Coordination/Subordination in Lisbon, *University of Lisbon, May 9, 2014*
**Between coordination and subordination: typological,
structural and diachronic perspectives on pseudocoordination**
Daniel Ross `djross3@illinois.edu`
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Pseudocoordination: apparently coordinate structure used subordinatively.
Defined here diachronically as a transitional state originating from coordination.
I make no claim that all types of pseudocoordination are the same structure.
Many terms such as *hendiadys*, *fake coordination*, *serialization*, etc.
English examples: *go and get* & *try and do*

Goals of this talk:
- Establish broad typological presence of pseudocoordination.
- Consider historical development on the way; great source of data.
- Explore a preliminary typology of subordination-coordination domain, including examples from pseudocoordination in various languages.

1. Cross-linguistic presence of pseudocoordination
- Rarely documented, often present.

1.1 Germanic (Ross 2013c)
- Most previous research focuses on Germanic, especially Scandinavian.

Swedish, Norwegian and Danish (Jespersen 1895; Lødrup 2002; Wiklund 2007)
1a) Han försökte o skrev ett brev.   1b) Han satt o skrev dikter.
   He tried   & wrote a letter   He sat & wrote poems
   'He tried to write a letter.'   'He was writing poems.'

- Also found in Faroese (Heycock and Petersen 2012), and to a much lesser extent in Icelandic only with 'sit' (Jóhannsdóttir 2006).
- Evidence for early stages of 'take and' from Old Norse c.1220 (Vannebo 2003); 'sit and' from Old Swedish c.1300-1450 (Hilpert & Koops 2008).

Gothic c.600 (Matthew 8:21, Wulfila Bible)
2) frauja, uslaubei mis frumist galeiþan jah gafilhan   attan meinana.
   Lord, suffer   me first   go.INF and bury.INF father my
   'Lord, suffer me first to go and bury my father.'

English (Poutsma 1917; Carden and Pesetsky 1977; Ross 2013a; Ross in press)
3a) I will go and buy a pizza.   3b) We always try and eat well.

Used in Old English with motion verbs for purposive semantics:
4) Farað and āxiað geornlīce be þām cilde. (c.1000: W. Saxon Gospels: Matt. 2:8)
   'Go and inquire diligently after the child.'
   - "The second verb translates a Latin hypotactic infinitive or participle of purpose." (Shearin 1903, 12)
Extended to infinitival complements in Channel Islands English (Rosen 2014):
5) He went and see them.

Control construction found especially with *try* (and less frequently other verbs including *be sure*, *promise*, *decide*, *pretend*, *remember*, *manage*):
   - Developed c.1550 from reanalysis of forms such as *try and examine oneself*; non-factive infinitival complementation by c.1800 (Ross 2013a):
6) I will try and complete the assignment, but I might not be able to.
   - Subject to the *bare form condition* (Carden and Pesetsky 1977):
7a) We try and do our best.   7b) We try and be happy.
7c) *He tries and do(es) his best.   7d) *We tried and fix(ed) it.
   - In Ross (in press), I show that this is due to the combination of two properties: 1) the second verb is a true (bare) infinitive; 2) in pseudocoordination there are parallel morphology requirements: with no way for the second verb to be inflected, the first cannot be either.

Similar phenomenon in Faroese (Heycock and Petersen 2012, 274):
   - *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.
8) 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.

Related phenomena in English (and other languages) are semantically-allowed unbalanced extraction from coordinate structures (Lakoff 1986) and "left-subordinating and" used esp. for conditionals (Culicover and Jackendoff 1997).

West Germanic beyond English
- Only found dialectally (not in standard variety) for German (Höder 2011) and Dutch (Haslinger and van Koppen 2002).
- Also in Afrikaans (de Vos 2005), Yiddish (Taube to appear) and Frisian.

1.2 Indo-European beyond Germanic

- An exception to the lack of cross-linguistic work is Coseriu (1966), who found the collocation *take and* found in Romance, Slavic, Germanic, Baltic, Greek and Albanian, as well as Finno-Ugric and Semitic.
- Other patterns can be found widely in Indo-European as well.

Romance:
- Found with motion verbs in Portuguese (Colaço 2010):

9) O Pedro vai e conta tudo à Maria. 'Peter goes and tells Maria everything.'
- Apparent serial variant in Brazilian Portuguese (Rodrigues 2006):

10) Eu fui (e) fiz o trabalho. 'I went (and) did the work.'
- Similar for Italian dialects (Rohlfs 1954; Cardinaletti & Giusti 2003)

11a) Va a pigghia u pani   11b) vogghiu a   vesciu
     goes and fetches the bread   want.1SG and see.1SG
     'He goes to get the bread.'   'I want to see.'

- This *a* is from Latin *ac*, though it is now homophonous with *a* 'to'.

- In Spanish, 'go' has grammaticalized further to become a "topic auxiliary" (Arnaiz and Camacho 1999)

12a) Ramón fue y   se cayó.   12b) Juan va   y   María lo besa.
     Ramon went and CL fell   Juan goes and Maria CL kisses
     'Ramon unexpectedly fell.'   'J. gets unexpectedly kissed by M.'

- In Romanian with at least *take* (Coseriu 1966; Guţu-Romalo 1961)

13) Se   ia şi se   întoarnă singură
    REFL take and REFL return   alone
    lit. '(He) takes and returns alone'

- Apparently avoided in (at least standard) French.

- Limited evidence for use in Latin, not suggesting frequent or fully grammaticalized usage (Ferri and Probert 2010, 35)

14) Syre cessas ire ac facere 'Syrus, are you delaying to go and do it?'

Slavic: Russian (Kuznetsova 2006); Czech (Škodová 2009); Polish (Ekberg 1993)

15a) Biórę i idę   15b) Petr šel a   četl celou tu knihu
     take.1SG and go.1SG   Peter went and read the whole book
     lit. 'I take and go.'   (Polish)   (Czech)

Greek (Johannessen 1998; Mackridge 1985)

16a) vlepo ke hamojelas   16b) m'ekanes   ke se   pistepsa
     I.see and you.smile   me.you.made and you I.believed
     'I see you are smiling.'   'You made me believe you.'

