Scandinavian pseudocoordination with posture verbs - a grammaticalized progressive construction?

Helge Lødrup

Scandinavian pseudocoordination with posture verbs (e.g. *Han sitter og arbeider* 'he sits and works') is traditionally considered a grammaticalized progressive construction. The posture verb is said to have a bleached meaning, and to have the status of an auxiliary or a light verb. This view has been criticized in later years (e.g. Tonne 2001, Lødrup 2014a, Blensenius 2015). I follow up this work, and try to show that the pseudocoordinations in question are not grammaticalized. I argue that the posture verbs are lexical verbs with their regular meanings and grammatical properties.

**Keywords** grammaticalization, Norwegian syntax, posture verbs, pseudocoordination, restructuring, Scandinavian syntax,
1. PSEUDOCOORDINATION

In Scandinavian grammar, the term pseudocoordination is used of sentences such as the Norwegian (1)-(4).

(1) Da satt han og arbeidet
 then sat he and worked
 'Then he sat there working'
(2) Da drev han og arbeidet
 then carried on he and worked
 'Then he was working'
(3) Da ringte han og klaget
 then called he and complained
 'Then he called and complained'
(4) Da tok hun og kyset ham
 then took she and kissed him
 'Then she (suddenly) kissed him'

A pseudocoordination might look like a coordination of two verb phrases. However, their grammatical properties are different from those of regular coordinations (more in Section 7.3). The set of first verbs that allow pseudocoordination in Scandinavian is rather heterogeneous. Pseudocoordinations with different first verbs show different grammatical behavior (Lødrup 2002). Pseudocoordination has been reported in several languages (see Ross 2016 and references there), but there is no assumption here that pseudocoordination is a unitary phenomenon across or within languages. In my view, the only common property of pseudocoordination is the ill-understood requirement that the first verb and the verb following it must have the same inflectional form (Lødrup 2014a, 2014b). This requirement must be the reason the grammatical word preceding the second verb is usually the coordinator (Norwegian og 'and'), and not the infinitival marker (Norwegian å 'to'). However, in colloquial Norwegian, Swedish and Danish, these two words are usually pronounced the same way (Endresen 1995), and they are sometimes mixed up in writing.

I take the traditional position that Scandinavian pseudocoordinations are usually subordinating constructions (Lødrup 2002, 2014a). This is the position of the great Danish grammarians Jespersen (1895) and Diderichsen (1957:156); Jespersen's view is repeated in Western (1921:47-54). The first verb takes a verbal complement, 'an infinitive in disguise' (Jespersen 1895:170, original wording 'en forklædt infinitiv'). There are, however, pseudocoordinations that call for a complex predicate analysis, an interesting case is pseudocoordination with ta 'take' (Lødrup 2002, Vannebo 2003).

2. THE CASE OF PSEUDOCOORDINATION WITH POSTURE VERBS

Scandinavian pseudocoordination with posture verbs (i.e. 'sit', 'lie' and 'stand') has been the subject of extensive discussion. The traditional view is that it is a grammaticalized progressive construction (e.g. Heine 1993:37-39; Ebert 2000, Kuteva 2001, Hopper & Traugott 2003:206-207; Hilpert & Koops 2008, Hesse 2009, Hilpert 2011, Höder 2011:75; Hansen & Heltoft 2011:988; Biberauer & Vikner 2017). There are also some critical voices, however (Tonne 1999, 2001; Behrens et al 2013, Ebeling 2015, Lødrup 2014a, Ross & Lødrup 2017).
A grammaticalization analysis might seem reasonable considering what is known about other languages. There are several well established cases of posture verbs grammaticalizing into a progressive marker of some kind (see e.g. Newman 2002, Heine & Kuteva 2002). Arabic is often mentioned. An example from the Hassāwi dialect is (5), from Camilleri & Sadler (2017). Notice how the meaning of the sentence makes it impossible to interpret the posture verb literally.

(5) nora gād-a ta-rgiş maša ṣdig-at-ā fī l-hafla (al-hin)
Nora sit.ACT.PTCP-SGF 3SGF-dance.IMPV with friend-PLF-3SGF.GEN in DEF-party DEF-time

'Nora is dancing with her friends at the party (now)'

It goes without saying that no analysis is immune to criticism, and each case of grammaticalization must be established on its own. I will discuss the case of Scandinavian, and present some arguments that Scandinavian pseudocoordination with posture verbs is not a grammaticalized progressive construction. The article is based mainly on Norwegian data. However, Danish and Swedish are very similar to Norwegian in relevant respects, and I will also draw on the literature on these languages.

The grammaticalization analysis gives some clear predictions. A central ingredient in grammaticalization is bleaching of meaning, or desemanticization (e.g. Heine 1993:54). If the posture verb is used to express aspectual meaning, it is expected that its original meaning is bleached. This view also implies that the construction denotes a single event, because the posture verb cannot at the same time express aspect for the second verb and denote a separate posturing event. Another ingredient in grammaticalization is decategorialization (e.g. Heine 1993:55, Hopper & Traugott 2003:106-115); the posture verb is expected to change its grammatical status from a lexical verb to an auxiliary or a light verb. This decategorialization could affect its syntactic selection and its ability to undergo valency-changing rules. A grammaticalization analysis also leads to expectations about the construction's frequency, because grammaticalized expressions are relatively frequent in language use (e.g. Hopper & Traugott 2003:126-130). Finally, a grammaticalization analysis implies that there has been some diachronic change.

