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The first verb of pseudocoordination as an auxiliary

1. Introduction

The term pseudocoordination is used to refer to a sequence of two verbs joined by a conjunction, so that, although this sequence may look like a coordination of two different verbs, it behaves like one semantic unit, where the first verb modifies the meaning of the second as a modal auxiliary (cf. [Josefsson 1991]); see (1).

- a. A tam vzjali i položili trubku. but there took and hung.up receiver. [Then I am asking carefully: "And whom do you want to speak with?"] But they hung up the receiver.
 - b. [Da sam-to on uže byl ženat, na etoj kak raz, nu, na Geršenzon,]
 a tut voz'mi i podvernis' etot francuz.
 bu there take.IMP2SG and crop.up.IMP2SG this Frenchman
 [But he himself was already married to this Gershenzon,] and here this Frenchman cropped up.
 (Marina Palej. Long Distance, ili Slavjanskij akcent)

Pseudocoordination has been studied extensively in Norwegian, Swedish and other Germanic languages, but not Slavic. This paper develops an analysis of pseudocoordinations containing the verb *take* in the first position. These constructions are found in many languages, including Germanic, Romance, Finno-Ugric, Baltic, & Slavic [Ekberg 1993, Coseriu 1966] and are typically associated with several closely related but distinct meanings, including instantaneous event, initiation of an event, volitionality, unexpectedness, etc.

 (Swedish) (2) Han tog och s he took.pst and He started to swin 	swim.pst	(Ekberg 1993:4a)
 (Norwegian) (3) Han tok og skre he took and wrot He wrote a poem 	e a poem	(Lødrup 2002: 3)
she.asked me, se	viec wzialem i poszedlem . o I.took and went I just went there.	(Stefanowitsch 1999:2)

(Irish English)

(5) Frounce felt sorry for the boy, so we give him the whole nine yards. She paid old weaselly Beasley over two hundred dollars for the legal papers, and look what's **took and happened** now. He swung his arm in a wide semicircle. Dumbest goddamned thing I ever did.

(Albanian)

(6) Pyeta vehten dhe **mora** e ju **afrova** asked.AOR1SG self and take.AOR1SG and her.MEDPASS approach.AOR1SG [direct speech] I asked myself, went ahead and came to her.

In this paper, I argue for a new analysis of pseudocoordination. Using evidence from Russian, I demonstrate that the verb *take* behaves as an auxiliary, similarly to restructuring verbs like *decide* and *finish*, which are claimed to demonstrate properties of auxiliaries by Cinque [2004].

(7) a. Lo volevo [vedere t subito]'(I) him wanted to see immediately' (modal)
b. Lo finisco [di vedere t domani]'(I) it finish to see tomorrow' (aspectual)
c. Lo vengo [a prendere t domani]'(I) it come to fetch tomorrow' (motion)

The first verb cannot stay in-situ, since it is semantically a modal auxiliary. It undergoes the "restructuring" process (cf. Cinque 2001) and moves to the functional head where it is supposed to be.

2. The verb take as an auxiliary

Pseudocoordinations with the verb *vzjat*' 'take' always use both verbs with the same inflections: example (8) shows that pseudocoordination cannot be used when the verbs disagree in tense ((8b) and (8f)), aspect ((8c) and (8g)), gender ((8d) and (8h)), number ((8e) and (8i)).

