

Norwegian Pseudocoordination with the Verb *drive* 'carry on': Control, Raising, Grammaticalization

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Abstract

A pseudocoordination looks like a coordination of two verb phrases, but its grammatical properties are different from those of coordination. In this paper, I propose that most pseudocoordinations are equi constructions with anaphoric control - a revision of the analysis in Lødrup (2002). A pseudocoordination with properties of its own has *drive* ‘carry on’ as its first verb. Its use could be described as aspectual, or maybe rather pluractional. It is shown how *drive* in its different uses shares grammatical properties with aspectual verbs, and finds a place in their system. Pseudocoordination with *drive* is not always an equi construction. In colloquial Norwegian, pseudocoordination with *drive* can also be used as a raising construction. This seems to be a new phenomenon, which has developed through grammaticalization.

1. Introduction¹

In Scandinavian grammar, the term pseudocoordination is used of sentences such as (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 kysset 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 clearly different from those of regular coordinations, as has been discussed several times (e.g. Lødrup 2002, 2017, and references there).

The set of first verbs that allow pseudocoordination in Scandinavian is rather heterogeneous. Pseudocoordinations with different verbs show

¹ I have received valuable input from audiences at Forum for Theoretical Linguistics (Oslo, October 2016), Workshop on Pseudo-Coordination and Multiple Agreement Constructions (Venice, May 2017), Variation and Change in the Verb Phrase (Oslo, May 2017), and LFG17 (Konstanz, July 2017). I would especially like to thank Dag Haug and Daniel Ross for discussion. Thanks are also due to the proceedings editors and the anonymous reviewers.

different grammatical behavior (Lødrup 2002). Pseudocoordinations have been reported in several languages (see Ross 2016 and references there), but there is no assumption here that pseudocoordinations are a unitary phenomenon across or within languages. In my view, the only common property of pseudocoordinations 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 Norwegian speech, these two words are usually pronounced the same way (Endresen 1995), and they are sometimes mixed up in writing. (I have corrected this in example sentences from texts in the following.)

In this paper I discuss Norwegian pseudocoordinations with *drive* as the first verb. They are interesting in that they have properties that are clearly different from those of other pseudocoordinations. The verb *drive* is difficult to translate; it means something like ‘carry on’, ‘keep on’, or simply ‘do’. Examples are (2) above, and (5). (Example (5) and most other examples are from the www, either directly or indirectly through the NoWaC corpus of web texts. Some of them are lightly edited.)

- (5) Vi drev og laget et dansenummer
 we carried.on and made a dance.act
 ‘We were making a dance act.’

In part 2, some general properties of *drive* are introduced, including its aspectual function and its subject role. Part 3 establishes that *drive* can be either an equi verb with anaphoric control or a raising verb. Similarities between *drive* and aspectual verbs are discussed in part 4. The diachrony of *drive* is touched upon in part 5, especially the grammaticalization of the raising verb. In part 6, pseudocoordination with *drive* is compared to other pseudocoordination, and it is shown how *drive* is special.

2. *drive* introduction

2.1 General

Norwegian and Swedish and Danish pseudocoordinations are generally very similar. However, the relevant use of *drive* is unknown in Swedish and Danish, and also in Old Norse, Icelandic, and Faroese (Heycock and Petersen 2012).

Pseudocoordination with *drive* has a colloquial air. Dictionaries characterize it as "popular, familiar" (*folk[elig]*, *fam[iliart]*, Norsk Riksmålsordbok), and "especially colloquial" (*især muntlig*, Stor norsk

ordbok). Behrens et al. (2013) considers it not to be a part of the standard language.

The distribution of pseudocoordinations with *drive* in different genres shows a striking skew. Table 1 gives the results of some corpus searches. The second column shows the number of words (approximately) per pseudocoordination with *drive*, and the third column the percentage.

