b. *senin ve   benim hayal-ler-**im***
      your and my   dream-PL-**1SG**
      'your and my dreams'

   c. *Bu benim ve   senin hikaye-**n***
      this my   and your story-**2SG**
      'This is your and my story'   (Esen 2018)

Despite having different degrees of acceptability, all 6 possible types of partial agreement of person and number features, where the coordinate possessor is made up of two singular possessors resulting in partial agreement, are attested. (Note that the relevant features are only person and number; gender plays no role in Turkish.) We list below all of these six possible realizations of agreement involving a singular conjunct for reference. (We are excluding plural pronouns since it will be difficult to determine whether the observed agreement is full or partial in those cases.):

(7) a. *benim ve senin hikaye-n*   1SG + 2SG = 2SG
       my   and your story-**2SG**

   b. *benim ve onun   hikaye-si*   1SG + 3SG = 3SG
       my   and her/his/its story-**3SG**

   c. *senin ve benim hikaye-m*   2SG + 1SG = 1SG
       your and my   story-**1SG**

   d. *senin ve onun   hikaye-si*   2SG + 3SG = 3SG
       your and her/his/its story-**3SG**

   e. *onun   ve benim hikaye-m*   3SG + 1SG = 1SG
       her/his/its and my   story-**1SG**

   f. *onun   ve senin hikaye-n*   3SG + 2SG = 2SG
       her/his/its and your story-**2SG**

One may speculate that the different kinds of agreement choices are constrained by the semantics of the possessee, such that full agreement is only available when the two conjuncts possess the same thing, e.g. the same story, while partial agreement is only available when first and second conjuncts possess separate things, e.g. different stories. However, this is not necessarily so, as both paired and unpaired interpretations are available for full agreement as shown in (8a) and (8b), respectively. As for partial agreement, again, we run into interspeaker variation, but neither (8c) nor (8d) are categorically ungrammatical and may indeed be attested in naturally-occurring speech. Whether there are any statistical tendencies in usage falls outside the scope of this study.

(8) a. Full agreement & paired interpretation of the possessee
       Onun   ve senin hikaye-niz final-e   kal-an   iki eser ol-du
       her/his and your story-**2PL** final-DAT remain-REL two work be-PST
       'Her/his and your stories were the two works of art that made it to the finals.'[3]

   b. Full agreement & unpaired interpretation of the possessee
       Onun   ve senin hikaye-niz final-e   kal-an   tek   eser ol-du
       her/his and your story-**2PL** final-DAT remain-REL single work be-PST
       'Her/his and your story was the only work of art that made it to the finals.'

   c. Partial agreement & paired interpretation of the possessee
       ??*Onun ve senin hikaye-n final-e   kal-an   iki eser ol-du*
       her/his and your story-**2SG** final-DAT remain-REL two work be-PST
       'Her/his and your stories were the two works of art that made it to the finals.'

---

3. In this particular example as well as its counterpart with partial agreement in (8c), the possessee is obligatorily in the singular. The plural interpretation results from the paired reading of the possession such that there is a story for each of the possessors. Note that the English translation does not reflect this observation that holds for Turkish.

    d.   Partial agreement & unpaired interpretation of the possessee

*ˀOnun   ve   senin   hikaye-**n**   final-e   kal-an   tek*
her/his   and   your   story-**2SG**   final-DAT   remain-REL   single

eser   ol-du
work   be-PST

'Her/his and your story was the only work of art that made it to the finals.'

Note that both full and partial agreement are also available when non-pronominal possessors (R-expressions) are involved. It is difficult to determine this when both the first and the second conjuncts are non-pronominal since these would have to be 3rd persons in nature, and the sum of these would be 3rd person plural. However, the plural marking in these instances is optional for 3rd person plural subjects in general, i.e. not only for coordinated subjects; hence, it is impossible to know whether the lack of such plural marking is due to partial agreement or due to optionality in marking number here. Therefore, we provide examples below in which only one of the conjuncts is a non-pronominal form. As the examples illustrate, whether the conjuncts are pronominal or not has no bearing on the fact that Turkish allows both partial and full agreement in its possessive forms.

(9)   a.   *Aile-n-in   ve   sen-in   bayram-**ın-ı***
           family-2SG.POSS-GEN and   you-GEN   holiday-**2SG.POSS**-ACC

           kutla-r-ım
           congratulate-AOR-1SG

   b.   *Aile-n-in   ve   sen-in   bayram-**ınız-ı***
           family-2SG.POSS-GEN and   you-GEN   holiday-**2PL.POSS**-ACC

           kutla-r-ım
           congratulate-AOR-1SG

           'I congratulate your family's and your holiday.'

   c.   *Sen-in   ve   aile-n-in   bayram-**ın-ı***
           you-GEN   and   family-2SG.POSS-GEN holiday-**2SG.POSS**-ACC

           kutla-r-ım
           congratulate-AOR-1SG

   d.   *Sen-in   ve   aile-n-in   bayram-**ınız-ı***
            you-GEN   and   family-2SG.POSS-GEN holiday-**2PL.POSS**-ACC

           kutla-r-ım
           congratulate-AOR-1SG

           'I congratulate your and your family's holiday.'

We also observe full and partial agreement in constructions where the "possessee" is a nominalized verb, i.e. the predicate of a nominalized clause, and the "possessor" is the (genitive-marked) subject of such a clause, as exemplified in (20):

(10) a. *on-un   ve   ben-im oyuncu-lar-ı daha yakından*
         she/he-GEN and I- GEN actor-PL-ACC more closely
         tanı-ma-m
         know-NOM.SBJV-**1SG**
         'her/his and my knowing the actors more closely'

<div align="right">(TS Corpus v2: Hardie 2012)</div>

   b. *on-un   ve   ben-im oyuncu-lar-ı daha yakından*
         she/he-GEN and I- GEN actor-PL-ACC more closely
         tanı-ma-mız
         know-NOM.SBJV-**1.PL**
         'her/his and my knowing the actors more closely'

In (10b), the nominalized verb *tanıma* 'knowing' hosts a cumulative agreement marker which is the sum of the person and number features of the first and second conjuncts while in (10a), only the second conjunct agrees with the nominalized verb, parallel to the observations listed in the previous examples that involved simple possessees.[4]

We have thus seen that full and partial agreement are available for both simple possessive phrases and nominalized predicates. We have also seen that the choice between the two does not have to obey any immediate semantic constraints, such that one is only available to paired reading of possession while the other is only available to unpaired reading. In the sections that follow, we present a set of syntactic constraints, which make full agreement the only accessible target for agreement, showing that despite the post-syntactic realization of agreement morphology which can be subject to linear order, syntactic computation of agreement is still inescapable in grammar.

4. Nominal agreement within a binding domain

A closer look at nominalized clauses where the "possessee" is a gerund-like nominalized verbal predicate shows that full agreement is obligatorily marked if this nominalized clause includes a reciprocal or a reflexive that has to be bound by the coordinate subject in its binding domain; syntactically, this domain is the entire nominalized clause, which we take to be dominated by DP (cf. Kornfilt and Whitman 2011), where the domain is traditionally defined in hierarchical terms. The following examples illustrate such obligatory marking of full agreement:

---

4. Ince (2009: 22) observes that agreement is not available for the first conjunct only within finite clauses either. This observation is also confirmed experimentally in an acceptability judgment task by Serova (2019: 97–98).

(11) a. *sen-in   ve   ben-im birbiri-miz-i   sev-me-**miz**   /*
       you-GEN and I- GEN each.other-1PL-ACC love-NOM.SBJV-**1PL** /
       sev-me-m***
       love-NOM.SBJV-**1SG**
       'your and my loving each other'

   b. *sen-in   ve   ben-im kendi-miz-i sev-me-**miz**   /*
       you-GEN and I- GEN self-1PL-ACC love-NOM.SBJV-**1PL** /
       sev-me-m***
       love-NOM.SBJV-**1SG**
       'your and my loving ourselves'

One might wonder whether the reason why partial agreement is unavailable in (11a) and (11b) is because the final conjunct and the possessee are not linearly adjacent, being separated by the reciprocal or the reflexive pronoun. We can test whether this is indeed what is happening in these examples by looking at scrambled versions where the last conjunct and the host of possessive agreement are linearly adjacent. One such case is where the reciprocal and the reflexive appear post-verbally, in a position where they are backgrounded in Turkish information structure (Erguvanlı 1984). The fact that full agreement is obligatory in such cases in (11′) shows that it is indeed syntax that determines the type of allowable agreement, which has to be full agreement; even linear adjacency cannot guarantee the availability of partial agreement in examples involving a reciprocal or a reflexive.

(11′) a. *sen-in   ve   ben-im sev-me-**miz**   / *sev-me-**m***
       you-GEN and I-GEN love-NOM.SBJV-**1PL** / love-NOM.SBJV-**1SG**
       birbiri-miz-i
       each.other-1PL-ACC
       'your and my loving each other'

    b. *sen-in   ve   ben-im sev-me-**miz**   / *sev-me-**m**   kendi-miz-i*
       you-GEN and I-GEN love-NOM-**1PL** / love-NOM.SBJV-**1SG** self-1PL-ACC
       'your and my loving ourselves'

We conjecture that the anaphors in these examples, having to obey Binding Condition A, must be bound by the coordinated subjects, and that in order to be successful, this binding must involve the phi-features of both conjuncts. When the phi-features of both conjuncts are thus involved and active, those features also have to be fully expressed overtly by the agreement morphology, thus explaining why the versions of these examples with partial agreement are ill-formed.

5.   Nominal agreement within control constructions

We see that where the full coordination acts as a syntactic binder, the computation of the phi-features of both conjuncts must survive and can't be altered by post-syntactic morphology. If this indeed results from the presence of a coordinated syntactic binder, then one would expect to see a judgment distinction similar to (11a) and (11b) when the coordinated subject licenses a PRO. This is borne out in (12a) and (12b), which show that in a Control construction where the coordinated subject of a clausal DP is the licenser of a PRO, the nominalized verbal gerund is obligatorily marked with full agreement:

(12)   a.   *[on-un   ve   ben-im]ᵢ [PROᵢ yeni bir ev   al-mak]*
           she/he-GEN and I-GEN   new a   house buy-INF
           *iste-me-**miz***
           want-NOM.SBJV-**1PL**
           'his/her and my wanting to buy a new house'
       b.   *[on-un   ve   ben-im]ᵢ [PROᵢ yeni bir ev   al-mak]*
           she/he-GEN and I-GEN   new a   house buy-INF
           *iste-me-**m***
           want-NOM.SBJV-**1SG**
           'his/her and my wanting to buy a new house'

6.   Nominal agreement within *pro*-dropped conjuncts

Full and partial agreement are both available in a different kind of coordination we have not seen thus far in this chapter, namely *ile* coordination. This type of coordination which features the conjunction marker *ile*, homophonous with the comitative postposition which means 'with, together with', does not differ from the conventional possessor, when it shows up in possessive phrases, as shown in Examples (13). Note that *ile* also has an optional reduced form *-lA* that attaches the nominal in its complement position, as in this example, and it surfaces as *-le* or *-la* depending on whether the preceding vowel is front or back, respectively.

(13)   a.   *on-un-la   ben-im hikaye-**miz** / ev   al-ma-**mız***
           she/he-GEN-COM I-GEN   story-**1PL** / house buy-NOM.SBJV-**1PL**
           'his/her and my story / buying a house'
       b.   *on-un-la   ben-im hikaye-**m** / ev   al-ma-**m***
           she/he-GEN-COM I-GEN   story-**1SG**   house buy-NOM.SBJV-**1SG**
           'his/her and my story / buying a house'

Because *ile* marks only the first conjunct, the second/final conjunct outside this phrase can be *pro*-dropped, allowing us to observe whether both types of agreement realization are available or not.

A situation similar to Control constructions obtains where the second conjunct is *pro*. With coordinate possessors where the second conjunct is *pro* (-"dropped"), full agreement is observed, while partial agreement is only marginally acceptable. Consider the sentence in (14), which involves an *ile* coordination. In this example, both full and partial agreement are acceptable. However, when the second conjunct is *pro*-dropped as in (15), partial agreement is no longer available. This shows that syntax computes the person and number features of both conjuncts while the post-syntactic morphology cannot alter this computation due to the presence of *pro*, which has to be licensed syntactically and identified morphologically. Thus, given that in such instances the syntactic computation of phi-features, which includes the sum of the features of both conjuncts, cannot be altered by post-syntactic morphology, the only available morphological realization is the one in which agreement features are morphologically realized in full.

(14) *Köpek-ler sen-in-le   ben-im yan-ım-a   / yan-ımız-a   gel-di*
      dog-PL   you-GEN-COM I-GEN side-1SG-DAT   side-1PL-DAT come-PST
      'The dogs came to your and my side.' (Lit.: 'The dogs came near you and me.')

(15) *Köpek-ler sen-in-le   pro *yan-ım-a   / yan-ımız-a   gel-di*
      dog-PL   you-GEN-COM (my) side-1SG-DAT   side-1PL-DAT come-PST
      Intended: 'The dogs came to your and my side.' (Lit.: 'The dogs came near you and me.')

There is a second reason that contributes to the ungrammaticality of partial agreement in (15). Such examples, which involve a *pro*-dropped conjunct and partial agreement on the head noun, are much improved when the coordinated possessor and the host of partial agreement are outside the scope of (informational) focus or comment as shown in (16a). The focus domain is defined by Göksel and Özsoy (2000) as the area of an utterance which is between the position of primary stress and the verbal complex.

(16) a. *Sen-in-le   pro. ˀara-m-da   / ara-mız-da   bilgisayar-lar*
          you-GEN-COM *pro* space-1SG-LOC / space-1PL-LOC computers-PL
          dur-uyor.
          stand-PROG
          'Between you and me stand/are the computers.'
      b. *Bilgisayar-lar sen-in-le   pro ??ara-m-da   / ara-mız-da*
          computer-PL you-GEN-COM *pro* space-1SG-LOC / space-1PL-LOC
          dur-uyor.
          stand-PROG
          'The computers stand/are between you and me.'

In (16b), the constituent consisting of the coordinate structure formed by an overt (comitative) conjunct and a pro-conjunct and an agreeing head noun is focused, by virtue of being pre-verbal and thus being included in the focus domain in the sense of Göksel and Özsoy (2000). This means that this constituent must bear stress; a stressed phrase such as this constituent bears its primary stress on its non-head (given that in phrases and compounds, the non-head bears primary stress; cf. Lees (1961) and others); that non-head is the coordinate structure. However, given that one of the conjuncts of the coordinate non-head is *pro*, a silent element and thus not stressable, the stress would fall on the first conjunct. We conjecture that this stressed conjunct, due to its focused, i.e. accented status, must match at least some of its features with the overt agreement on the head of the phrase. In (16b), the version with partial agreement has only the features of *pro* realized, i.e. the first conjunct which bears the accent for the entire focused phrase has no overt match of its phi-features with the overt partial agreement. We claim that this is what leads to the deteriorated status of this example in its partial agreement version. In contrast, the version of (16b) with full agreement realizes at least some feature of the stressed first conjunct, namely that feature's contribution to the plurality of the overt full agreement. Furthermore, in (16a), the same constituent, with its coordinate non-head and agreeing head is in a topicalized position (which we can tell by the fact that it precedes the subject). Given that the entire constituent is not focalized, the missing contribution of the first conjunct's phi features to the overt partial agreement on the constituent's head matters less. Note that in both (16a) and (16b), the versions with full agreement are fine; the problematic examples are the versions with partial agreement, with varying, but not total, acceptability in either such example.

7.   Proposal

Due to the reasons outlined in Sections 3–6, we claim that this agreement phenomenon in Turkish is realized in two steps: a syntactic step where interpretable person and number features of a possessor or of a subject are checked against their uninterpretable counterparts in the host of agreement, and a morphological step where these features are morphologically realized after spell-out before they receive a phonological form. The former straightforwardly computes these features while the latter can alter them at lexical insertion in certain circumstances. We suggest that it is this two-step agreement which gives rise to the appearance of optionality between full versus partial agreement. This enables us to keep optionality out of syntax proper.

While our analysis of a partial agreement system in possessive constructions as well as in nominalized clauses, and in particular for Turkish partial agreement, is novel, a two-way agreement analysis of partial agreement in general is not new. Marušič, Nevins and Saksida (2007) claim that Slovene partial agreement of gender features results from a Second-Agree operation following a (full) Agree operation for number. The authors claim that this is because syntax can compute number and person features, but not gender features, which are later resolved in a linear fashion based on precedence. However, our analysis of Turkish partial agreement of coordinate possessors and subjects of nominalized clauses shows that what is computed by syntax can also be altered in natural language, and that this alteration must figure in a post-syntactic component; however, as we saw, this later process of alteration is subject to a general condition: when the coordinated expression whose features have been computed in syntax is involved in syntactic phenomena such as binding and Control, the expression of such computation cannot be altered in a post-syntactic component.

Our analysis also differs from Köylü (2018), who proposes that agreement in Turkish can take place before or after Spell-Out. He examines a similar phenomenon in Turkish, but one that involves verbal agreement and tests native speakers' judgments of a set of sentences. These sentences involve coordinated subjects and are manipulated according to whether the subjects precede or follow the verb and whether the verbal agreement surfaces in full agreement, close conjunct agreement or distant conjunct agreement. He finds that the participants have a general preference for full agreement while partial agreement is also possible, with close conjunct agreement having higher preference rates than distant conjunct agreement. Köylü's findings confirm our points in earlier sections, such that agreement preferences are subject to speaker variation. In a forced-choice task, he also presents close conjunct agreement and distant conjunct agreement as the only options in order to compare the speakers' preferences for these two types of partial agreement, when full agreement is not an option. He finds that close conjunct agreement is significantly more preferred than distant conjunct agreement although the latter is not categorically dispreferred in his data.

Based on his findings, Köylü (2018: 7–8) concludes that full agreement results from an Agree relation between a Conj(unct)P bearing the totality of the person and number features of the conjuncts and the Agr head in the sense of Chomsky (2000). On the other hand, for Köylü, partial agreement is a PF phenomenon following Spell-Out. Although in essence, our analysis here shares some similarities with Köylü's, it differs in some fundamental ways. First of all, the analysis proposed here makes a distinction between agreement relations in syntax proper and their realization in a post-syntactic component as generally assumed in realizational

theories of grammar, and in doing so, rejects any room for optionality in syntax. A morphological component that follows syntax interprets the syntactic terminals in a linear fashion, which, if all things go well, should result in full agreement. Second, although this post-syntactic component can sometimes be imperfect resulting in partial agreement, there are certain restrictions as to when it cannot be "lazy," such as in agreement relations within Binding domains, Control constructions, cases with *pro*-dropped possessors and focus domains, as shown in this chapter. We thus claim that what appears to be optionality with respect to the agreement phenomenon in natural language is an illusion resulting from the division of labor among different components in the architecture of grammar.