16c) Katáphera ke ékopsa to kápnisma 16d) Tí   prospathő ke kánō?
     I.managed and quit   DEF smoking   What I.try   and I.do
     'I managed and quit smoking.'   'What do I try and do?'

Several instances in Hittite vary with serial forms (Hock 2013; Ross 2013b, 66):

17) *na-aš paizzi ta* ^{GIŠ}*ḫuluganni* ^{GIŠ}*UMBIN GÙB-laaz   tiyazzi*
    now-he goes and   cart   wheel   left.ABL   steps
    'Now he goes and stands at the left of the wheel of the cart.'

Not widespread in Indo-Iranian, but see Belyaev (in press) for Ossetic.

Celtic subordinating/absolute 'and':
- A well known construction in the Celtic languages, as well as English dialects in contact with these languages, is formed with 'and' followed by a participle or verbless clause (Häcker 1994).

18) Tháinig Seán agus é ólta   lit. 'Came John and him drunk.'

- Kiparsky (1968) provides evidence that this may relate to a type of tenseless coordinated verb in Proto-Indo-European.

There is also some comparative evidence that suggests a left-subordinating conditional usage of 'and' as far back as Proto-Indo-European (Eichner 1971).

1.3 Europe
- While not as common as within Indo-European, pseudocoordination can be found elsewhere in Europe also.

Basque pseudocoordination may be due to borrowing (Ross 2013b, 70):

19) (Ni) joango naiz eta liburua hartuko dut.
    (I) go.FUT AUX and book   get.FUT AUX
    'I will go and get the book.'

However, for discussion of the range of usage of Basque *eta*, see (Rotaetxe 2006).

Finno-Ugric
- Pseudocoordination does not appear to be widespread in Finno-Ugric, but Coseriu (1966) finds instances of the *take and* construction.
- In Finnish there may be some borrowing from Swedish *sit and*:

20) Istun ja kirjoitan 'I sit and write.'
- Airola (2007) identifies frequent collocations with *get up and* as well as *go and* in Finnish, showing at least early stages of grammaticalization:

21) Mutta että mies menee ja nitkahtaa budapestilaisessa puistossa jo- honkin haisevaan rättiläjään [telttaan]… 'But then for the man to go and fall for some smelly rag heap [a tent] in a Budapest park…'

Kartvelian
- Georgian *da* 'and' is cognate with Mingrelian *da* 'if' (Harris and Campbell 1995, 290). See also Boeder (1983) for Kartvelian 'and' usage.

1.4 Africa
Semitic
- *Hendiadys* in the Hebrew Bible is most studied (Lillas-Schuil 2006)

- Arabic pseudocoordination is found with aspectual meanings:

22) ʕāda   wa-sˁarraħa   (Badawi, Carter, and Gully 2004, 422)
    return.3S.PAST and-declare.3S.PAST
    'He repeated his declaration.' (literally 'he returned and declared')
- Appears to alternate with serialization in modern dialects:

23) rijiʕ (wa) ʕimilha   lit. 'came back and made it' = 'made it again' (Palestinian)
- Also found in Akkadian:

18) atūr-ma   wardam ana bēliva atrud   (Huehnergard 1997, 125)
    returned.1S-and   sent   I   to.lord slave
    'I sent the slave to my lord again.'

- Hebrew's very frequent "waw consecutive" (Pratico and Van Pelt 2007) inverts tense: perfect for imperfect, and imperfect for perfect.

- Akkadian -*ma* 'and' grammaticalized as a complementizer for perception verbs, among other uses (Deutscher 2000):

24) kīma   immerī   tīšû   ešme-ma
    COMP sheep.ACC you.have.SUB I.heard-and
    'I have heard that you have sheep.'

- Pseudocoordination is also found in some Ethiopian Semitic languages, in usage similar to Amharic gerundives (Leslau 1970):

25a) šir yilō-ma yidgēboḥol   25b) zātbēsāla-ma ziḥēlādo-sa
    lit. 'one sits in a circle and eats'   lit. 'when he finished and taught'
    'One eats sitting in a circle.'   'when he finished teaching'

Khoisan
- In a number of the (so-called) Khoisan languages, 'and' can be used for a variety of purposes including aspect and reason:

26a) tʰâ-sà   íé-ˤ   26b) yà /oa tcí ta yà fia ǂèhi.
    run-3FSG stay-and   3SG NEG come and 3SG PROG be.sick
    'She is running.'   'He doesn't come because he is sick.
    (Sandawe: Eaton 2003)   (!Xun: Heine and Kuteva 2002, 44)

Atlantic Niger-Congo
- In Akan, serial verbs may have developed from coordination (Lord 1989)

- In a number of languages in West Africa, there is no sharp distinction between coordinator and complementizer, as in Kabiye (Roberts 2013):

27) Tasɩ   yɔɔdʊʋ   nɛ   mánɩʋ !
    repeat-IMP   speak-INF and   1SG-understand-AOR
    'Say that again so that I understand.'

1.5 Asia and the Pacific
- There is little evidence for pseudocoordination in Asia, but see below for discussion of pseudosubordination.

- Mei (2003) suggests that serial verb constructions in modern Chinese may have grammaticalized from coordination in Ancient Chinese:

28) Tianxia min jie yin   ling er wang zhi yi   (Lin 2002, 225)
    state   people all protrude neck and desire it   PRT
'The people over the state all hope for it, protruding their necks [with great desire]'

Austronesian
- Pseudocoordination of several different types is widespread in multiple branches of Austronesian.

- Lichtenberk (1983) gives examples of causative pseudocoordination in Manam (Oceanic); motion verb pseudocoordination is also present.

