HOW CAN A VERB AGREE WITH A VERB? REANALYSIS AND PSEUDOCOORDINATION IN NORWEGIAN

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Proceedings of the LFG14 Conference

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(Editors)

2014

CSLI Publications

http://csli-publications.stanford.edu/

Abstract

Anward (1988) and Wiklund (2007) argue that there is verbal feature agreement in Swedish, and that this phenomenon can be found in (at least) two groups of sentences, pseudocoordinations and reanalysis sentences. Norwegian is close to Swedish regarding the relevant data, and this paper is based on Norwegian. It will be shown that when relevant data are considered, there are two different kinds of verbal feature agreement, which require different grammatical treatment.

1. Some basic facts [1]

Verbal features have not been important in discussions of agreement (Corbett 2006:138-141). However, Anward (1988) and Wiklund (2007) argue that there is verbal feature agreement in Swedish. Norwegian is close to Swedish regarding the relevant data, and this paper is based on Norwegian.

There are two main groups of sentences assumed to show verbal feature agreement in Wiklund (2007), illustrated in (1)-(2). Agreeing verbs are underlined in all example sentences, (also ungrammatical agreement).[2] All example sentences are Norwegian, with obvious exceptions.

(1) Sitt og les! ['type 1']
sit.IMPER and read.IMPER
'Sit and read!'
(2) Forsøk å les! ['type 2']
try.IMPER to read.IMPER
'Try to read!'

The type 1 agreement occurs with a small number of verbs that take so-called pseudocoordination. A pseudocoordination, such as (1), looks like a coordination of two verbs or verb phrases. The first verb belongs to a small

[1] I have discussed pseudocoordinations with more people than I can mention here, and reanalysis with about twice as many. Thanks for input to audiences at Lund University (May 2014), LFG14 (Ann Arbor, MI, 2014) and Agreement 2014 (York, 2014). Thanks are also due to the proceedings editors and the anonymous reviewer for their thorough and constructive comments.

[2] The coordinating conjunction *og* 'and' is usually pronounced /o/ in Norwegian, just like the infinitival marker *å* (Endresen 1995). The analysis in section 4 assumes that the grammatical word written 'og' in (1) is not the coordinating conjunction, but rather an element which is identified with the infinitival marker (as in Wiklund 2007). This means that 'og' in (1) and 'å' in (2) are considered the same grammatical element.

group that includes posture verbs (see e.g. Lødrup 2002, 2014a). Another example is (3).

(3) John sitter og leser en bok.
John sit.PRES and read.PRES a book
'John is sitting and reading a book.'

The grammatical properties of pseudocoordinations are different from those of regular coordinations. For example, it is possible to move a constituent out of a pseudocoordination, violating the Coordinate Structure Constraint (Ross 1967:89-114); an example is (4).

(4) Den boken sitter han og leser.
that book.DEF sit.PRES he and read.PRES
'He is sitting and reading that book.'

The set of first verbs that allow pseudocoordinations in Norwegian is rather heterogeneous, including posture verbs (*sitte* 'sit', *ligge* 'lie', *stå* 'stand'), verbs of assuming a position (e.g. *sette seg* 'sit down'), movement verbs (e.g. *gå* 'walk'), verbs denoting a channel of communication (e.g. *ringe* 'phone'), purely aspectual verbs (e.g *drive* 'carry on') and the verbs *være* 'be (at a place)' and *ta* 'take'. Pseudocoordinations show different grammatical behavior, depending on their first verb. Lødrup (2002, 2014a) argues that most pseudocoordinations are control sentences, while some are raising sentences or complex predicates. In this paper, the focus will be on the central type of pseudocoordinations with posture verbs as first verbs.

The two verbs in a pseudocoordination must always have the same form, cf. (5). (This generalization will be made more precise in section 2.)

(5) John sitter og leser/*leste en bok.
John sit.PRES and read.PRES/read.PST a book
'John is sitting and reading a book.'

The type 2 agreement occurs with a group of verbs that can take reanalysis (or restructuring) in the sense that they can combine with a subordinate verb to form a complex predicate in a monoclausal structure (see e.g. Alsina 1996, Butt 1995). In Norwegian, as in many other languages, an important reanalysis phenomenon is the long passive (Lødrup 2014b, see also Wurmbrand 2001, Cinque 2006), in which the passive rule operates on the complex predicate as a whole. An example is (6).[3]

[3] Some of the example sentences are from web texts; they are marked 'from the www'. They were found by searching the www, or through the Norwegian NoWaC-corpus, which consists of 700 million words from web texts.