Table 1

Genre	Words per <i>drive</i>	Percentage
Oslo speech	6 500	0.01538
Norwegian dialects	10 300	0.00970
Fiction	38 300	0.00261
Non-fiction	535 000	0.00018
Newspapers, periodicals	2 000 000	0.00004

Search string: *drive* lemma + 0-2 words + *og* + verb
 All hits were controlled, and irrelevant hits discarded.
 Corpora: Norsk talespråkskorpus - Oslodelen, Nordic Dialect Corpus, Leksikografisk bokmålskorpus

In corpora of spoken language, pseudocoordinations with *drive* are common. In a corpus of Oslo speech, there is one per ca 6500 words. The frequency is somewhat lower in a corpus of speech from various Norwegian dialects. In writing, the construction is less frequent. Fiction is the genre with most hits. In non-fiction, there is one per ca 535 000 words. In newspapers and periodicals, there is one per 2 million words, which means that pseudocoordinations with *drive* are about 300 times less frequent than in the corpus of Oslo speech.

In discussions of Norwegian pseudocoordination, the option of *drive* is routinely mentioned, but discussions are usually focused upon sentences with posture verbs. Short discussions of *drive* can be found in Faarlund et al (1997:648-50), Lødrup (2002), Hesse (2009:118-23), and Vagstad (2010:15-16). One shortcoming of what has been written on *drive* is that the full range of its actual use has not been taken into account. This paper is based upon data from the www, as mentioned in part 1.

Norwegian, as well as Swedish and Danish, has a pseudocoordination verb that can be synonymous with *drive*, namely *holde på* 'carry on'. (See Blensenius 2015a on Swedish *hålla på*.) An example is (6).

- (6) Holder på og peser med maskina mi
 carry on and pant with machine.DEF my
 '(I) am stressing out with my machine.'

However, *holde på* ‘carry on’ differs from *drive* (and all other pseudocoordination verbs) in that it can alternatively take a complement in the infinitive. The infinitive is the common option, and intuitions about its use in pseudocoordination are uncertain.

2.2 Aspect

In pseudocoordinations with *drive*, the second predicate denotes an activity that extends over some time, as in (7), or it is a telic predicate which is given an incomplete interpretation, as in (8) and (9) (Faarlund et al 1997:648-49).

- (7) Jeg driver og leser til førerkortet
 I carry.on and read to driver.license
 ‘I am reading for the driver’s license.’
- (8) Vi drev og laget et dansenummer
 we carried.on and made a dance.act
 ‘We were making a dance act.’
- (9) Yngstemann driver og forlater redet nå
 junior carries.on and leaves nest.DEF now
 ‘Junior is leaving home now.’

drive can also give habitual and iterative interpretations, as in (10) and (11) (Faarlund et al 1997:649-50). It is usually not used with stative verbs, cf. (12).

- (10) Hun drev og hostet og harket i bakgrunnen
 she carried.on and coughed and hawked in background.DEF
 ‘She was coughing and hawking in the background.’
- (11) Hun drev og sa hun veide 50 kg i fjor
 she carried.on and said she weighed 50 kilo in last.year
 ‘She used to say that she weighed 50 kilo last year.’
- (12) *Hjertet driver og symboliserer kjærligheten
 heart.DEF carries.on and symbolizes love.DEF
 ‘The heart symbolizes love.’ [intended]

drive could be seen as a kind of general imperfective, covering progressive, habitual, and iterative. It would then be expected that it could be used with stative verbs. As an alternative, pseudocoordination with *drive* could be described as pluractional - there is usually a "plurality of action". (This was proposed for Swedish pseudocoordination with *hålla på* ‘carry on’ by Blensénius 2015a.) The subject often performs repeated actions, or the same part of an action, not necessarily oriented toward a result. Pluractionality is in general not compatible with stativity; this explains why (12) is not possible.

Pseudocoordinations with *drive* sometimes show a secondary subjective meaning that can be found in progressives in various languages (see e.g.

Breed 2017): It can make a statement more intense, and it can make the event denoted by the second verb appear as something negative, probably because it implies that there is “too much” of the action. An example of this negative effect is (13) from the Norwegian Bible (2011 translation, Jeremia 29, 26). This negative use is also - unexpectedly - possible with some stative verbs, as in (14).

- (13) alle disse som er fra vettet og driver og profeterer ..
 all these who are out.of mind.DEF and carry.on and prophesy
 ‘all these who are out of their minds and keep prophesying’
- (14) Mannen driver og synes synd på seg selv
 man.DEF carries.on and feels sorry for REFL self
 ‘The man feels sorry for himself.’

2.3 Agentivity

It has been claimed that *drive* must take an agentive second predicate (Hesse 2009:121, Vagstad 2010:16). This might be taken to be the most unmarked, and probably the original way of using *drive*. However, the generalization is not true of actual language use today, and this fact will play an important part in the discussion here. Two examples are (15) and (16).

