

1. Introduction

Pseudocoordination: use of *and* where the meaning or form does not correspond to typical coordination.

English examples: *go and get* & *try and do*

Cross-linguistic examples

<u>Norwegian</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Manam</u> (Austronesian: Oceanic)
Han sitter og skriver dikt.	ʕāda wa-sʕarraħa	wása ʔúsi i-emaʔ-í-be i-moaʔúsu
<i>lit.</i> He sits and writes poetry	return.3SG.PAST and-declare.3S.PAST	wind cloth 3SG-cause-3SG-and 3SG-move
'He is writing poetry.'	'He repeated his declaration.'	'The wind made the loincloth move.'
(Lødrup 2002: 121)	(Badawi, Carter & Gulley 2004: 422)	(Lichtenberk 1983: 449)

Frequent indications of verbal pseudocoordination

- 1) Two verbs that together convey one meaning (*hendiadys*), in a non-reversible order.
- 2) Violations of the Coordinate Structure Constraint (Ross 1967):
What will you go and get? vs. **What will you drive and buy?*
- 3) Shared morphological inflection required on both verbs.

Verbal pseudocoordination is relatively well-studied in Scandinavian Germanic languages, but understudied elsewhere, and it appears to be widespread cross-linguistically, in related and unrelated languages.

Goals of this talk

- Discuss the distribution and variation of verbal pseudocoordination throughout Germanic.
- Establish the syntactic properties and path of grammaticalization of English *try and*.

2. Pseudocoordination in Germanic

2.1 Scandinavian Germanic

- Pseudocoordination is common in Swedish, Norwegian and Danish.
- It is also found to a lesser extent in the other North Germanic languages.

Swedish (cf. Wiklund 2007 and references therein)

- Wiklund distinguishes two classes of pseudocoordination¹ in Swedish:

a) Han försökte o skrev ett brev. He tried & wrote a letter 'He tried to write a letter.'	b) Han satt o skrev dikter. He sat & wrote poems 'He was writing poems.'
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- alternates with infinitival complementation²
- informal and dialectal
- found in standard Swedish
- does not alternate with an infinitival form

Wiklund's analysis: an underlying infinitive “copies” the first verb's inflection via Minimalism's Agree.

1 She considers only (b) to represent *pseudocoordination*, but classifies both as TMA-agreeing infinitivals.
 2 Additionally, in some Swedish and Norwegian dialects, *och* 'and' is homophonous with the infinitival marker *att* 'to'.

Norwegian (cf. Lødrup 2002, among others)

- Generally similar to Swedish.
- Lødrup, in the grammatical framework of Lexical-Functional Grammar, argues that not all pseudocoordinations represent the same syntactic structure. Based on a number of syntactic differences such as constraints on scrambling, he lists three types:

(a) Han sitter og skriver dikt. He sits and writes poems 'He is writing poetry.' ○ control structure ○ the largest class	(b) Det driver og blir varmere. it carries-on and gets warmer 'It is getting warmer.' ○ raising structure ○ aspectual information only	(c) Han tok og skrev et dikt. He took and wrote a poem 'He wrote a poem.' ○ monoclausal structure ○ only with the verb 'take'
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Lødrup's analysis: *feature copying* alters the form of the second verb, which is underlyingly an infinitive.

- A fourth kind, not discussed in detail, is allowed only in infinitives and participles:

(d) Prøv å finn et annet nøkkelord try.IMP to find.IMP another keyword 'Try to find another keyword.'

- The contrast between (a) and (d) is similar to Wiklund's two classes for Swedish, although this class is less restricted in (at least some dialects of) Swedish.
- The restricted distribution is also somewhat reminiscent of English *try and*, discussed below.

Danish (cf. Bjerre & Bjerre 2007; Ebert 2000; also Wiklund 2007, among others)

- Generally similar to Swedish and Norwegian pseudocoordination.
- (a) I går sad Peter og kyssede en pipe (B&B: 14) (b) Begynd og læs! (Wiklund 2007: 6)
 yesterday sat Peter and kissed a girl begin.IMP and read. IMP
 'Peter was sitting and kissing a girl.' 'Start reading!'
- As in Norwegian, the form in (b) appears to be found only with imperatives and participles.