(6) Har mye som må huskes å gjøre.
have.PRES much that must.PRES remember.INF.PASS to do.INF
'(I) have many things that I have to remember doing.' [from the www]

Central types of reanalysis verbs are aspectual verbs (e.g. *fortsette* 'continue'), irrealis verbs (e.g. *forsøke* 'try') and strong implicative verbs (e.g. *glemme* 'forget'). Reanalysis is an optional rule for all verbs discussed here.

With pseudocoordinations, verbal feature agreement is obligatory. With reanalysis verbs, on the other hand, it is optional in Norwegian (as far as I know). The factors influencing the choice are not known, but it is clear that the linguistic and sociolinguistic distribution of agreement with reanalysis verbs is complicated. Imperative agreement seems to be the most common type, followed by participle agreement, as in (7),[4] while present and preterit agreement, as in (8), is possible for some speakers only.

(7) Det har jeg glemt å fortalt!
that have.PRES I forget.PART to tell.PART
'I forgot to say that!' [from the www]
(8) jeg prøvde å leste det lure smilet hennes.
I try.PST to read.PST the sly grin.DEF her
'I tried to read her sly grin.' [from the www]

2. Voice agreement

Lødrup (2014a, 2014b) discusses how passive verbs behave with respect to verbal feature agreement in the types 1 and 2. Norwegian has two ways of realizing the passive: the suffix *–s* (the morphological passive) and auxiliary plus participle (the periphrastic passive). The morphological passive can only be used in the infinitive and the present (some marginal preterits aside).[5] The competition between these passive realizations is not well understood (but see Engdahl 2006, Lundquist 2013, Laanemets 2013). In some cases, the choice of passive realization seems to be rather arbitrary. For example, the two passive realizations can be coordinated in regular coordinations, as in (9).

[4] Using a perfect participle instead of an expected infinitive is not a unitary phenomenon in Norwegian (or Swedish). There is also a different case, which is related to counterfactuality (see Eide 2011 and references there). This case is not agreement, and it is not relevant here.

[5] Swedish is different from Norwegian in this respect, having the whole paradigm of morphological passive forms. (This seems to be the most important difference between Norwegian and Swedish relevant to the phenomena discussed in this paper.)

(9) publikum underholdes og blir revet med ..
audience entertain.PRES.PASS and become.PRES carry.PART with
'The audience is entertained and carried away.' [from the www]

A traditional generalization is that the periphrastic passive is used of completed actions, while the morphological passive is used of states, unfinished actions, repeated actions and what usually happens (see e.g. Western 1921:159). This generalization makes it natural to expect that the morphological passive is used in pseudocoordinations with posture verbs, for two reasons: First, the posture verbs in pseudocoordinations are traditionally assumed to express progressive aspect (see the discussion in Tonne 2001:74-82). Second, the verb following the posture verb is usually atelic (Tonne 2001:69-101). The general rule is, however, that the passive following an active posture verb is the periphrastic passive, cf. (10)[6].

(10) Der står bilen og blir lakkert / *lakkeres.
there stand.PRES car.DEF and become.PRES paint.PART / paint.PRES.PASS
'The car is standing there being painted.'

Most first verbs in pseudocoordinations can be passivized; they then usually take an expletive subject. When the first verb takes the periphrastic passive, it is realized as a passive participle, and the second verb must also have this form, cf. (11)-(12). When the first verb takes the morphological passive, the second verb must also have this form, cf. (13)-(14).

(11) Men det blir sittet og produsert.
but there become.PRES sit.PART and produce.PART
'One sits and produces.'
(12) *Men det blir sittet og produseres.
but there become.PRES sit.PART and produce.PRES.PASS
(13) Men det sittes og produseres ..
but there sit.PRES.PASS and produce.PRES.PASS
'One sits producing.' [from the www]
(14) *Men det sittes og blir produsert.
but there sit.PRES.PASS and become.PRES produce.PART

It is a standard observation that the two verbs in a pseudocoordination must have the same form. However, it is usually not stated clearly what this means. The clearest formulations can be found in Anward (1988) and Wiklund (2007), who say that the relevant properties (with both pseudocoordinations and other cases of verbal feature agreement) are tense, mood and aspect. These terms are then given an interpretation which in

[6] It is possible to find counterexamples in texts, but they do not sound good to me.

practice means that the two verbs must have the same inflectional form — only the passive suffix *-s* does not count. Wiklund (2007:26) says explicitly that passive morphology does not take part in agreement. It could be argued that this passive suffix is not inflectional, but Anward (1988) and Wiklund (2007) assume that it is, and this is also the assumption here for Norwegian (see the discussion in Enger 2000).