8.   Conclusion

We have seen that Turkish allows partial agreement in the nominal domain unless a series of syntactic constraints hold. Our analysis has been limited to what is possible in natural language and what is not. We have thus left out variation in the choice between full or partial agreement, such as frequency factors and possible effects of a featural hierarchy. For example, a Google search suggests that of the four possible alternations in (9), (9c) is preferred. Is this because of frequency effects with respect to the most frequent way of celebrating someone's festive day? Or, is it because the partial form in this example is psycholinguistically less costly due to other factors such as economy? One might also want to know whether a variation with respect to full or partial agreement is also determined by a feature hierarchy such that one would find differences between 1st and 2nd persons when all other things are kept constant. These are obviously important questions but fall out of the scope of this study. Our goal was to provide an explanation as to why more than one agreement strategy is available in the first place. Based on facts from Turkish agreement strategies, we have shown that there is no need for optionality in syntax proper, at least from the perspective of the agreement phenomenon.

Acknowledgements

List of abbreviations

1	first person	LOC	locative
2	second person	M	masculine
3	third person	N	neuter
ACC	accusative	NOM.SBJV	nominalized subjunctive
ASP	aspect	PST	past
AUX	auxiliary	PL	plural
COM	comitative	PROG	progressive
DAT	dative	REL	relativizer
F	feminine	SG	singular
INF	infinitive		

References

Aoun, J., E. Benmamoun and D. Sportiche. 1994. "Agreement, word order, and conjunction in some varieties of Arabic." *Linguistic Inquiry 25*, 195–220.

Chomsky, N. 2000. "Minimalist Inquiries: The Framework," in R. Martin, D. Michaels and J. Uriagereka (eds.), *Step by Step: Essays on Minimalist Syntax in honor of Howard Lasnik*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 89–155.

Embick, D. 2010. *Localism versus globalism in morphology and phonology (Vol. 60)*. MIT Press. https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/9780262014229.001.0001

Erguvanlı, E. E. 1984. *The function of word order in Turkish grammar* (Vol. 106). Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.

Esen. (2018, May 2). Evrimimiz üzerine [On our evolution]. *7/23*. https://yediyirmiuc.com/evrimimiz-uzerine

Göksel, A. and Özsoy, A. S. 2000. "Is there a focus position in Turkish?" In A. Göksel and C. Kerslake (eds.) *Studies on Turkish and Turkic Languages; Proceedings of the Ninth International Conference on Turkish Linguistics*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 219–228.

Halle, M. and A. Marantz. 1993. "Distributed Morphology and the pieces of inflection," in K. Hale and S. Keyser, (eds.), *The View from Building 20: Essays in Linguistics in Honor of Sylvain Bromberger*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 111–176.

Halle, M. and A. Marantz. 1994. "Some key features of Distributed Morphology," in A. Carnie, H. Harley, and T. Bures, eds., *The Morphology-Syntax Connection*, MITWPL 21, Cambridge, MA, 275–288.

Hardie, A. 2012. "CQPweb – combining power, flexibility and usability in a corpus analysis tool." *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics 17* (3), 380–409. https://doi.org/10.1075/ijcl.17.3.04har

Harley, H. and Noyer, R. 1999. Distributed morphology. *Glot International*, *4*(4), 3–9.

Harley, H. and Ritter, E. 2002. Person and number in pronouns: A feature-geometric analysis. *Language*, *78*(3), 482–526. https://doi.org/10.1353/lan.2002.0158

Ince, A. 2009. Dimensions of ellipsis: Investigations in Turkish. Unpublished Dissertation. University of Maryland, College Park.

Kornfilt, J. and J. Whitman. 2011. "Afterword: Nominalizations in linguistic theory." *Lingua* 121(7). 1297–1313. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2011.01.008

Köylü, Y. 2018. A compositional approach to conjunct agreement in Turkish. *Proceedings of the Linguistic Society of America*, *3*(1), 17:1–12. https://doi.org/10.3765/plsa.v3i1.4298

Lees, R. B. 1961. *The Phonology of Modern Standard Turkish*. Indiana University Publications, Uralic and Altaic Series, vol. 6; The Hague: Mouton. Reprinted in 1997, London: Routledge.

Marušič, F., A. Nevins and A. Saksida. 2007. "Last-conjunct agreement in Slovenian," in R. Compton, M. Goledzinowska and U. Savchenko (eds), *Proceedings of Formal Approaches to Slavic Linguistics: The Toronto Meeting 2006*. Michigan Slavic Publications, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 210–227.

Nichols, J. and B. Bickel. 2013. "Locus of Marking in Possessive Noun Phrases," in Dryer, M. S. and Haspelmath, M. (eds.), *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. (Available online at http://wals.info/chapter/24, Accessed on 2017-03-14.)

Serova, K. 2019. "Head Movement, Suspended Affixation, and the Turkish Clausal Spine." *Proceedings of the Workshop on Turkic and Languages in Contact with Turkic*, *4*(1), 89–103. https://doi.org/10.3765/ptu.v4i1.4584

Syntax, semantics, and pragmatics of Pseudo-Coordination

Moreno Mitrović

Leibniz Centre General Linguistics (ZAS), Berlin & Bled Institute

There have been very few attempts to date to provide an explicit semantics/ pragmatics for Pseudo-Coordination (PseCo) expressions. This chapter is an attempt to fill that gap, zooming in on the 'go-(and-)get'-type. To do so, I first provide a syntactic account of PseCo, which derives from a standard coordination structure (which I label Junction), onto and from which a compositional semantic account is derived. The signature pragmatic properties of PseCo of negative-emotive factivity are also derived. Aside from providing the first systematic and cross-modular analysis of PseCo, the chapter also provides a number of new diagnostics for identifying and classifying PseCo expressions which may be useful in future work on the topic.

Keywords: compositionality, junction, (dynamic) conjunction, parameter, allosemy

1. Introduction

This chapter provides a unified syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic investigation into Pseudo-Coordination[1] (PseCo) trying to derive

(1) (Desiderata)
  a. a single syntactic structure suitable for both full fledged symmetric coordination and PseCo (which is capable of covering a range of typological instantiations of coordination and coordination-like expressions),
  b. a compositional account, or at least blueprint, of the meanings that PseCo expressions have,

---

[1] PseCo, as a shorthand, is really intended to mean Pseudo-Conjunction, since Pseudo-Coordination is less informative, given that there is no Pseudo-Disjunction out there. Under Mitrović's (2021) analysis, the inherently clausal (or propositional) nature of disjunction predicts the inexistence of Pseudo-Disjunction if the tenets of asymmetric junction made in this paper are correct.

c.   a pragmatic analysis of the attitude ascription that PseCo expressions communicate.

PseCo are unlike standard coordination construction in many respects (see §1.2), but also alike some other non-PseCo expressions, which I discuss in the following subsection.

I focus almost exclusively on the 'go-(and-)get'-type of PseCo and note in the conclusion the differences and potential connections for other verbs like 'try'. This is the empirical sense in which I operate with the term PseCo, while the theoretical apparatus I employ and develop here should have more over-arching consequences (that I leave for future work). A relevant aspect of the present paper is that it aims to add a useful perspective on trying to understand the boundary between PseCo and SCo. This is in line with, for example, Lakoff (1986) who was among the first to ask the questions I am revisiting and who asked this question of how to draw the line between 'normal' and 'exceptional' coordination.

1.1   Exceptional conjunction: Asymmetry and non-truth-tabularity

There exists a less obvious link between the syntactic makeup of a conjunction expression and the logical interpretation of the conjunction marker. One property that standard and proper conjunction has is that of t-reducibility (nominal collectives are an exception to this,[2] but let me ignore this). This property allows us to express all instances of conjunction in clausal form. If 'John and Mary like Corbyn' (must be true/*mbt)*, then the truth of this single clause can be expanded into, and paraphrased as, two clauses: 'John likes Corbyn' (*mbt*) and 'Mary likes Corbyn' (*mbt*). The property of t-reducibility applies beyond nominal conjunction: if 'Zebidee cooked and ate the lasagna' (*mbt*), then 'Zebidee cooked the lasagna' and 'Zebidee ate the lasagna' (both *mbt*), or if 'Gilbert is smart and funny' (*mbt*), then (it *mbt* that) 'Gilbert is smart' and 'Gilbert is funny', and so on. These expansion options show that conjunction is a Boolean operation and that the truth of a con-joined sub-constituents percolates to the top of the clause which may, in turn, be expressed as two (or more) clauses with truth-conditional equivalence (each clause may be judged for truth separately). Note also that if these expansions are valid, commutativity of conjuncts also obtains and the ordering of conjuncts is free. There are, naturally, exceptions to this expansion principle underlying this property but let me mention two (one of which will be the focus of this chapter).

---

2.   To subsume collectives within the system, one could resort to e-reducibility – see Partee & Rooth (1982, 1983) or Hoeksema (1983) for details and further references.

1.1.1 *Case number one: Concealed conditionals*

The first case of exceptions is the following where the conjunction marker does not really seem to be a marker of conjunction:

(2)   [CP[−DECL] Do this] and [CP[+DECL] I'm leaving]

The expansion is not an issue since what seems to be conjoined in (2) are two clauses. However, the two conjunct clauses cannot be reversed (3):

(3)   *[CP[+DECL] I'm leaving] and [CP[−DECL] do this]

Furthermore, the conjunction in (2) cannot also not be evaluated for truth, since one of the conjuncts is not a declarative clause (proposition) but an imperative (since imperatives, just like interrogatives, cannot be true or false). Proper t-reducible conjunction does not only require the conjuncts to have identical categorial makeup, but also the 'sub-categorial' makeup, i.e., for (2) to be an instance of proper conjunction, both conjuncts must share the clausal force (identically declarative, identically imperative, identically interrogative, etc. for instance).

In terms of meaning, (2) seems to be a concealed conditional, paraphrasable as in (4a). If we understand the asymmetric conjunction in (2) as actually incarnating a conditional-like logical operator, then the asymmetry and the non-commutativity of the two conjuncts, or rather the conditional and the consequent (4b), follows.

(4)   a.   If you do this, I'm leaving
             you do this → I'm leaving
       b.   *If I'm leaving, you do this
             I'm leaving → you do this

I suggest in this paper how the notions of syntactic asymmetry of the kind I just mentioned, t-reducibility and logical interpretation may be analysed in concert. In brief, if two (or more) conjuncts are syntactically symmetrical (in a featural sense deeper than pure category), then proper t-reducible or Boolean conjunction is possible, otherwise it is not. Consider also another case that is exceptional in this regard.

1.1.2 *Case number two: PseCo*

Another case of exceptions where conjunction is semantically concealed concerns PseudoCoordination (PseCo), with an example in (5).

(5)   She went and got a mortgage

PseCo (under the same reading) expressions prohibit both the ordering reversal of its conjuncts (6a), as well as the clausal expansion (6b).

(6)   a.   *She got a mortgage and went
      b.   *She went and she got a mortgage

Just as in the first case above, the meaning of the conjunction marker does not seem to be the one marking Boolean conjunction, but rather causation or result. One of the aims of this chapter is to pin-point the construction meaning behind PseCo expressions.

Based on the distributional facts from the first case above, where the clausal force was the source of the syntactic asymmetry, I will suggest that PseCo, too, are structurally non-identical.[3] Many authors have in fact proposed this before so let me turn to some preliminary diagnostics of PseCo and the discussion of what makes PseCo and standard conjunctions distributionally different.

1.2   Diagnostics and distribution of PseCo

I generally focus on the syntactic diagnostics and facts (also because there exists a wide semantic gap in the literature) and reproduce here the descriptive arguments made in de Vos (2004).

Previous literature on PseCo (Ross 1967; Carden & Pesetsky 1977; de Vos 2004, int. al.) has established differences between standard coordination or conjunction (SCo) and PseCo. Let me list them (they essentially summarise de Vos 2004), along with pairs of contrasting examples for exposition.

(7)   a.   The first conjunct in PseCo is (in SCo is not) restricted to a closed class of verbs. (In this paper, I focus on the *go*-type PseCo only.)
           (ex.)PseCo)'Janša went (/*intellectualised) and crushed democracy'
               SCo)'Janša decided and crushed democracy'
      b.   PseCo does (while SCo does not) allow for systematic violations of the Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC; see Ross 1967).
           (ex.)PseCo)'What has Janša gone and done now?'
               SCo)'What has Janša tweeted about liberals and eaten'
      c.   The interpretation of PseCo expressions does (while SCo does not) yield derived interpretations and readings: PseCo may be interpreted aspectually, pejoratively, or carries a 'surprise' reading. (This paper derives the pejorative/surprise effect of PseCo – see §3 and §3.2 in particular). (ex.)
           PseCo)'Mary went and got a mortgage' [surprise/accomplishment]
               SCo)'Marry applied for and succeeded in getting a mortgage'

---

3.   I will assume the external conjunct is a verb, while the internal verbal conjunct is a causative VoiceP.

d.   The lexical meaning of the first verbal conjunct is (while in SCo it need not be) bleached (e.g., *go* does not require actual physical motion or 'going'), as discussed below.
(ex.)PseCo)'The Democrats went and self-destructed'
        SCo)'Bernie went out and never returned'

e.   In PseCo, the reordering of conjunct is (while in SCo it is not) prohibited. (This effect is derived in §2 and §3.)
(ex.)PseCo)'He {went and lost, *lost and went}'
        SCo)'He lost and (then) started an NGO'

f.   PseCo constructions express meanings restricted to, or contained within, single-events (while SCo do/need not), as §3.1.1 demonstrates.
(ex.)PseCo)'He went and tweeted' [one event]
        SCo)'He went out of the car and (then) tweeted' [two events]

g.   Consequenly, PseCo constructions disallow distributive long conjunction marking with *both* and *and*. (The absence of long/distributive conjunction follows from (7e) – for discussion and context, see Mitrović & Sauerland 2016; Mitrović 2021, int. al.)
(ex.)PseCo) 'Johnny (*both) went and tweeted'
        SCo)'Johnny both decided and was committed to tweeting'

h.   PseCo cannot (while SCo can) express states – this property will be indirectly derived in §3.
(ex.) PseCo)*'Janša went and resembled Trump'
         SCo) 'Janša tried to and ended up resembling Trump'

With respect to the well established empirical properties in (7), I hope to derive some of these systematically and without stipulation. The analysis I put forward is consistent with the restriction of the first PseCo conjunct to a set of motion verbs which can be interpreted as accomplishments in conjunction with the internal conjunct, which may shed light on the nature of (7a).

CSC violations (7b) apply only to proper coordination structure, which PseCo are not, as I demonstrate. Proper coordination will be analysed as a Junction structure to which a Boolean operator β may attach iff the Junction is symmetric. In absence of a specified β, Junction is improper and non-standard in terms of the truth-tabular meanings of conjunction (or disjunction – ignored here). PseCo will be shown to constitute improper Junction which may only receive a Dynamic Conjunction (DC) interpretation. As such, PseCo is not a proper coordinate structure, and hence not subject to the CSC.

The nature of 'derived readings' that PseCo gives rise to (7c) is one of the driving questions of this chapter. As noted above, the restriction on ordering in a PseCo (asymmetry) will be tied to a view that two conjuncts do not share structural complexity and, therefore, are not properly conjoined, but rather 'joined' in a

construction which composes a meaning that symmetric conjunction (and proper junction) cannot. My analysis will derive composition-ally the meanings behind narrative (past tense) uses of the 'go and' construction and argue that the meanings PseCo has is that of treating the internal conjunct verb as a factive state caused or derived by the first motion verb. Furthermore, the pragmatic signature of PseCo expressions (as noted by Carden & Pesetsky 1977) will also be explained.

The fact that the first motion conjunct verb in PseCo is bleached (7d) with respect to its lexical content will derive from the latter point of treating PseCo as resultative-like expressions. In this regard, the verb of motion *go* is semantically lifted to the meaning of cause or change of state.[4]

(8)   Bleaching of the semantic content of *go*:

$$\text{go} \begin{bmatrix} +\text{LEX} \\ \text{MOTION} \end{bmatrix} \mapsto \text{go} \begin{bmatrix} -\text{LEX} \\ \text{MOTION/CAUSE} \end{bmatrix}$$

For alternative, or rather supplementary, mechanisms that derive the bleaching of the motion verb, see Cardinaletti & Giusti (2001, 392ff)

What will also follow directly from the compositional analysis is the prohibition of reordering of the two conjuncts (7e) since the two verbal conjuncts will be shown to have different roles to play: one denotes a state, and the other the event which is the causing of that state. Based on this core semantic opposition between the two roles, the reordering constraint (7e) follows naturally and logically. In the following sections, I will treat the junction structure involved in PseCo as asymmetric, which will block the junction from being interpreted conjunctively, hence the lack of possibility for reordering the con/juncts.

The fact that PseCo expressions are restricted to single-events (7f) follows from the account that one of the conjuncts denotes an event of causing of a state, which will maintain the single-event property.

Since only Boolean expressions may be expressed using the long conjunction form (*both+and*), the observation that PseCo cannot be prefixed with *both* in English (or any other language for that reason), follows from the treatment of PseCo as improper Junction (itself tightly related to the no-reordering property noted above). This explains (7g).

---

4.   The contribution of the bleached motion verb is not that of intention, given PseCo expressions like the following:

i.   He went and got himself fired.

ii.   She went and won the lottery.

I will also be able to explain (7h) under an analysis which treats PseCo to denote complex causative predication, featuring a causing event and a caused state. This in itself precludes the possibility that PseCo should denote states – informally, they denote complex caused states, as I will suggest.

2. Syntax

This section serves two purposes. The first is to motivate (or transplant) a novel conjunction structure which allows for a more consistent treatment of conjunction and conjunctionlike expressions with different properties and meanings. The other is to take this structure and use it as a parametric battery for testing and deriving various types of conjunctions and conjunction-like expressions. The aim being to understand PseCo within a wider system of expressions.

I first develop a semantically-sensitive syntactic analysis for PseCo that rests on a modified coordination structure, as developed in Mitrović (2021, 2014), and resting on previous work by den Dikken (2006), as implemented by Slade (2011).

The goal for this section is to motivate a Junction structure, a construction that underlies both conjunction and disjunction, while also divorcing the logical ascription of the Junction expression from its structure.

2.1 Junction

A coordination structure of the type proposed in Kayne (1994) or Zhang (2010), int. al., is too strong as it uniformly derives a single logical closure at the interface with the interpretative module. Equating the conjunction marker *and* with a Boolean conjunction meaning of '∧' is a strong assumption that misses several cross-linguistically common expressions with *and*. (For one type of expressions this assumptions fails to explain, see Mitrović 2014; Mitrović 2021). I overviewed two classes of exceptions in the introduction (in §1.1.1 and §1.1.2) which clearly showed that a singular treatment of conjunction cannot be maintained.