29) wása ʔúsi   i-emaʔ-í-be   i-moaʔúsu
    wind loin.cloth 3SG-cause-3SG-and   3SG-move
    'The wind made the loincloth move.'

- Pseudocoordination can also be found in other Oceanic languages, such as Tawala (Ezard 1997, 248):

30) Hi-wiwogatala po apo   hi-na-bagibagi
    3PL-plan   and FUT 3PL-POT-work
    'They planned to work.'

- In Old High Fijian, relative clauses were formed via apparent coordination with *ka* 'and' (Dixon 1988, 252; Milner 1956, 35):

31) na waqa ka yali mai a koro   'the boat which was missing from the village'

- Several languages in Vanuatu have an "echo subject" (same-subject) *switch-reference* marker -*m*, originating from **ma* 'and' (Lynch 1983):

32a) r-im-va   (kani) m-im-augin   32b) r-im-va (kani) r-im-augin
     3SG-PAST-come (and) ES-PAST-eat   … 3SG-PAST-eat
     'He$_i$ came and (he$_i$) ate.'   'He$_i$ came and he$_j$ ate.'

- The Formosan languages (Taiwan) have especially extensive use of pseudocoordination; in fact, in some cases 'and' has been extended to use as a general linker beyond the verbal domain (Liu 2003, 167–168).

33) sa-harakat-sa ci   aki (a) k<um>aqen tu   hemaj   (Amis)
    SA-fast-SA   Nom Aki A eat<AV>eat Acc meal
    'Aki ate his meal quickly.'

34) m-i-ta   asonɨ m-ainenu ho m-i-ta   uhne Tapangu 'e-Pasuya   (Tsou)
    AV-Rea-3S can   AV-how   and AV-Rea-3S go   Tapang   Nom-Pasuya
    'By what means can Pasuya go to Tapang?'

1.6 Australia and the Americas

- The languages found in Australia and the Americas typically have few overt coordinators equivalent to English 'and', so in general finding pseudocoordination is unlikely, assuming an overt coordinator is required (which is not theoretically motivated). Still, several instances are found where overt coordinators are present.

South America
- Baure (Arawakan: Danielsen 2011):

35) rijirikopa ach riejerik
    3SGf.sit.GO and 3SGf.spin
    'She sat down and spun (made thread).'

36) enevere nga rosowesha   ach niyonpa   riwer-ye
    next.day NEG 3SGm.rain.IRR and 1SG.walk.GO 3SGf.house-LOC
    'If it doesn't rain tomorrow, I will walk to her house.'

Australia
- Bininj Gun-wok (Evans 2003) and Maung (Capell and Hinch 1970), languages from two different families (Arnhem and Iwaidjan respectively) in close contact, both display pseudocoordination:

37) Yirrangbalhmen dja kunkedjelk   (Bininj Gun-wok)
    shut.the.door   and it.is.cold
    'Shut the door because it is cold.'

38) /ŋarabanamaɣa nuwu da guli <u>la</u> jiradad, <u>la</u> nuji ganmadju/   (Maung)
    'We shall bring you yams <u>and</u> meat, <u>because</u> you are sick.'

1.7 Summary of types encountered

- Motion, in many languages.
- Aspectual (Scandinavian, Semitic, Khoisan)
- Control (English, Greek, Tawala)
- Reason (Kabiye, Bininj Gun-wok and Maung)
- Complementation (Akkadian)
- Causal (Manam, Greek)
- Conditional (Indo-European, Kartvelian)
- Precursor to serialization (Akan, Chinese)
- Switch-reference (Vanuatu Austronesian)
- Generalized linker (Formosan)

This list is not exhaustive, but clearly there is a widespread tendency in languages for subordination (and several other systems) to develop out of coordination.

Additional research is required for all of these languages. As shown for English, the intermediate state between coordination and subordination that arises in pseudocoordination provides unique puzzles for grammatical theory.

2. Related phenomena

2.1 Pseudosubordination (Yuasa and Sadock 2002)
- May be defined as: apparently subordinate structure used coordinatively.

- Often in the form of converbs, this is found widely throughout the world, including in, for example, Japanese, Korean (Kwon and Polinsky 2008), Turkish (Johanson 1995) and Hindi (Montaut 2006).

39) Ojiisan-ga　　yama-de　　hatarai-te, (Japanese: Yuasa and Sadock 2002, 92)
　　old.man-NOM mountain-at work-and
　　obaasan-ga　　　mise-no ban-o　　　shi-ta
　　old.woman-NOM store-GEN sitting-ACC do-PAST
　　'The old man worked at the mountain, and the old woman tended the store.'

40) Oda-ya　　gir-ip　　　otur-d-um　　　(Turkish: Johanson 1995, 333)
　　room-DAT enter-CONV sit-PAST-1SG
　　'I went into the room and sat down.'

- Pseudosubordination, like pseudocoordination, often results in a mixed structure with anomalous grammatical properties. In this sense, they may be the same phenomenon despite grammaticalizing inversely.
- Additionally, these two constructions often are functionally equivalent.

2.2 Serialization
- May be defined as a closely linked sequence of two verbs with no conjunction or complementizer linking them (Aikhenvald 2006).

- However, there is no necessary theoretical reason that serial verbs (that is, the phenomena represented by that structure) may never have a linking element.

- Urarina is said to have serial verbs linked by the neutral suffix -a (NTR):

41) kwituku-erati-a　ku-ure　　　　　(Olawsky 2006, 631)
　　know-CAUS-NTR go-3PL
　　'They went to let him know.'

- Often found with the same lexical items and meanings as pseudocoordination and pseudosubordination.

2.3 Associated motion, compared
- Associated motion encodes motion accompanying an event morphological on the verb.
- It is found in Pama-Nyungan (Koch 1984; Wilkins 1991); Tacanan (Guillaume 2013); Rgyalrong (Jacques 2013).
- Itive and venitive markers found widely elsewhere (Bourdin 2005).