Old Norse and grammaticalization (cf. Vannebo 2003; Hilpert & Koops 2008)

- Two studies have considered the origin of modern pseudocoordination:
 - Vannebo (2003) investigated 'take and' in Norwegian; and
 - Hilpert & Koops (2008) investigated 'sit and' in Swedish.
- Both found evidence for early use of constructions with some shared grammatical properties, for 'take and' in (a) from Old Norse c.1220 (Vannebo 2003: 180) and 'sit and' in (b) from Old Swedish c.1300-1450 (Hilpert & Koops 2008: 251):

(a) Þvi næst tóku þeir ok gerðu sér net. there after took they and made themselves nets 'Afterwards they prepared fishing nets.'	(b) Ther sato nokre kompana oc drukko there sat some friends and drank oc lifdho i ofwerflødhlikheth. and lived in abundance 'Some friends sat drinking and living in abundance.'
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- It appears that pseudocoordination constructions did exist in Old Norse and perhaps even earlier.

Icelandic (cf. Jóhannsdóttir 2006, 2007; Wiklund 2007; Ebert 2000)

- Although its use is not as nearly extensive as in Swedish, Norwegian and Danish, pseudocoordination can be found in Icelandic, but it is limited to posture verbs, primarily 'sit':

(a) *María situr og les.* (Jóhannsdóttir 2007: 361)
 Mary sits and reads
 'Mary is reading.'

- It is unclear whether this relative lack of pseudocoordination is a loss or lack of grammaticalization.

Faroese (cf. Heycock & Petersen 2012)

- Faroese pseudocoordination is more developed than in Icelandic, but not as extensive as in Swedish, Norwegian and Danish. Like those languages, however, there are two classes; the first, as in (a), is not restricted in form, while the second, as in (b-c), is restricted to imperatives and infinitives:³

(a) *Eri og fá mær millum-mála.* (b) *Royn og sel húsini!* (c) **Eg royni og lesi bókina.*
 am and get.1SG my between-meal try.IMP and sell.IMP house.the I try.1SG and read.1SG book.the
 'Gone to get myself a snack.' 'Try and sell the house.'

2.2 Gothic, Proto-Germanic and Proto-Indo-European**Gothic**

- If some form of pseudocoordination existed in Old Norse, then did it also exist earlier?
- It appears that Gothic did have at least the 'go and' type (c.600):

frauja, uslaubei mis frumist galeiþan jah gafilhan attan meinana. (Matthew 8:21, Wulfila Bible)
 Lord, suffer me first go.INF and bury.INF father my
 'Lord, suffer me first to go and bury my father.'

- Thus, it is found in North, West and East Germanic, and may have been in Proto-Germanic as well.

Indo-European

- In fact, it is also found in Romance, Slavic and Baltic, and Greek (Coseriu 1966; *inter alia*).
- There is no reason to believe it does not date back to Proto-Indo-European, as the example below from Hittite suggests (c.1500-1400 B.C.E; Güterbock & van den Hout 1991: 18-19, II.42-43):

na-aš paizzi ta GIŠhuluganni GIŠUMBIN GÙB-laaz tiyazzi
 now-he goes and cart wheel left.ABL steps
 'Now he [the royal bodyguard] goes and stands at the left of the wheel of the cart.'

- Alternatively, it could be borrowed or have grammaticalized independently in all of these languages:
 - Also found in all branches of Semitic, including Akkadian (Lillas-Schuil 2006: 80); Finno-Ugric (Coseriu 1966); Basque (Ross 2013, original data); and Manam (Oceanic: Lichtenberk 1983).

³ A colloquial, currently grammaticalizing exception will be discussed later, in the section on English *try and*.

2.3 West Germanic

German (cf. Höder 2011; Kathal 1995; Ebert 2000; Coseriu 1966; Bjerre & Bjerre 2007; *inter alia*)

- Absent in standard German but can be found colloquially (a), and in borrowings (b) and idioms (c):
- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| (a) He güng bi un schreev dat op.
he went at and wrote it up
'He started writing it down.'
(Low German: Höder 2011: 177) | (b) Sie is bei und jagen die Hühner...
She is at and chase the chickens
'She is chasing the chickens...'
(Low German: Ebert 2000) | (c) Sei so gut und komm!
be.IMP so good and come.IMP
'[Please,] be good and come.'
(Wackernagel 1920: 63) |
|---|--|--|
- Additional potential examples may be found in standard German with subject gaps in finite clauses:
In den Wald ging der Jäger und fing einen Hasen. (Kathol 1995: 83; via Bjerre & Bjerre 2007)
Into the forest went the hunter and caught a rabbit
'The hunter went into the forest and caught a rabbit.'

Yiddish (cf. Taube, in press): found at least with *take* and motion verbs; may be Slavic influence.