One solution to maintain the semantic variability of *and*-marked expressions is to revise the syntactic structure for coordination, which would in turn allow for a more flexible semantic treatment. This subsection looks at one such approach, by motivating the notion of Junction.

Winter was among the first to propose that the meaning of '*a and b*' does not go beyond forming a pair of *a* and *b*, or ⟨*a, b*⟩.

Mitrović (2014) adopts a Junction Phrase structure, based on den Dikken's (2006) analysis, that is semantically not only neutral between *con*junction and *dis*junction, but is also able to yield either intersective or subsective readings (derived as contextual allosemy, à la Marantz 2011). J^0 has the semantics of junction or non-Boolean join in form of a •-operator that forms a tuple as proposed by Szabolcsi (2015) building on Winter's (1995) analysis.

Therefore the denotation of a junction of two phrasal juncts is a suspended pair-formation.

(9) $\llbracket\ [_{JP}\ XP[J^0\ YP]\ ]\ \rrbracket = \llbracket XP \rrbracket \bullet \llbracket YP \rrbracket$
$$= \langle \llbracket XP \rrbracket, \llbracket YP \rrbracket \rangle$$

Mitrović (2014, Chapter 2) proposes that there be a silent Boolean operator, β that attaches to JP and delivers a Boolean value for, or logical closure of, $\langle \llbracket XP \rrbracket, \llbracket YP \rrbracket \rangle$, based on the feature value that checks it.

(10) A Junction Phrase
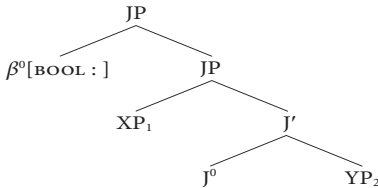
I propose there exists a mechanism of symmetry checking: an algorithm for J that verifies whether the juncts are symmetric in categorial and also sub-categorial features. Figure 1 states this toy algorithm.

Recall the first exception case, repeated in (11), or PseCo:

(11) $[_{CP[-DECL]}$ Do this] and $[_{CP[+DECL]}$ I'm leaving]

(12) She $[_{VP[-CAUSE]}$ went] and $[_{VP[+CAUSE]}$ got a mortgage]

In the first case (11), the categories of the two juncts match, both being clauses, and therefore conjunction is sanctioned. In case the second step (concerning the question about the sub-categorial features) returns a negative value, the conjunction is asymmetric and a standard Boolean interpretation cannot apply. Using the algorithm, the β-valuation is determined as shown in (13), where the conception of symmetry injunction is directly tied to the Boolean definability and t-reducibility.
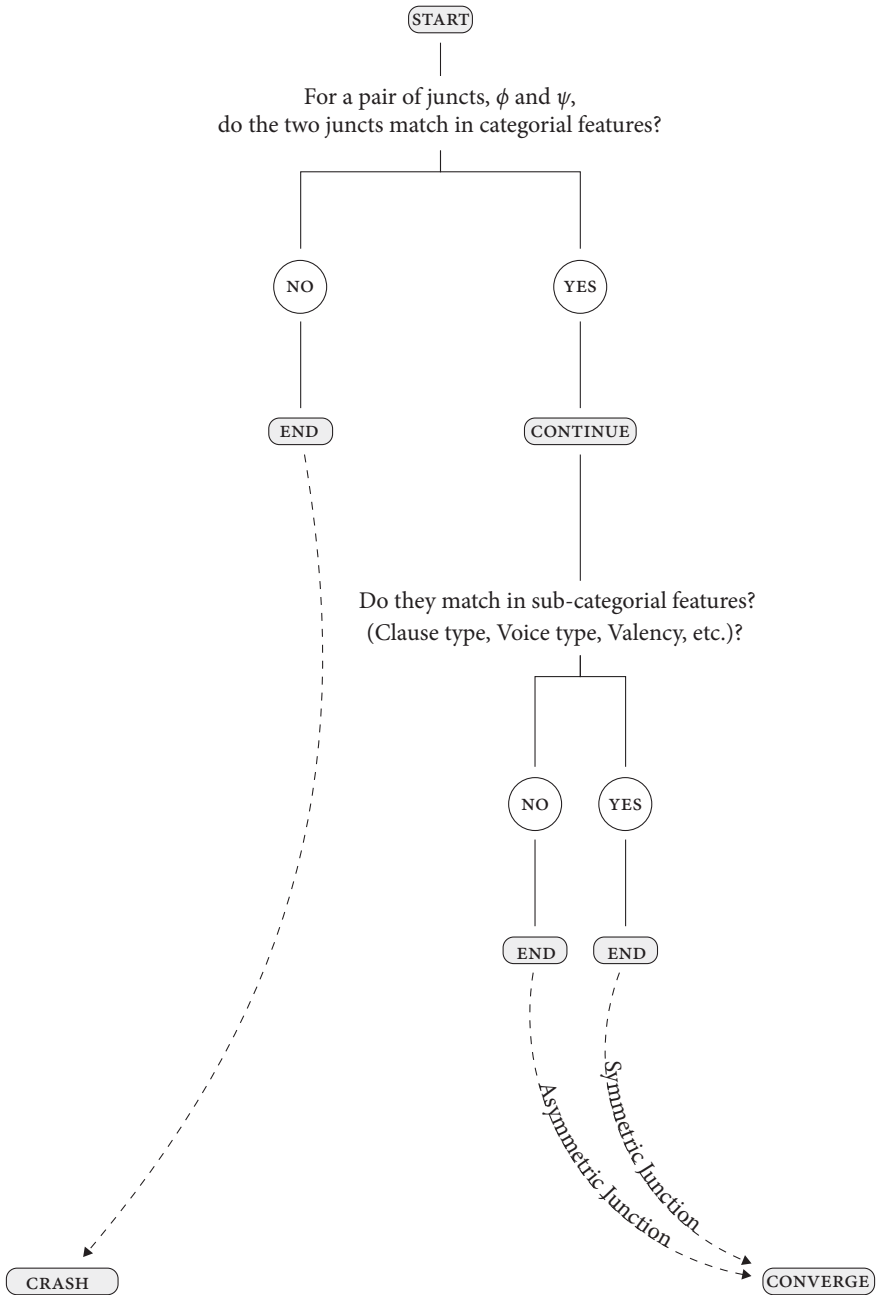
Figure 1. A toy algorithm determining junction symmetry.

For further details about the nature of this proposed mechanism of β-valuation, see Mitrović (2014); Mitrović (2021), and those cited therein.

(13) β-valuation in
  a. Symmetric Junction:

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{JP} \\
\swarrow \qquad \searrow \\
\beta^0[\text{BOOL}:\text{VAL}] \qquad \text{JP} \\
\swarrow \quad \searrow \\
\text{XP}_1 \qquad \text{J}' \\
\swarrow \quad \searrow \\
\text{J}^0 \qquad \text{XP}_2 \\
| \\
[+\text{SYM}]
\end{array}
$$

  b. Asymmetric Junction:

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{JP} \\
\swarrow \qquad \searrow \\
\beta^0[\text{BOOL}:\varnothing] \qquad \text{JP} \\
\swarrow \quad \searrow \\
\text{XP} \qquad \text{J}' \\
\swarrow \quad \searrow \\
\text{J}^0 \qquad \text{YP} \\
| \\
[-\text{SYM}]
\end{array}
$$
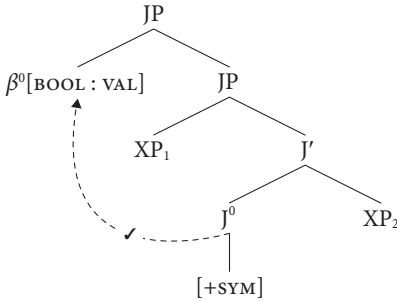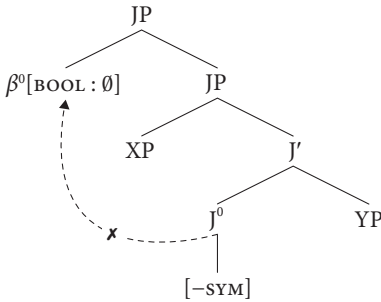
In cases where the Junction is asymmetric, the β-operator remains unvalued. I propose that it is Dynamic Conjunction that kicks in as last resort in such cases.

Dynamic conjunction

Dynamic conjunction requires that sequencing be the only compositional operation. The Junction syntax set up in the last section given structural and interpretational basics for this approach which I develop in this section.

I propose that $[u\text{F}:\ ]$ on β^0 may remain unvalued, à la Preminger's (2011) analysis, in which case Dynamic Conjunction (DC) obtains, in the sense of Dekker (2012), as a default interpretation of β and JP. In this default scenario, the dynamically interpretive mechanism will apply DC by universally interpreting the second sentence S' in $\langle S, S' \rangle$ in the context of the S (Dekker 2012), yielding 'consecutive' or implicative meaning that is consistently reflected in supra-sentential discourse structures and which I model as null Junction of $\langle S, S' \rangle$.

This is shown for a small stretch of discourse below. Note that both juncts in (15) seemingly match in their categorial and sub-categorial features, hence we expect the β-operator to be checked in syntax. While this is an available reading, there is another one in which the two juncts constitute a discourse stretch which is allegedly larger than two clauses and not subject to narrow syntactic operations but rather pragmatic (the reader may verify the dynamic reading by adding a longer pause between the juncts).

(14)

JP
e_1 — J'
I went home. — J^0 — e_2
My cat was hungry.
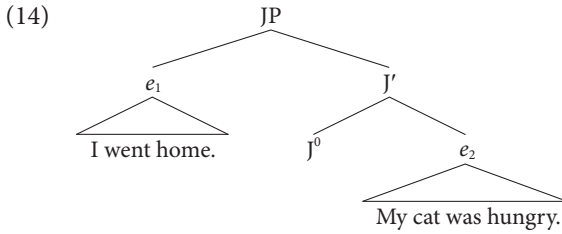
(15) $[\![(14)]\!] = \begin{cases} e_1 \wedge e_2 & \text{if } [\![J^0]\!] = \wedge \text{ and } e_1 \neq e_2 \\ e_1 \rightarrow e_2 & \text{otherwise (DS)} \end{cases}$

In the next section, as I turn to the semantic aspects of PseCo, I will show how the implicative meaning falls out in the presuppositional dimensions. In that case, the DC effects are derived from the presupposition projection properties of PseCo.

2.2 Typology & variation

Given the featural asymmetry between the conjuncts in PseCo, DC applies. However, DC is generally definable for propositions (clauses) only, while in the case of PseCo, it is structurally restricted to sub-clausal verbal juncts with a shared event-variable. If structures are supra-clausal, either $\wedge$ or $\rightarrow$ may be the logical closures, per DC. If the junction structure is sub-clausal (AP, VP, PP, etc.), only Λ is available since dynamic interpretation does not apply sub-clausally (i.e. to non-propositional elements). We assume a Junction structure (JP), as per den Dikken (2006) and Mitrović (2014), *int. al.* and propose a typology of coordination/junction with PseCo subsumed. Note that type-III conjunction in the Table refers to asymmetric conjunctions that are not PseCos, yet show similar and-to-if inferences (11), as investigated by Klinedinst & Rothschild (2012).

What makes Pseudo-Coordination possible in some languages and impossible in others? Given the proposed JP structure, the answer is expressed in hierarchical terms of the parameter theory, and given in Figure 2.

PseCo is subsumable within the parametric space for junction constructions and expression in Figure 2. This also provides a parametric means of diagnosing PseCo and explicating a view of its acquisition within the line of thinking of macro-parametric design (an immodest task). In the next section, I will demonstrate the means of compositionally deriving PseCo also.

Table 1. A typological partition based on the Boolean parametric hierarchy for coordination systems

	Coordination parameters			Category	Connective	β-val.	DC
	Maximal	**Symmetric**	**Proper**				
I	+	+	+	$\leq$ CP	$\wedge, \vee$	+	−
II	+	+	−	> CP	$\wedge, \rightarrow$	−	+
III	+	−	−	CP[DEC|IMP]	$\rightarrow$	−	+
IV	−	+	+	NP|VP	$\wedge, \vee, \rightarrow$	+	−
V	−	−	−	V/VoiceP	$\wedge, \rightarrow$	−	+

Note that the categories of con/juncts shown in Table 1 are all phasal: CP being the high phase, vP being the low phase, and the lexical maximal categories NP and VP being the first phase (see Roberts 2010 and those he cites for details on the phasal status of minimal categories).

(16) I. Maximally & symmetrically proper coordination
II. Maximally & symmetrically improper coordination
III. Maximally & asymmetrically improper coordination
IV. Minimally & symmetrically proper coordination (:= compounding)
V. Non-maximal improper coordination (:= PseCo)

Before resuming with the analysis, let me briefly take stock of the elements of the analysis developed thus far. Here are the syntactic properties of junctions:

(17) a. The Junction Phrase (JP) is a constituent formed by joining two daughter constituents, and is a common structural denominator between conjunction and disjunction, or larger stretches of discourse.
b. Coordination proper is derived though the silent attachment of a β operator to a JP and maps the junction of two arguments onto a Boolean value (i.e., it derives the t-reducibility of a coordination/junction expression). The structure containing a JP and a β operator is a proper junction, or coordination (Junction Proper).
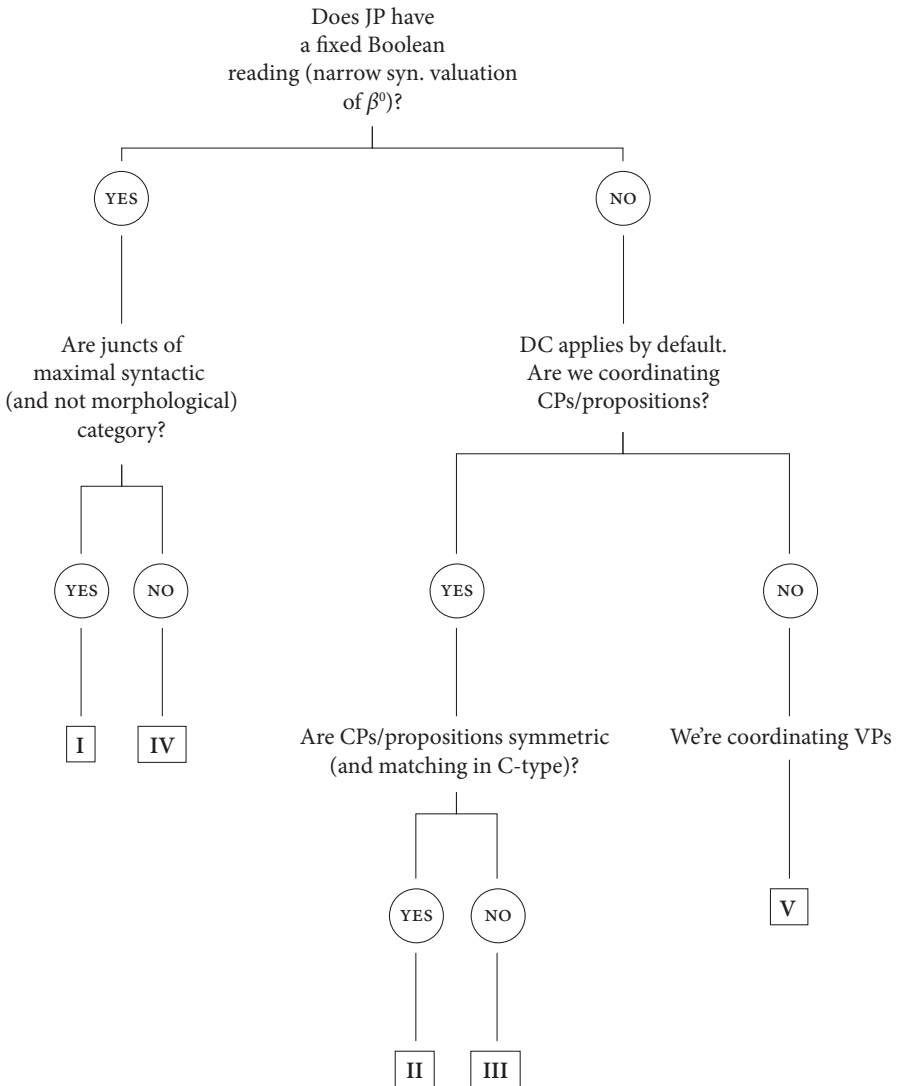
Figure 2. A Boolean parametric hierarchy for coordination systems, subsuming PseCo and yielding typological taxonomies and hypothesised learning pathways.

c. The β operator can apply when the arguments are symmetrically joined. By virtue of t-reducibility, junction arguments are therefore commutative and the junction symmetric.

d. Improper junction involves an unvalued β head: in this scenario, β does not act as an intervenor to extraction from a JP.

e. Only proper junction is subject to CSC.

The analysis I laid out treats the internal conjunct of a PseCo expression as a resultative verb. In the next section, I will develop a compositional interpretation, according to which '(she went and) got a mortgage' denotes a state derived from the event of getting a mortgage, and the cause of the state is the first conjunct verb. Let me turn to that now.

2.3   The causative syntax of PseCo

I propose that the syntactic structure of PseCo be analysed as an asymmetric junction of a VP and a [CAUSE]-bearing VoiceP. My main motivation for this claim is semantic in nature and I will postpone the relevant discussion until the next section.

Note that [CAUSE] does not always add, or require, a causer argument, as Pylkkänen (2008) has shown. It is also valid to dissociate this [CAUSE]-bearing head from the Voice category that introduces the external argument. For evidence on this, also see Pylkkänen (2008). Let me therefore split the VoiceP into at least two formative layers: one carrying agenitive feature, or feature-bundles, and another specified for causativity, carrying (at least) [CAUSE]:

(18)   Splitting Voice:

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Voice}_2\text{P} \\
\diagup \quad \diagdown \\
\text{Agent} \qquad \text{Voice}'_2 \\
\diagup \quad \diagdown \\
\text{Voice}^0_2 \qquad \text{Voice}_1\text{P} \\
\mid \qquad \qquad \diagdown \\
[\text{AGENT}] \qquad \text{Voice}^0_1 \\
\mid \\
[\text{CAUSE}]
\end{array}
$$
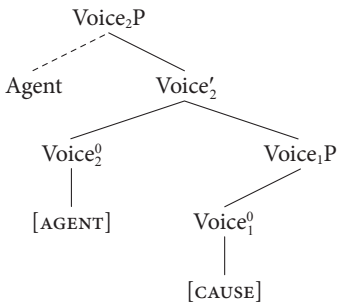
Under the reasonable assumption that there are at least two such Voice layers, it is further reasonable to allow for junction to take place at any of the two maximal category levels. Consider the junction site to be at Voice$_1$P-level, along with the assumption that PseCo is asymmetric, hence the two juncts do not match in structure, as motivated in Figure 1 and the discussion above.