Except for the last two, these predictions of a grammaticalization analysis have been discussed in the literature and claimed to be true - or at least true to some extent. However, I am not aware of any claim that pseudocoordination with posture verbs can be considered frequent. I am also not aware of empirical studies of relevant changes from a grammaticalization perspective, except Hilpert & Koops (2008).

In the following, I will discuss these predictions, and argue that most of them are wrong. Bleaching of meaning is discussed in Section 3, progressive aspect in Section 4, decategorialization in Section 5, and frequency in Section 6. On the background of this discussion, I conclude in Section 7 that there are no clear indications of grammaticalization. In Section 8, I discuss Old Norse pseudocoordination, and note that there do not seem to have been relevant changes the last thousand years.

3. DO THEY HAVE A BLEACHED MEANING?

Bleaching of meaning is an important component in grammaticalization. It is clear that the first verb in a pseudocoordination can have a bleached meaning, when posture verbs are put aside. Examples are *ta 'take* (Vannebo 2003), and *drive 'carry on* (Lødrup 2017), as in examples (4) and (2) above. There are also first verbs that could hardly be assumed to have a bleached meaning, such as *ringe 'call* in (3) above.
It is a common assumption that a posture verb in a pseudocoordination has a bleached meaning (e.g. Vannebo 1969:64; Hansen & Heltoft 2011:994). In her review of the literature on pseudocoordination, Kvist Darnell (2008:44) sees this as a traditional standard observation. The literature is somewhat vague and ambiguous on this point, however. It has been claimed that the subject of the pseudocoordination must have the position denoted by the posture verb (e.g. Teleman et al. 1999:904; Kuteva 2001:46; Bylin 2013:73). However, this is denied by others (e.g. Braunmüller 1991:103-104; Faarlund et al. 1997:648). It has also been claimed that the bleaching effect is weak (e.g. Tonne 2001:110; Behrens et al 2013). To clear this confusion, it is necessary to consider the use of posture verbs more generally, independently of pseudocoordination. Posture verbs are used in rather different ways across languages, as shown by an interesting literature (e.g. Newman 2002, Ameka & Levinson 2007, Viberg 2013). Some languages do not have posture verbs, e.g. French. Other languages, including the Scandinavian languages, use them in various ways. Assuming bleaching of meaning is probably not the best way to approach the various uses of posture verbs. This question aside, the point to be made is that posture verbs in pseudocoordination can have bleached meanings, but this is a part of a general phenomenon which is independent of pseudocoordination.

One might say that the lexical meaning of the posture verb is often defocused in a pseudocoordination. However, the meaning of posture verbs is often defocused in Scandinavian, independently of pseudocoordination. Posture verbs are often used to locate the subject (as in many other languages, see Ameka & Levinson 2007). Blensenius (2015:35-36) shows that using a posture verb is much more frequent than using the copula (in Swedish) in locational sentences such as (6)-(8), adapted from Blensenius (2015:36).

(6) Jeg sitter / er i bilen
   I sit / am in car.DEF
   'I am sitting in my car'
(7) Jeg står / er i dusjen
   I stand / am in shower.DEF
   'I am showering'
(8) Jeg ligger / er i sengen
   I lie / am in bed.DEF
   'I am in bed'

In Scandinavian, posture verbs are not only used of the posture of a person, but also with inanimate and abstract subjects, in various transferred and metaphorical uses, and more or less fixed expressions (e.g. Hansen 1974, Holm 2013, Berthele et al. 2014). For example, a beer 'stands' in the fridge, a ring 'sits' on the finger, a city 'lies' on the coast, a word 'stands' in the dictionary, an ability 'sits' in the brain, options 'lie' ahead, etc. Kuteva (2001:chapter 3) suggests that (what she assumes to be) auxiliation of posture verbs is connected to the use of posture verbs to express the location of physical objects. (See Blensenius 2015:35-43 for further discussion.)

A common way of arguing for bleaching of meaning can be found in e.g. Faarlund et al. (1997:648) and Hansen & Heltoft (2011:994). The latter gives sentence (9), pointing out that the subject 'they' cannot literally have spent months sitting around a table. This could be interpreted as a case of bleaching of meaning. However, the posture verb can be used in the same way outside of pseudocoordination, as in (10).
Examples (11)-(20) below are intended to illustrate how the use of posture verbs in pseudocoordination has parallels outside of pseudocoordination. Each pseudocoordination is followed by a non-pseudocoordination which is selected to be as parallel as possible. The examples show that independently of pseudocoordination, a feeling 'sits' inside us, as in (11)-(12), those who govern us 'sit' while doing so, as in (13)-(14), food 'stands' while being prepared, as in (15)-(16), the temperature 'lies' at a certain level, as in (17)-(18), and we 'lie' in a lane when driving at the freeway, as in (19)-(20). (Like most other example sentences in this article, examples (11)-(20) are from the Norwegian www, either directly, or indirectly through the NoWaC corpus of web texts.)