Dutch (cf. Ebert 2000; Höder 2011) and **Afrikaans** (cf. de Vos 2005, 2006)

- Absent in standard Dutch; however, it is found in Afrikaans, so it must have existed historically.
 - Found in the Izenberge dialect of (West) Flemish:
Jan zat een beok en lezen. (de Vos 2006: 93; from Haslinger & Van Koppen 2003)
Jan sat a book and read.INF
'Jan was reading a book.'
 - Pseudocoordination found with posture verbs like 'sit' (a), as well as 'walk' (b) in Afrikaans:
- | | |
|--|--|
| (a) Jan sal die boeke sit en lees.
Jan will the books sit and read
'Jan will sit reading the books.'
(de Vos 2005: 115) | (b) Hoe loop en betaal Jan die rekening?
how walk and pay Jan the bill
'How does Jan go and pay the bill?'
(de Vos 2005: 136) |
|--|--|

Frisian (cf. Ebert 2000)

- Found at least in colloquial usage (Wiidinghiird dialect: Ebert 2000: 616):
Hi lapt steeriwäch än fernärmed sän nääber mä sin dääsie fraage.
he walks continuously and insults his neighbor with his stupid questions
'He goes around insulting his neighbor with his stupid questions.'

English (cf. Poutsma 1917; Carden & Pesetsky 1977; de Vos 2005; Ross 2013 and references therein)

- Used frequently colloquially and to some extent in standard language; prescriptively dispreferred.
- Compared to the cross-linguistic cases discussed above, we find about four classes in English:
 - Motion verbs: *go and, come and, ...*
 - Attitude verbs: *be kind/nice and, ...*
 - Posture verbs: *sit and, lie and, ...*
 - Control verbs: *try and, be sure and, ...*
- Relatively rare aside from the motion and control classes.
- In terms of grammatical properties, there is a distinction between the control verbs with their *bare form condition* (see below) and the rest, which will collectively be grouped with the motion verbs.

3. English try and pseudocoordination

3.1 Syntactic properties

- Motion verb class explained by previous analyses: Lødrup's (2003) *feature copying* for Norwegian, or Wiklund's (2007) *tense agreement* for Swedish (and other languages).
- The *bare form condition* (Carden & Pesetsky 1977) that applies *try* and other verbs in the control verbs class more challenging. (This analysis is presented in detail in Ross 2013.)

Descriptive generalizations

- *Bare form condition* applies to both verbs. **He tries and do(es) it.*
- *Be* licensed as second verb, but not first. *I try and be on time to class.*
- Pseudocoordination requires parallel morphology. **I went and have a book.*

Syntactic Principles

Morphological distribution explained by three syntactic principles:

- A) The second verb is a bare infinitive, licensed by *and*.
- B) Morphological sameness for the first and second verb.
- C) Standard subject-verb agreement, for the first verb only.

Potential <i>try</i>-type sentences	A	B	C
I try and sleep.	√	√	√
*He tries and sleeps.	*	√	√
*He tries and sleep.	√	*	√
*He try and sleep.	√	√	*

Principle C must be extended to also include realization of other required inflection:

- *He try and sleep. [past]
- *He is try and sleep. [progressive]

- The remaining puzzle is how to formalize Principle B:
MORPHOLOGICAL SAMENESS REQUIREMENT: Every verbal complement in *try*-type pseudocoordination must realize a corresponding inflection to any inflection realized by its immediately superordinate verb.
 - *Of course, this is impossible with a bare infinitive, thus creating the bare form condition.*
- This necessarily violates the principle of *phonology-free syntax* (Zwicky 1969) and the universality of the *Resolution Principle* (Pullum & Zwicky 1986) by imposing language-specific rules on form.

3.2 Pseudocoordination in Old English

- Pseudocoordination was used with Old English motion verbs for purposive semantics:
Farað and āxiað geornlice be þām cilde. (c.1000: West Saxon Gospels: Matthew 2:8)
'Go and inquire diligently after the child.'
- “*The second verb translates a Latin hypotactic infinitive or participle of purpose.*” (Shearin 1903: 12)
- No equivalent form attested that resembles the semantics of *try and* or has the bare form condition.