The analysis I submit considers the first conjunct of a PseCo to be a VP and the second a Voice$_1$ P of the type noted above. Note that Cardinaletti & Giusti (2001) require there to be an additional non-lexical layer in the projection of the fist PseCo

conjunct in order for them to derived the bleachedness effects (8).[5] This view is fully consistent with mine and my analysis does not require the first conjunct to be lexical in nature derivationally, but only distinct from the $Voice_1P$ in lacking the [CAUSE] feature, as I will discuss. I tentatively assume that the bleached motion verb, presumably carrying a [CAUSE]-type feature, passes such a feature via Agree onto $Voice_1^0$ across the Junction boundary.

(19) Deriving PseCo as improper VP/VoiceP-junction:
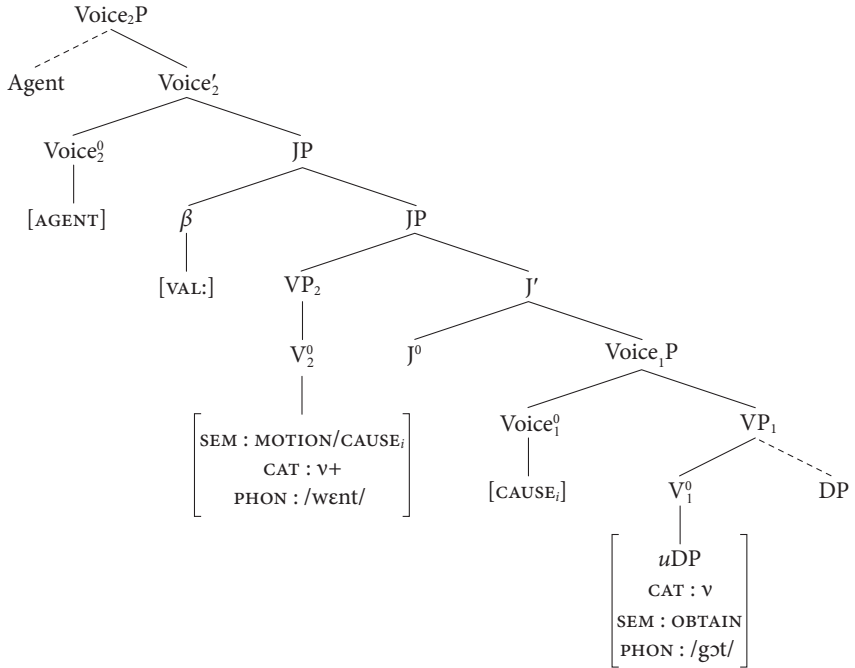
Consider the derivation of such a constructions given in (26). The next section provides a compositional obverse of the syntactic structure.

---

5. I therefore mark the categorial feature of the first conjunct as $v+$, signifying a possibly more functional property of the category, which is in line with the assumption that it carries a [CAUSE]-like feature.

3.   Semantics & pragmatics

3.1   Semantics

I map the Junction structure here onto a composition engine with the aim of ar-
riving at a compositional interpretation of PseCo that retains its core semantic
signature, namely the single-event reading. The first subsection is devoted to em-
pirically substantiating the claim that PseCo expressions allow for a single-event
reading (hinging on and reproducing arguments from Cardinaletti and Giusti).
The second half of this section transplants the syntactic structure onto a λ-driven
extensional composition.

3.1.1   *The single-event property*
The arguments presented here come largely from Cardinaletti & Giusti (2001), who
investigate three languages in detail and justify the observation given in (20)

> (20)   The two verbs in the inflected construction [PseCo] refer to a single event.
> (Cardinaletti & Giusti 2001, 386n40)

They cite Shopen (1971) who notices that in American English, PseCo does not
have the same meaning as the corresponding infinitival (where 'and' and 'to' are
swapped).

> (21)   Cardinaletti & Giusti (2001, 386n41–42), taken from Shopen (1971, 258)
> a.   They *go to buy* vegetables everyday, but there never are any vegetables.
> b.   *They *go buy* vegetables everyday, but there never are any vegetables.
> c.   *They *go and buy* vegetables everyday, but there never are any vegetables.

In PseCo, the two verbs are interpreted as denoting the same event (20), while the
infinitival in (21a) refers to two events and is felicitous (and grammatical) even if
only one such event is true (their having gone but not purchased anything since
there was nothing to purchase). Since the event of going-and-purchasing must
coincide, the PseCo construction in (21b), or its silent variant in American English
(21c), is ungrammatical and infelicitous.

The distribution in (21) also testifies to the factivity of PseCo (see §3.2.1): the
fact that the corrective clause clashes with what the PseCo preceding it expresses
is evidence for this. I will derive these properties and suggest that the event, from
which the stative reading of the internal conjunct is derived, is presupposed in the
denotation of the PseCo.

For this reading to obtain, I will posit a small VoiceP structure for the internal
conjunct. We can maintain the split Voice analysis, retain one type of Voice as the
structure of the internal (lexical) conjunct in PseCo. This type of Voice is the one

specified for causality, carrying a [CAUSE] feature. As I argue in the next section, the [CAUSE] turns the interpretation of the lexical verb (internal conjunct) from one denoting an event to one denoting a state of an event. A state of an event is taken to be a property that an event has. This is the resultative-like meaning of the second conjunct in PseCo, making it semantically resemble an adjective.

3.1.2 *Composing PseCo*

This section provides an analysis inspired largely by Kratzer (1996, 2005). From her first work, I adopt and incorporate the notion of Event Identification, and from her second work, an analysis of resultatives. The latter will allow me to propose that verb serialisation, *qua* PseCo, is a concealed resultative construction. As I argue, what they both share is the presence of a [CAUSE] feature. So let me first motivate the two ideas in turn.

Event identification

The first ingredient of the compositional system I develop is the one which will enable the merger of an Agent (or any other thematic assigner) within the VoiceP system.

Kratzer (1996) follows Bowers (1993) in assuming that all arguments are merged in the specifier position of their relevant heads: external arguments are arguments of the Voice functional layer, and hence are generated in Spec(VoiceP), while direct objects are, being selected by (and being) arguments of V, externally merged in in Spec(VP).[6] Let me reproduce in ((22b)), taken from Kratzer (1996, 121n21–2), an exemplar syntactic structure, along with the composition which requires a specialised composition rule, Event Identification.

(22) a. **Construction of VoiceP:**

---
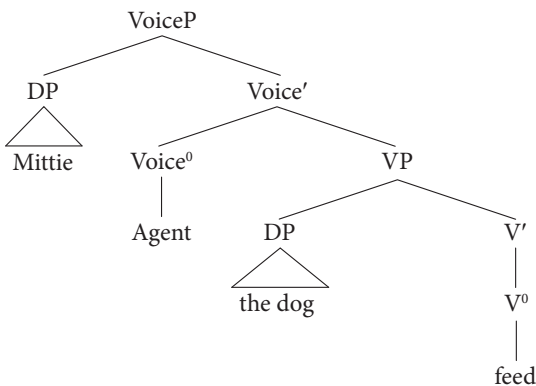
6. This stance solves several empirical issues – see Kratzer (1996) for arguments and citations.

b.   **Interpretation of VoiceP:**
    i. $[\![feed]\!] = \lambda x \in D_e \, [\lambda e \in D_s[\text{FEED}(x)(e)]]$
    ii. $[\![the\ dog]\!] = the\ dog$
    iii. $[\![[[the\ dog]\ [feed]]]\!] = \lambda e \in D_s[\text{FEED}(the\ dog(e))]$ (by FA)
    iv. $[\![Agent]\!] = \lambda x \in D_e \, [\lambda e \in D_s \, [\text{AGENT}(x)\,(e)]]$
    v. $[\![[[Agent][the\ dog\ feed]]]\!] = \lambda x \in D_e[\lambda e \in D_s \begin{bmatrix} \text{AGENT}(x)(e) \wedge \\ \text{FEED}(the\ dog)(e) \end{bmatrix}]$
                                                                     (by EI)
    vi. $[\![Mittie]\!] = Mittie$
    vii. $[\![[[Mittie]\ [Agent\ the\ dog\ feed]]]\!] = \lambda e \in D_s \begin{bmatrix} \text{AGENT}(Mittie)(e) \wedge \\ \text{FEED}(the\ dog)(e) \end{bmatrix}$

Event Identification (EI), which is required for the calculation of meaning in fifth step above ((22bv)), is a form of a conjunction operation for predicates which allows, informally, thematic participants in the event structure to be identified with the verb. EI divorces verbs from their seeming argument-taking semantics and, as Kratzer (1996) describes, Event Identification makes it possible to chain together various conditions for the event described by a sentence. It is defined in (23) below.[7]

(23)   **Event Identification** (EI)
variable:	f	g	$\rightarrow$	h
type:	$\langle e\,\langle st\rangle\rangle$	$\langle st\rangle$		$\langle e\,\langle st\rangle\rangle$
composition:				$\lambda x \in D_e[\lambda e \in D_s[f(x)(e) \wedge g(e)]]$

EI takes two functions, f and g, and yields another function h which is similar to the first in being of type $\langle e\,\langle st\rangle\rangle$, i.e. the denotation of the VoiceP is a function from individuals to functions from eventualities to truth-values.

    Consider now the fact that PseCos only allow for single-event readings: I will therefore take them as instantiating VP-junctions, sharing a single selecting Voice^0. Before stating the analysis, I need to motivate another crucial ingredient for my structure: the [CAUSE] feature on Voice, to which I turn next.

---

7.   I standardly use e as a type of individuals (from its corresponding domain De), t as a type of truth values (in {0,1}), and s as a type of eventualities (from its own corresponding domain D_s). Note also that eventualities include both events proper (e, not to be confused with type e), and states (s, not to be confused with the type s).

Events of causing and the [CAUSE] *feature*

In PseCo expressions such as 'she went and got a mortgage' can be analysed as resultative or causative construction. To see how causatives and resultatives are generally connected semantically, see Kratzer (2005) and those she cites.

In the previous section I proposed an asymmetric analysis of PseCo (19) where one conjunct is a VP, and the other a causative-like VoiceP. The crucial ingredient in the latter is the presence of the [CAUSE] feature which I motivate on semantic grounds.

The feature [CAUSE] is interpreted as the predicate CAUSE which I define below, following Kratzer (2005).

(24) $[[\text{CAUSE}]] = \lambda P \in D_{\langle st \rangle}[\lambda e \in D_s[\exists s \in D_s[\begin{bmatrix} \text{STATE}(s) \wedge \text{EVENT}(e) \wedge \\ P(s) \wedge \text{CAUSE}(s)(e) \end{bmatrix}]]]$

The compositional analysis of the derivation I proposed in (19) hinges on the stative treatment of the internal conjunct which fed into the meaning of [CAUSE]. However, in order for this to obtain, I have to posit a silent STATIVISER function which takes a proper event of type $\langle st \rangle$, denoted by the internal conjunct VP, and returns a state of that event. The VP denotes an event of '(her) getting a mortage', and the STATIVISER extracts the property of that event as a state. Therefore, the denotation of Voice_1P denotes the resulting state of '(her) having got or obtained a mortgage'. The STATIVISER entry in (2) essentially just swaps the variable e for variable s, both of type s, while presupposing the state is derived from a corresponding event.[8] This step is legitimate on conceptual grounds, as Ernst (2001) argues using his *Fact-Event Object* (FEO) Calculus for which there are three rules; I give in (25) only one that is relevant here.

(25)   Any FEO (sub)type may be converted to another FEO (sub)type as required by lexical items or coercion operators.   (Ernst 2001, 50n2.25b)

The stativiser I propose therefore turns a dynamic event into a stative one, by extracting the state as a property of that event. I do not pursue the details of how active statives are derived in detail, but rather refer the reader to the semantics of Ernst (2001); Koontz-Garboden (2010); Michaelis (2011); Baglini (2012), and those they cite and rely on. (Note that the J head, interpreted as •-operator below, is realised as the 'and' marker.)

---

8.   The presuppositional content is marked before the bracketed nucleus and after the colon.

(26)   Interpreting PseCo as improper VP/VoiceP-junction:
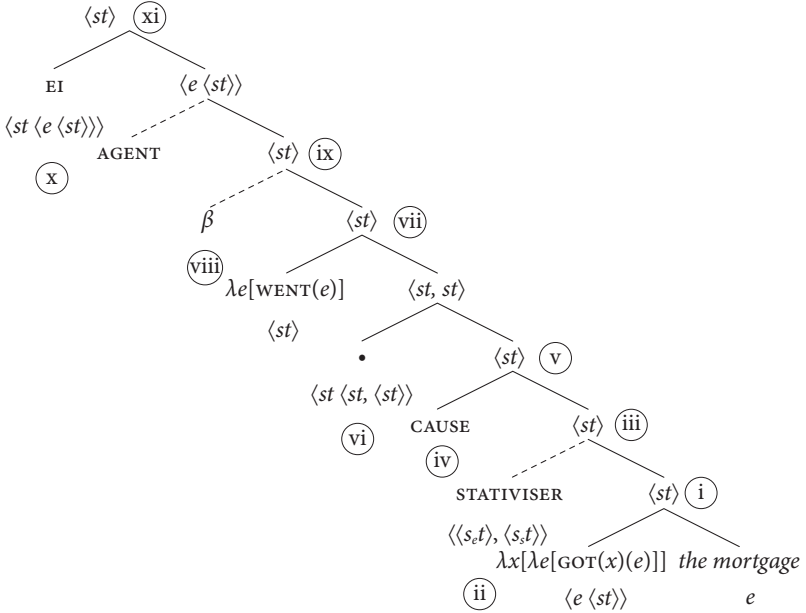
i. $[\![\text{VP}_1]\!] = [\![\text{got}]\!] \, ([\![\text{the mortgage}]\!])$
     $= \lambda x \in D_e[\lambda e \in D_s[\text{GOT}(x)(e)]](the\ mortgage)$
     $= \lambda e \in D_s[\text{GOT}((the\ mortgage))(e)]$
     $= \lambda e \in D_s[\text{G}(m)(e)]$ (shorthand)

ii. $[\![\text{STATIVISER}]\!] = \lambda P \in D_{\langle st\rangle}[\lambda s \in D_s \, [\lambda e \in D_s : P(e)[P(s)]]]$

iii. $[\![\text{STATIVISER}]\!] \, ([\![\text{VP}_1]\!]) = \lambda P \in D_{\langle st\rangle}[\lambda s \in D_s[\lambda\ e \in D_s : P(e)[P(s)]]]$
     $(\lambda e \in D_s[\text{G}(m)(e)])$
     $= \lambda s \in D_s \, [\lambda e \in D_s : \text{G}(m)(e)[\text{G}(m)(s)]]$

iv. $[\text{CAUSE}] = (24)$

v. $[\![\text{CAUSE}]\!]([\![(\text{iii})]\!]) = \lambda P \in D_{\langle st\rangle}[\lambda e \in D_s[\exists s \in D_s \begin{bmatrix} \text{STATE}(s) \wedge \\ \text{EVENT}(e) \wedge P(s) \wedge \\ \text{CAUSE}(s)(e) \end{bmatrix}]]$

$(\lambda s \in D_s[\lambda e \in D_s : \text{G}(m)(e)[\text{G}(m)(s)]])$

$= \lambda e \in D_s[\exists s \in D_s : \text{G}(m)(e)\begin{bmatrix} \text{STATE}(s) \wedge \text{EVENT}(e) \wedge \\ \text{G}(m)(s) \wedge \\ \text{CAUSE}(s)(e) \end{bmatrix}]$

vi. $[\![\text{J}]\!] = \lambda \phi \, [\lambda \psi \, [\phi \bullet \psi]]$
     $= \lambda \phi \, [\lambda \psi \, [\langle \phi, \psi \rangle]]$

$$\lambda e[\text{WENT}(e)],$$

vii. $[\![VP_1 \bullet VP_2]\!] = \left\langle \quad \lambda e \in D_s [\exists s \in D_s : \text{G}(m)(e) \begin{bmatrix} \text{STATE}(s) \wedge \text{EVENT}(e) \wedge \\ \text{G}(m)(s) \wedge \\ \text{CAUSE}(s)(e) \end{bmatrix}]]] \right\rangle$

viii. $[\![\beta]\!] = \lambda \langle \phi, \psi \rangle [\phi \wedge \psi]$

ix. $[\![\beta]\!]([\![VP_1 \bullet VP_2]\!]) = \lambda e \in D_s [\exists s \in D_s : \text{G}(m)(e) \begin{bmatrix} \text{STATE}(s) \wedge \text{EVENT}(e) \wedge \\ \text{WENT}(e) \wedge \\ \text{G}(m)(s) \wedge \\ \text{CAUSE}(s)(e) \end{bmatrix}]]]$

(by Predicate Modification)

x. $[\![\text{EI}]\!] = (23)$

xi. $[\![\text{EI}]\!] = ([\![\text{JP}]\!]) ([\![\text{AGENT}]\!]) = [\![(\text{x})]\!]([\![(\text{ix})]\!])([\![\text{she}]\!])$

$$= \lambda e \in D_s \begin{bmatrix} \exists s \in D_s : \text{G}(m)(e) \\ \text{STATE}(s) \wedge \text{EVENT}(e) \wedge \\ \text{WENT}(e) \wedge \\ \text{G}(m)(s) \wedge \\ \text{CAUSE}(s)(e) \wedge \\ \text{AGENT}(e)(she) \end{bmatrix}$$

The interpretation in (26) thus represents the composition of the event structure of PseCo, which further composes with the T-head to close off the abstracted *e*-variables and derive it with a proposition. The entire clause, in turn, denotes a word-dependent interpretation of that proposition. (This will become relevant in the next section, when we turn to the pragmatic effects of PseCo.)

(27) Composing the proposition that 'she went and got the mortgage'
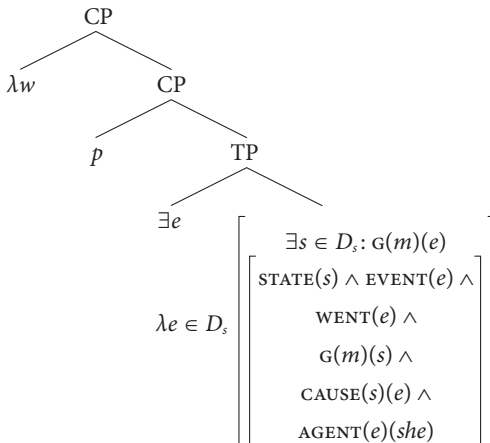
Our analysis of stativisation also produces a presuppositional component of meaning in the first conjunct, which allows us, in combination with the single-event constraint, to provide a dynamic treatment of the conjunction, whereby the event denoted by the first conjunct will entail the event in the second conjunct.