- (15) Du er en av dem som driver og får kunstneriske kriser
 you are one of them who carry.on and get artistic crises
 ‘You are one of them who keep getting artistic crises.’
- (16) Vannet driver og forsvinner fra dusjene
 water.DEF carries.on and disappears from showers.DEF
 ‘The water keeps disappearing from the showers.’

Some sentences with non-agentive verbs might sound a bit substandard to me, but they are acceptable. Sentences such as (17)-(20) with copula verbs, passive verbs and verbs with an expletive subject are a bit more marked, but not unacceptable.

- (17) Møkkahesten driver og blir tam
 shit.horse.DEF carries.on and becomes tame
 ‘The shit horse is getting tame.’
- (18) Jeg driver ikke og blir refusert to ganger daglig
 I carry.on not and become rejected two times daily
 ‘I don’t get rejected twice a day.’
- (19) Det dreiv og hoppa rådyr rundt på jordet
 EXPL carried.on and jumped roes around on field.DEF
 ‘Roes were jumping around in the field.’

- (20) når det driver og blåser sånn som det gjør
 when EXPL carries.on and blows such as EXPL does
 ‘when it is blowing like it is’

3. Grammatical properties

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), and the Norwegian 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. A clear case is those with *ta* ‘take’ (Lødrup 2002, Vannebo 2003); see section 6.2.

What is then the grammatical status of *drive*? It could first be noted that *drive* differs from all other pseudocoordination verbs - except the clearly grammaticalized *ta* ‘take’ - in that its syntactic and semantic properties are clearly different inside and outside pseudocoordination. In a pseudocoordination, *drive* cannot take an argument of its own,² unlike other pseudocoordination verbs such as e.g. *sitte* ‘sit’ and *ringe* ‘call’, as shown in (21)-(22).

- (21) Da satt han (på kontoret) og arbeidet
 then sat he in office.DEF and worked
 ‘He was working (in his office) then.’
- (22) Da ringte han (til mamma) og klaget
 then called he to mom and complained
 ‘He called (his mom) and complained then.’

Lødrup (2002) proposed briefly that there are two pseudocoordination verbs *drive*, one agentive equi verb and one subject-to-subject-raising verb. Some speakers might have an agentive equi verb *drive* only. To the extent that they exist, these are the speakers that Hesse (2009:121) and Vagstad (2010:16) base themselves on when they say that *drive* takes agentive second verbs only. These speakers have what one might assume to represent an older and more original use of *drive*. Other speakers can use *drive* as a raising verb in sentences such as (15)-(20) above. Why could it then be necessary to assume

² *drive* can be combined with the particle *på* (literally ‘on’), which makes *drive* unambiguously agentive. With this particle, *drive* can be used with the same meaning inside and outside of pseudocoordination.

- (i) Han drev på (og arbeidet)
 he carried.on on and worked
 ‘He kept on (working).’

that these speakers have two verbs *drive*? An alternative could be that there is only one verb *drive* - the raising verb. However, there is at least one phenomenon that makes it necessary to assume that *drive* can be an agentive equi verb.³ The verb can passivize; it then takes an expletive subject, as in (23) and (24).

- (23) Det drives og lages nye nettsider
 EXPL carry.on.PASS and make.PASS new webpages
 'New web pages are being made.'
- (24) Det drives og forskes på det nu
 EXPL carry.on.PASS and research.PASS on it now
 'It is being researched now.'

The analysis of passives such as (23)-(24) raises some challenges. Lødrup (2002) and (2014b) assumed that agentive *drive* - as well as most other pseudocoordination verbs - takes an XCOMP with functional control (called VCOMP in Lødrup 2002). The simplified f-structure for *Vi driver og forsker* 'we carry.on and research' is then as in (25).

- (25)

PRED 'drive <(↑SUBJ) (↑XCOMP)>'
SUBJ [PRED 'vi']
XCOMP [SUBJ PRED 'forske <(↑SUBJ)>']
VFORM PRESENT

However, this analysis is not compatible with passives such as (23)-(24). A verb that takes a complement with obligatory subject control is not expected to passivize ("Visser's generalization", Bresnan 1982:354). An alternative is to assume that the agentive *drive* takes anaphoric control, and that the second part of the coordination is a COMP with a PRO subject. The simplified f-structure for *Vi driver og forsker* 'we carry.on and research' is then as in (26).