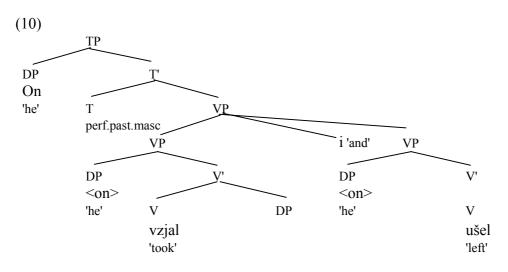
(8)	a. A ona vzjala i prišla but she take.PERF.PAST.FEM and come.PERF.PAST.FEM But she suddenly came.			
	b. *A ona vzjala i pridet. but she take.PERF.PAST.FEM and come.PERF.PRES.3SG			
	c. *A ona vzjala i šla. but she take.PERF.PAST.FEM and go.IMPF.PAST.FEM			
	d. *A ona vzjala i prišel. but she take.PERF.PAST.FEM and come.PERF.PAST.MASC			
	e. *A ona vzjala i pošli. but she take.PERF.PAST.FEM and come.PERF.PAST.PL			
	f. *A ona voz'met i prišla but she take.PERF.PRES.3SG and come.PERF.PAST.FEM			
	g. *A ona brala i prišla but she take.IMPF.PAST.FEM and come.PERF.PAST.FEM			
	h. *A ona vzjal i prišla but she take.PERF.PAST.MASCand come.PERF.PAST.FEM			
	i. *A ona vzjali i prišla but she take.PERF.PAST.PL and come.PERF.PAST.FEM			

The difference between coordination and pseudocoordination can be illustrated using example (9).

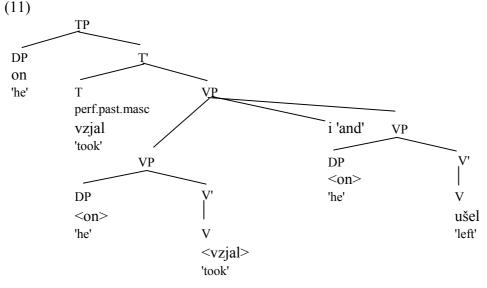
- (9) a. A on vzjal i ušel. but he took and went But he took [something] and left.
 - b. A on vzjal i ušel. but he took and went But he went ahead and left.

The word sequence *on vzjal i ušel* is ambiguous: it can be understood as a simple conjunction of two verbs ('he took [something] and left') or as a pseudocoordination of two verbs ('he went ahead and left').

On the first interpretation, both verbs act as lexical verbs and are placed on the same level (neither one asymmetrically c-commands the other), see (10).



On the second interpretation, the verb *vzjal 'take'* modifies the meaning of the second verb and does not denote a separate action. Hence, the verb *vzjat'* 'take' must occupy a position from which it can scope over the other verb and makes the event sudden and unexpected. I assume that in the coordination structure both verbs occupy the V position, while in the pseudocoordination structure, the verb *vzjat'* 'take' originates in V, but then moves to T°, see (11).



Crucially, within pseudocoordination, the verb *take* demonstrates properties of an auxiliary not only in semantic terms, but also in syntactic terms, raising to T, as other auxiliary verbs do. Evidence for the movement of the verb *vzjat*' to T-position comes from the distribution of adverbs, which are assumed to be adjoined to VP, following Pollock [1989]. He noticed the difference in structure between English and French sentences (12) and (13).

- (12) Jean embrasse souvent Marie. Jean kisses often Marie.
- (13) John often kisses Mary.

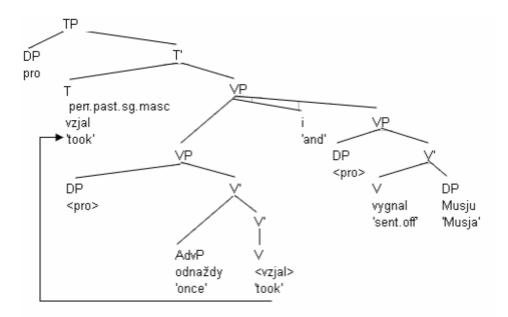
Normally, in the non-emphasized context the adverb precedes the main verb, as in sentence (14).

(14) Govorjat, pisatel' Aleksandr Djuma odnaždy proigral spor i dolžen byl vypolnit' said writer Alexander Dumas once lost bet and must was meet uslovie — zastrelit'sja. [Puli u viska... // «Svobodnyj kurs», 1997.01.23] condition shoot.himself
 Alexander Dumas is said to have lost a bet once and he had to meet the condition – to shoot himself.