What is needed is a simple extension of the generalization in Anward (1988) and Wiklund (2007): the pseudocoordination verb and the first verb following the grammatical word *og* must have the same inflectional form. The inflectional forms assumed for Norwegian verbs are as in Figure 1.

Figure 1: A verb paradigm for Norwegian: *lese* 'read'

imperative	*les*
infinitive	*lese*
present	*leser*
preterit	*leste*
participle	*lest*
infinitive passive	*leses*
present passive	*leses*

Comments on the paradigm:
-There is no formal distinction between active and passive participles, as in English.
-Norwegian has (what is called) a present participle, but it has been argued to be an adjective (Faarlund et al. 1997:119), and it never triggers agreement.
-The morphological passive only has infinitive and present forms (some marginal preterits aside) which are are always identical. Lundquist (2013) suggests that there is really one tenseless form.

The reason example (10) above is ungrammatical with the morphological passive is that the present active and the present passive are two different inflectional forms. The reason the periphrastic passive in (10) is grammatical, is that both the first verb and the passive auxiliary are present actives.

It is important that the agreement target in a pseudocoordination is not necessarily the main verb; it can also be a passive or future or perfect auxiliary as in (10) and (15)-(16).

(15) sitter og skal holde kurs de neste tre timene
sit.PRES and shall.PRES hold.INF course the next three hours.DEF
'(I) am going to give a course the next three hours.' [from the www]

(16) Jeg sitter og har brukt opp datakvoten min
I sit.PRES and have.PRES use.PART up data.quota.DEF my
'I have filled my quota of data.' [from the www]

Long passives of reanalysis verbs often show voice agreement in Norwegian, but this agreement works in a different way than in pseudocoordinations. Voice agreement on the second verb is common, cf. (17), but not obligatory, cf. (18) (Lødrup 2014b).[7]

(17) det må huskes å gjøres ..
it must.PRES remember.INF.PASS to do.INF.PASS
'One must remember doing it.' [from the www]
(18) Har mye som må huskes å gjøre.
have.PRES much that must.PRES remember.INF.PASS to do.INF
'(I) have many things that I have to remember doing.' [from the www]

An important difference to pseudocoordinations is that with reanalysis verbs, voice agreement is not only a question of inflectional form. Agreeing long passives sometimes have the periphrastic passive with one verb, or more seldom with both. This means that the agreement is not on the level of inflectional forms, but rather on a level of grammatical features. Cf. (19)-(21).

(19) Viktige stridsspørsmål blir unnlatt å presiseres
important issues become.PRES neglect.PART to clarify.INF.PASS
'They neglect clarifying important issues.' [from the www]
(20) Deponiet foreslås å bli lagt til et område ...
depot.DEF suggest.PRES.PASS to become.INF place.PART to an area
'They suggest that the depot be placed in an area ...' [from the www]
(21) Verket ble forsøkt å bli stoppet.
publication.DEF become.PST try.PART to become.INF stop.PART
'They tried to stop the publication.' [from the www]

The acceptability of (19)-(21) might be a bit uncertain to some speakers. However, in the Norwegian NoWaC-corpus, with 700 million words from web texts, about 30% of the sentences with voice agreement had (at least) one periphrastic passive. The contrast to pseudocoordinations is clear. Voice

[7] Note that long passives are different from what is usually called 'complex passives' in Scandinavian grammar (see e.g. Christensen 1991, Engh 1994, Ørsnes 2006). An example of a complex passive is (i).
(i) Forsøket aktes utført i Bergen
experiment.DEF intend.PRES.PASS carry.out.PART in Bergen
'They intend to carry out the experiment in Bergen.' [from the www]
The complex passive construction has a passive participle (with no auxiliary) as its second verb, while long passives have an infinitive. Complex passives have properties that are different from long passives (Lødrup 2014b). I assume that complex passives are raising sentences (Christensen 1991, Ørsnes 2006), and that they do not involve reanalysis.

agreement with one periphrastic and one morphological passive is impossible in pseudocoordinations, as shown in examples (12) and (14) above, repeated here as (22)-(23).

(22) *Men det blir sittet og produseres.
but there become.PRES sit.PART and produce.PRES.PASS
(23) *Men det sittes og blir produsert.
but there sit.PRES.PASS and become.PRES produce.PART

English and French may also be argued to have voice agreeing long passives, even if they are not often discussed in the literature. Whitman (2013) gives several English text examples, e.g. (24).