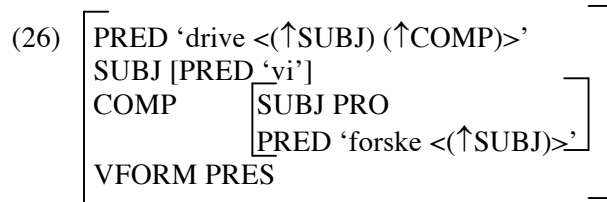
³ Another phenomenon that seems to require an agentive equi verb *drive* is the presentational focus construction.

- (i) Det driver noen og reparerer taket på nabohuset
 EXPL carries.on somebody and repairs roof.DEF on neighborhouse.DEF
 'Somebody is repairing the roof of the neighborhouse.'

This kind of sentences seem to require the agentive *drive* (Lødrup 2002). For some reason, a raised argument cannot normally be the object in a presentational focus sentence (Lødrup 2004:74).

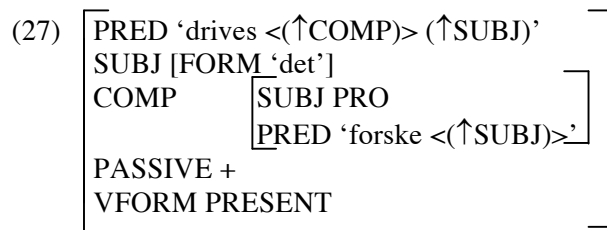
- (ii) *Det pleier noen å reparere taket på nabohuset
 EXPL uses somebody to repair roof.DEF on neighborhouse.DEF
 'Somebody uses to repair the roof of the neighborhouse.' [intended]

This phenomenon does not seem to be well understood.



When there is anaphoric control, there is no reason *drive* should not take the impersonal passive. A new problem then arises concerning the second parts of (23)-(24). They look like impersonal passives (e.g. *og forskes på det nu* 'and research.PASS on it now'). However, they cannot have an expletive PRO subject, because expletive subjects of the *there* type cannot control PRO. It is therefore necessary to reconsider the analysis of the second part of these pseudocoordinations.

The point of departure for an alternative analysis is the general requirement that the pseudocoordination verb and the first verb following *og* 'and' must have the same inflectional form. The Norwegian morphological passive is usually considered inflectional (e.g. Enger 2000). One could therefore assume that the passivity of the second verb is not real - it is an active verb that has a passive form because of the requirement for "same inflectional form". With this analysis, PRO realizes the external role of the second verb. It is controlled by the implicit agent of the first verb. The simplified f-structure for *Det drives og forskes* 'EXPL carry.on.PASS and research.PASS' is then as in (27).



The structure is the same as for e.g. (28).

- (28) Det fortsettes å forske
EXPL continue.PASS to research
'They continue doing research.'

Speakers who allow both raising sentences such as (15)-(20) and passives such as (23)-(24) must be assumed to have two verbs *drive* - an equi verb and a raising verb. It should be mentioned, however, that the passive of *drive* does not seem to be very frequent.

4. The larger picture

4.1 *drive* as an aspectual verb

Outside pseudocoordination, the verb *drive* has different meanings. It can be intransitive and mean ‘be in motion’⁴, as in (29), or transitive and mean ‘put in motion’, etc. as in (30).

- (29) Båten driver
boat.DEF drifts
‘The boat is drifting.’
- (30) Han driver kuene hjem
he leads cows.DEF home
‘He leads the cows home.’

More interesting in this context is its use with the meaning ‘run’, ‘keep going’, ‘be occupied with’. The verb then takes an object, as in (31) or an oblique PP with the preposition *med* ‘with’, as in (32).

- (31) Han driver et firma
he runs a company
‘He runs a company.’
- (32) Firmaet driver med reklamesalg
company.DEF carries.on with advertising.sale
‘The company sells advertising.’

Especially interesting in this context is the use of *drive* in sentences in which the PP has an infinitival as its complement, as in (33). In these sentences, the action has to be agentive and intentional (Faarlund et al. 1997:648).

- (33) Firmaet driver med å selge reklame
company.DEF carries.on with to sell advertising
‘The company sells advertising.’