Russian pseudocoordination also allows the placement of an adverb after the verb *vzjat*' 'take'. Consider the examples (15)-(19).

- (15) Vzjal odnaždy i vygnal Musju... took once and sent.out Musja
 Once he suddenly sent Musja out.
 [Mihail Panin. Kamikadze // «Zvezda», №10, 2002]
- (16) Vot voz'mu nazlo i zajdu. here will.take for.spite and drop.in Watch me dropping in for spite. [Emmanuil Kazakevič. Zvezda (1946)]
- (17) Voz'mut vdrug i sdelajut nečto nepredpoložimoe, ne predusmotrennoe will.take suddenly and will.do something unpredictable not provided pervonačal'nym poepizodnym planom. original structured.in.episodes plan They will suddenly do something unpredictable, not provided, which was not included in the original plan structured in episodes. [Semen Lungin. Vidennoe najavu (1998)]
- (18) Vot voz'mu sejčas i sjadu na etot stul. here will.take now and will.seat on this chair Watch me sitting down right on this very chair.
- (19) Nu vot, vzjal srazu i ugadal. what here took at.one.stroke and guessed What, you guessed at one stroke.

The structures of sentences like (15)-(19) are produced as a result of V-raising, which has allowed the verb *vzjat* ' 'take' to appear before an adverb, as is illustrated below for sentence (19).



Pseudocoordination with the verb *take* allows the placement of an adverb after the verb *take*, cf. (20)a, although usually adverbs in Russian are located before lexical verbs, "exactly where we should expect them to be in a non-raising account of Russian" [Baylin 2004: 36]. Movement over an adverb is unique to the verb *take* used in pseudocoordination, since if the adverb follows the verb *take*, then the simple coordination meaning is not available, cf. (20)b. Thus, the verb *take* in pseudocoordination structures acts as an auxiliary not only semantically (modifying the meaning of the second verb), but also syntactically (moving to the position usually taken by an auxiliary).

- (20) a. Vzjal_i odnazdy t_i i vygnal Musju... took once and sent.out Musja Once he went and sent Musja out...
 - b. Vzjal_i odnazdy t_i i vygnal Musju... took once and sent.out Musja ??Once he took (something) and sent Musja out...

Let me consider a different type of adverb (I use the classification proposed by Cinque [1999]). If an adverb can be used with the pseudocoordination construction, it can be placed before and after the verb *take*. This movement is not optional. It changes the scope of the adverb. When the adverb stands before the verb *take* it takes scope over the whole sentence, but if it is placed after the verb *take* it takes scope only over the pseudocoordination construction. This can be seen in the different acceptability of (21) a and b:

- (21) a. On v šesť časov večerom vzjal i snova poexal na rabotu. he at six hours in the evening took and again went at work At six o'clock in the evening he went ahead and returned to office.
 - b. *On v šest' časov vzjal večerom i snova poexal na rabotu. he at six hours took in the evening and again went at work At six o'clock in the evening he went ahead and returned to office.

c. On vzjal večerom i snova poexal na rabotu. he took in.the.evening and again went at work In the evening he went ahead and returned to office.

In sentence (21)b *at six o'clock* takes larger scope than *in the evening*. *In the evening* takes scope only over the pseudocoordination construction, while *at six o'clock* takes scope over the whole sentence. This contradiction results in the ungrammaticality of sentence (21)b. The example (21)c shows that *in the evening* can be placed after the verb *vzjat'*, if it does not follow *at six o'clock*.

Three semantic types of adverbs are not allowed in pseudocoordination with the verb *take*:

- adverbs which concern volitionality
- adverbs which characterize the event as lasting for a period
- adverbs which characterize degrees of the completeness of the event

Moreover these adverbs are not allowed not only within pseudocoordination, but also anywhere in the sentence with pseudocoordination:

Volitionality:

- (22) a. *On special'no vzjal i ušel. he on.purpose took and went
 - b. *On vzjal special'no i ušel. he took on.purpose and went

He went ahead and left on purpose.