(11) Den følelsen sitter og jobber inni meg konstant (NoWaC)

that feeling DEF sits and works inside me constantly

'That feeling is working inside me constantly'

(12) Den triste følelsen satt inni meg hele natten

the sad feeling sat inside me whole night DEF

'The sad feeling was inside me the whole night'

(13) Og hva med alle Arbeiderpartibyråkratene som sitter og styrer (NoWaC)

and what with all labor-party.bureaucrats DEF who sit and govern

'And what about all the Labor party bureaucrats who are in power'

(14) vi i Arbeiderpartiet sitter med makten

we in labour.party DEF sit with power DEF

'We are in the Labor party, are in power'

(15) la retten stå og trekke i 10 minutter.

let dish DEF stand and simmer in 10 minutes

'Let the dish simmer for 10 minutes'

(16) la røren stå i 10 minutter

let batter DEF stand in 10 minutes

'Let the batter rest for 10 minutes'

(17) temperature ligger og vaker høyt oppe på 20-tallet (NoWaC)

temperature DEF lies and bobs high up on 20-number

'The temperature lies bobbing in the high twenties'

(18) temperature ligger på nærmere 40 grader

temperature DEF lies on nearer 40 degrees

'The temperature is near 40 degrees'

www.pressreader.com/denmark/.../281715495933787
(19) (vi) ligger og kjører i venstre veibane
we lie and drive in left lane
'We are driving in the left lane'
(sv-se.facebook.com › Platser › Hammerfests kommun › Brandstation)

(20) Han ligger i venstre fil med sin kassebil
he lies in left lane with his van
'He is driving his van in the left lane'
(forum.hegnar.no/thread.asp?id=2273942)

Even some fixed expressions with a posture verb can be used with or without pseudocoordination. An example is her sitter jeg 'here sit I', as in (21)-(22), which is used colloquially for 'when it comes to me'.

(21) Her sitter jeg og har aldri hatt så mye som en eneste dame
here sit I and have never had as much as one single woman
'As for me, I have never had one single woman'
(vgd.no › Helse, sex og livsstil › Psykologi)

(22) Her sitter jeg med 650 mbite download
here sit I with 650 mbite download
'As for me, I have 650 mbite download'
(itavisen.no/2011/12/14/hastigheter-du-bare-kan-dromme-om/)

Posture verbs can also have a secondary subjective use. In (23), the speaker expresses a negative attitude toward what is said.

(23) (Du snakker alltid om helse) Og nå sitter du der og røyker en stor sigar!
you talk always about health - and now sit you there and smoke a big cigar
You always talk about health. And now you are smoking a big cigar!

This subjective use has a parallel in other languages. It is discussed by Breed (2017) for Afrikaans pseudocoordination, and by Lemmens (2005:185) for Dutch posture verbs with infinitives. Again, the relevant use of the posture verb can be found outside a pseudocoordination, as in (24).

(24) (Du snakker alltid om helse) Og nå sitter du der med en stor sigar!
you talk always about health - and now sit you there with a big cigar
You always talk about health. And now you are sitting there with a big cigar!

For Norwegian pseudocoordination, I am not aware of any clear case of using a posture verb in a way that is special for pseudocoordination. However, Danish gives an example of what such a case might look like. Danish, or variants of Danish, has a use of ligge that is special for pseudocoordination. Korzen (2016:29-30) says that ligge can intensify the action, especially in contexts where irritation or desperation is expressed. One of her www examples is (25).

(25) Jeg har ligget og ringet til jer med dages mellemrum (Danish)
I have lain and phoned to you with days' intervals
'I have been calling you every few days'
This use of *ligge* does not seem to have a parallel in Norwegian or Swedish. Apart for the Danish case, there does not seem to be any need for assuming any special meaning for posture verbs in pseudocoordination in Scandinavian.

### 3.1 Do they refer to a single event?

If the posture verb is used to express aspectual information, it follows that a pseudocoordination must refer to a single event. This is a traditional standard claim in the literature (e.g. Cardinaletti & Giusti 2001:386; Wiklund 2007:121; Kvist Darnell 2008:43; Kjeldahl 2010:74-75). However, the second part of the pseudocoordination can refer to an event that takes place at a different time than the first part, as in (26) with a periphrastic future and (27) with a periphrastic perfect (Lødrup 2014a).

(26) så sitter jeg her og skal snart ha nr 3
then sit I here and shall soon have number 3
'I am sitting here, then, going to have [exam] number 3 soon'
(twitter.com/camillasanna 23.10.17)

(27) Jeg sitter her og har gjort alt utenom å betale (NoWaC)
I sit here and have done everything except to pay
'I am sitting here, having done everything apart from paying'

Related to the claim that a pseudocoordination must refer to a single event is the claim that an adjunct cannot modify the second part of a pseudocoordination only (Anward 1988:6; Teleman et al. 1999:903; Wiklund 2007:110; Kjeldahl 2010:46-48). This kind of modification is clearly possible, however (Lødrup 2014b), as in (28).

(28) Da er det alltid en som sitter og ikke har det bra
then is there always one that sits and not has it well
'Then there is always somebody who is having a bad time
(www.mentalhelse.no › Nyheter)

### 4. ARE THEY PROGRESSIVE?

It is not clear that pseudocoordinations with posture verbs are really progressive, as standardly claimed (e.g. Ebert 2000, Tonne 2001, Wiklund 2007, Kvist Darnell 2008, Hesse 2009). Blensenius (2014, 2015) argues that they differ from progressives in several ways, and this section is partly based upon his work.

Scandinavian has no systematic opposition between progressive and non-progressive forms, as Platzack (1979:55) points out. A simple verb form can have a progressive interpretation. In actual language use, pseudocoordination with posture verbs is seldom used to express progressivity. It has been shown that the predicate following the posture verb is usually atelic (see Tonne 2001:77 on Norwegian, Blensenius 2015:14, 44 on Swedish). Typical predicates are e.g. 'read', 'talk', and 'wait'. These predicates would get a progressive interpretation independently of the posture verb.