Hesse (2009:120) proposed that sentences such as (33) were the starting point for the diachronic development of pseudocoordination with *drive*. In my analysis, the syntactic structure of (33) with a PP and an infinitive is not very

⁴ This verb can also be used with the transferred meaning ‘walk aimlessly around’. It can then be found in pseudocoordination, such as (i). This must be seen in connection with the fact that movement verbs such as *gå* ‘walk’ can take pseudocoordination.

(i) Om dagen driver han rundt og studerer sine medmenneskers oppførsel
in day.DEF drifts he around and studies his fellow.citizens.POSS behavior
‘In the day, he drifts around, studying the behavior of his fellow citizens.’

different from that of a pseudocoordination with the agentive *drive*. In both cases there is a complement construction with a PRO subject.

drive finds its place in the system of aspectual verbs. Aspectual verbs can occur with or without this kind of PP (Lødrup 2004:77-78), cf. (34).

- (34) Han begynte / sluttet / fortsatte (med) å spille munnspill
 he started stopped continued with to play harmonica
 ‘Han started / stopped / continued playing the harmonica.’

It is not easy to pinpoint what the preposition contributes to the meaning. It is as if the sentences with the preposition tend to picture the content of the infinitival as a whole - maybe a job or a project or a hobby - even if it consists of parts that are not consecutive in time. Without the preposition, (34) could simply mean that ‘he’ started or stopped or continued playing the harmonica which he brought with him to the party. With the preposition, it would be more natural to understand the playing as e.g. a new hobby.⁵

The effect of the preposition is the same with *drive*. The sentences with the preposition tend to picture the content of the infinitival as a whole. A good example is (35) - the next sentence in the text says that this is actually also a kind of profession (Norwegian: *Det er faktisk et slags yrke det også*).

- (35) en mann som driver med å slippe duer i bryllupsfeiringer
 a man who carries.on with to release doves in wedding.celebrations
 ‘a man who releases doves in wedding celebrations’

There seems to be no habitual or iterative interpretation of *drive med*. Examples (36)-(37) (constructed on the basis of (10)-(11) above) are strange, and give the impression that the subordinate event is a kind of project or hobby for the subject.

- (36) #Hun drev med å hoste og harke i bakgrunnen (constructed)
 she carried.on with to cough and hawk in background.DEF
 ‘She was coughing and hawking in the background.’ [intended]
 (37) # Hun drev med å si hun veide 50 kg i fjor (constructed)
 she carried.on with to say she weighed 50 kilo in last.year
 ‘She used to say that she weighed 50 kilo last year.’ [intended]

⁵ A complication is that there is an ambiguity here. What is said concerns these PPs understood as complements. They could, however, also be understood as adjuncts, which is the only option in (i). The preposition can then be replaced by *ved* ‘by’.

(i) Han begynte showet med å spille munnspill
 he started show.DEF with to play harmonica
 ‘He started the show by playing the harmonica.’

Aspectual verbs have been assumed to be ambiguous between equi and raising since Perlmutter (1970). This assumption has been discussed several times, for example Fukuda (2007) argues (for English) against assuming an equi option. For Norwegian, passives such as (28) above, reproduced as (38), give evidence for an equi option, because passivization requires an external role (Lødrup 2004:76-77).

- (38) Det fortsettes å forske
 EXPL continue.PASS to research
 ‘They continue doing research.’

With a preposition, the aspectual verbs cannot take raising - this true of both the aspectual verbs and *drive*, as shown in (39)-(40).

- (39) *Det fortsatte med å regne
 it continued with to rain
 ‘It kept raining.’ [intended]
 (40) *Det drev med å regne
 it carried.on with to rain
 ‘It was raining.’ [intended]

An explanation of the ungrammaticality of (39)-(40) must be based upon the fact that the PP creates an extra layer in the syntactic structure, in which the infinitive is the object of the preposition. In LFG, raising to subject is not allowed out of an object (only out of an XCOMP, see Ørsnes 2006).

It has been shown that *drive* follows the pattern of the aspectual verbs. In pseudocoordinations, *drive* can take an agentive subject and a COMP with anaphoric control, or it can be a raising verb and take an XCOMP with functional control. With a PP, it can only be agentive and take anaphoric control. The difference from aspectual verbs is that *drive* without the preposition induces the pseudocoordination requirement that the second verb must have the same inflectional form as the first verb.