In §3.2 I turn to the pragmatics of PseCo expressions.

3.2   Pragmatics

This section argues for the following two pragmatic signatures of declarative PseCo expressions:

(28) i.   PseCos are factives.
      ii.   PseCos are doxastics: PseCos commit a speaker to a belief (at least in declarative contexts). The commitment to a belief ϕ is emotive and surprising.

In the following two subsections, I address each of the properties in turn.

3.2.1   *Factivity*
PseCo express factive propositions, unlike their close variants. Recall the contrast between PseCo and its infinitival variant, repeated below.

(29) Cardinaletti & Giusti (2001, 386n41–42), taken from Shopen (1971, 258), partially repeated from (21)
      i.   They *go to buy* vegetables everyday, but there never are any vegetables.
      ii.   *They *go and buy* vegetables everyday, but there never are any vegetables.

The pair in (29) clearly shows a contrast: PseCo are factives, infinitivals are not. The factivity property of PseCo is predicted under my semantic analysis since the denotation of the Voice$_1$P has existential presupposition with which the adversative *but*-conjunct clashes in (29ii).

3.2.2   *Surprise & emotivity*
PseCo expressions communicate (generally negative) emotivity and surprise on part of the speaker, as Carden & Pesetsky (1977) have first noticed. Take the following example:

(30) It took me **six months** to get a mortgage.
      i.   (But,) John *went and got* it in **three.**
            ⤳ John managed to get a mortgage with ease.
      ii.   #(But,) John *went and got* it in **twelve.**
            ⤱ John managed to get a mortgage with ease.

I adopt here a theory of *surprise* that treats it as a predicate that yields unexpected similarities between the actual world and the stereotypical world.

To see how surprise works, consider the following scenario (taken from Romero 2015). Since the relevant focus-marking in the complement clause, in line with the scenario, is on TUESday, the focus alternatives from the embedded clause are able to project upward point-wise and supply the emotive factive with the relevant doxastic alternatives.

(31)   [SCENARIO] Lisa knew that syntax was going to be taught. She expected syntax to be taught by John, since he is the best syntactician around. Also, she expected syntax to be taught on Mondays, since that is the rule.

   i.   It surprised Lisa that John taught syntax on TUESdays   TRUE
   ii. It surprised Lisa that JOHN taught syntax on Tuesdays   NOT TRUE

I follow Romero (2015, 227, Example 12) in her adapting the semantics of desire-predicates (of Heim 1992 and Stalnaker 1984) to emotive factives, such as the *surprise* predicate. I take this predicate to be silently projected in the syntax, at some higher supra-clausal level, possibly where Speech Acts are encoded. Compositionally, this *surprise*-predicate combines with the proposition (32) and the Speaker (*SPK*):[9]

(32)   i.   The silent supra-clausal Speech Act layer hosting the *surprise* predicate

```
                    SPEECHACTP
                  /            \
               SPK          SPEECHACT′
                             /        \
                    is surprised (that)   CP
```
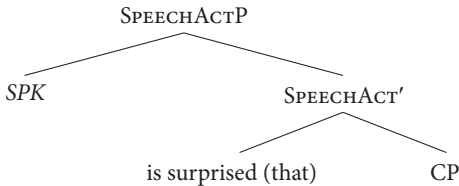
   ii. Interpreting the clause:

$$[\![\text{CP}]\!] = \lambda w \; \exists e \begin{bmatrix} \exists s : \text{GOT}(\textit{the mortgage})(e) \\[4pt] p(w) = \begin{bmatrix} \text{STATE}(s) \wedge \\[4pt] \text{EVENT}(e) \wedge \\[4pt] \text{WENT}(e) \wedge \\[4pt] \text{GOT}(\textit{the mortgage})(s) \wedge \\[4pt] \text{CAUSE}(s)(e) \wedge \\[4pt] \text{AGENT}(e)(\textit{she}) \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

---
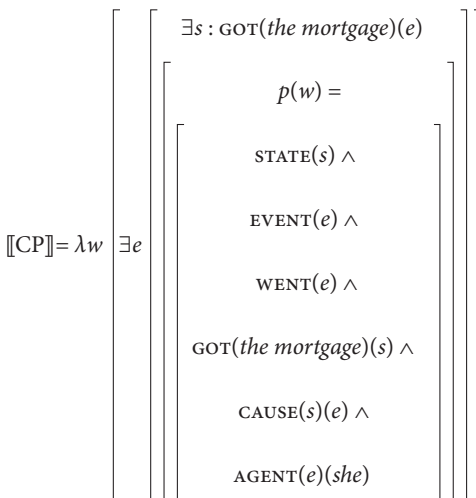
9.   I do not delve deeper into how the syntax of Speech Acts and discourse is derived – for details of how the discourse participants are encoded in narrow syntax, see Woods (2016).

Defining this predicate requires two ingredients. The first is a relation of comparative similarity, which maps p to p-worlds maximally similar to w_0, the actual world.

The second is an expectability ordering ($>^{\text{EXP}}_{\langle x, w_0 \rangle}$), which is defined as a relation between some individual x and the real-world w_0. I submit that the modal similarity operates on stereotypical modal ordering (which in turn derives the negative flavour of the emotive factive). A stereotypical ordering source maps w to a set of propositions characterising what typically (but not always) happens in w (Reisinger 2016). In more formal terms,

(33) i.   A *stereotypical conversational background* is a function f which assigns sets of propositions to members of W such that for any $w \in W$: $f(w)$ contains all those propositions p such that it is the normal course of events in w that p (for someone, for a community, etc.).   (Kratzer 1981, 45)

ii. A *stereotypical ordering source* in w is then $g(w)$ which is a set of propositions that represent the normal course of events in w.

The proposition (32) expressed by a PseCo expression such as 'she went and got the mortgage' is therefore not a member of the stereotypical ordering source, which is the source of the surprise effect. Let's plug this into the *surprise*-predicate entry, which I adopt from Heim (1992) and Stalnaker (1984) via Romero (2015).

$$
(34) \quad [\![SPK \text{ is surprised that } p]\!] = \lambda w_0 \left[\begin{array}{c} \forall w \in \cap \text{ DOX}(w_0) \\ \left[\text{SIM}_w (\neg p) >^{\text{EXP}}_{\langle SPK, w_0 \rangle} \text{SIM}_w (p) \right] \end{array} \right]
$$

Therefore, for all the speaker knows given the stereotypical conversational background and (33), the speaker is not, or less, likely to expect that the world in which p is true to be similar to the worlds in the speaker's stereotypical ordering source $g(w)$. Hence the surprise.

4.   Conclusions & outlook

This paper has attempted a unified treatment of syntax, semantics, and pragmatics, based more or less on a declarative PseCo expression. Despite the empirical limitation, the conclusions of the present work are more general.

(35) i.   PseCo constructions are instantiations of improper junction.

ii. Junction is a structural umbrella notion that can handle a range of coordinate and coordinate-like constructions and expressions.

iii. PseCo constructions of the 'go-(and-)get'-type are concealed causatives where the first conjunct acts (or is interpreted) as an event of causing a state, which the internal conjunct denotes.

iv. PseCo expressions of the 'go-(and-)get'-type are doxastics and (in their narrative, declarative, episodic contexts) bring about a 'surprise' effect, thereby committing a speaker to hold an emotive attitude towards the proposition containing PseCo.

There are issues that remain to be resolved and integrated with the present proposal. One such open question concerns the nature of non-declarative and episodic PseCo expressions. In imperative contexts, by contrast, this attitude is absent, due to the nature of imperativity and future-anchoring of the proposition an imperative expresses.

Syntactically, these two types also correlate with the optional vs. obligatory presence of the overt conjunction marker. This, in turn, may turn out to correlate directly with the factivity property.

(36) Imperative:
'Go (and) get the mortgage!'

(37) Declarative:
'She went *(and) got the mortgage!'

Another question concerns the wider pool of PseCo expressions, containing other first-conjunct verbs (such as *try* or *come*, etc.) In this regard, the present work bring us closer to the discussion Kratzer (2005, 209) initiated:

> In a serial verb construction, a stack of VPs is interpreted via successive applications of Event Identification. Consequently, there are tight constraints on what kind of verbs can participate in the construction. Most run-of-the-mill event descriptions are not compatible with each-other: I can laugh while dancing and move while sleeping, but no laugh can be a dance, and no sleep can be a move. On the other hand, a watering event can be an event of causing the tulips to be flat, and a drinking event can be an event of causing your teapot to be empty. As long as VPs can describe such causing events without the help of inflection, we should find causal interpretations in serial verb constructions. We saw that in German and English, the availability of an unpronounced derivational suffix [CAUSE] seems to produce a marginal case of serialization. What other types of event identifications might be possible in principle? A walking event could be identified with an event that has a particular purpose, for example, like buying a refrigerator or talking to my boss. If VPs could describe such events without the help of inflection, we would expect to find serial verb constructions with purpose interpretations. We should be looking for inflectionless VPs with meanings corresponding to English *in order to*-infinitivals, then. More generally, the range of possible meanings for serial verb constructions should be jointly determined by the operation of Event Identification and the expressive possibilities for bare VPs.

If the presented analysis is on the right track, we should be able to derive Kratzer's predictions and find purposive serial constructions, which could be composed in ways similar to the one I advocated for in this chapter.

References

Baglini, Rebekah. 2012. The Scalar Source of Stative Passives. In Ana Aguilar Guevara, Anna Chernilovskaya & Rick Nouwen (eds.), *Proceedings of Sinn und Bedeutung 16*, vol. 1, 29–41. Cambridge, MA: MITWPL.

Bowers, John. 1993. The Syntax of Predication. *Linguistic Inquiry* 24. 591–656.

Carden, G. & D. Pesetsky. 1977. Double-verb constructions, Markedness and a Fake Coordination. *Chicago Linguistic Society* 13. 82–92.

Cardinaletti, Anna & Giuliana Giusti. 2001. "Semi-lexical" motion verbs in Romance and Germanic. In Norbert Corver & Henk van Riemsdijk (eds.), *Semi-lexical Categories: The Function of Content Words and the Content of Function Words* (Studies in Generative Grammar 59), 371–414. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110874006.371

de Vos, Mark. 2004. Pseudo coordination is not subordination. *Linguistics in the Netherlands* 21. 181–192. https://doi.org/10.1075/avt.21.20vos

Dekker, Paul J. E. 2012. *Dynamic Semantics*. Dordrecht: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-4869-9

den Dikken, Marcel. 2006. Either-Float and the Syntax of Coordination. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 24(3). 689–749. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11049-005-2503-0

Ernst, Thomas. 2001. *The Syntax of Adjuncts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511486258

Heim, Irene. 1992. Presupposition projection and the semantics of attitude verbs. *Journal of Semantics* 9(3). 183–221. https://doi.org/10.1093/jos/9.3.183

Hoeksema, J. 1983. Plurality and conjunction. In Alice ter Meulen (ed.), *Studies in Modeltheoretic Semantics*, 63–84. Dordrecht, Floris. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783112420768-005

Kayne, R. 1994. *The Antisymmetry of Syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Klinedinst, Nathan & Daniel Rothschild. 2012. Connectives without truth tables. *Natural Language Semantics* 20(2). 137–175. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11050-011-9079-5

Koontz-Garboden, Andrew. 2010. The lexical semantics of derived statives. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 33(4). 285–324. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10988-011-9082-9

Kratzer, Angelika. 1981. The notional category of modality. In H.-J. Eikmeyer & H. Rieser (eds.), *Words, worlds, and contexts: New approaches to word semantics*, 38–74. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110842524-004

Kratzer, Angelika. 1996. Severing the External Argument from its Verb. In Johan Rooryck & Laurie Zaring (eds.), *Phrase Structure and The Lexicon Studies in Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, 109–137. Dordrecht: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-015-8617-7_5

Kratzer, Angelika. 2005. Building Resultatives. In Claudia Maienborn & Angelika Wöllstein (eds.), *Event Arguments: Foundations and Applications* (Linguistische Arbeiten 501), 177–212. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110913798.177

Lakoff, George. 1986. Frame semantic Control of the Coordinate structure Constraint. *Chicago Linguistic Society* 22(2). 152–168.

Marantz, Alec. 2011. Locality Domains for Contextual Allosemy. Paper presented at the Columbia Lingusitic society.

Michaelis, Laura A. 2011. Stative by Construction. *Linguistics* 49(6). 1359–1399. https://doi.org/10.1515/ling.2011.038

Mitrović, Moreno. 2014. Morphosyntactic atoms of propositional logic: a philo-logical programme: University of Cambridge dissertation.

Mitrović, Moreno. 2021. *Superparticles: A Microsemantic Theory, Typology, and History of Logical Atoms* (Studies in Natural Language & Linguistic Theory 98). Dordrecht: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-024-2050-0

Mitrović, Moreno & Uli Sauerland. 2016. Two conjunctions are better than one. *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 63(4). 471–494. https://doi.org/10.1556/064.2016.63.4.5

Partee, B. & M. Rooth. 1982. Conjunction, type ambiguity, and wide scope. In Daniel P. Flickinger, Marlys Macken & Nancy Wiegand (eds.), *Proceedings of the First West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*, 353–362. Stanford, CA: Stanford University, Department of Linguistics.

Partee, B. & M. Rooth. 1983. Generalized conjunction and type ambiguity. In Rainer Bäuerle, Christoph Schwarze & Arnim Stechow (eds.), *Meaning, use, and interpretation of language*, 361–383. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110852820.361

Preminger, Omer. 2011. Agreement as a fallible operation: Massachusetts Institute of Technology dissertation.

Pylkkänen, Liina. 2008. *Introducing Arguments*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/9780262162548.001.0001

Reisinger, Drew. 2016. Ranked ordering sources and embedded modality. *Proceedings of LSA* 1(36). 1–12. https://doi.org/10.3765/plsa.v1i0.3721

Roberts, I. G. 2010. *Agreement and Head Movement: Clitics, Incorporation, and Defective Goals Linguistic Inquiry Monographs*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/9780262014304.001.0001

Romero, Maribel. 2015. Surprise-predicates, strong exhaustivity and alternative questions. In Sarah D'Antonio, Mary Moroney & Carol Rose Little (eds.), *Proceedings of SALT 25*, 225–245. https://doi.org/10.3765/salt.v25i0.3081

Ross, John Robert. 1967. Constraints on variables in syntax: Massachusetts Institute of Technology dissertation.

Shopen, Timothy. 1971. Caught in the act. *Chicago Linguistic Society* 7. 254–263.

Slade, Benjamin Martin. 2011. Formal and philological inquiries into the nature of inter-rogatives, indefinites, disjunction, and focus in Sinhala and other languages: University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign dissertation.

Stalnaker, Robert. 1984. *Inquiry*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Szabolcsi, Anna. 2015. What do quantifier particles do? *Linguistics and Philosophy* 38. 159–204. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10988-015-9166-z

Winter, Yoad. 1995. Syncategorematic Conjunction and Structured Meanings. In Mandy Simons & Teresa Galloway (eds.), *Proceedings of SALT 5*, Ithaca: Cornell University & Linguistic Society of America. https://doi.org/10.3765/salt.v5i0.2704

Woods, Rebecca. 2016. Investigating the syntax of speech acts: embedding illocutionary force: University of York dissertation.

Zhang, Niina Ning. 2010. *Coordination in Syntax* Cambridge Studies in Linguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511770746

Pseudocoordination and Serial Verb Constructions as Multi-Verb Predicates

Daniel Ross

University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign / University of California, Riverside

Verbal pseudocoordination (as in English *go and get*) is often seen as an idiosyncratic phenomenon described in exceptional terms. This paper establishes the typological context to explain key properties of pseudocoordination, integrated into a more general typology of multi-verb constructions. At the same time, principled motivations are given for the arbitrary list of traditional properties attributed to Serial Verb Constructions (SVCs). The broader category of Multi-Verb Predicates (MVPs) is proposed as any monoclausal multi-verb construction with two verbs forming a complex predicate. Subtypes of MVPs are distinguished by their form: pseudocoordination with a linker 'and', while SVCs have no linker. Structural properties of MVPs, such as shared inflectional features on each verb, are readily explained as due to monoclausality.

Keywords: pseudocoordination, serial verb constructions, converbs, complex predicates, multi-verb predicates, typology

1.   Introduction

In the most general sense, *pseudocoordination* could refer to any unusual usage of the coordinator AND, but more specifically as in this volume and other publications, the term typically refers to the apparent coordination of two verbs behaving unlike normal coordination. These constructions have two characteristic features, namely the linking element AND and parallel inflection (or multiple agreement) on both verbs, as in (1)–(2):

(1)   Han sitte-**r** **og** skrive-**r** dikt.   (Pseudocoordination)
      He sit-PRS **and** write-PRS poems
      'He is (sitting and) writing poetry.'   (Norwegian: Lødrup 2002, p. 121)[1]

---

1.   Glossing of some examples has been adjusted for consistency and clarity in this paper. Abbreviations follow the Leipzip Glossing Rules, with the following additions: AOR (aorist), CVB (converb), REC (recent), REM (remote), and VIS (visual evidentiality).

(2) Vaj**u** **a**   pigghi**u**. u   pani   (Pseudocoordination)
     go.**1sg** **and** fetch.**1sg** the bread
     'I go and fetch bread.'

                          (Marsalese, Sicilian dialect: Cardinaletti & Giusti 2001, p. 373)

This paper explores the typological context for the specific type of pseudocoordi-
nation involving two verbs in a tight semantic relationship behaving in some sense
as a single syntactic unit, as opposed to a multi-clausal coordinate or subordinate
construction.[2] We can begin by asking several general questions: Is parallel inflec-
tion inherent or unique to pseudocoordination? What is the structural status of the
linker AND? How does pseudocoordination relate to and differ from other types of
multi-verb constructions?