The question is then what happens in the few cases where the predicate following the posture verbs is telic. The standard claim in the literature is that the posture verb changes the aspectual meaning from completed to incomplete. This claim can be found e.g. in Faarlund et al. (1997:649), who compares the examples (29) and (30).
Britta skrev et brev
*Britta wrote a letter*
'B Britta wrote a letter'

Britta satt og skrev et brev
*Britta sat and wrote a letter*
'B Britta was writing a letter'

However, Teleman et al (1999:905) point out that the interpretation of a telic predicate is not necessarily affected by the posture verb. They give Swedish examples such as (31).

(31) Står han inte och somnar på sitt pass! (Swedish)
*stands he not and dozes off on his guard*
'He actually stands there and dozes off on his guard!'

It is not difficult to find other examples in which the interpretation of a telic predicate is not affected by the posture verb, such as the Norwegian (32).

(32) Hun satt og sa at hun og pappa skulle skilles
*she sat and said that she and daddy should divorce.*
'She said that she and daddy were going to be divorced'

There is also no aspectual effect when a posture verb takes a stative second verb (Tonne 2001:80-81), as in (33). With regular progressives, stative verbs are not normally allowed.

(33) Nå står den og symboliserer at det ikke nyttet å gi seg
*now stands it and symbolizes that it not works to give REFL*
'Now it [the sunflower] stands there, symbolizing that you should not give up'

Another relevant case is sentences such as (27) above, repeated as (34), in which a posture verb in the present has a second predicate in the present perfect.

(34) Jeg sitter her og har gjort alt utenom å betale (NoWaC)
*I sit here and have done everything except to pay*
'I am sitting here, having done everything apart from paying'

It is interesting to compare to pseudocoordination with *drive 'carry on'* as a first verb, which only exists in Norwegian (Lødrup 2017). This verb always has an aspectual effect, giving a progressive or habitual or iterative interpretation. (Alternatively, it could be described as pluractional, see Lødrup (2017).) It often takes a telic second predicate, which gets an incomplete or iterative interpretation, as in (35)-(36). The verb *drive* is different from the posture verbs in that it always has an aspectual effect in sentences with a telic second predicate.

(35) Han driver og sovner på vakt (constructed)
*he carries on and dozes off on guard*
'He is dozing off on his guard'
Posture verbs in pseudocoordination do not have a consistent aspectual effect. This makes it difficult to keep the traditional analysis of pseudocoordination with posture verbs as a progressive construction.

4.1 Are they translated as progressives?

Progressive constructions and pseudocoordinations with posture verbs can be translational equivalents. This has often been pointed out to Norwegian students for pedagogical purposes. (One arbitrary example is Ross (1873:188), a text book of English for the Norwegian middle school by the linguist Hans Ross.)

There have been some studies of how Norwegian posture verb pseudocoordinations are translated into languages with grammaticalized progressive constructions. They note that pseudocoordinations are not always translated into progressives (Tonne 2001:148). Ebeling (2015) says that in translations to English, it is common to keep the posture verb, often adding locative there, and using the -ing-form of the second verb. One of her examples is (37)-(38), a sentence from a Norwegian novel and its published English translation.

(37) Han sitter og grunner en liten stund
    he sits and ponders a little while
(38) He sits there pondering a little while

For translations to Spanish, Hareide (2016) shows that the progressive construction with estar 'be' + gerund is seldom used - only in 12.5% of the cases in her material.

5. IS THE POSTURE VERB AN AUXILIARY OR A LIGHT VERB?

5.1 Can the posture verb undergo valency-changing rules?

If the posture verb is used to express aspectual information, it might have developed into an auxiliary or a light verb. However, posture verbs keep their regular grammatical properties in pseudocoordination (Lødrup 2002, 2014a, 2014b). They can passivize, as in (39), and they can take part in the presentational focus construction, as in (40).

(39) Her skal det sittes og koses
       here shall EXPL sit.PASS and cuddle.PASS
       'We will sit here and cuddle'
       (louiselady.blogspot.com/2012/02/)
(40) Det sitter noen hjemme og venter på dem
       EXPL sit somebody home and wait on them
       'Somebody sits at home waiting for them'
       (www.berglitruckstop.no/viewtopic.php?t=5478&start=45)
The presentational focus construction does not affect the second verb of the pseudocoordination in any way. This fact gives an argument against analyzing the first verb as an auxiliary (as in e.g. Heine 1993:37-39; Hesse 2009; Bylin 2013:72-74), because auxiliaries do not undergo valency-changing rules. The second verb can also show its independence. For example, it can passivize without affecting the posture verb, as in (41).

(41) Der ligger han og blir vasket av alle de pene sykepleierne

\textit{there lies he and becomes washed by all the beautiful nurses}.

\texttt{(books.google.no/books?isbn=9150741632)}

We see, then, that both the first and the second verb can undergo valency-changing rules independently of each other. This gives an argument that the two verbs do not constitute a complex predicate (as in Wiklund 2007, Kjeldahl 2010), because a complex predicate undergoes this kind of rules as a unit.

It is possible to find examples in texts where the two verbs have passivized as a whole, in a so-called long passive such as (42).\footnote{In these cases, it is clear that the two verbs must be analyzed as a complex predicate in a monoclusal construction. They are rather marginal and infrequent, however. (There seem to be no examples in the NoWaC corpus of Norwegian web texts with 700 million words.)}

(42) Tegninger ( ... ) skal ( ... ) ikke sittes og mekkes på i etterkant

\textit{drawings shall not sit\_PASS and fix\_PASS on in retrospect}

\texttt{(www.ccs.no/Design-Visualisering/Tett-paa)}

5.2 \textit{Does the posture verb keep its selectional properties?}

If the posture verb has changed its categorial status to an auxiliary or a light verb, it could affect its syntactic selection. Hesse (2009:51) says that only a posture verb without a locative can be considered a part of a pseudocoordination. However, there seems to be no reason not to consider a sentence with a locative complement such as (40) above, repeated as (43), a pseudocoordination (more in Section 7.3). Other modifiers are also possible, such as the manner adverb in (44).