- Although typically defined both semantically and formally (as an affix), there is no necessarily theoretical reason for this. The other constructions we have seen encode the same grammatical category:

42) We went and bought a pizza.　　　　　　　43) Let's go see a movie.
Pseudocoordination　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　*Serialization*

44) Taroo-ga　　hasit-te gakkoo-ni it-ta　　　　45) are-ye-ne-
　　Taroo-NOM　run-CONV school-to go-PAST　　　　　see-GO
　　'Taro went to school running.'　　　　　　　'find'　　lit. 'go see'
Converb (Japanese: Shibatani and Chung 2007, 27)　*Associated motion* (Kaytej)

- In faction, motion verbs are among the most common cross-linguistically to be found in pseudocoordination, converbs and serialization.
- This also explains the surprise reading in the *go and* construction (Wiklund 2009), because this is a natural metaphorical extension of movement away from the deictic center, away from expectations.

2.4 Para-hypotaxis
- Constructions in some languages display overt marking of subordination. This is found in at least Indo-European, Semitic, Bantu and Zamucoan.

46) Quando i fatti diventano personali, e sono difficili da gestire.
　　When　the things become personal, and are difficult to deal.with
　　'When things become personal, they are hard to deal with.'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Bertinetto and Ciucci 2012, 92)

- Clearly 'and' cannot be encoding coordination in this construction. Rather, it must be encoding a clause boundary.

- Given para-hypotaxis, asyndetic coordination, and similarities between pseudocoordination and serialization, it is natural to assume that the conjunction 'and' is not, in any formal sense, part of the structure but rather a phonological indication of a boundary in general.

3. Typology of subordination/coordination domain, with examples
- Preliminary typology of properties that distinguish various constructions.

3.1 Argument or adjunct status

Argument: *try and*   47) I will try [and do it]
- Auxiliary usage (e.g., aspectual) is a subject of argument selection.
Adjunct:
- Reason clauses
38) /ŋarabanamaɣa nuwu da guli <u>la</u> jiradad, <u>la</u> nuji ganmadju/   (Maung)
   'We shall bring you yams <u>and</u> meat, <u>because</u> you are sick.'
- Circumstantial clauses
48) I figured the trickiest part would be fooling you and keep a straight face.
                                          (From TV series: *Castle*, April 1, 2013)

Between adjunct and argument? English *go and*:
49a) *I will go.   49b) I will go and buy a book.   49c) I will go to buy a book.
50) I will go and buy a book, *(but I might not buy the book).
51) *And buy a book, I will go.

Neither:
- Conditional (left-subordinating and)
52) Tell me the best places to visit in Lisbon, and I'll have a good trip.
- Standard coordination
53) John ate pizza, and Mary ate cake.

3.2 Semantic relationship between clauses

- Directionality (associated motion); *go and get*
- Aspectual information:
   o Progressive
1b) Han satt o skrev dikter.
   He   sat & wrote poems
   'He was writing poems.'
   o Absentive (de Groot 2000)
54) Jan er og handlar   (Norwegian)
   John is and shops
   'John is off shopping.'

   o Perfective   (Arabic: Badawi, Carter, and Gully 2004, 433)
55) kamā sabaqa   wa-quinā
   as   do.previously and-said
   'As he previously said.'
- Control Complementation; *try and do*
- Perception Complementation:
24) kīma   immerī   tīšû   ešme-ma
   COMP sheep.ACC you.have.SUB I.heard-and
   'I have heard that you have sheep.'
- Relative clauses:
31) na waqa ka yali mai a koro   'the boat which was missing from the village'
- Manner specification:
44) Taroo-ga   hasit-te   gakkoo-ni it-ta
   Taroo-NOM   run-CONV school-to go-PAST
   'Taro went to school running.'
- Causation:
29) wása ʔúsi   i-emaʔ-í-be   i-moaʔúsu
   wind loin.cloth 3SG-cause-3SG-and 3SG-move
   'The wind made the loincloth move.'

3.3 Form of linker: type of conjunction, if any
- Parataxis, serialization and pseudocoordination all are functionally equivalent but only one involves an overt linker; this should not matter.
- Para-hypotaxis involves an extra linker; again, this is irrelevant.
- In some languages, there may be multiple coordinators to select from, associated with particular constructions. For example, Italian *a(c)* and *e(t)* are found in pseudocoordination and coordination respectively.

3.4 Factivity: is the secondary clause independently asserted
- Yes: English *go and get*
- No: English *try and do*
- Also consider *I believe that* vs. *I know that* vs. *I saw that*

3.5 Morphosyntactic dependencies between the clauses
- Converbs must usually be embedded.
- Consecutive tense forms and switch-reference rely on existing context.
- Parallel morphology requirements in pseudocoordination.
   o Not otherwise generalizable in the grammar (Ross in press)

3.6 Summary
- "Subordination" and "coordination" are determined by a number of properties that are related but not dependent on each other.
- Analyzing pseudocoordination forces us to leave the traditional dichotomy of coordination and subordination behind, focusing instead on the (in fact independent) underlying properties that once made that analysis desirable.

4. Implications for further research and grammatical theory

- Substantial descriptive (and theoretical) work is required in this area with individual languages. There is surely much more to be discovered!
- As with English *try and*, pseudocoordination reveals that languages can have constructions that copy or require parallel morphology; additionally, sometimes paradigmatic gaps arise in these constructions.
- Coordination and subordination are not distinct, at least not as currently defined; a construction may share properties of both.
- One possibility is to consider almost everything to be a type of subordination (embedding), with true coordination a discourse and linearization phenomenon.
- Form-function mapping is non-isomorphic in language. For example, associated motion may be encoded through morphology, serialization, subordination or (pseudo)coordination. What we observe on the surface in languages is due to a linearization process that must be investigated after establishing the underlying similarities.