   As a starting point and to address these questions in a broader typological
context, consider Serial Verb Constructions (SVCs), which bear a clear resemblance
to pseudocoordination, except that by definition they have no linker like AND.
Consider the construction types presented in (3)–(5), including SVCs with and
without parallel inflection,[3] as well as a functionally similar converb construction
involving a dependent verb form:

(3) **m**-ísī **m**-úsā dā.   (Agreeing SVC)
     1sg-sit **1sg**-eat meat
     'I am eating meat.'   (Ngambay-Moundou: Heine & Kuteva 2002, p. 277)

(4) ɔ́ɓɛ   **mu**-ṭaju.   (Sharing SVC)
     dance **1sg**-sit
     'I was dancing.'   (Mamvu: Heine & Kuteva 2002, p. 276)

(5) Medvedev kazak-ša   söyle-**p**   otyr.   (Converb)
     Medvedev Kazakh-ADV speak-**CVB** sit-3sg
     'Medvedev is speaking Kazakh.'   (Kazakh: Grashchenkov 2012, p. 67)

---

2.   It is not the goal of this paper is to survey the distribution of pseudocoordination (for which,
see the other papers in this volume and Ross 2016, 2021). For extended background and discus-
sion of the topics included here, see the introduction to this volume and Ross (2021). It should
also be emphasized that the common type of pseudocoordination studied here is not the only
type of pseudocoordination (see Section 5).

3.   Another type attested cross-linguistically, not further discussed here, is found in isolating
languages, without relevant verbal inflectional morphology to be classified as either Agreeing or
Sharing, as in the example below:

(i) nang[2] khian[4]   (Isolating SVC)
     sit   write
     'She sat and wrote.'   (Thai: Diller 2006, p. 169)

It is the purpose of this paper to argue for more than superficial resemblance between these construction types. In doing so, we gain a better understanding of the nature of pseudocoordination, and at the same time can simplify the controversial definition of SVCs. Section 2 summarizes the contentious history of how SVCs have been defined traditionally. Section 3 discusses morphosyntactic variation in the form of multi-verb constructions. Section 4 proposes a unified analysis as *Multi-Verb Predicates* (MVPs). Section 5 revisits the typology of pseudocoordination from this perspective. Section 6 is a brief conclusion.

2.   The definition of serial verb constructions

There has been substantial debate and inconsistency regarding how to define SVCs, but the following list represents commonly proposed elements of traditional definitions:

– two or more juxtaposed verbs
– with no marker of dependency or linking element
– expressing a single event in a single clause
– with shared values for Tense-Aspect-Modality and negation
– and shared arguments (typically subject and/or object)

Although these recurrent properties are agreed upon by many, there is still substantial variation in published definitions, often mixing and matching these components with others. Some have passionately debated the definition (Bickerton 1989; Seuren 1990b; Bickerton 1990; Aikhenvald 2006, 2018; Dixon 2006; Haspelmath 2016; Aikhenvald & Dixon 2019; *inter alia*), but more widespread is inconsistent usage of the term around the world. Linguists often seem to have some intuitive sense that, although some constructions may not literally meet all criteria to be considered SVCs by definition, they should be labeled SVCs regardless. Seuren (1990a, p. 15) labeled this as the *Me Too Principle*: "No sooner had the term been introduced than serial verb constructions were spotted left right and center, even in well-known European languages that had never be[en] thought to possess such an exotic feature."

Alleged *exceptions* have been reported for every component of the definition of SVCs, even though that is not how definitions work! In other words, researchers have noticed similar but distinct phenomena and applied the label 'SVCs' because of salient overlapping features. Often this is due to regional typology, where the term drifts from its original usage to a sense more applicable. For example, the term 'SVCs' has traditionally been applied to Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages

of South Asia to describe constructions with dependent verb forms ('participles', or converbs; e.g. Nagarajan 1990; Pandharipande 1990), alongside the other traditional but misleading label 'compound verbs'; see Example (6), which clearly has a dependent form for the first verb:

(6)   Sudhā nigh-**ūn**   gel-**ī**.
      Sudhā leave-**CVB** go.**PST-3SG.F**
      'Sudhā went away.'   (Marathi: Pandharipande 1990, p. 186)

Similar traditional extensions of the term are found elsewhere, such as dependent-verb constructions in Tupi-Guarani (Jensen 1998; Aikhenvald 2011, p. 13). From a historical perspective, this appears to often be an analogical extension starting with regional languages with 'true' SVCs, then spreading to cognate or functionally equivalent constructions in adjacent languages, focusing on similarities rather than differences. Pseudocoordination constructions are also sometimes considered SVCs by researchers seeking a connection to a broader typological context (e.g. Déchaine 1993, p. 801; Hopper 2007; Cruschina 2013, pp. 270–272; Manzini et al., 2017; Andrason 2019; Del Prete & Todaro 2020).

   At the same time, even in so-called 'serializing' languages, despite superficial similarities the best analysis may differ for different SVCs (e.g. Lawal 1989 for Yoruba, or Paul 2008 for Chinese), and some researchers have rejected the term entirely, even calling it a 'myth' (Delplanque 1998; Paul 2008).

   Although there is a general consensus that some construction types (pseudo-coordination, converbs, etc.) should be excluded, some definitions still permit apparent exceptions. For example, some researchers describe SVCs with special 'serial linkers', such as Aikhenvald (2011, p. 21) for Urarina, as in (7):

(7)   katɕa rela-**a**   amᵼemᵼe-kᵼrᵼ-a-lᵼ
      man   teach-'**SVC**'   wander-**PL-3-REM.PST**
      'They wandered around to teach people.'   (Urarina: Olawsky 2006, p. 634)[4]

It would appear that classification as SVCs despite a linking element is more desirable in the absence of clear multi-functionality or etymological resemblance to another functional morpheme such as a coordinator, but this distinction is arbitrary

---

4.   Olawsky (2006, p. 629) refers to this as a 'neutral' suffix and explicitly not a linking element, while Aikhenvald calls it a 'serial marker'; because it has no other functions in the language and is distinct from finite verb forms, it must be considered a marker of dependency in the construction, and thus a linking element in some sense. Some might prefer the term 'dependency marker', and for converbs as well, reserving 'linking element' for separate words like AND, but that is not a substantive distinction when clearly in both cases the construction is marked overtly.

and inconsistent.[5] This is especially confusing for some languages (e.g. Carlson 1985, 1994 on Supyire) where linkers in SVC-like constructions have more distant etymological relationships with other elements, but the same could be said for pseudocoordination in general, because in these constructions the linker AND is no longer functioning as a coordinator.

Zwicky (1990, p. 1) observes: "There are at least three sorts of terminology in a scientific enterprise: (a) pretheoretical umbrella terms; (b) historically faithful terms; and (c) genuinely theoretical terms." SVCs are of type (a) or (b). Should our definition now be revised? For progress in our understanding of languages, one metric is that the best definitions are *useful*.[6] Thus, the *misuse* of 'SVCs' simultaneously shows the usefulness (applicability) of the term, as well as a need to revise it for consistency. But following Zwicky, I will not attempt here to replace the traditional definition, and instead look for a broader category to give a new label and capture the relevant types of variation. It should be emphasized that we must exclude pseudocoordination as SVCs by definition because there is a linking element, but as discussed in the next sections these can both be considered subtypes of a more general phenomenon.

3.   Variation in multi-verb constructions

What properties are shared between SVCs and pseudocoordination, as well as other multi-verb construction types? How do they differ? To begin, let us revisit the definition of SVCs to identify the core properties to be explained: in form, they are two juxtaposed verbs[7] without any linker, and in function they act in some sense as a single syntactic unit. From these properties, we can abstract away from traditional 'SVCs' to a more general analysis.

---

5.   Note that elsewhere, Aikhenvald (2006, p. 46, 2018, p. 125) explicitly excludes pseudocoordination as SVCs, where the linking element is transparently identifiable as AND, and even when it is optional in such constructions.

6.   I thank Edith Moravcsik for this phrasing, via the LINGTYP list and personal communication, March 2019.

7.   SVCs with more than two verbs have often been reported, which is atypical for pseudocoordination. However, if we consider these to be further, layered concatenations of verbs, rather than a single long SVC per se, parallels via pseudocoordination are also in principle possible as in *go and sit and read* where the linker AND is also repeated with each verbal layer. On the other hand, Bravo (2020, pp. 169–170) reports a very unusual type of pseudocoordination in Spanish, with more than two verbs (not repeating the linker AND), as in *Va, agarra, y vota* (lit. 'He goes, takes and votes.'); Soto Gómez (p.c.) also mentioned similar usage to me.

At the same time, there is also substantial morphosyntactic variation permitted by the traditional definition of SVCs. The verbs must have the same inflectional features, but the traditional definition does not restrict the way in which that inflection is realized on the verbs: parallel inflection is optional in SVCs. Thus there may be two distinct types: Agreeing SVCs, as in (3) and (8), with the same inflection on each verb, and Sharing SVCs, as in (4) and (9): with only one inflected verb accompanied by another verb in an uninflected, bare form.[8]

(8) kiapa   **li**-le   **li**-oi   teuko   (Agreeing SVC)
     1PL.INCL **1INCL.REAL**-go **1INCL.REAL**-throw hook
     'We'll go fishing.'   (Buma: Tryon 2002, p. 580)

(9) Au **u**-eu   keta   sanue isa.   (Sharing SVC)
     I   **1SG**-go shoot bird   a
     'I'm going to go and shoot a bird.'   (Nuaulu: Bolton 1990, p. 159)

Defining subtypes is useful for comparison and analysis, but this inflectional variation is widely accepted in the literature on SVCs, and the different inflectional forms otherwise behave similarly and presumably have the same structure. Yet if this variation is allowed, then why should the presence of a linking element such as AND in pseudocoordination be a disqualifying property for a construction to be labeled as a (distinct) type of SVC? The only reason is that by conventional (arbitrary) definition, linking elements are excluded.

Converbs (dependent verb forms, typically used in adverbial functions) are also often found in similar usage, as in (5) and (10):[9]

(10) o   go mes-**ing**   ot-**o**.   (Converb)
     me to speak-**CVB** come.AOR-**3SG**
     'He came to speak to me.'   (Nara: Tucker & Bryan 1966, p. 330)

Regardless of the morphological properties of the resulting multi-verb construction or even whether there is a linking element like AND or a dependent verb form, these different surface constructions all share functional and structural properties, and often render the same grammaticalization processes, such as posture verbs developing into markers of progressive aspect[10] or the expression of prior Associated

---

8. Some languages exhibit both types, either varying by semantic type or in free variation, and rarely specific constructions may be of a mixed type as discussed below.

9. See also Shimada & Nagano (this volume) for converbs in Japanese grammaticalizing as auxiliaries and other parallels to pseudocoordination.

10. More generally, a category of 'Associated Posture' has also been proposed for the combination of a posture verb and lexical verb (Enfield 2002), which can also be expressed via morphology (Guillaume 2019).

Motion[11] with motion verbs illustrated by the examples in this paper (see also Blensenius & Andersson Lilja, this volume, for examples of these semantic types in Swedish pseudocoordination). Of course these examples have been selected specifically to demonstrate this resemblance and there is substantial semantic variation across multi-verb construction types in different languages, but semantic and functional overlap between different construction types is readily found in descriptive grammars and other sources.

We can now consider a preliminary typology to address morphosyntactic variation in SVCs, pseudocoordination, converbs. The examples presented above can be accounted for with a simple two-way typology based on the features [±parallel] and [±linker]:[12]

Table 1. Morphosyntactic variation in multi-verb constructions

Type	Parallel inflection	Linking element
Sharing SVCs	−	−
Agreeing SVCs	+	−
Converbs	−	+
Pseudocoordination	+	+

What all of these constructions share is their function: they are multi-verb constructions that act in some sense as a unit, like single verbs. However, converbs and pseudocoordination are still excluded by definition as SVCs, so we turn to a broader category in Section 4 below.

It should be emphasized that this typology is strictly based on synchronic form. SVCs may develop from pseudocoordination (Rodrigues 2006) or from converbs (Rose 2009). From a diachronic perspective, we could include as pseudocoordination those cases where the linker AND is synchronically optional or has been lost historically, whereas the typology applied here classifies any construction with a linker AND as pseudocoordination, and any similar constructions without a linker as SVCs, even if these variants vary within a language or dialectally. Consider

---

11. For the expression of Associated Motion via multi-verb constructions, see also Lovestrand & Ross (2021).

12. While these are important parameters of variation, more detailed typologies could be considered, such as accounting for whether the linking element is an independent word or an affix (and if so, on which verb), or even the rare possibility of combining both pseudocoordination and converb linkage (see also Edzard, this volume), as in (i):

(i) ašša   **pa**   kasˤadʼ-**a**   (Para-hypotaxis)
     go.IMP **and** ask-2SG.CVB
     'Go and ask!'   (Dullay: Amborn et al., 1980, p. 123)

Russian, where pseudocoordination, Agreeing SVCs and converbs are in free variation for some functions, as in (11):

(11) a. *sid-it*   *i*   *molč-it*   (Pseudocoordination)
          sit-**PRS.3SG** **and** keep.silent-**PRS.3SG**

      b. *sid-it*   *molč-it*   (Agreeing SVC)
          sit-**PRS.3SG** keep.silent-**PRS.3SG**

      c. *sid-it*   *molč-a*   (Converb)
          sit-**PRS.3SG** keep.silent-**CVB**

          '(S)he sits and keeps silent.'   (Russian: Hock & Ross 2016, pp. 360–361)

Such variation may also be distributed dialectally, representing stages of historical development, as in southern Italian and Sicilian dialects (Cardinaletti & Giusti 2001; Giusti & Cardinaletti, this volume; Di Caro & Giusti 2015; Di Caro 2019, this volume; Ledgeway 2016; Manzini et al., 2017; Manzini & Lorusso, this volume; Sorrisi 2010; see also the introduction to this volume). Consider the variants shown in (12): first pseudocoordination, then loss of the linker AND but still with parallel inflection on both verbs as an Agreeing SVC, and finally loss of inflection on the first verb as a Sharing SVC or auxiliary construction.

(12) a. *stoche*   *a*   *ppaghe*   (Pseudocoordination)
          stand.1SG.PRS **and** pay.1SG.PRS

      b. *stoche*   *ppaghe*   (Agreeing SVC)
          stand.**1SG.PRS** pay.1SG.PRS

      c. *sta*   *ppaghe*   (Sharing SVC)
          stand pay.1SG.PRS

          'I'm paying.'   (Southern Italo-Romance, based on Ledgeway 2016)[13]

This variation is another reason to argue for the potential equivalence of different forms of multi-verb constructions, because these different types can develop from or alternate with another in a language. The transparency of the relationship with the diachronic source construction can also shift over time and, for example, linking elements may be lost, or conversely retained only in the multi-verb construction but replaced in their original functions.[14]

---

13. These schematic examples are based on the stages of grammaticalization described by Ledgeway (2016), but not forms individually attested in specific dialects.

14. For example, the linker *a* in southern Italian and Sicilian dialects is likely from Latin *ac* 'and', but now homophonous with the preposition *a* 'to' (from Latin *ad* 'to'), in contrast to the coordinator *e* (from Latin *et* 'and').

4.   Multi-verb predicates

Regarding the function of these multi-verb constructions, it is tempting to identify one clause per verb, just as it is tempting to count syllables based on the number of vowels in a word:

> It seems to be tacitly accepted among grammarians as a working hypothesis (although it is extraordinarily hard to find explicit statements) that the grammatical level of the clause is roughly coterminous with the number of predicates in a given sentence. (Foley & Olson 1985, p. 17)

But just as diphthongs allow multiple vowels to exist within a single syllable, multi-verbal but monoclausal constructions are attested. In order to capture this sense of monoclausal multi-verb constructions and permit the type of variation established in the previous sections, a more general category than SVCs is needed. Setting aside the variation in form, what these construction types share is that they are all verb-verb complex predicates. We should be careful to distinguish between verbs and predicates, allowing more than one verb per predicate, but one predicate per clause. I will not attempt to define *predicate* here, except as the component of a clause that makes a predication, nor will I investigate the way in which verbs combine within complex predicates. Different theoretical explanations are possible, but the need for an analysis of multi-verbal, monoclausal constructions is motivated empirically.

As Haspelmath (2016, p. 313) suggested, "it may well be that a broader concept encompassing SVCs and converbal constructions, for instance, will be useful. But such a broader concept should be given a different term, in order to avoid confusion" and to avoid threatening the continuity of the research tradition. Furthermore, having an explicit definition with as few arbitrary properties as possible facilitates cross-linguistic testing of generalizations and the discovery of typological correlations, rather than stipulating requirements in the definition.

The properties of SVCs and the other construction types follow naturally from a definition based on complex predicates. We can call these *Multi-Verb Predicates* (MVPs).[15] Crucially, this allows us to redefine SVCs as a subtype of MVPs, rather

---

15.   I intend this term in a transparent sense, similar to although not strictly based on previous similar usage (e.g. Valenzuela 2011). There are also other types of complex predicates beyond MVPs, formed with other word classes (including for example verb + noun complex predicates; cf. Amberber et al., 2010; *inter alia*). Another relevant comparison could be made to so-called *coverb* constructions found in a number of Australian languages, composed of an open-class, uninflected lexical word, and another inflected grammatical word from a closed class (Schultze-Berndt 2017; *inter alia*): if we interpret these as two distinct lexical classes (i.e. not both subtypes of a single verb category), these are related but not MVPs; similar issues apply to the analysis of auxiliaries, which may be best considered a grammaticalized, functional category rather than the same class as lexical verbs.

than relying on an arbitrary list of criteria, and motivate the functional properties of these constructions: SVCs are often said to express a single event, and 'single eventhood' naturally emerges if SVCs are a single predication.[16] Likewise, we would expect inflectional features and arguments to be shared by verbs within the shared scope of a predicate. What is not explained is the *form* of SVCs or other MVP types. Notice that SVCs are defined by form and function, while converbs and pseudocoordination are defined primarily by form although they are typically associated with particular functions.

Givón (1991) observed an iconic trend toward SVCs, without intervening linking elements, expressing single events, but this should not be assumed to be absolute, especially diachronically, because pseudocoordination and converbs can be functionally equivalent and may eventually develop into SVCs. It is this variation in form despite similar function that explains the tendency to misuse the term 'SVCs' and reported 'exceptions'.

It is clarifying to distinguish form and function in our definitions. SVCs are MVPs without an overt linking element; the traditional definition permits variation in the realization of inflection, with Agreeing and Sharing subtypes. Pseudocoordination MVPs have parallel inflection and an overt linker AND. Converb MVPs have a linking element in the form of an affix (typically a suffix) on the dependent verb *instead* of parallel inflection. These are all MVPs, and despite their variation in form exhibit similar functional properties. Thus the term 'SVCs' refers to an arbitrary descriptive category mixing form and function and obscuring important cross-linguistic generalizations.

There appears to be arbitrary variation across languages regarding the realization of inflection and the presence of a linking element. We can now expand on the preliminary typology from the previous section to consider variation in the form of MVPs. Inflection can be Shared or Agreeing, but there is also variation within these types. Shared inflection varies regarding which verb is inflected, and there are also more rarely mixed types in some languages: there are *split* shared inflection SVCs such that full inflection is cumulative across both verbs as in (13), and there are also partially agreeing SVCs with certain inflectional categories marked on both verbs but other categories on only one as in (14).