(43) Det sitter noen hjemme og venter på dem

\textit{EXPL sit somebody home and wait on them}

\texttt{(www.berglitruckstop.no/viewtopic.php?t=5478&start=45)}

(44) Ellers så sto de pent og ventet

\textit{otherwise PART stood they nicely and waited}

\texttt{(www.casthica.com/21691154)}

There is one aspect of the syntactic selection of posture verbs that needs discussion. Outside pseudocoordination, a posture verb often requires a complement. (The exception is the agentive ‘maintain position’ meaning of Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1995:127).) There are various types of complements that can satisfy this requirement. Locative complements are common, but it is important that other types are also possible, as exemplified in (45). There is a gradual transition to fixed expressions.
We sat there / doing homework / negotiating / stuck

In pseudocoordination, one might think that there is no requirement for the posture verb to take a complement. This is not so, however. When pseudocoordination with posture verbs is seen as a subordinating construction, the posture verb does take a complement, namely the pseudocoordinated VP, which must be specified in its lexical entry.

Posture verbs have a relatively meager meaning, and this is probably the reason that they usually have a grammatical requirement for a complement. The posture verbs could be compared to the verb bo 'live, reside'. This verb also needs a complement of some kind - often a locative complement, but other complements are also possible, as shown in (46).

Jeg bor her / i Oslo / bra / som en greve / sammen med min bror
'I live here / in Oslo / well / like a count / together with my brother'

It was mentioned that translators often add a locative such as there when translating a pseudocoordination from Norwegian to English as in example (38) above. English does not have pseudocoordination with posture verbs, so the second verb phrase does not give the posture verb a complement. The added locative is therefore necessary.

6. ARE THEY FREQUENT?

A grammaticalized construction is expected to be relatively frequent in language use. I counted pseudocoordinations with posture verbs in a corpus of Oslo speech (Norsk talespråkskorpus - Oslodelen). The search string was sitte / ligge / stå lemma + 0-2 words + og + verb. All hits were controlled, and irrelevant hits discarded. I found one pseudocoordination with sitte per 3800 words, one with stå per 11 500 words, and one with ligge per 31 000 words. If we add up the pseudocoordinations with posture verbs, there is one per 2600 words. There are about 17% verbs in this corpus, which means that one in about 450 verbs is a posture verb in a pseudocoordination - 0.2 percent of the verbs. This frequency could be compared to the frequency of a progressive form that is clearly grammaticalized. Biber et al. (1999:462) states that progressives make up about 9% of the verb forms in American English conversation, and about 7% in British English conversation. The numbers for Norwegian and English were probably not calculated in the same way. (Biber et al. (1999) does not state how the calculation was done.) Even so, it is clear that pseudocoordination with posture verbs cannot be considered frequent when compared to a clearly grammaticalized progressive form.

An interesting contribution to the study of pseudocoordination is Behrens et al. (2013). They report an experiment in which speakers were asked to describe continuous situations that were shown in video clips, such as a person jogging or building a house of cards. Only 10% of the sentences produced by the Norwegian speakers were pseudocoordinations with posture verbs. (In addition, 2.5% of the sentences were pseudocoordinations with the verbs drive 'carry on' and være (ute) 'be (out)'). Again, pseudocoordination with posture verbs is not frequent. This result gives an argument against the view that it is a grammaticalized aspectual construction, as Behrens et al. (2013) point out.
7. ARE THEY GRAMMATICALIZED?

The emergence of pseudocoordination with posture verbs could be considered a case of grammaticalization. It seems natural to assume that their origin is regular coordination, as in Vannebo (1969:66) (see also Heine 1993:37-39; Kuteva 2001:67-73; Ross 2016:229-230). We don't know how this happened, however. Pseudocoordinations are well established already in Old Norse (see Section 8), and it seems to be impossible to follow them further back in time.

It is clear that pseudocoordination can be grammaticalized. A construction that has come far in this respect is pseudocoordination with the verb ta 'take' (Vannebo 2003). Pseudocoordination with the verb drive 'carry on' are also grammaticalized to some extent (Lødrup 2017). On the other hand, there are pseudocoordinations that could hardly be thought of as grammaticalized, e.g. those with ringe 'phone' as their first verb.

Several researchers see pseudocoordination with posture verbs as a grammaticalized progressive construction, at least to some degree (Heine 1993:37-39; Ebert 2000, Kuteva 2001, Hopper & Traugott 2003:206-207; Hilpert & Koops 2008, Hesse 2009, Hilpert 2011, Höder 2011:75, Hansen & Heltoft 2011:988; Biberauer & Vikner 2017). Some reservations are necessary, however. First, it should be noted that the claims about grammaticalization are rather different in ‘size’. In some cases, an author just states his or her view in passing (e.g. Höder 2011:75), while in other cases, there is an explicit analysis and thorough argumentation (e.g. Hesse 2009). Second, some of the authors mentioned primarily give a summary of the work of others, implicitly accepting it, but without having researched the topic themselves. Third, some authors make it clear that they only assume grammaticalization to some extent. For example, Kuteva (2001:46) says that 'we cannot speak of a very high degree of grammaticalization of this structure'. Biberauer & Vikner (2017:80) say that the first verb (in Danish and Afrikaans) is a 'minimally grammaticalized element'.