- (23) a. *On naročno vzjal i ušel. he intentionally took and went
 - b. *On vzjal naročno i ušel. he intentionally took and went

He intentionally went ahead and left.

Non-punctual events:

- (24) a.*On medlenno vzjal i povernulsja. he slowly took and turn
 - b.*On vzjal medlenno i povernulsja. he took slowly and turn

He slowly went ahead and turned.

Degrees of completeness:

- (25) a.*On sovsem vzjal i zakončil stat'ju. he entirely took and finished paper
 - b.*On vzjal sovsem i zakončil stat'ju. he took entirely and finished paper

He entirely went ahead and finished the paper.

- (26) a.*On počti vzjal i zakončil stat'ju. he almost took and finished paper
 - b.*On vzjal počti i zakončil stat'ju. he took almost and finished paper

He entirely went ahead and finished the paper.

- Pseudocoordination with the verb *take* means the unexpectedness of the event, so the event cannot be intentional, and hence no intentional adverbs can be used with this construction.
- The event expressed by pseudocoordination is culminated, so it cannot be used with different degrees of completeness, because it is already completed.
- It cannot be analyzed as a lasting event, as it is punctual.

Thus, in this section I have shown that Russian pseudocoordination with the verb *vzjat*' 'take' uses V-raising. This can be seen from the meaning of the construction, because the verb *vzjat*' 'take' takes the scope over the second verb and modifies its meaning. V-raising can also be shown with adverb placement, since the verb *vzjat*' 'take' raises over the adverb in pseudocoordination.

3. Modality meaning

The previous section proposes an analysis for the Russian pseudocoordinations which followed Cinque's proposal. But Cinque's proposal concerns modal, aspect and motion verbs, while the construction under consideration uses the verb *vzjat*' which means 'take', so it does not fall into any of these categories. In this section I describe the meaning of pseudocoordination with the verb *vzjat*' and show that it has modal meaning, so its meaning does not prevent it from undergoing Cinque's rule.

Pseudocoordination with the verb vzjat' adds to the meaning of the main verb the meaning of unexpectedness of the action. Since there are two different pseudocoordinations with the verb vzjat' the semantic distinction between the tense construction with the verb vzjat' and the imperative construction with the same verb is examined. Both the tense construction and the imperative construction describe the event in the past, but there are sentences in which they are not interchangable, as can be seen from examples (27)a and (27)b:

- (27)a. Irina odnaždy rasskazyvala nečto podobnoe o svoej podruge, kotoraja something similar about her friend Irina once told which vygnalamuža, otca troix detej... odnaždy vzjala i took and sent.out husband father thee children once Irina once told something similar about one of her friends, who once sent out her husband, the father of three children... [Ljudmila Petrushevskaja. Noč']
 - b.??Irina odnaždy rasskazyvala nečto podobnoe o svoej podruge, kotoraja Irina once told something similar about her friend which odnaždy voz'mi i vygoni muža, otca troix detej... once take.IMP2SG and send.out.IMP2SG husband father thee children

Irina once told something similar about one of her friends, which once drove out her husband, the father of three children...

The distinction between them can be described in terms proposed for differentiation of modality subfields: agent-oriented and speaker-oriented. These terms were introduced by Bybee et al. [1994] and distinguished between internal and external conditions imposed on an agent of the action and external and internal conditions which the speaker of the sentence imposes on the addressee. Since in the case under consideration the two forms have an unexpectedness meaning, the distinction between them is the distinction between unexpectedness for the agent vs. unexpectedness for the speaker.