---

16. Eventhood is a particularly controversial aspect of the definition of SVCs (Foley 2008, 2010; Pawley 1987, 2011; Defina 2016; Givón 1991), yet the idea persists in definitions because there seems to be some intuitive truth to the claim even if we are unsure of how to define it. I would emphasize that this aspect of SVCs is clearer as an emergent *effect* of speakers packaging multiple verbs together in this tight way, rather than as an independent *cause* for using SVCs nor as a reliable diagnostic *criterion*.

(13)   Breno **o**=ḍúw   mé tá̠=ā̠n.   (Split Sharing SVC)
        Breno **3sg**=follow me go=**pst**
        'Breno went with me'   (Degema: Kari 2004, p. 115)

(14)   **di**-kalite-**ka**   **di**-keña   (Partially Agreeing SVC)
        3sg.nf-speak-**rec.pst.vis 3sg.nf**-begin
        'He started speaking'   (Tariana: Aikhenvald 2018, p. 209)

There is also variation in the linking element. It may be realized as bound morphology (typically as a suffix on initial verbs) or as an independent word (typically between the verbs), including the coordinator AND but also other linking particles. We can also consider wordhood, and therefore verb-verb compounds (called 'compound SVCs' or 'one-word SVCs' by some), as another dimension for variation, as in (15):

(15)   naas ngulkang alais-traal-i   (Verb-Verb Compound)
        I   wild.pig   hunt-walk-**prs**
        'I go hunt the wild pig.'   (Rama: Craig 1991, p. 484)

On the other hand, there have also been other problems regarding the definition of SVCs when applied too broadly for constructions that are not MVPs. In (narrowly defined) SVCs and MVPs, both verbs are co-predicated, thus mutually contingent (and often seen as expressing a single event). Other multi-verb constructions fall outside this configuration. For example, in some descriptive usage, 'SVCs' in some languages may include complementation (e.g. 'try eat' or 'want eat'), auxiliaries, verbs grammaticalized as prepositions, and so forth. These problems come about from defining SVCs in terms of form as well as function. Notice that similar multifunctionality exists for the other forms used in MVPs also. For example, converbs are typically used in clause-chaining or adverbial constructions but are often multi-functional and also used in MVPs in languages with extensive usage of converbs. Similarly, pseudocoordination is by definition the form of coordination applied to some other function. Nor is pseudocoordination restricted only to MVP types: compare English *go and get* (MVP) to complementation in *try and do* (Ross 2014, 2021). In the complementation type, the second verb is not mutually contingent upon the first, as shown in (16), in contrast to (17):

(16)   I will try and finish the report on time, but I might not succeed.

(17)   I will go and get the book (#even if it is sold out).

There is of course still room for variation within MVPs, including especially a wide range of semantic types, as already established in typological research on SVCs. Additional variation has also been suggested regarding whether verbs or verb phrases (e.g. verbs plus arguments) are combined in SVCs or MVPs: compare Schiller's (1990) V- versus VP-level SVCs, or the now relatively common distinction

of *nuclear* versus *core* SVCs from Role and Reference Grammar (Foley & Van Valin 1984; Bril 2007; *inter alia*). Some looser SVC-like forms have also been reported, such as 'TP serialization' in Malagasy (Kalin & Keenan 2011); we can also consider clause-combining in general, including coordination (whether asyndetic or marked with AND), as well as how various clause combining forms like converbs can be used in MVPs. It is not the goal of the current paper to investigate this functional (and perhaps structural) variation among MVPs, but it should be emphasized that like SVCs, MVPs are not a unitary phenomenon. In other words, a variety of theoretical analyses may be required for different MVP types (with different functional and structural properties), but whatever those analyses are, they should apply equally regardless of the specific morphosyntactic form of MVP (SVC, pseudocoordination, converb, etc.) for those same functions and structural relations.

MVPs are a widespread feature cross-linguistically. Ross (2021) finds MVPs in over two-thirds of the languages in a large cross-linguistic sample, including SVCs, pseudocoordination, converbs and other types.[17] This indicates that MVPs are a natural development of languages, rather than an exotic phenomenon as some research on SVCs would suggest. And languages develop MVPs from whatever clause-combining and multi-verb constructions occur frequently enough to grammaticalize in specific functions. Ross (2021) reports typological correlations for the sample languages as well, such that converbs are typical of languages with SOV word order, whereas SVCs are found in languages with SVO word order.[18] Pseudocoordination is also correlated with SVO word order, but specifically is found in languages with highly grammaticalized, frequent coordinators.[19] Despite differing sources, similar grammaticalization pathways are attested cross-linguistically,

---

17. There may also be additional types to consider. For example, in Dutch infinitives may be used with posture verbs similar to the examples above (Lemmens 2005; *inter alia*), thus showing that a form that is typical of non-MVP multi-verb constructions may also have this function in some instances.

18. It has also been frequently observed that SVCs seem to occur especially in languages with limited inflectional morphology, and this is another typological factor to consider. On the one hand, languages without relevant verbal inflection can develop isolating SVCs (which are ambiguous in form between Agreeing and Sharing types), and on the other hand languages with verbal inflection can have either Agreeing or Sharing SVCs. However, the Sharing subtype is only available in languages with a relevant uninflected form that can stand alone as a word (e.g. English *speak* but not Italian *parl-*), and languages with extensive inflection may be unlikely to grammaticalize a complex construction with extensive repeated parallel inflection on both verbs. That this is only a tendency is shown by the fact that SVCs are attested even in some polysynthetic languages (Dixon 2006, p. 338).

19. In fact, one common source for SVCs is asyndetic coordination, via what we might call, by mixing terminology, 'asyndetic pseudocoordination', explaining why parallel inflection is typical of both Agreeing SVCs and pseudocoordination MVPs.

as shown in the examples above. And as discussed at the end of the last section, one of these construction types may also sometimes develop into another, further supporting functional equivalence.

5.   Explaining morphosyntactic variation in pseudocoordination

Let us now turn to variation within pseudocoordination, given the background established in the previous sections. Given that pseudocoordination develops from the coordination of two verbs in similar functions, parallel inflection is expected, and indeed found in the vast majority of attested cases of pseudocoordination. However, there are some rare exceptions, which will be briefly explored here. Consider first the so-called *imperativus pro infinitivo* construction found in Frisian, where a second verb in the (unmarked) imperative form appears to be coordinated with another finite verb where an infinitive or another finite verb would be expected (Hoekstra 2017, 2018; de Haan 2010; van der Meer 1989; see also Barbiers et al., 2008, p. 32 for Dutch dialects), as in (18):

(18)   Do kinst wol nei Geeske gean   en **jou**   har it   boek.
         you can   well to Geeske go.INF and give.IMP her the book
         'You can go to Geeske and give her the book.' (Frisian: Hoekstra 2017, p. 184)

However, it is not clear that such usage is tightly connected enough to be classified as MVPs, and in most usage the construction type functions more like an infinitive as in the name (or looser coordination), thus suggesting that unbalanced pseudocoordination of this sort may be more likely as a form to render structures other than MVPs.[20] Diachronically, such cases of non-parallel pseudocoordination appear to come from either the reanalysis of one verb in a non-coordinate function (e.g. subordination or auxiliation), or as the result of the construction grammaticalizing in the first place from the coordination of infinitives or other non-finite forms followed by analogical extension to usage with finite forms.[21]

---

20. A similar construction is found in Swahili and other related Bantu languages (Schadeberg 2010; Riedel & de Vos 2017), where a finite verb is coordinated with an infinitive (marked with the prefix *ku-*), but the function is of clausal coordination in general, and it is unclear to what extent tighter, MVP-like usage is attested.

21. Compare also the development of the *try and do* construction in English (Ross 2013, 2018), although its usage is still relatively restricted (to only uninflected, bare forms but not strictly non-finite contexts).

Another candidate is found as an extension of the *go and get* construction in English in the Channel Islands dialects (Barbé, 1993, 1995; Rosen 2014; Schmid 2010), as in (19):

(19)   He went and see them.   (Jersey English: Rosen 2014, p. 103)

This usage appears to be functionally equivalent to typical pseudocoordination but in form contaminated by analogy to infinitive constructions. A similar construction is found inconsistently but widely in American dialects in current colloquial usage, known as the GoToGo construction (Zwicky 2002; Staum 2004), as in (20)–(21):

(20)   I'm going to school and study.

(21)   I'm going home and sleep.

A rare type of variation in pseudocoordination constructions elsewhere also provides direct evidence for the optionality of parallel inflection in such constructions. Consider the Galician equivalent to *go and get* (Rivas Cid 1994), for which tense may be realized on either verb,[22] as in (22), while subject agreement is also optional on the first verb, as in (23):[23]

(22)   a.   *vai e dille* (lit. 'goes and tells him')   (Galician: Rivas Cid 1994, p. 332)
       b.   *foi e dille* (lit. 'went and tells him')
       c.   *vai e díxolle* (lit. 'goes and told him')
       d.   *foi e díxolle* (lit. 'went and told him')

(23)   bueno,   e   entonces   **vai**   e   viñ-**eron**
       well,   and   then   go.**3SG.PRS** and   come-**3PL.PST**
       o-s   estudiante-s
       DEF.M-PL   student.M-PL
       'well, and then the students (went and) came'[24]

                                                          (Galician: Rivas Cid 1994, p. 333)

---

22. Frequent usage in the historical present complicates the analysis for such usage, but regardless these examples clearly demonstrate that parallel inflection is optional.

23. Similar usage has been reported, although it may be infrequent, in Spanish and Portuguese (Bravo 2020, pp. 157–159; Soto Gómez 2021; Colaço & Gonçalves 2016); as discussed in Section 3 above, similar developments are attested dialectally for southern Italian dialects, although also accompanied with the loss of the linker AND. Kinn et al. (2018, p. 4) also mention limited types of exceptions in Scandinavian languages; see also Edzard (this volume) for Semitic.

24. That this is an MVP is shown clearly by the light semantics of the auxiliary-like motion verb 'go', which expresses a progression in the narrative rather than literal motion, and along with the fact that parallel inflection is now optional, would suggest it is developing toward being an auxiliary.

To summarize, parallel inflection is a natural and expected development in pseudocoordination grammaticalized from the coordination of two finite verbs, but just as with Agreeing versus Sharing SVCs, our theory must account for variation in the realization of inflection in pseudocoordination, in addition to the optionality of a linking element in comparable usage of different MVP types.

From a different perspective, Hock and Ross (2016) describe 'agreeing verb constructions' in a number of languages in South Asia, with each verb displaying the same inflection and no linking elements (similar to MVPs) but for a number of non-MVP structural types, including auxiliary, sequential, control-verb and other constructions, including the so-called 'echo' type in (24) below:[25]

(24) avaṉu-kkup   paci-**kkiṟ-atu**   kici-**kkiṟ-atu**
       he-DAT   hunger-**PRS-3SG.N** ECHO-**PRS-3SG.N**
       'He is always hungry, or some damn thing!'   (Tamil: Steever 1988, p. 49)

There is also diachronic evidence for these languages that these constructions are related rather than coincidentally similar: they are attested with a wider historical distribution than in modern usage but the various types appear to have faded concurrently, and specifically first with a smaller subset of features in parallel inflection, then none (Steever 1988; Hock & Ross 2016). Similarly, some verbs may allow pseudocoordination instead of infinitival complements, as shown in (16) above for English 'try' and in (25) below for 'want' in southern Italian dialects. It should be emphasized that these types of pseudocoordination are not MVPs: they are instances of subordination (complementation), not monoclausal complex predicates.

(25) Vogghi-**u**   **a**   bbesci-**u**
       want-**PRS.1SG** and see-**PRS.1SG**
       'I want to see.'   (Brindisi, southern Italian dialect: Ledgeway 2016, p. 159)

Regarding the linking element, it does not seem to have any function other than to mark the structure as an MVP (or another structural relation, such as complementation in (25) above), in the same way that parallel inflection may do so, although neither of these features is obligatory or unique in MVPs. Thus we must interpret the presence of a linker to be structurally equivalent to its absence, suggesting two possible analyses: either SVCs could be analyzed as having phonologically empty linking elements in their structures (Cormack & Smith 1994), or the linker AND in pseudocoordination is *structurally* vacuous and merely a reflection of how

---

25. 'Echo' verbs in South Asian languages have an emphatic or pragmatic effect, but in form are a phonological variant of the verb root along with parallel inflection, taking the same form that would be expected for SVCs.

particular MVPs are rendered in some languages. I will not attempt to resolve that question here, but see Ross (2021) for an argument supporting the second possibility.

6.   Conclusion

The characteristic features of pseudocoordination are subject to cross-linguistic variation, so it must be possible to account for these properties independently. In Ross (2021), I argue for the implementation of arbitrary constructions as a means of generating the varied surface forms we pronounce from the cross-linguistically shared underlying syntactic structure, although regardless any successful theory must be able to account for how such structures vary in form in different languages. To the extent that any two languages have constructions with the same structure, there is no reason to deny that similarity based on differences in form. The fundamental contribution of this analysis is not that MVPs vary in form, but that multiple verbs can combine in a single predicate, and that usage of this type is widespread in the languages of the world although realized variably. Parallel inflection and the presence of linking elements are neither inherent nor unique to pseudocoordination or MVPs in general, and these properties are likely due to typological and diachronic factors rather than a unique structural configuration.

Accounting for the similar functions of a range of different forms of multi-verb construction as MVPs is more explanatory than the traditional definition of SVCs, while also identifying the motivation behind the frequent misuse of the term and alleged exceptions. Cross-linguistic similarities can be addressed while allowing morphosyntactic variation, which can be at least partially explained by typological correlations. It is crucial to distinguish between form and structure in both analysis and definition: from a theoretical perspective it is better to leave terms like 'SVCs' and 'pseudocoordination' to descriptive usage in favor of MVPs and other structural types. As for pseudocoordination, it is in essence a diachronic phenomenon, that is, grammaticalization from coordination to a new function, but still with that same form: parallel inflection and a linking element (no longer functioning as a coordinator).

References

Aikhenvald, A. Y. 2006. Serial Verb Constructions in Typological Perspective. In A. Y. Aikhenvald & R. M. W. Dixon (Eds.), *Serial Verb Constructions: A Cross-Linguistic Typology* (pp. 1–68). Oxford University Press.

Aikhenvald, A. Y. 2011. Multi-verb Constructions: Setting the Scene. In A. Y. Aikhenvald, P. Muysken, & J. Birchall (Eds.), *Multi-verb Constructions: A View from the Americas* (pp. 1–26). Brill. https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004194526.i-313.8

Aikhenvald, A. Y. 2018. *Serial Verbs*. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198791263.001.0001

Aikhenvald, A. Y., & Dixon, R. M. W. (2019, January 23). Serial verb constructions: A critical assessment of Haspelmath's interpretation (unpublished letter to the editor of the journal *Language and Linguistics*). *Diversity Linguistics Comment*, Blog of Martin Haspelmath. https://dlc.hypotheses.org/1683

Amberber, M., Baker, B., & Harvey, M. (Eds.). 2010. *Complex Predicates*. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511712234

Amborn, H., Minker, G., & Sasse, H.-J. 1980. *Das Dullay: Materialien zu einer ostkuschitischen Sprachgruppe*. Dietrich Reimer Verlag.

Andrason, A. 2019. A pseudo-coordinated Serial Verb Construction "*wziąć i* V₂" in Polish. *Slovo a Slovesnost*, *80*(3), 163–191.

Barbé, P. 1993. Exploring Variation in Guernsey English Syntax [Ph.D. dissertation]. University of London.

Barbé, P. 1995. Guernsey English: A syntax exile? *English World-Wide*, *16*(1), 1–36. https://doi.org/10.1075/eww.16.1.02bar

Barbiers, S., van der Auwera, J., Bennis, H., Boef, E., De Vogelaer, G., & van der Ham, M. 2008. *SAND: syntactic atlas of the Dutch dialects: Vol. II*. Amsterdam University Press.

Bickerton, D. 1989. Seselwa Serialization and its Significance. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages*, *4*(2), 155–183. https://doi.org/10.1075/jpcl.4.2.02bic

Bickerton, D. 1990. If it Quacks Like a Duck: A Reply to Seuren. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages*, *5*(2), 293–303. https://doi.org/10.1075/jpcl.5.2.09bic

Bolton, R. A. 1990. A Preliminary Description of Nuaulu Phonology and Grammar [M.A. thesis]. University of Texas at Arlington.

Bravo, A. 2020. On Pseudo-coordination in Spanish. *Borealis: An International Journal of Hispanic Linguistics*, *9*(1), 125–180. https://doi.org/10.7557/1.9.1.5365

Bril, I. 2007. Nexus and Juncture Types of Complex Predicates in Oceanic Languages: Functions and Semantics. *Language and Linguistics* [語言暨語言學], *8*(1), 267–310.

Cardinaletti, A., & Giusti, G. 2001. "Semi-lexical" motion verbs in Romance and Germanic. In N. Corver & H. van Riemsdijk (Eds.), *Semi-lexical categories: The function of content words and the content of function words* (pp. 371–414). Mouton de Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110874006.371

Carlson, R. 1985. Grammaticalized verbs in Supyire. In S. DeLancey & R. S. Tomlin (Eds.), *Proceedings of the First Annual Meeting of the Pacific Linguistics Conference, October 1985, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon* (pp. 18–53). Department of Linguistics, University of Oregon.

Carlson, R. 1994. *A grammar of Supyire*. Mouton de Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110883053

Colaço, M., & Gonçalves, A. 2016. <V-and-V> constructions in Portuguese: The case of <*ir*-and-V>. In M. A. Kato & F. Ordoñez (Eds.), *The morphosyntax of Portuguese and Spanish in Latin America* (pp. 135–156). Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190465889.003.0006

Cormack, A., & Smith, N. 1994. Serial verbs. *University College London Working Papers in Linguistics*, *6*, 63–88.

Craig, C. G. 1991. Ways to go in Rama: A Case Study in Polygrammaticalization. In E. C. Traugott & B. Heine (Eds.), *Approaches to Grammaticalization* (Vol. 2, pp. 455–492). John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.19.2.20cra

Cruschina, S. 2013. Beyond the stem and inflectional morphology: An irregular pattern at the level of periphrasis. In S. Cruschina, M. Maiden, & J. C. Smith (Eds.), *The boundaries of pure morphology: Diachronic and synchronic perspectives* (pp. 262–283). Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199678860.003.0014

de Haan, G. J. 2010. The Imperativus-pro-Infinitivo. In J. Hoekstra, W. Visser, & G. Jensma (Eds.), *Studies in West Frisian Grammar: Selected papers by German J. de Haan* (pp. 131–151). John Benjamins.

