

Sharing properties of Pseudocoordination in Norwegian

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Introduction This study discusses the sharing properties of pseudocoordination in Norwegian where two inflected verbs are joined by a coordinator; [V_1 and V_2] and only one subject appears. The construction examined here has a positional verb as V_1 (Pos-NPC) which expresses one event of progressive aspect (cf. Lødrup 2002) (1). The proposal is that Pos-NPC is a coordination where the subject and the other arguments of the two verbs are shared in a multidominance structure.

Previous approaches Wiklund (2007) gives a TMA-copy analysis of pseudocoordination (PC) in Swedish where tense on V_2 is vacuous and simply copied from V_1 . Evidence against this is that temporal overlapping in Pos-NPC is actually attested. Lødrup (2003, 2014) shows that V_2 can be headed by an auxiliary expressing passive (2) or future (3) while V_1 has present (active) tense. This indicates that tense is not vacuous on V_2 . The availability of an auxiliary and the tense-marking on both verbs could indicate that V_2 is headed by a TP projection. However, sentence adverbials and negation which are assumed to adjoin to T' (or TP), cannot precede V_2 in Pos-NPC (4).

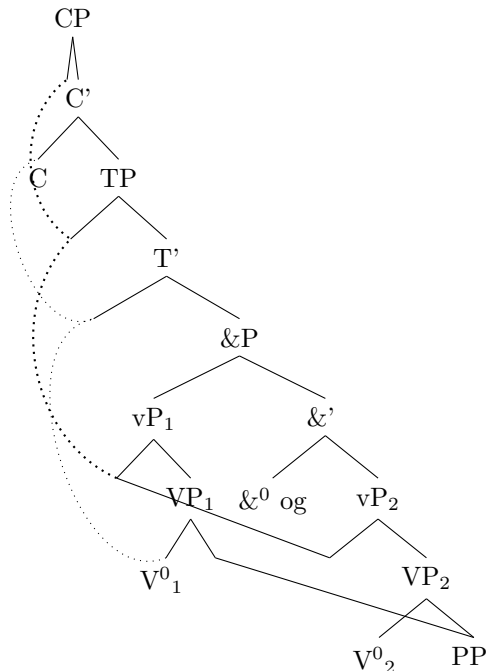
Sharing properties Data show that VP-modifying adjuncts as well as c -selected PPs can intervene and also freely switch position between the two verbs in main and subordinate clauses (1), (6). This also happens when adverbials are not c -selected by both verbs. In (5-a) the PP *i hagen* is an argument of V_1 but not of V_2 . V_2 alone is not acceptable with the PP *i hagen* as in (5-b) (cf. Telemann et al. (1999) and Lødrup (2003)). Regardless of this, it can freely switch position after the verbs. This is an indication of argument sharing between V_1 and V_2 . Another observation regards the subject of Pos-NPC which appears to be subcategorized by V_2 alone. In (7-a), the subject 'the light' belongs lexically to V_2 . It is ungrammatical with V_1 as main verb (7-b).

The fact that a sentence adverbial can intervene between V_1 and V_2 excludes an analysis where Pos-NPC is a complex head like de Vos (2005) has suggested for certain PC constructions in English and Afrikaans. Assuming a coordinative structure, the verbs cannot be coordinated in their base position because if so, no (sentence) adverbials could intervene. However they do intervene as in (8). This shows us that the $\&P$ projection must be above the vP . If Pos-NPC is not TMA-copying and not a complex head, what is it? Under an ellipsis account, it would have to be assumed that the subject of vP_2 in Pos-NPC is deleted under identity with the subject of the first conjunct. However, the subject in Pos-NPC can never be overt and also, no independent reading of non-referential DPs within each conjunct is available.