On the background of the discussion above, I find it difficult to see clear signs of grammaticalization. However, there might be ways of saving the idea of grammaticalization. One strategy could be to appeal to the graduality of grammaticalization. Another strategy could be to reinterpret the evidence against grammaticalization, saying that the relevant sentences are regular coordinations, and not pseudocoordinations.

7.1 Graduality and gradience

Grammaticalization is often seen as a gradual process (see the discussion in Traugott & Trousdale 2010). One could say that grammaticalization of pseudocoordination is a gradual process that is going on now (like e.g. Hilpert & Koops 2008, Hesse 2009). If one assumes that there can be all degrees of grammaticalization, it gets more difficult to argue against something being grammaticalized. However, the null hypothesis must be that nothing has happened, and the burden of proof is upon the proponents of grammaticalization.

Another possibility could be to say that pseudocoordination with posture verbs is on the starting point of grammaticalization. Tonne (1999, 2001) called them pre-grammaticalized. It was mentioned in Section 5.2 that they must have lexical entries with a selected pseudocoordinated complement. Long passives, such as (42) above, if not frequent, might indicate that something is on its way. The same could be said for the case of Danish ligge that was mentioned in Section 3. It seems to me, however, that this line of reasoning would need a better empirical basis.
7.3 Which sentences are pseudocoordinations?

Another strategy for keeping a grammaticalization analysis could be to make use of the fact that that we still have the ‘original’ posture verbs with their properties - they did not disappear in the (alleged) grammaticalization process. One might claim that a sentence with POSTURE VERB AND VERB is a regular coordination if it has a property that one does not expect of a grammaticalized aspectual construction. This raises the question of what should be considered pseudocoordination and what should be considered regular coordination.

The basis for assuming pseudocoordination is that its grammatical properties differ from those of regular coordination. It is not unproblematic, however, how this delimitation should be done in practice. It is clear that the sequence POSTURE VERB AND VERB is in principle ambiguous. Posture verbs and other verbs can of course still be coordinated, and e.g. (47) does not contain a pseudocoordination.

(47) Steiner langs elven som man kan sitte og klatre på

'Stones along the river that one can sit and climb on'

(www.umb.no/statisk/vrlab/LAD302%20students%20final%20projec%202013-p3.pdf)

We will now discuss five properties of pseudocoordination to see to what extent they can be used as a sufficient condition for assuming pseudocoordination.

(i) A finite second verb does not follow the first verb to the V2 position, as shown in (48).

(48) Der ligger Ola og sover / *Der ligger og sover Ola

'there lies Ola and sleeps / there lies and sleeps Ola

'Ola lies there sleeping'

This is a necessary condition to assume pseudocoordination, but it is not sufficient. The reason is the existence of sentences such as (49). They are coordinations in which a second finite verb does not follow the first verb to the V2 position. This construction has been discussed as a kind of asymmetric coordination in German grammar (see e.g. Höhle 1990).

(49) Så titter solen frem og varmer opp frosne sjeler (NoWaC)

'then peeps sun.DEF out and warms up frozen souls'

However, it might be a sufficient condition that a second finite verb would be ungrammatical in the V2 position with the first verb, as in (50). (This is only relevant where none of them take complements, otherwise the ungrammaticality could get an independent explanation.)

(50) Der ligger Ola og sover / *Der ligger og sover Ola

'there lies Ola and sleeps / there lies and sleeps Ola

'Ola lies there sleeping’

(ii) The Coordinate Structure Constraint (Ross 1967:89-114) is not active in pseudocoordination. This is again not a sufficient condition to assume pseudocoordination. Lakoff (1986) pointed out that this constraint may be violated under certain conditions. One of his examples is (51).
What kind of herbs can you eat and not get cancer?

(iii) A complement of the first verb can follow the second verb, cf. the Swedish (52) (from Teleman et al. 1999:904).

(52) Han stod och glodde i trädgården
   he stood and stared in garden

   'He was standing in the garden, staring'

This seems to be a sufficient condition for assuming pseudocoordination. In regular coordination, it is impossible to let the complement of the first verb follow the second verb, as in (53).

(53) Han tenker på festen og ler / *Han tenker og ler på festen
   he thinks of party and laughs / han tenker og ler på festen

   'He thinks of the party and laughs'

(iv) A negation with the first verb negates the whole pseudocoordination, as in (54). This fact follows from both subordination and complex predicate analyses of pseudocoordination. Negating the whole pseudocoordination seems to be a sufficient condition to assume pseudocoordination.

(54) Han sitter ikke og leser
   he sits not and reads

   'He is not reading'

Johannessen & Edzard (2017) say that this kind of negation is also possible in regular coordination, but the example that they give is so unacceptable (with the given interpretation) to me and others that it could be taken as an argument against their view.

(55) Hun tier ikke og holder munn i forsamlinger (Johannessen & Edzard 2017)
   she is.silent not and keeps mouth in meetings

   'She doesn’t keep quiet and doesn’t keep her mouth shut in meetings'

(v) The option of the presentational construction with the first verb, as in (40) above, repeated as (56), must be considered a sufficient condition for assuming pseudocoordination. When two verb phrases are coordinated, as in (57), the presentational construction is not possible with the first verb (this is discussed in Lødrup 2002). The first verb in (57) is arbeide ‘work’, which allows the presentational construction, but not pseudocoordination.