References

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2006. "Serial Verb Constructions in Typological Perspective." In *Serial Verb Constructions a Cross-Linguistic Typology*, edited by Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and R. M. W. Dixon, 1–68. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Airola, Anu. 2007. "Coordinated Verb Pairs in Texts". Ph.D dissertation, Helsinki, Finland: University of Helsinki. http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-952-10-4250-8.

Arnaiz, Alfredo, and José Camacho. 1999. "A Topic Auxiliary in Spanish." In *Advances in Hispanic Linguistics: Papers from the 2nd Hispanic Linguistics Symposium*, edited by Javier Gutiérrez-Rexach and Fernando Martínez Gil, 2:317–31. Boston: Cascadilla Press.

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

Belyaev, Oleg. in press. "Systematic Mismatches: Coordination and Subordination at Three Levels of Grammar." *Journal of Linguistics* 51 (3).

Bertinetto, Pier Marco, and Luca Ciucci. 2012. "Parataxis, Hypotaxis and Para-Hypotaxis in the Zamucoan Languages." *Linguistic Discovery* 10 (1): 89–111.

Boeder, Winfried. 1983. "'Und' in Den Südkaukasischen Sprachen." *Folia Linguistica: Acta Societatis Linguisticae Europaeae* 17 (3-4): 287–326. doi:10.1515/flin.1983.17.1-4.287.

Bourdin, Philippe. 2005. "The Marking of Directional Deixis in Somali: How Typologically Idiosyncratic Is It?" In *Studies in African Linguistic Typology*, edited by Friedrich Karl Erhard Voeltz, 13–41. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.

Capell, Arthur, and H. E. Hinch. 1970. *Maung Grammar: Texts and Vocabulary*. The Hague: Mouton.

Carden, G., and D. Pesetsky. 1977. "Double-Verb Construction, Markendess, and a Fake Coordination." *Chicago Linguistics Society* 13: 82–82.

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

Colaço, Madalena. 2010. "Construções com constituintes verbais coordenados em PE." In *Textos Seleccionados, XXV Encontro Nacional da Associação Portuguesa de Linguística (2009)*, 307–21. Porto: Associação Portuguesa de Linguística. http://www.apl.org.pt/apl-actas/xv-encontro-nacional-da-apl.html.

Coseriu, Eugenio. 1966. "'Tomo Y Me Voy'. Ein Problem Vergleichender Europäischer Syntax." *Vox Romanica: Annales Helvetici Explorandis Linguis Romanicis Destinati* 25: 13–55.

Culicover, Peter W., and Ray Jackendoff. 1997. "Semantic Subordination despite Syntactic Coordination." *Linguistic Inquiry* 28 (2): 195–217.

Danielsen, Swintha. 2011. "Clause Embedding Strategies in Baure (Arawakan)." In *Subordination in Native South-American Languages*, edited by Rik van Gijn, Katharina Haude, and Pieter Muysken, 79–108. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

De Groot, Casper. 2000. "The absentive." In *Tense and aspect in the languages of Europe*, edited by Osten Dahl, 693–719. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

De Vos, Mark. 2005. *The Syntax of Verbal Pseudo-Coordination in English and Afrikaans*. Utrecht: LOT.

Deutscher, Guy. 2000. *Syntactic Change in Akkadian: The Evolution of Sentential Complementation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. http://public.eblib.com/EBLPublic/PublicView.do?ptiID=430786.

Dixon, R. M. W. 1988. *A Grammar of Boumaa Fijian*. Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press.

Eaton, Helen. 2003. "Are There Serial Verb Constructions in Sandawe?" In University of Dar es Salaam. http://www.drhelenipresume.com/papers/LASU7_paper_Eaton.pdf.

Eichner, Heiner. 1971. "Urindogermanisch *kʷe 'Wenn' Im Hethitischen." *Münchener Studien Zur Sprachwissenschaft* 29: 27–46.

Ekberg, Lena. 1993. "The Cognitive Basis of the Meaning and Function of Cross-Linguistic *TAKE and V*." *Belgian Journal of Linguistics* 8. 21-42.

Evans, Nicholas. 2003. *Bininj Gun-Wok: A Pan-Dialectal Grammar of Mayali, Kunwinjku and Kune*. 2 vols. Canberra: Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University.

Ezard, Bryan. 1997. *A Grammar of Tawala: An Austronesian Language of the Milne Bay Area, Papua New Guinea*. Canberra, A.C.T., Australia: Pacific Linguistics, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University.

Ferri, Rolando, and Philomen Probert. 2010. "Roman Authors on Colloquial Language." In *Colloquial and Literary Latin*, edited by Eleanor Dickey and Anna Chahoud, 12–41. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Guillaume, Antoine. 2013. "Reconstructing the Category of 'Associated Motion' in Tacanan Languages (Amazonian Bolivia and Peru)." In *Historical Linguistics 2011 Selected Papers from the 20th International Conference on Historical Linguistics, Osaka, 25-30 July 2011.*, edited by Ritsuko Kikusawa and Lawrence A Reid, 129–51. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company. http://public.eblib.com/EBLPublic/PublicView.do?ptiID=1511041.

Guțu-Romalo, Valeria. 1961. "Semiauxiliare de Aspect?" *Limba Romînă* 10: 3–15.

Häcker, Martina. 1994. "Subordinate *and*-Clauses in Scots and Hiberno-English: Origins and Development." *Scottish Language* 13: 34–50.

Harris, Alice C., and Lyle Campbell. 1995. *Historical Syntax in Cross-Linguistic Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Haslinger, Irene, and Marjo van Koppen. 2002. "De Verbale Hendiadys Als Pseudocoördinatie." *Taal En Tongval* 15-16: 102–22.

Heine, Bernd, and Tania Kuteva. 2002. *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Heycock, C., and H. P. Petersen. 2012. "Pseudo-Coordination in Faroese." In *Multilingual Individuals and Multilingual Societies*, edited by K. Braunmueller and C. Gabriel, 259–80. Hamburg: John Benjamins B.V.