3.3 Grammaticalization of try and

- c. 1250 ● *trier* borrowed from French with the meaning of 'separate out, refine, examine, test'. Meaning of 'attempt' was not present in French, nor were there any verbal complementation patterns.
Pey turnde ageyn, and tryde þe Bretons fro ilk Romeyn. (OED *try*, c.1330)
 'They turned again, and separated the Britons from Roman kin.'
- c. 1300 ● *Cursor Mundi*: the first hint at using *try* with verbal complementation and a meaning of 'attempt':
Be riche men...tempird tresun for to tri / To tak iesum with wogh. (Lewis et al. 1996: 1093)
- c. 1390 ● *Confessio Amantis*: an early hint at using *try* with pseudocoordination. Ambiguous examples like the following eventually lead to reanalysis with pseudocoordination:
Ferst forto gete it out of Myne / And after forto trie and fyne. (Gower 1390: Book 4)
 '...to try/test and refine [some kind of metal]'
- c.1550 ● *try and V*: early examples of pseudocoordination appear c.1550, more common in 1600s. Usage is restricted to infinitival and imperative contexts.
We maye wel trye and knowe all the rowte of Antichristes generacion.
 (EEBO TCP corpus: Philpot c. 1556)
- c. 1575 ● *try to V*: *to*-infinitival complementation appears to become stable after pseudocoordination does (cf. Hommerberg & Tottie 2007: 60), used about as frequently as *try and* through the 1600s. Likely developed via analogy with other verbs like *seek*, which used *to* since Old English.
Bycause the Romanes durst not trye to stopped theyr passage.
 (EEBO TCP corpus: Watson 1581)
- c. 1700 ● The form *try to V* is about five times more frequent than *try and V*.
- c. 1800 ● Frequency of *try to V* increases dramatically; *try and V* use also increases, but not as much.
- c. 1800 ● Pseudocoordination form *try and* is used with modals including *will*. ('I will try and...')
- c. 1840 ● Bare form condition established: usage of *try*-pseudocoordination in the bare present tense:
Do sit down by the fire, whilst I try and get you some breakfast.
 (Google Ngrams: Gascoigne 1841: 111)
 By the end of 1800s, present tense usage still not accepted prescriptively (cf. Waddy 1889: 147-8).
- c. 1900 ● *try and* seen as colloquial or incorrect (Moon 1864, cf. Webster's 1989: 919; Poutsma 1917;)
- c. 1920 ● *try and* licenses *be* in the present tense:
If I try and be terribly good they think I am wicked.
 (Google Ngrams: Hastings 1926: 71)
- c. 2000 ● *Try and* less frequent than *try to*, except in spoken British English (Hommerberg & Tottie 2007). The structure of *try*-pseudocoordination has been extended to other verbs (varying by dialect and individual) including: *be sure, pretend, remember, decide, promise*, etc. (subject-only control verbs)

- Rare examples (speech errors or grammaticalization in progress) without bare first verb:
 - [They offered an immunity deal] and they tried and go after John Gotti Jr.*
(Bo Dietl on *Imus in the Morning*: May 23: 2011)
 - Similar to the example from West-Flemish above; also may be found in South African English.
 - Comprehension data also suggests a bare second verb is interpreted as infinitival, regardless of whether the sentence is judged as grammatical or not (cf. Ross 2013).
 - Supports analysis of bare form condition as infinitival complementation and inflection copying.
- Likewise, rare examples suggest extension of *and* as a general infinitival marker:
 - The trickiest part would be fooling you and keep a straight face.*
(*Castle*, season 5 episode 19: April 1, 2013)
 - Told you not to drink. / I'm not interesting enough and not drink.*
(*The Following*, season 1 episode 1: January 21, 2013)
- Even if these are speech errors, they likely still indicate underlying grammatical properties.

3.4 Parallel developments in Faroese

- The strange developments in English may not be unique.
- *Royna* and *prøva* 'try' in Faroese are limited to imperatives and infinitives in standard usage, but colloquially, some speakers accept third-person plural present forms as well, because this conjugation happens to be homophonous with the infinitive (Heycock & Petersen 2012: 274):
 - Tey royna/prøva og lesa bókina.
they try.3P.PRES and read.INF/3P.PRES book.the
'They try and read the book.'
- This suggests that the “bare form” condition in English may be instead a non-finite form requirement.

4. Conclusions

- Verbal pseudocoordination is common (at least in Germanic, and Indo-European)
 - The details can vary significantly by language, and it is subject to reanalysis.
- Syntactically, the shared structure is that used with motion verbs in English.
 - Includes the parallel morphology property.
- Useful way to express new meanings from an existing structure.
 - At the same time, it can be redundant with existing forms (e.g., *come V* vs. *come and V*).
- Almost always colloquial (and thus understudied), yet withstands the test of time.
- More research required to develop a full account of pseudocoordination in Germanic (and beyond).

Appendix: agreeing infinitives in Old Icelandic

- Agreeing/copying infinitives not unique to pseudocoordination.
- Old Icelandic developed a set of *preterite infinitives* used in a special construction when the matrix clause was in the past tense (cf. Huesler 1921: 110, 138-139).
- Relevantly, homophony of (normal) infinitive and third-person plural present forms lead to, by analogy, the development of preterite infinitives modeled after the third-person plural past form.

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