4.2 Restructuring

Passive sentences such as (41)-(42) need a separate discussion.

- (41) (dette skal ikke) drives og debatteres gjennom avisen
 this shall not carry.on.PASS and discuss.PASS through paper.DEF
 ‘One should not be discussing this in the paper.’
 (42) Har en del egg som drives og klekkes
 have a part eggs that carry.on.PASS and hatch.PASS
 ‘(I) have some eggs that are hatching.’

Both *drive* and the second verb have passive morphology, and the grammatical subject realizes the internal argument of the second verb. These sentences are so-called long passives. The passivized predicate consists of two verbs that have restructured to constitute one complex predicate in a monoclausal construction.⁶ The simplified f-structure for *Noen egg drives og klekkes* 'some eggs carry.on.PASS and hatch.PASS' is then as in (43).

- (43)
$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{PRED 'drives-klekk} \langle (\uparrow \text{SUBJ}) \rangle \text{' } \\ \text{SUBJ [PRED 'egg']} \\ \text{PASSIVE +} \\ \text{VERBFORM PRESENT} \end{array} \right]$$

The option of restructuring is another similarity between *drive* and aspectual verbs. Aspectual verbs often show restructuring, for example in Romance (see e.g. Cinque 2004). This is also the case in Norwegian, where aspectual verbs can be found in long passives (Lødrup 2014c); an example is (44). (Note that long passives in Norwegian often have passive second verbs; this is seen as a kind of agreement in Lødrup 2014b, 2014c.)

- (44) Dette må fortsettes å gjøre(s)
 this must continue.PASS to do.(PASS)
 'We must continue to do this.'

The existence of long passives with aspectual verbs does not imply that aspectual verbs are always parts of complex predicates. For example, sentence (38) above could not have a complex predicate, because the passive only affects the aspectual verb. The same point could be made for *drive*. Sentences such as (18) above, in which the passive only affects the second verb, show that *drive* cannot be assumed to always be a part of a complex predicate.

⁶ There is admittedly another possible analysis of sentences such as (41)-(42). One could assume that the second verb is the "real" passive, while the first verb is the raising verb which agrees in inflectional form. This kind of analysis is needed for certain Norwegian sentences with e.g. *behøve* 'need' (Sells 2004, Julien and Lødrup 2013). However, this analysis could also be applied to sentences with aspectual verbs such as (44) (Julien and Lødrup 2013). This alternative analysis also involves restructuring (Sells 2004, Julien and Lødrup 2013), so the point about restructuring still stands.

5. The development of pseudocoordination with *drive*

It was mentioned that pseudocoordination with *drive* is unknown in Old Norse and the other Scandinavian languages. It is not possible to track its origin in texts, because Norwegians wrote Danish for centuries. When writing pure Danish became less important, in the late 19th century, pseudocoordination with *drive* could be found. Example (45), from 1889, is from a novel by the author Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson. Example (46), from 1882, is from the periodical *Fedraheimen* (written in what was later called *Nynorsk*). The habitual use of *drive* seems to be established from the oldest examples, such as (46).

- (45) In i en lystig spansk vise drev han og sang værds efter værds
in in a merry Spanish song carried.on he and song verse after verse
'He was singing verse after verse into a merry Spanish song.'
- (46) Dotteri Athenais, ho driv og vaskar for Folk
daughter.DEF Athenais she carries.on and washes for people
'The daughter Athenais washes for other people.'

The development of the raising verb *drive* seems to be going on now. I have not come across the raising verb *drive* in 19th-century texts; it is not clear if this is accidental, or if the raising option did not exist then. (Systematic searches are not possible, for various reasons.) It is maybe telling that no dictionaries or grammars that I have checked give examples with the raising verb.

The development of the raising verb involves a bleaching of the verb's meaning. Especially important is the reduction of the 'do something' component, which leads to the loss of an external role, and the rise of the raising verb. The verb's meaning is now primarily aspectual / pluractional, and there is a different control relation, functional control of an XCOMP.