Hilpert, Martin, and Christian Koops. 2008. "A Quantitative Approach to the Development of Complex Predicates." *Diachronica* 25 (2): 240–59.

Hock, Hans Henrich. 2013. "Come and Get It: The Indo-European Background of the Vedic *éta ... stávāma* Construction." In *Proceedings of the 24th Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference: October 26th and 27th, 2012*, edited by Stephanie W. Jamison, Craig Melchert, and Brent Vine, Auflage: 1. Bremen: Hempen, U.

Höder, Steffen. 2011. "Dialect Convergence across Language Boundaries." In *Language Variation - European Perspectives III: Selected Papers from the 5th International Conference on Language Variation in Europe (ICLaVE 5), Copenhagen, June 2009*, edited by Frans Gregersen, Jeffrey K Parrott, and Pia Quist, 173–84. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Pub. Co. http://public.eblib.com/EBLPublic/PublicView.do?ptiID=670246.

Huehnergard, John. 1997. *A Grammar of Akkadian*. Harvard Semitic Studies 45. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.

Jacques, Guillaume. 2013. "Harmonization and Disharmonization of Affix Ordering and Basic Word Order." *Linguistic Typology* 17 (2): 187–215. doi:10.1515/lingty-2013-0009.

Jespersen, Otto. 1895. "En Sproglig Værdiforskydning: *og = at*." *Dania: Tidsskrift for Folkemål Og Folkeminder* 3: 145–83.

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

Jóhannsdóttir, Kristín M. 2006. "Posture Verbs in Icelandic." In *Actes Du Congrès de l'Association Canadienne de Linguistique 2006*.

Johanson, Lars. 1995. "On Turkic Converb Clauses." In *Converbs in Cross-Linguistic Perspective: Structure and Meaning of Adverbial Verb Forms – Adverbial Participles, Gerunds*, edited by Martin Haspelmath and Ekkehard König, 313–48. Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Kiparsky, Paul. 1968. "Tense and Mood in Indo-European Syntax." *Foundations of Language* 4 (1): 30–57.

Koch, Harold. 1984. "The Category of 'Associated Motion' in Kaytej." *Language in Central Australia* 1: 23–34.

Kuznetsova, Julia. 2006. "The First Verb of Pseudocoordination as an Auxiliary." In Bloomington, Ind. http://www.indiana.edu/~sls2006/Handouts/KuznetsovaSLS.pdf.

Kwon, Nayung, and Maria Polinsky. 2008. "What Does Coordination Look like in a Head-Final Language?" In *Asymmetric Events*, edited by Barbara Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, 87–102. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Lakoff, George. 1986. "Frame Semantic Control of the Coordinate Structure Constraint." *Chicago Linguistics Society* 22 (2): 152–68.

Leslau, Wolf. 1970. "The *ma*-Clause in Harari." In *Mélanges Marcel Cohen: Etudes de Linguistique, Ethnographie et Sciences Connexes Offertes Par Ses Amis et Ses Élèves À L'occasion de Son 80 Ème Anniversaire: Avec Des Articles et Études Inédits de Marcel Cohen*, edited by David Cohen, 263–73. The Hague, Paris: Mouton.

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

Lillas-Schuil, Rosmari. 2006. "A Survey of Syntagms in the Hebrew Bible Classified as Hendiadys." In *Current Issues in the Analysis of Semitic Grammar and Lexicon II*, edited by Lutz Edzard and Jan Retsö, 79–100. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Lin, T.-H. Jonah. 2002. "A Transformationalist Approach to the Rise of RVCs in Chinese." *The Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies, New Series* 32 (2): 211–56.

Liu, Emma En-hsing. 2003. "Conjunction and Modification in Amis". MA Thesis, Hsinchu, Taiwan: National Tsing Hua University.

Lødrup, Helge. 2002. "The Syntactic Structures of Norwegian Pseudocoordinations." *Studia Linguistica* 56 (2): 121–43.

Lord, Carol Diane. 1989. "Syntactic Reanalysis in the Historical Development of Serial Verb Constructions in Languages of West Africa". Ph.D dissertation, Los Angeles: University of California, Los Angeles.

Lynch, John. 1983. "Switch Reference in Lenakel." In *Switch Reference and Universal Grammar: Proceedings of a Symposium on Switch Reference and Universal Grammar, Winnipeg, May 1981*, edited by John Haiman and Pamela Munro, 209–21. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.

Mackridge, Peter. 1985. *The modern Greek language: a descriptive analysis of standard modern Greek*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.

Mei, Kuang. 2003. "迎接一個考證學和語言學結合的 漢語語法史研究新局面 [Anticipating a new horizon of the historical syntax of Chinese incorporating philology and linguistics]." In 第三屆國際漢學會議論文集 語言組《古今通塞：漢語的歷史發展》 *[Papers from the Third International Conference on Sinology (National Tsing Hua University), Linguistics Section. "Ancient and Modern Tongsai: Chinese History and Development"]*, edited by Da-an Ho, 23–47. Taipei, Taiwan: Institute of Linguistics, Preparatory Office, Academia Sinica. http://www.ling.sinica.edu.tw/publ_o_d.asp-aid=5.htm.

Milner, George B. 1956. *Fijian Grammar*. Suva, Fiji: Government Press.

Montaut, Annie. 2006. "Le morphème *-kar* en hindi/ourdou moderne: coordinateur ou subordonnant?" In *Coordination et subordination: typologie et modélisation*, edited by Isabelle Bril and Georges Rebuschi, 181–91. Paris: Ophrys.

Olawsky, Knut J. 2006. *A Grammar of Urarina*. Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Poutsma, H. 1917. "Hendiadys in English: Together with Some Observations on the Construction of Certain Verbs I & II." *Neophilologus* 2: 202–218; 284–292.