The tense construction says that the speaker did not expect that the agent would do this; the imperative form construction says that the agent did not expect that event to happen: the event happened suddenly with the agent and he is also surprised by it. This distinction can be seen in a difference in the meaning that some minimal pairs have:

- (28) a. On vzjal da i napisal vgrafe«soslovnaja prinadležnosť do revoljucii»: he took and and wrote in column class affiliation before revolution dvorjanin. nobleman
 - b. On voz'mi da i napiši v grafe «soslovnaja prinadležnosť do he take.IMP2SG and and write.IMP2SG in column class affiliation before revoljucii»: dvorjanin. revolution nobleman He suddenly wrote in the column "class affiliation before the revolution": nobleman.

Example (28)a is understood as a possibly thoughtless but deliberate action, while in example (28)b, the action can be only spontaneous.

Distinction between the two constructions is also seen in their compatibility with deliberate actions and non-deliberate actions. Sentence (29)b is better than (29)a for most speakers of Russian¹. And this is explainable: *zabolet* ' 'to fall sick' is a non-deliberate verb and it is allowed in an imperative construction that requires the event to be spontaneous, but it is less acceptable in the tense construction that needs a volitional action, because "falling sick" cannot be a controlled event.

- (29) a. ?My dali emu moroženogo, a on vzjali zabolel. we gave him ice-cream but he tookand fell.sick
 - b. My dali emu moroženogo, a on voz'mi i zabolej. we gave him ice-cream but he take.IMP2SG and fall.sick.IMP2SG We gave him an ice-cream, but he suddenly fell sick.

Deliberate verbs show the opposite tendency: they would rather be used in a tense construction than in an imperative construction: example (30)a was more acceptable than (30)b for all informants. *Nakatat'*, which is close to 'write' here, can easily be used as a volitional action, but it is hard to treat it as a sudden event.

(30) a. Ja s nim po-xorošemu, a on vzjal i direktoru žalobu nakatal. I with him amicable but he took and director complaint dashed.off

¹ 19 informants from Russia participated in this survey.

b. ?Ja s nim po-xorošemu, a on voz'mi i direktoru žalobu nakataj. I with him amicable but he take.IMP2sG and director complaint dash.off.IMP2sG I treated him in amicable way, but he made a complaint to director.

Thus, both pseudocoordinations with the verb *vzjat*' were shown to have a modal meaning; the pseudocoordination with the imperative tends to refer to an event which is unexpected for the agent, while pseudocoordination with a tense form is used to express unexpectedness for the speaker.

4. Pseudocoordination and Root Infinitives

The pseudocoordination construction shows interesting compatibility. For example it cannot be used with negation, see (32).

(32) a. *On ne vzjal i ušel. he not took and went He did not go ahead and leave.

The behavior of pseudocoordination sentences is very similar to the Russian Root Infinitives analyzed by Avrutin [1999], see (33):

(33) A carevna xoxotat'. while princess to.laugh Princess started to laugh.

Root Infinitives also do not allow negation:

(34) *A carevna ne xoxotat'. while princess not to laugh Princess started not to laugh.

4.1. Root Infinitives in Russian

Avrutin analyses Root Infinitive sentences in terms of File Change Semantics initially proposed by Heim [1982], Parsons [1990].

In-Progress event – one Event File card

Culminated event – two Event File cards: one card corresponds to the event itself, and the other corresponds to the Resultant state

Avrutin claims that Root Infinitives in Russian are represented by the event cards of the Resultant state. This claim predicts several features of Root Infinives.

First, the projection of a card is possible only in the case of a culminated event. So this predicts that Root Infinitives are allowed only if in the discourse they follow some other culminated event:

(35) Korol' rassakazal anekdot. Carevna xoxotat'. [Avrutin 1999: 22a] King told joke princess to-laugh King has told a joke. Princess started to laugh. (36) Korol' rassakazyval anekdot. *Carevna xoxotat'. [Avrutin 1999: 22b] King was.telling joke princess to-laugh King was telling a joke. Princess started to laugh.