Déchaine, R.-M. 1993. Serial Verb Constructions. In J. Jacobs, A. von Stechow, W. Sternefeld, & T. Vennemann (Eds.), *Syntax: Ein internationales Handbuch zeitgenössischer Forschung* [An International Handbook of Contemporary Research] (Vol. 1, pp. 799–825). Walter de Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110095869.1.12.799

Defina, R. 2016. Serial verb constructions and their subtypes in Avatime. *Studies in Language*, *40*(3), 648–680. https://doi.org/10.1075/sl.40.3.07def

Del Prete, F., & Todaro, G. 2020. Building complex events: The case of Sicilian *Doubly Inflected Construction*. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory*, *38*(1), 1–41. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11049-018-09439-2

Delplanque, A. 1998. Le mythe des "séries verbales." *Faits de langues*, *6*(11), 231–250. https://doi.org/10.3406/flang.1998.1212

Di Caro, V. N. 2019. Multiple Agreement Constructions in Southern Italo-Romance: The Syntax of Sicilian Pseudo-Coordination [Ph.D. dissertation, Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia]. http://hdl.handle.net/10579/14972

Di Caro, V. N., & Giusti, G. 2015. A Protocol for the Inflected Construction in Sicilian Dialects. *Annali Di Ca' Foscari. Serie Occidentale*, *49*, 393–421. https://doi.org/10.14277/2385-3034/AnnOc-49-15-20

Diller, A. V. N. 2006. Thai Serial Verbs: Cohesion and Culture. In A. Y. Aikhenvald & R. M. W. Dixon (Eds.), *Serial Verb Constructions: A Cross-Linguistic Typology* (pp. 160–177). Oxford University Press.

Dixon, R. M. W. 2006. Serial Verb Constructions: Conspectus and Coda. In A. Y. Aikhenvald & R. M. W. Dixon (Eds.), *Serial Verb Constructions: A Cross-Linguistic Typology* (pp. 338–350). Oxford University Press.

Enfield, N. J. 2002. Cultural logic and syntactic productivity: Associated posture constructions in Lao. In N. J. Enfield (Ed.), *Ethnosyntax: Explorations in Culture and Grammar* (pp. 231–258). Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199266500.003.0010

Foley, W. A. 2008. The notion of "event" and serial verb constructions: Arguments from New Guinea. In W. Khanittanan & P. Sidwell (Eds.), *Seals XIV papers from the 14th annual meeting of the Southeast Asian Linguistics Society, 2004* (Vol. 1, pp. 129–156). Pacific Linguistics (Australian National University).

Foley, W. A. 2010. Events and serial verb constructions. In M. Amberber, B. Baker, & M. Harvey (Eds.), *Complex Predicates* (pp. 79–109). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511712234.005

Foley, W. A., & Olson, M. 1985. Clausehood and verb serialization. In J. Nichols & A. C. Woodbury (Eds.), *Grammar inside and outside the clause: Some approaches to theory from the field* (pp. 17–60). Cambridge University Press.

Foley, W. A., & Van Valin, R. D., Jr. 1984. *Functional syntax and universal grammar*. Cambridge University Press.

Givón, T. 1991. Serial Verbs and the Mental Reality of "Event": Grammatical vs. Cognitive Packaging. In E. C. Traugott & B. Heine (Eds.), *Approaches to Grammaticalization* (Vol. 1, pp. 81–127). John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.19.1.06giv

Grashchenkov, P. V. 2012. Development of TAM Categories in Turkic: Feeling Free in the Deterministic System. In M. Markovic (Ed.), *Selected papers from SinFonIJA 3* (pp. 58–75). Cambridge Scholars.

Guillaume, A. (2019, September 4). *Associated motion & "associated posture" in Tacana (Takanan family, Amazonian Bolivia)*. Association for Linguistic Typology (ALT) 13, University of Pavia.

Haspelmath, M. 2016. The Serial Verb Construction: Comparative Concept and Cross-linguistic Generalizations. *Language and Linguistics* [語言暨語言學], *17*(3), 291–319. https://doi.org/10.1177/2397002215626895

Heine, B., & Kuteva, T. 2002. *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization*. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511613463

Hock, H. H., & Ross, D. 2016. South Asian "Agreeing Verb Constructions": Serial Verbs, Compound Verbs, Pseudocoordination, or what? *Linguistic Analysis*, *40*(3–4), 337–376.

Hoekstra, E. 2017. On the Origin and Development of an Embedded V-Initial Construction in Frisian. *Amsterdamer Beiträge Zur Älteren Germanistik*, *77*(1–2), 171–190. https://doi.org/10.1163/18756719-12340071

Hoekstra, E. 2018. The Imperativus-pro-Infinitivo construction. In T. van der Wouden (Ed.), *Taalportaal: The linguistics of Dutch and Frisian online. Beta (Frisian: Syntax: Verbs and Verb Phrases)* (1.5 Ed.). Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research; Meertens Institute, Leiden University, Fryske Akademy & Institute for Dutch Lexicology; Taalunie (Dutch Language Union) & Royal Dutch Academy of Sciences. http://www.taalportaal.org/

Hopper, P. 2007. Verb Serialization with *to take* in English, with a note on French and German. In M. M. J. Fernandez (Ed.), *Combat pour les langues du monde / Fighting for the world's languages: Hommage à Claude Hagège* (pp. 199–210). Harmattan.

Jensen, C. 1998. Comparative Tupí-Guaraní Syntax. In D. C. Derbyshire & G. K. Pullum (Eds.), *Handbook of Amazonian languages* (Vol. 4, pp. 489–618). Mouton de Gruyter.

Kalin, L., & Keenan, E. L. 2011. TP serialization in Malagasy. In L. E. Clemens, G. Scontras, & M. Polinsky (Eds.), *Proceedings of the 18th Meeting of the Austronesian Formal Linguistics Association* (pp. 31–45). Dept. of Linguistics, Harvard University & Linguistics Program, the University of Western Ontario. https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/afla/aflaxviii/meeting/10/

Kari, E. E. 2004. *A reference grammar of Degema*. Rüdiger Köppe.

Kinn, T., Blensenius, K., & Andersson, P. 2018. Posture, location, and activity in Mainland Scandinavian pseudocoordinations. *CogniTextes: Revue de l'Association Française de Linguistique Cognitive*, *18*. https://doi.org/10.4000/cognitextes.1158

Lawal, A. S. 1989. The classification of Yoruba serial verb constructions. *The Journal of West African Languages*, *29*(2), 3–14.

Ledgeway, A. 2016. From Coordination to Subordination: The Grammaticalisation of Progressive and Andative Aspect in the dialects of Salento. In F. Pratas, S. Pereira, & C. Pinto (Eds.), *Coordination and Subordination: Form and Meaning – Selected Papers from CSI Lisbon 2014* (pp. 157–184). Cambridge Scholars.

Lemmens, M. 2005. Aspectual Posture Verb Constructions in Dutch. *Journal of Germanic Linguistics*, *17*(3), 183–217. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542705000073

Lødrup, H. 2002. The syntactic structures of Norwegian pseudocoordinations. *Studia Linguistica*, *56*(2), 121–143. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9582.00090

Lovestrand, J., & Ross, D. 2021. Serial verb constructions and motion semantics. In A. Guillaume & H. Koch (Eds.), *Associated Motion* (pp. 87–128). De Gruyter Mouton. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110692099-003

Manzini, M. R., Lorusso, P., & Savoia, L. M. 2017. *a*/bare finite complements in Southern Italian varieties: Mono-clausal or bi-clausal syntax? *Quaderni Di Linguistica e Studi Orientali*, *3*, 11–59. https://doi.org/10.13128/QULSO-2421-7220-21337

Nagarajan, S. 1990. Tamil Serial Verbs. *Ohio State University Working Papers in Linguistics*, *39*, 200–217.

Olawsky, K. J. 2006. *A grammar of Urarina*. Mouton de Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110892932

Pandharipande, R. 1990. Serial Verb Construction in Marathi. *Ohio State University Working Papers in Linguistics*, *39*, 178–199.

Paul, W. 2008. The serial verb construction in Chinese: A tenacious myth and a Gordian knot. *The Linguistic Review*, *25*(3–4), 367–411. https://doi.org/10.1515/TLIR.2008.011

Pawley, A. 1987. Encoding events in Kalam and English: Different logics for reporting experience. In R. S. Tomlin (Ed.), *Coherence and grounding in discourse: Outcome of a symposium, Eugene, Oregon, June 1984* (pp. 329–360). John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.11.15paw

Pawley, A. 2011. Event representation in serial verb constructions. In J. Bohnemeyer & E. Pederson (Eds.), *Event representation in language and cognition* (pp. 13–42). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511782039.002

Riedel, K., & de Vos, M. 2017. Swahili coordinated infinitives and non-canonical case-marking. *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics*, *38*(2). https://doi.org/10.1515/jall-2017-0012

Rivas Cid, X. 1994. A perífrase *agarro e marcho* no galego. In R. Lorenzo (Ed.), *Actas do XIX Congreso Internacional de Lingüística e Filoloxía Románicas, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 1989: Vol. VI Galego&VII Romania Nova* (pp. 327–335). Fundación "Pedro Barrié de la Maza, Conde de Fenosa."

Rodrigues, A. 2006. "Eu fui e fiz esta tese": *As construções do tipo* foi fez *no portugues do Brasil* [Ph.D. dissertation, Instituto de Estudos da Linguagem, Universidade Estadual de Campinas]. http://repositorio.unicamp.br/jspui/handle/REPOSIP/271023

Rose, F. 2009. The origin of serialization: The case of Emerillon. *Studies in Language*, *33*(3), 644–684. https://doi.org/10.1075/sl.33.3.05ros

Rosen, A. 2014. *Grammatical variation and change in Jersey English*. John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/veaw.g48

Ross, D. 2013. Dialectal variation and diachronic development of *try*-complementation. *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences: Illinois Working Papers*, *38*, 108–147. http://hdl.handle.net/2142/46461

Ross, D. 2014. The importance of exhaustive description in measuring linguistic complexity: The case of English *try and* pseudocoordination. In F. J. Newmeyer & L. B. Preston (Eds.), *Measuring Grammatical Complexity* (pp. 202–216). Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199685301.003.0010

Ross, D. 2016. Between coordination and subordination: Typological, structural and diachronic perspectives on pseudocoordination. In F. Pratas, S. Pereira, & C. Pinto (Eds.), *Coordination and Subordination: Form and Meaning – Selected Papers from CSI Lisbon 2014* (pp. 209–243). Cambridge Scholars.

Ross, D. 2018. Small corpora and low-frequency phenomena: *Try and* beyond contemporary, standard English. *Corpus*, *18*. https://doi.org/10.4000/corpus.3574

Ross, D. 2021. Pseudocoordination, Serial Verb Constructions and Multi-Verb Predicates: The relationship between form and structure [Ph.D. dissertation]. University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign. https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.5546425

Schadeberg, T. C. 2010. Conjoint infinitive clauses in Swahili. In F. Floricic (Ed.), *Essais de typologie et de linguistique générale: Mélanges offerts à Denis Creissels* (pp. 107–118). École normale supérieure de Lyon.

Schiller, E. 1990. The Typology of Serial Verb Constructions. *Chicago Linguistic Society*, *26*, 393–406.

Schmid, T. 2010. Then he went and live in Trinity. *Change in progress? A study of pseudocoordinative constructions in Jersey English* [M.A. thesis]. University of Bamberg.

Schultze-Berndt, E. 2017. Two classes of verbs in Northern Australian languages: Implications for the typology of polycategoriality. In V. Vapnarsky & E. Veneziano (Eds.), *Lexical Polycategoriality: Cross-linguistic, cross-theoretical and language acquisition approaches* (pp. 243–271). John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/slcs.182.09sch

Seuren, P. A. M. 1990a. Serial Verb Constructions. *Ohio State University Working Papers in Linguistics*, *39*, 14–33.

Seuren, P. A. M. 1990b. Still no Serials in Seselwa: A Reply to "Seselwa Serialization and its Significance" By Derek Bickerton. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages*, *5*(2), 271–292. https://doi.org/10.1075/jpcl.5.2.08seu

Sorrisi, F. 2010. Le costruzioni flesse con va + verbo lessicale in palermitano. *Quaderni Di Lavoro ASIt – ASIt Working Papers (Atlante Sintattico d'Italia)*, *11*, 111–120. http://asit.maldura.unipd.it/papers.html

Soto Gómez, J. F. 2021. Pseudo-Coordination in Spanish: A two constructions analysis [M.A. thesis, Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia]. http://hdl.handle.net/10579/18854

Staum, L. 2004. *The GoToGo Construction: A descriptive Study* [Qualifying Paper, Stanford]. http://staum.casasanto.com/documents/StaumQP1.pdf

Steever, S. B. 1988. *The serial verb formation in the Dravidian languages*. Motilal Banarsidass.

Tryon, D. T. 2002. Buma. In J. Lynch, M. Ross, & T. Crowley (Eds.), *The Oceanic Languages* (pp. 573–586). Curzon. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203820384.ch28

Tucker, A. N., & Bryan, M. A. 1966. *Linguistic analyses: The non-Bantu languages of north-eastern Africa*. Oxford University Press.

Valenzuela, P. M. 2011. Multi-verb predicates and transitivity harmony in Shipibo-Konibo. In A. Y. Aikhenvald, P. Muysken, & J. Birchall (Eds.), *Multi-verb Constructions: A View from the Americas* (pp. 185–212). Brill. https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004194526.i-313.51

van der Meer, G. 1989. The so-called Imperativus Pro Infinitivo (IPI) in West Frisian (on the interplay of syntax, semantics and morphology). *North-Western European Language Evolution (NOWELE)*, *13*, 49–85. https://doi.org/10.1075/nowele.13.06mee

Zwicky, A. M. 1990. What are we talking about when we talk about serial verbs? *Ohio State University Working Papers in Linguistics*, *39*, 1–13.

Zwicky, A. M. (2002, October 11). *Seeds of variation and change*. New Ways of Analyzing Variation (NWAV) 31, Stanford University. http://www.stanford.edu/~zwicky/seedhnd.pdf

Language index

Subject index

A

acceptability judgment (task) 20, 123, 149, 151–154, 156, 159, 162, 278 *see also* grammaticality judgment

adverbs (adverbials) 15–16, 21, 181 fn. 10, 185, 194 fn. 3, 195–201, 210, 218–219, 224, 227, 233, 252, 263, 320, 325

agent 86, 92, 184, 216, 220, 251–252, 259–304

agreement 3–4, 15–18, 21–22, 36, 71, 78–79, 81, 110 fn. 18, 130, 132 fn. 3, 173, 184, 194–196, 246, 271–284, 315, 328

    agreement paradigm 274 fn. 2, 273

    partial agreement 271–284 *see also* Multiple Agreement Constructions

Aktionsart 191–192 *see also* aspect

allosemy 287, 294

animate subject 47 fn. 9, 155, 159, 245, 247–249, 252, 259–260, 268

appositive 169–170, 179, 185

argument structure 11, 16 fn. 9, 38 fn. 2, 41, 44, 46, 58–59, 222

arrhizotonic see rhizotonic

aspect 1, 7, 20, 41, 92, 150, 184, 192, 195–216, 226, 236, 245, 261, 317

    atelic 215

    (im)perfective 113, 150, 194 fn. 4, 261

    andative 47–48, 58, 109 fn. 17, 132, 143

    inceptive 40 fn. 5, 48, 52

    inchoative 150

    progressive 45, 50, 66, 70, 85–94, 216, 218, 246–247, 250–251, 254–264, 266–268, 320

aspectual interpretation (meaning, semantics, reading) 216, 245, 254, 258, 260, 262, 267

aspectual information 215

aspectual verb 56

aspectual marker (particle, functional head) 246, 262, 264

aviri a+ Infinitive Construction (Sicilian) 105, 111 fn. 19

B

biclausal 10–11, 17, 19, 39, 40, 44, 57, 59, 65–66, 69, 75–78, 82–83, 87, 89, 91–92, 100 fn. 2, fn. 3, 103 fn. 9, 110 fn. 18, 131, 135, 191

binding 278–279, 283–284

C

categorial features 289, 294–297, 301

causative 290, 293, 300, 305, 310

    causative verb of motion (SEND) 41, 49, 101, 109–110, 122, 233

clausal embedding 65, 84

clitic pronoun 17, 41, 49, 55–56, 65, 100

    clitic climbing 11, 35, 39, 44, 54–55, 59, 75, 82–85, 93, 110, 131

    clitic cluster (group) 43, 46, 72–73

complementizer 2 fn. 2, 17–18, 39, 65–66, 76

complex predicate 21, 231, 233, 238–39, 315, 323, 329

complex sentence 194, 198, 201

complex verb 158–159, 245, 261, 281–283

compositionality ((non-)compositional meaning) 22, 220, 287, 292, 296, 298, 300–310

compounding 298

concord of tenses 43, 53, 59, 132 fn. 3

connector (connecting element) 2–4, 7, 11, 14–15, 17–18, 35, 37–41, 51, 55–57, 59, 75, 90, 100, 102–103, 131, 201–202, 204, 206, 210 *see also* linker

control 37, 40, 45, 48, 65–67, 77–82, 155, 159, 216, 256–260, 267, 280–284, 329

converb 35, 231, 238–240, 315 fn. 1, 316, 320–322

coordination (normal, standard, true, etc.) 2, 6–7, 11–12, 15–16, 20–22, 37, 41, 47, 100, 149–160, 171, 180, 183, 191–194, 198, 201, 206–211, 214, 231–232, 234, 237, 239, 247, 271, 280–281, 287, 290–291, 293, 297–299, 315, 325–330

    asyndetic 233, 326

    comitative 280–282

    coordination parameters 298

    Coordinate Structure Constraint 10, 150, 153, 170, 193, 290

    see also junction

coreference 44, 49–50, 55 fn. 11, 58–59, 80, 194, 259

corpus 14, 21, 66, 68, 72, 74, 79, 188, 191–192, 195–196, 203, 206, 210, 218–219, 224–225, 278

Verbal Pseudo-Coordination (as in English 'go and get') has been described for a number of individual languages, but this is the first edited volume to emphasize this topic from a comparative perspective, and in connection to Multiple Agreement Constructions more generally. The chapters include detailed analyses of Romance, Germanic, Slavic and other languages. These contributions show important cross-linguistic similarities in these constructions, as well as their diversity, providing insights into areas such as the morphology-syntax and syntax-semantics interfaces, dialectal variation and language contact. This volume establishes Pseudo-Coordination as a descriptively important and theoretically challenging cross-linguistic phenomenon among Multiple Agreement Constructions and will be of interest to specialists in individual languages as well as typologists and theoreticians, serving as a foundation to promote continued research.

John Benjamins Publishing Company