Pratico, Gary Davis, and Miles V Van Pelt. 2007. *Basics of Biblical Hebrew Grammar*. 2nd ed. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan.

Roberts, David. 2013. *Parlons Kabiyè: Togo*. Paris: Harmattan.

Rodrigues, Angelica Terezinha Carmo. 2006. "'*Eu fui e fiz esta tese*': as construções do tipo *foi fez* no portugues do Brasil". Ph.D dissertation, São Paolo, Brazil: Instituto de Estudos da Linguagem, Universidade Estadual de Campinas. http://www.bibliotecadigital.unicamp.br/document/?code=vtls000382156&fd=y.

Rohlfs, Gerhard. 1954. *Historische Grammatik der italienischen Sprache und ihrer Mundarten III: Syntax und Wortbildung*. Bern: Francke.

Rosen, Anna. 2014. *Grammatical Variation and Change in Jersey English*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Ross, Daniel. in press. "The Importance of Exhaustive Description in Measuring Linguistic Complexity: The Case of English *try And* Pseudocoordination." In *Measuring Linguistic Complexity*, edited by Frederick J. Newmeyer and Laurel B. Preston. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

———. 2013a. "Dialectal Variation and Diachronic Development *of Try*-Complementation." *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences: Illinois Working Papers*, 108–47.

———. 2013b. "Verbal Pseudocoordination in English: A Syntactic Analysis with Reference to Diachronic, Dialectal and Cross-Linguistic Variation". Qualifying Exam Paper, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. http://hdl.handle.net/2142/42581.

———. 2013c. "Verbal Pseudocoordination in English and Germanic." In Buffalo, NY.

Rotaetxe, Karmele. 2006. "A mi-chemin entre la coordination et la subordination: l'enclitiqe basque *-(e)ta*." In *Coordination et subordination: typologie et modélisation*, edited by Isabelle Bril and Georges Rebuschi, 219–30. Paris: Ophrys.

Shearin, H. G. 1903. *The Expression of Purpose in Old English Prose*. New York: H. Holt.

Shibatani, Masayoshi, and Sung Yeo Chung. 2007. "On the Grammaticalization of Motion Verbs: A Japanese-Korean Comparative Perspective." In *Japanese/Korean Linguistics*, edited by Naomi Hanaoka McGloin and Junki Mori, 15:21–40. Stanford: CSLI Publications.

Škodová, Svatava. 2009. *Pseudokoordinace v syntaxi češtiny*. Liberec: Bor.

Taube, Moshe. to appear. "Verbal Hendiadys in Yiddish." In *Yiddish and Typology*, edited by Neil G. Jacobs, Howard I. Aronson, and T. Shannon. http://ling.huji.ac.il/Staff/Moshe_Taube/docs/Hendiadys.pdf.

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): 165–93.

Wiklund, Anna-Lena. 2007. *The Syntax of Tenselessness Tense/mood/aspect-Agreeing Infinitivals*. Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

———. 2009. "The Syntax of Surprise: Unexpected Event Readings in Complex Predication." *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 84: 181–224.

Wilkins, David P. 1991. "The Semantics, Pragmatics and Diachronic Development of 'Associated Motion' in Mparntwe Arrernte." *Buffalo Papers in Linguistics*, 207–57.

Yuasa, Etsuyo, and Jerry M. Sadock. 2002. "Pseudo-Subordination: A Mismatch between Syntax and Semantics." *Journal of Linguistics* 38 (01): 87–111. doi:10.1017/S0022226701001256.

Abstract   **Between coordination and subordination: typological, structural
and diachronic perspectives on pseudocoordination**

As exemplified by *go and get* or *try and do* in English, pseudocoordination refers to the use of coordinator 'and' in constructions that behave unlike typical coordination, possibly best defined diachronically as a transitional state between coordination and subordination. I present clear evidence of originally coordinative structures undergoing reanalysis and grammaticalizing as subordinate, such as English *try and*. The resulting constructions often still display some properties of coordination and cannot be identified as either coordination or subordination. Thus syntactic analysis of pseudocoordination is challenging and important.

The phenomenon has received relatively little attention cross-linguistically, yet careful investigation reveals a variety of examples in many language families; it is not unusual or unexpected. The most extensive work deals with the Scandinavian Germanic languages, especially Swedish and Norwegian, where pseudocoordination is a salient grammatical feature (cf. Wiklund, 2007; Lødrup, 2002). It has also been discussed some for English (Ross, 1967; Carden & Pesetsky, 1977). Beyond these languages, descriptions are sparse and rarely cross-referenced, but descriptive grammars reveal instances elsewhere. With inconsistent nomenclature (*pseudocoordination*, *fake coordination*, *serialization*, *verb-verb agreement*, etc.) and a general lack of awareness of its cross-linguistic presence, it is not surprising that the phenomenon is rarely identified; for example, Heine & Kuteva (2002) identify the pattern *VP-AND > SUBORDINATOR* but give only two examples and write:

> "While such context-induced uses appear to be not uncommon in a number of languages, it is not entirely clear whether, or to what extent, VP-AND markers are really conventionalized to subordinating conjunctions. In any case, this grammaticalization appears to be part of a more general process whereby markers of clause coordination give rise to subordination markers."

One exception to the lack of broadly cross-linguistic work is Coseriu (1966), who identifies a large number of languages, primarily in the Indo-European family, with a construction of the form *take and*, which he originally proposed as an areal feature, shared through borrowing. But constructions with remarkable similarities (as well as variation) are found in many unrelated families, which cannot be due to contact. Pseudocoordination can be found throughout Indo-European, as well as in Semitic, Khoisan, several Atlantic Niger-Congo languages, Kartvelian, the Oceanic and Formosan languages in Austronesian, Baure (Arawakan, Bolivia), the Iwaidjan and Gunwinyguan families in Australia, Kabardian (Northwest Caucasian), Piman within Uto-Aztecan, and possibly in ancient Chinese. In fact, despite limited descriptive work, most languages with overt general coordinators like English *and* are likely to extend its use beyond strictly additive coordination in the verbal and clausal domains via pragmatic implicature, which in many cases results in grammaticalization.