Since Root Infinitives must be interpreted as a result of some other event assumed to be known to the speaker and hearer, one of the events can only be analyzed as a result of the other. That is the only way Root Infinitives can be interpreted.

This analysis makes several predictions concerning the use of this construction. First, it predicts that stative verbs (in Vendler's 1967 classification) cannot appear in Root Infinitive constructions:

(37)	*Tut carevna byt' vysokoj. here princess to.be tall	[Avrutin 1999: 25a]
(38)	*Tut carevna napominat' korolevu. here princess to.resemble queen	[Avrutin 1999: 25b]

This effect is a result of the fact that these predicates do not contribute an event variable. Second, this analysis predicts that non-referential subjects cannot appear in a Root Infinitive construction. For example quantified sentences are not allowed in this construction:

(39) *Tut každyj zritel' v zale aplodirovat'. [Avrutin 1999: 30a] here every spectator in theater to-applaud

(40) *Tut vse zriteli v zale aplodirovat'. here all spectators in theater to-applaud

Since T^0 does have an index the subject NP cannot have an index too. Quantifiers must bear an index to enter an operator – variable relation.

Another constraint imposed on Root Infinitives is that they are not allowed in embedded clauses:

(41)	*Ivan dumal,	čto car	evna xoxotat'.	[Avrutin 1999: 31a]
	Ivan thought	that prin	ncess to.laugh.	

To explain this ungrammaticality Avrutin uses Gueron and Hoekstra's 1995 Tense Chain theory. According to this theory, e, T^0 and Comp form a chain, which must be coindexed. Since e and T do not have indexes in these constructions, they cannot form a chain with Comp. One other fact about the distribution of Russian Root Infinitives is that most speakers prefer agentive subjects in these constructions, while inanimate NPs are impossible in Root Infinitives:

(42)	^{??} Tut stol padat'	[Avrutin 1999: 32c]
	here table to fall	

Avrutin explains this phenomenon using Ariel's [1990] notion of better accessible individuals. Since the subject of these constructions has no index and cannot be represented in discourse by an individual file card, it is interpreted as a participant of the event represented by the projected event card. As a result, animate objects are judged to be more acceptable in this construction because they are better acceptable subjects.

Another interesting characteristic of Root Infinitives, which Avrutin does not discuss, is the prohibition on the use of negation in this construction:

(43) *Zriteli ne applodirovat'. spectators not to applaud

This effect is probably caused by the resultative meaning of the construction. The predicate in this construction should represent a result, while a negated predicate does not.

4.2. Pseudocoordination and Root Infinitives

If we turn now to the pseudocoordination construction, we will find many similarities in the behavior of these constructions.

First, pseudocoordination requires some culminated event mentioned in the discourse before. It cannot be used without another action connected with it.

(44) Ja xotel s nim pogovorit'. A on vzjal i ušel. I wanted with him talk while he took and went I wanted to talk to him. But he went ahead and left.

The pseudocoordination construction has a meaning of unexpectedness, so it has to be preceded by another sentence which expresses this expectation. And the pseudocoordination construction means that these expectations are failed. Thus, pseudocoordination shows the same discourse features as the Root Infinitive construction.

Let me now briefly discuss the syntactic predictions which this analysis makes. Stative verbs cannot be used in a pseudocoordination construction (see (45)), even though the imperfective aspect is allowed in this construction (see (46)).

- (45) *Carevna beret i napominaet korolevu. princess take and resemble queen
- (46) Ja nenavižu, kogda programma beret i udaljaet pis'mo. I hate when program take and delete letter I hate when a program goes ahead and deletes an e-mail.

The question about embedded use presents a more interesting problem. Simple pseudocoordination cannot be used in an embedded clause:

(47) ^{??}Ja dumaju, čto on vzjal i ušel. I think that he take and went

However irreal contexts such as a conditional construction or the use as an object of desire allow use of pseudocoordination:

- (48) Ja by znala, esli by on vzjal i ušel.I subj knew if subj he took and wentI would have known, if he went ahead and left.
- (49) Ja hoču, čtoby on vzjal i uehal.I want that he took and leftI want him to go ahead and leave.