This kind of development is well known from the grammaticalization of other verbs in the languages of the world. A rather parallel case is verbs for 'go' and 'come'. Process verbs are often grammaticalized to what Heine and Kuteva (2002:52) call "auxiliaries denoting tense or aspect functions". Their examples are verbs meaning 'begin', 'come to', 'do', 'finish', 'go to', 'keep', 'leave' and 'put'. What is special in the case of *drive* is that there is again a development that increases the parallel with the aspectual verbs. After the rise of the raising verb, *drive* follows the pattern of the other aspectual verbs: It can be an equi verb with the preposition *med* 'with', an equi verb without the preposition, or a raising verb (without the preposition).

6. Comparison with other pseudocoordinations

6.1 General

Pseudocoordination is often treated as one unitary phenomenon. However, pseudocoordinations with different first verbs have different properties (Lødrup 2002), and pseudocoordinations with *drive* are different from the others.

6.2 Pseudocoordination with *ta* 'take'

Pseudocoordination with *ta* 'take' represents a clear case of grammaticalization (Vannebo 2003), with parallels in other European languages (Coseriu 1966). An example is (47).

- (47) Hun tok og kysset ham
she took and kissed him
'She (suddenly) kissed him.'

The first verbs *drive* and *ta* are the only verbs that are not used with the same meaning inside and outside of pseudocoordinations. The meaning of *ta* 'take' is clearly bleached, and the verb is used without an otherwise obligatory object. However, *ta* is syntactically very different from *drive*. Pseudocoordination with *ta* never shows equi or raising. It is a restructuring construction, as can be seen from the way syntactic processes apply. Syntactic processes that operate on predicates cannot involve one of the two verbs. It is impossible to passivize the second verb only, as in the ungrammatical (48). To the extent passivization is possible, it has to involve both verbs - the whole complex predicate - as in (49) (Lødrup 2002, 2014a).

- (48) *Han tok og ble kysset
he took and became kissed
'He was (suddenly) kissed.' [intended]
- (49) Alt styret (..) blir tatt og lagt lokk på av TV 2
all fuss.DEF becomes taken and put lid on by TV 2
'TV 2 puts a lid on all the fuss.'

6.3 Pseudocoordination with posture verbs

An important group of pseudocoordinations is those with posture verbs, as in (50).

- (50) Da satt han og arbeidet
 then sat he and worked
 ‘Then he sat there working.’

These pseudocoordinations show syntactic similarities to pseudocoordinations with the equi verb *drive*. Both the posture verb and the second verb allow syntactic processes that do not involve the other verb (Lødrup 2002, 2014a), such as the passive and the presentational focus construction in (51)-(52).

- (51) Der sitter Tone Damli Aaberge og blir stelt på håret
 there sits Tone Damli Aaberge and becomes fixed on hair.DEF
 ‘Tone Damli Aaberge is sitting there, getting her hair done.’
- (52) Da satt det en mann der og arbeidet
 then sat EXPL a man there and worked
 ‘Then a man sat there working.’

Another similarity is that both pseudocoordinations with posture verbs and pseudocoordinations with *drive* can show signs of restructuring - somewhat marginally (see section 4.2 above). Sentence (53) must be analyzed as a long passive of a complex predicate with a posture verb as the first verb.

- (53) Tegninger (...) skal (...) ikke sittes og mekkes på i etterkant
 drawings shall not sit.PASS and fix.PASS on in retrospect
 ‘One should not fix drawings after they are finished.’

An important difference between *drive* and posture verbs is that posture verbs do not allow subject-to-subject raising in pseudocoordination.

It was proposed above that the agentive *drive* takes a COMP with a PRO subject. This analysis can be transferred to posture verbs, and to some other pseudocoordination verbs, such as movement verbs like *gå* ‘walk’, and communication verbs like *ringe* ‘phone’.⁷ In Lødrup (2002), all these verbs were assumed to take an XCOMP with functional control (called VCOMP in Lødrup 2002).

⁷ The COMP analysis also solves a problem that was left unsolved in Lødrup (2016:397 note 12), concerning sentences such as (i).

- (i) Det kom en mann styrtende og brølte
 EXPL came a man rushing and roared
 ‘A man came rushing and roared.’

Lødrup (2016) argued that the present participle *styrtende* ‘rushing’ is an XCOMP. However, this analysis was not compatible with his assumption that the second part of the pseudocoordination (*og brølte* ‘and roared’) was also an XCOMP. If the second part of the pseudocoordination is a COMP, as proposed here, this problem disappears.