Proposal The current proposal for Pos-NPC is showed in (9) and involves a bottom-up sharing process in a multidominance structure. The two conjuncts are headed by $\&P$ and the arguments are shared by two mother nodes each conjunct. Following Assmann (2012), I propose that the Pos-NPC has imperfect numeration so that positional V_1 enters the derivation without an external theta role. A positional verb normally sub-categorizes a lexical D feature which is checked by a lexical item and realized as a subject. In Pos-NPC, the numeration of vP_1 lacks a D and ϕ feature. Therefore V_1 is defect. What is special about V_1 is that it has properties both an auxiliary and a lexical verb. On one side it has a fixed position always preceding the lexical V_2 and it is a closed class. On the other side it can still subcategorize arguments such as the PP *i hagen* in (1) and (5-a). Because of this, it is not entirely an auxiliary. Instead it carries both aspectual information as well as lexical information. The proposed rationale of this is as follows: Because V_1 arrives into the derivation as an aspectual verb but still subcategorizes a PP like *i hagen*, it undergoes parallel merge (cf. Citko 2005) with V_2 in order to share its features with a lexical, non-defect verb. This results in a shared PP. The sharing continues at vP where vP_2 has an interpretable D and ϕ feature available to project the subject DP. vP_1 on the other hand is borne without this and in order to save the derivation, it checks its uninterpretable D and ϕ features by merging with the specifier position of vP_2 . This is the trigger for the shared subject node. Evidence for that the subject originates in V_2 was shown in (7). In sum, the bottom-up sharing results from the V_1 having properties of both an auxiliary and a lexical verb.

There is one challenge worth mentioning regarding this proposal. Pos-NPC allows for violations of the Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC) by extractions out of one conjunct alone. I account for this by following Wilder (1999) who states that CSC is not violated by movement of constituents out of a conjunct when they are shared by all conjuncts. Because of bottom-up sharing until $\&P$, no violations of CSC occur when constituents are topicalized above the coordination site.

- (1) Gutten står (i hagen) og hopper (i hagen).
 boyDEF stand.PRES in garden.DEF and jump.PRES in garden.DEF
 'The boy is jumping in the garden.'
- (2) Der står bilen og blir lakkert /*lakkeres
 there stand.PRES car.DEF and become.PRES paint.PART paint.PRES.PASS
 'The car is standing there being painted.'
 (Lødrup 2014: 5)
- (3) Hun sitter og skal spise
 she sit.PRES and shall eat.INF
 'She will be eating.'
- (4) *Han sitter og ikke leser.
 he sit.PRES and not read.PRES
 (Lødrup 2014)
- (5) a. Han står (i hagen) og he stand.PRES in garden.DEF and glør (i hagen) stare.PRES in garden.DEF
 'He's staring in the garden.'
 b. ??Han glør i hagen he stare.PRES in garden.DEF
 (Teleman et al. 1999; Lødrup 2002)
- (6) Han trodde at Jon sto (i hagen) og hoppet (i hagen) garden.DEF and jump.PST in garden.DEF
 'He thought that John was jumping in the garden.'
- (7) a. Lyset sto og blinket light.DEF stand.PST and blink.PST
 'The light was blinking.'
 b. *Lyset sto. light.DEF stand.PST
- (8) De fleste sto bare og glodde.
 DET most stand.PST just and stare.PST
 'Most people were just staring.' Oslo Corpus: SK/HeIn/01
- (9)



Selected References *Assmann, Anke (2012): Deriving Parasitic Gaps by Fission and Fusion. In: E. Boone, K. Linke and M. Schulpen, eds., Proceedings of ConSOLE XIX (2011, Groningen). pp. 49–75. *Lødrup, Helge (2002). The Syntactic Structures of Norwegian Pseudocoordinations, *Studia linguistica*. 56, 121-143. *Lødrup (2014). How can a verb agree with a verb? Reanalysis and pseudocoordination in Norwegian. In Miriam Butt and Tracy Holloway King (eds.), Proceedings of the LFG14 Conference. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications, 367-86. University of Vienna. *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.