At the same time, many other languages (including for example Japanese, Korean and Turkish) display an apparently inverse pattern of *pseudosubordination* where originally subordinate forms act as coordinate structures thereby displaying many of the same properties as pseudocoordination (Yuasa & Sadock, 2002), a common development for converbs (Haspelmath & König, 1995; Haspelmath, 2004). More broadly there are also syntactic similarities in other constructions such as serialization and verbal affixation. These various strategies in form appear to all serve the same function: to associate the action of a main predicate with secondary properties. For example, directional usage of all of these strategies is extremely common. Throughout the world in various language families, we find evidence of pseudocoordination similar to English *go and get*, similar patterns with pseudosubordination and converbs, the extremely common serialization of motion verbs, and the affixal category of Associated Motion or *itive/andative* and *ventive* (Bourdin, 2005).

Finally, *para-hypotaxis* (cf. Bertinetto & Ciucci, 2012), found in at least Indo-European, Semitic, Bantu and Zamucoan demonstrates that a coordinator can be found linking an

explicitly marked dependent clause to an independent clause. Clearly the presence of a particular conjunction in itself is not sufficient in determining structure.

The goals of this talk are threefold: first, and most importantly, I will establish the cross-linguistic presence of pseudocoordination with examples from diverse language families. Second, I will discuss semantic and syntactic properties of coordination. From a semantic perspective, pseudocoordination can encode numerous meanings including directionality, manner specification, complementation (such as control), progressive, absentive, perfective and other aspects, and even causation. From a syntactic perspective, pseudocoordination presents many challenges for analysis such as the 'bare form condition' for English *try and* (**He tries and do(es) it*) as a parallel morphology constraint (also found in Faroese, Heycock & Petersen, 2012), same-subject (non-switch-reference) requirements, and the relationship with semantic structure, which is likely similar to that of, for example, serialization. Third, I will propose a new typology that can incorporate coordination, pseudocoordination and subordination based on a number of factors including: i) whether the second clause is an argument or adjunct of the first (structure); ii) the meaning relation between the clauses (semantics); iii) the type of conjunction, if any (linker); iv) whether the clauses are independently asserted (factivity); and v) whether there are any morphosyntactic dependencies between the clauses (dependency). Analyzing pseudocoordination will force us to leave the traditional dichotomy of coordination and subordination behind, focusing instead on these (in fact independent) underlying properties that once made that analysis desirable.

Pseudocoordination examples:

(1) Han sitter og skriver dikt.
    he sits and writes poetry
    'He is writing poetry.'
    (Norwegian; Lødrup, 2002: 121)

(2) Yirrangbalhmen dja kunkedjelk
    shut.the.door and it.is.cold
    'Shut the door because it is cold.'
    (Kunwinjku; Etherington & Etherington, 1998: 129)

(3) t^hâ-sà íé-ʿ
    run-3FSG stay-and
    'She is running.'
    (Sandawe [Khoisan]; Eaton, 2007: 9)

(4) enevere nga rosowesha ach niyonpa riwer-ye
    next.day NEG it.rain.IRR and I.walk.go her.house-LOC
    'If it doesn't rain tomorrow, I will walk to her house.'
    (Baure; Danielsen, 2011: 87)

References

Bertinetto, P. M., & Ciucci, L. 2012. Parataxis, Hypotaxis and Para-Hypotaxis in the Zamucoan Languages. *Linguistic Discovery*, *10*(1), 89–111.

Bourdin, P. 2005. The marking of directional deixis in Somali: How typologically idiosyncratic is it? In F. K. E. Voeltz (Ed.), *Studies in African Linguistic Typology* (pp. 13–41). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Carden, G., & Pesetsky, D. 1977. Double-verb construction, markendess, and a fake coordination. *Chicago Linguistics Society*, *13*, 82–82.

Coseriu, E. 1966. "Tomo y me voy". Ein Problem vergleichender europäischer Syntax. *Vox Romanica: Annales Helvetici Explorandis Linguis Romanicis Destinati*, *25*, 13–55.

Danielsen, S. 2011. Clause embedding strategies in Baure (Arawakan). In R. van Gijn, K. Haude, & P. Muysken (Eds.), *Subordination in Native South-American Languages* (pp. 79–108). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Eaton, H. 2007. Are there serial verb constructions in Sandawe? Presented at Linguistics Association of SADC Universities (LASU) 7. http://www.drhelenipresume.com/papers/LASU7_paper_Eaton.pdf.

Etherington, S., & Etherington, N. 1998. *Kunwinjku Kunwok: A short introduction to Kunwinjku language and society*. Kunbarllanjnja, Australia: The Kunwinjku Language Centre.

Haspelmath, M. 2004. *Coordinating Constructions*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Haspelmath, M., & König, E. 1995. *Converbs in cross-linguistic perspective*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Heine, B., & Kuteva, T. 2002. *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization*. Cambridge University Press.

Heycock, C., & Petersen, H. P. 2012. Pseudo-coordination in Faroese. In K. Braunmueller & C. Gabriel (Eds.), *Multilingual Individuals and Multilingual Societies* (pp. 259–280). Hamburg: John Benjamins.

Lødrup, H. 2002. The syntactic structures of Norwegian pseudocoordinations. *Studia Linguistica 56*(2), 121-143.

Ross, J. R. 1967. *Constraints on Variables in Syntax* (Ph.D dissertation). MIT, Cambridge, MA.

Wiklund, A.-L. 2007. *The syntax of tenselessness tense/mood/aspect-agreeing infinitivals*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Yuasa, E., & Sadock, J. M. 2002. Pseudo-subordination: a mismatch between syntax and semantics. *Journal of Linguistics*, *38*(1), 87–111.