Such asymmetry between real and irreal contexts is well known. Hofmann [1966] notices that the well-known restriction on the use of the English Present Perfect tense has a systematic exception.

While normally English does not allow uses of the Present perfect with reference to specific time in past (50), such uses are possible in nonfinite contexts: in epistemic modals (51), ECM infinitives (52), Subject-raising infinitives (53), and gerunds (54).

- (50) *He has left last Tuesday
- (51) He may have left last Tuesday
- (52) I believe John to have left last Tuesday
- (53) John appears to have left last Tuesday
- (54) John's having left last Tuesday...

I assume that the asymmetry of pseudocoordination use can be explained based on the meaning of the construction. Since the construction has an unexpected meaning, it cannot be used in the context of known or planned events. However, if the whole event is unrealized, it allows the unexpectedness of the embedded clause.

Quantified subjects show different compatibility with pseudocoordination. Subjects with the quantifier *každyj* 'each' are not allowed, but subjects with quantifier *vse* 'all' are acceptable:

- (55) ^{??}Každyj rebenok vzjal i ne sdelal domašnee zadanie each child take and not did homework
- (56) Vse deti vzjali i ne sdelali domašnee zadanie.all children took and not did homeworkAll children went ahead and did not do their homework.

The quantifier *každyj* 'each' has a distributive meaning, so example (55) unites several disjointed unexpected events. Since such a situation is very extraordinary, sentences like (55) are not acceptable. *Vse* 'all' can be analyzed as taking scope over pseudocoordination, i.e., the unexpected event in this case is the fact that all the children have not done their homework. This interpretation makes examples like (56) possible.

Inanimate subjects can be used in pseudocoordination with the verb vzjat' 'take', cf. (46) and (57).

(57) Stul vdrug vzjal i upal. chair suddenly took and fall A chair suddenly fell.

Negation cannot be applied to the verb *take* in pseudocoordination:

(58) a. *On ne vzjal i ušel. he not took and went
b. *On vzjal ne i ušel. he took not and went
c. *Ne on vzjal i ušel. not he took and went

Since the verb *take* adds a meaning of unexpectedness, it cannot be negated. Other markers of unexpectedness show the same behavior:

- (59) *On ne vdrug ušel. he not suddenly went
- (60) *On ne vnezapno ušel.

he not suddenly went

Thus, these facts can be summed up the following way. Russian Root Infinitives have a discourse representation, where T^0 , e and subject NP are unindexed. The pseudocoordination construction shares with Root Infinitives some semantic features: it also expresses a culminated event, which has to be preceded by another event in the discourse. However, structural representation of pseudocoordination is different from the Root Infinitive construction. Unlike Root Infinitives it allows a non-referential subject and embedded use. So it can be concluded that pseudocoordination has an indexed T^0 and subject NP, since they allow quantification and embedded use. The pseudocoordination construction has several unusual properties: it cannot be used with several types of adverbs and it does not allow negation. I propose that all these properties can be explained based on the unexpectedness meaning of the pseudocoordination construction.

5. Some concluding remarks

In this paper, I have analyzed Russian pseudocoordination with the verb *vzjat*' 'take'. I have shown that it has specific syntactic and semantic characteristics. The verb *vzjat*' 'take' is used as a modal auxiliary in this construction and it adds a meaning of unexpectedness and spontaneity to the meaning of the second verb. I have argued that this auxiliary verb raises to the T-position, which can be seen either from its scope or from the placement of the adverbs which follow the auxiliary verb. I compared pseudocoordination with the verb *take* and Root Infinitives in Russian and concluded that even though they share some discourse properties, their origins are different and the syntactic restrictions on pseudocoordination can be explained based on the meaning of the construction.

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