(56) Det sit noen hjemme og venter på dem
   EXPL sit somebody home and wait on them

   'Somebody sit at home waiting for them'

   (www.berglitruckstop.no/viewtopic.php?t=5478&start=45)

(57) *Det arbeider noen hjemme og venter på dem
   EXPL work somebody home and wait on them

   'Somebody works at home, waiting for them' [intended]
There are some criteria for pseudocoordination, then. They can be used to decide if a sentence must be considered a pseudocoordination, independently of one’s assumptions about the more controversial properties of pseudocoordination. As an example, consider the claim in Hesse (2009:51) that only a posture verb without a locative can be considered a part of a pseudocoordination. This is an unfortunate move, because relevant sentences behave the same way with or without a locative. Examples (58) must be considered a pseudocoordination with or without a locative, because it fulfills the criteria discussed above: The negation negates the whole pseudocoordination, and neither the negation nor the locative influences its option for a presentational sentence, as shown in (59).

(58) Mennene sitter ikke (hjemme) og venter på dem
   men.DEF sit not (at.home) and wait on them
   'The men do not sit (at home) waiting for them'

(59) Det sitter ikke noen (hjemme) og venter på dem
   EXPL sit not somebody home and wait on them
   'Nobody sits (at home) waiting for them'

As another example, consider sentence (60), constructed on the basis of (26) above. It does not refer to one event, because its first part is in the present and its second part in the future. Even if this option is unexpected for some theories of pseudocoordination, (26) must be a pseudocoordination, because its first part is a presentational construction. The same reasoning goes for (61), constructed on the basis of (28) above, in which only the second part is negated.

(60) Det sitter en jente her og skal snart ha eksamen
   EXPL sits a girl here and shall soon have exam
   'A girl is sitting here, going to have an exam soon'

(61) Det har sittet en mann her og ikke hatt det bra
   EXPL has sat a man here and not had it well
   'A man has been sitting here, having a bad time'

8. HAVE THEY CHANGED?

If there is a grammaticalization process going on, it would be enlightening to look back in time to investigate relevant differences between the language of today and the language at some earlier stage. There is of course no requirement that grammaticalization must take place at a certain 'speed'. Even so, it is striking that there seem to be no clear grammatical differences between Modern Norwegian and Old Norse concerning pseudocoordination with posture verbs.

Old Norse, and older Scandinavian in general, is standardly assumed to have pseudocoordination. Holm (1958) discusses pseudocoordination with fara 'go' and taka 'take', and Vannebo (2003) pseudocoordination with taka 'take'. However, there is not much written on pseudocoordination with posture verbs in older Scandinavian, except Vannebo (1969:66, 84-86) and Hilpert & Koops (2008). Possible examples of pseudocoordination with posture verbs are (62)-(67). (Their sources are listed above the reference section.)

(62) Bolli stóð ok heyrói til ok brosti við líttinn þann. (Laxdæla 257)
   Bolli stood and listened to and smiled by little that
   'Bolli stood there listening, smiling at that little thing'
We can of course not be sure what properties these Old Norse sentences had, but they give the impression of being similar to those of Modern Norwegian. One striking fact is that the posture verb does not need a complement, as in examples (62)-(65). The option of not having a complement beside the pseudocoordinated VP indicates that posture verbs already have the option of a pseudocoordinated complement as a part of their lexical entry. It is also of interest that the posture verbs in examples (66) and (67) do not denote the position of a human body. The oldest examples are probably the two that are from poems: (65) from a poem supposedly from the middle of the 11. century, and (64) from Hávamál, which is probably older.

A small piece of evidence that pseudocoordination with posture verbs is an established construction in Old Norse comes from translation. A collection of short stories called Strengleikar was translated from Old French to Old Norse in the middle of the 13. century. The translation follows the original relatively closely (see Budal (2009), who also aligns the original text and the translation). Even so, the translator uses some pseudocoordinations. They are without any basis in the original Old French text, which has a single verb form where the translation has pseudocoordination. Examples are (68)-(69).

(68) hon la ok hugði at vannlega hverso hann kom ok brott fór (Strengleikar 236)

*She lay noticing attentively how he came and went away'*

(69) ok sat ok stappaðe pipar (Strengleikar 126)

*And [a midget] sat there grinding pepper'*

It is of course impossible to say that pseudocoordination with posture verbs is ‘the same’ in Old Norse and Modern Norwegian. There is also a question if they were used the same way. Vannebo (1969:84-86) hints that they were less common in Old Norse, but he points out that a comparison would be difficult for several reasons.

The only claim I have found that pseudocoordination with posture verbs is different in Older Scandinavian than in Modern Scandinavian is Hilpert & Koops (2008). They investigate pseudocoordination with *sitta* 'sit' in older and newer Swedish. They assume that this construction is grammaticalized already in older Swedish, and hint that it has an analysis as a complex predicate at this stage (Hilpert & Koops 2008:254). Even so, they claim that further grammaticalization has taken place. They investigate the frequency of three phenomena: locative arguments with *sitta*, temporal adverbials with *sitta*, and object
extraction from the second part of the pseudocoordination. They find a development over
time, with a decrease in the frequency of locative arguments and temporal adverbials with
*sitfa*, and an increase in object extraction from the second part. In my view, the premises for
their investigation are problematic, and it is not clear how their results should be understood.  