An argument for the COMP analysis given above was the option of a passive *drive*. The same kind of argument can be given for posture verbs. Example (54) has the same structure as (23)-(24) above.

- (54) Men det sittes og produseres
but EXPL sit.PASS and produce.PASS
'One sits producing.'

Many researchers see pseudocoordination with posture verbs as a progressive construction that is grammaticalized, or on its way to being grammaticalized (e.g. Kuteva 2001, Hilpert and Koops 2008, Hesse 2009, Hansen and Heltoft 2011:988). Others are more skeptical about the idea of grammaticalization (Tonne 2001, Behrens et al 2013, Lødrup 2014a, 2017, Ross and Lødrup 2017).

Posture verbs in pseudocoordinations do not show the bleached meaning that is typical of grammaticalization (Lødrup 2017). They are used with the same meanings as they have outside pseudocoordination - which in the Scandinavian languages include various transferred and metaphorical uses, with options for inanimate and abstract subjects (see e.g. Berthele et al. 2015). An important argument against grammaticalization is given by the fact that posture verbs in pseudocoordination keep their regular syntactic properties; for example, they allow the presentational focus and the passive construction (examples (51) and (54) above).

Blensenius (2014, 2015b) argues that pseudocoordinations with posture verbs (in Swedish) are not progressive. He compares the posture verbs with the progressive *hålla på* 'keep on' (which was mentioned in section 2.1). It is clear that *drive* (which does not exist in Swedish) patterns with the latter in relevant respects. The following is based upon Blensenius (2014), (2015b).

Scandinavian differs from English in that a simple verb form can have an imperfective interpretation. It has been observed that the second predicate in pseudocoordinations with posture verbs is normally atelic (Tonne 2001:77 on Norwegian, Blensenius 2015b:14, 44 on Swedish). These predicates would usually get a progressive interpretation even without the posture verb. On the other hand, the interpretation of a telic second predicate is not necessarily affected by the posture verb. An example is (55). This example could be compared to (11) with *drive*, reproduced as (56), which gets an iterative interpretation.

- (55) Hun satt og sa hun veide 50 kg i fjor (constructed)
she sat and said she weighed 50 kilo in last.year
'She said that she weighed 50 kilo last year.'
- (56) Hun drev og sa hun veide 50 kg i fjor
she carried.on and said she weighed 50 kilo in last.year
'She used to say that she weighed 50 kilo last year.'

This lack of a progressive effect can also be seen in that a posture verb can take a stative second verb (Tonne 2001:80-81). With progressives, stative verbs are not normally allowed.

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

It could also be mentioned that *drive* and posture verbs do not exclude each other, cf. (58).

(58) Sitter og driver og prøver å synce outlook 2003 med T630
sit and carry.on and try to synchronize Outlook 2003 with T630
'(I) sit here trying to synchronize Outlook 2003 with T630.'

We see, then, that the traditional analysis of pseudocoordinations with posture verbs as grammaticalized progressive constructions cannot be upheld. What has traditionally been said about them seems to be more apt for pseudocoordinations with *drive*.

7. Conclusion

Pseudocoordination is often discussed as if it were one unitary phenomenon. It turns out, however, that different types of pseudocoordinations have different grammatical properties. Pseudocoordination with *drive* has properties that are not shared by other pseudocoordinations. It was argued that *drive* shows similarities with aspectual verbs, and finds a place in their system. Especially interesting is the development of a subject-to-subject raising verb *drive* through grammaticalization. This is the only pseudocoordination verb that allows raising.

The syntactic analysis of pseudocoordination raises challenges. It was argued that pseudocoordination with the equi verb *drive* - as well as most other pseudocoordinations - takes anaphoric control. This is a revision of the analysis in Lødrup (2002).

CORPORA

NoTa-Oslo (Norsk talespråkskorpus - Oslodelen)

<http://www.tekstlab.uio.no/nota/oslo/english.html>

Nordic Dialect Corpus

<http://www.tekstlab.uio.no/nota/scandiasyn/index.html>

Leksikografisk bokmålskorpus

<http://www.hf.uio.no/iln/tjenester/kunnskap/samlinger/bokmal/veiledningkorpus/>

NoWaC (Norwegian Web as Corpus):

<http://www.hf.uio.no/iln/om/organisasjon/tekstlab/prosjekter/nowac/index.html>

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