From a grammatical point of view, pseudocoordinations with posture verbs give the
impression of being basically the same in Old Norse as in Modern Norwegian.
Pseudocoordination with posture verbs seems to have been established for more than a
thousand years. Nothing seems to have happened in the grammar of pseudocoordination with
posture verbs in this time. This situation might be unexpected for those who assume that
there is a grammaticalization process going on. Tonne (1999, 2001) used the term pre-
grammaticalized about pseudocoordination. It seems, then, that they have been pre-
grammaticalized for at least a thousand years.

9. CONCLUSION

The grammaticalization analysis of pseudocoordination with posture verbs has been popular
and influential. In this article, I have followed up some critical voices from later years'
research, and argued that it cannot be upheld. The posture verbs are lexical verbs with their
regular meanings and grammatical properties, and the construction does not show clear signs
of grammaticalization. The aspectual perspective seems to be misleading. A better alternative
would be to see the construction as locational, following Tonne (2001:121), Behrens et al.
(2013:129-130), and Blensenius (2015:35-42).
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NOTES

1 This subjective effect can also be achieved with some other verbs, such as drive ‘carry on' and gå (rundt) ‘walk (about)’. Breed (2017) relates the subjective use of pseudo-coordination to the subjective use of the progressive that can be found in English.

2 The same kind of argument could be made for other pseudo-coordination verbs, such as gå ‘walk’. Braunmüller (1991:103) and Ebert (2000:628) say that this verb can be used without its concrete meaning in pseudo-coordination. This is true, but it is used the same way outside pseudo-coordination.

(i) Han går og spekulerer over fremtiden (Danish, Braunmüller 1991:103)  
_He contemplates the future_

(ii) Han går med tanker, som han ikke kan dele med nogen (Danish)  
_He has thoughts that he cannot share with anybody_

3 de Vos (2005:14) makes the same claim for Afrikaans pseudo-coordination, saying that a posture verb in a pseudo-coordination ‘retains the same semantics that it would have as a lexical verb; non-posture-related interpretations are licensed in the same contexts as they would be for the equivalent lexical verb'. (However, Biberauer 2017 does not agree.) The related Dutch construction with a posture verb and an infinitive behaves the same way in the written register, according to Lemmens (2005).

4 One might argue that (26)-(27) refer to one event; example (27) then refers to the event of sitting and having completed something. However, this would undermine the concept of event that is needed to restrict complex predicate formation in various languages (Wurmbrand 2001:79-99). Norwegian has long passives of complex predicates such as (i), but it would impossible to have the first verb in the present and the second in the perfect (Lødrup 2014c).

(i) Dette forsøkes å gjøre(s) før møtet  
_This try.PASS to do.PASS before meeting_.DEF  
‘One tries to do this before the meeting’

5 There is another phenomenon that might indicate a complex predicate (mentioned in Lødrup 2014a). Sentences such as (i) can sometimes be found, in which the presentational focus rule seems to have affected both verbs. This could be an indication of a complex predicate.

(i) det satt og gråt noen barn der  
_EXPL sat and cried some children there_

‘Some children sat there crying’

The problem with this argument is that it presupposes that the analysis is as in (ii) (using English words). If the analysis is as in (iii), there is no argument for a complex predicate - there is just a marked word order with the clausal complement preceding the object.

(ii) [there] [sat and cried] [some children] [there]  
(iii) [there] [sat] [and cried] [some children] [there]
Blensenius (2014:215) gives the Swedish sentence (i) from the www as grammatical. The posture verb takes an expletive subject, which might be an indication of grammaticalization. However, two Swedish linguists tell me that they do not accept it, and the corresponding Norwegian sentence is totally unacceptable to me and others.

(i) det står och regnar på husen i en vecka [...] (Swedish)

"It is raining on the houses for a week"

When pseudocoordination is seen as a subordinating construction, the object of the presentational sentence controls the empty subject position of a verbal complement. This subject can be thought of as a PRO (even if it is not in Lødrup (2002), see Lødrup (2017) for a PRO analysis). If (56) were regular coordination, it would have been ungrammatical. The reason is that a subject in a coordinated sentence can only be dropped when it is identical to the subject of the preceding sentence (Lødrup 2002).

Hilpert & Koops (2008) do not find object extraction in their oldest texts, while there are some cases in their newer texts. They do not consider the possibility that this reflects a more general difference between older and newer Scandinavian. Even if unbounded dependencies in older Scandinavian have not been investigated (to my knowledge), European case languages such as e.g. German seem to be more restrictive in this respect than modern Scandinavian (see e.g. Kvam 1983).

Furthermore, Hilpert & Koops' premises concerning temporal adjuncts are flawed. They assume that temporal adjuncts following the first verb modify the first verb, while adjuncts following the second verb modify the whole pseudocoordination. First, this is not correct. For example, the adjunct *snart* 'soon' in example (26) above only modifies the second verb.

Second, Hilpert & Koops do not seem to recognize the important distinction between adjunct positions following finite verbs and non-finite verbs. Third, their assumptions collide with their own complex predicate analysis. It is a common assumption that restructuring to a complex predicate is not possible when the second verb refers to a time that is independent of the time of the first verb (Wurmbrand 2001:79-99). This implies that a temporal adjunct modifies a complex predicate as a whole, and not just one of the verbs involved. Looking at sentences that are more uncontroversially monoclausal complex predicate constructions, such as (i), we see that a temporal adverbial following the first verb modifies the whole complex predicate.

(i) Denne funksjonen forsøkes nå å etterlignes

"They are trying to copy this function now"

(Leif-Daland.com/blogg/category/program/page/5/)