(24) .. others were attempted to be killed.

Grevisse and Goosse (2008:986) give some French examples of long passives with feature agreement. Other examples can easily be found on the French web, such as (25).

(25) le problème a été tenté d'être résolu ..
the problem have.3SG.PRES be.PART try.PART to be.INF solve.PART
'They have tried to solve the problem.' [from the www]

Voice agreeing long passives can also be found in Turkish (Kornfilt 1996, 1999) and in some Austronesian languages (Wurmbrand 2013 and references therein).

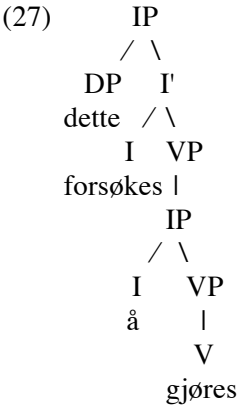
3. The account for the reanalysis case

Reanalysis and complex predicates have been important research topics in LFG (se e.g. Butt 1995, Alsina 1996, Andrews and Manning 1999, Sells 2004). The technicalities are not in focus here. As is often the case in LFG, the distinction between c-structure and f-structure is crucial to the analysis. Reanalysis is not reflected directly at c-structure, which is assumed to be a standard biclausal structure with subordination. Example (26) is assumed to have the c-structure (27).[8]

(26) Dette forsøkes å gjøres.
this try.PRES.PASS to do.INF.PASS
'They try to do this.'

[8] The structure of the Norwegian infinitive raises some questions that cannot be discussed here. See e.g. Åfarli and Eide (2003:164-168).

(27)



What is important is that a reanalysis verb such as *forsøke* 'try' has the option of combining with its embedded verb to form a complex predicate. Example (26) is assumed to have a monoclausal f-structure such as (28) (simplified).

(28)

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED 'try-do <(}\uparrow\text{SUBJ)>'} \\ \text{SUBJ [PRED 'this']} \\ \text{PASSIVE +} \\ \text{VFORM PRESENT} \end{bmatrix}$$

An important insight, which can be found within both LFG (Niño 1997, Sells 2004) and Minimalism (Wiklund 2001, 2007) is that verbal feature agreement occurs in sentences with reanalysis. This follows without any extra rules or stipulations in LFG, as shown by Niño (1997) and Sells (2004). In the monoclausal f-structure of a sentence with reanalysis, both verbs can contribute verbal features at the top level. Two instances of a grammatical feature such as PASSIVE unify. This means that there can be two of them with the same value, or just one. In the long passive (29), both verbs have the passive suffix *-s*.[9]

(29) Dette forsøkes å gjøres.
this try.PRES.PASS to do.INF.PASS
'They try to do this.'

[9] Note that the feature agreement with reanalysis is different from the case of 'distributed exponence' in Wambaya which is discussed in Nordlinger and Bresnan (1996), Bresnan (2001:134-41) and other places. In Wambaya, tense markers can appear in two places in the clause, and it is their combination that determines the tense value of the sentence as a whole.

When the f-structure is monoclausal, both passive verbs contribute [PASSIVE +] to the top level of the f-structure, and these features unify. The infinitive is traditionally seen as the unmarked form of the verb, and it is assumed here that an active infinitive does not have any features — which means that it does not contribute [PASSIVE -]. A sentence such as (30), similar to (29), but without feature agreement, then also gets the f-structure (28) above.

(30) Dette forsøkes å gjøre.
this try.PRES.PASS to do.INF
'They try to do this.'

Sells (2004) accounts for a case of voice agreement in Scandinavian which is somewhat different from the one discussed here. In a sentence such as (31), a raising verb governing a passive verb agrees with its dependent in passivity. This is assumed to be a reanalysis sentence (see also Julien and Lødrup 2013), and it is accounted for in the same way as the passives discussed here.

(31) Dette behøves ikke å gjøres.
this need.PRES.PASS not to do.INF.PASS
'This does not have to be done.'

The next issue is how to account for agreement in sentences with one or two periphrastic passives such as (19)-(21). This raises the question of the treatment of auxiliaries, which is a classic topic both in LFG and other theories. Auxiliaries have been treated both as verbs and as functional heads (e.g. Butt et al. 1996, Dyvik 1999, Frank and Zaenen 2004, Sells 2004, Falk 2008). To account for voice agreement, it is necessary to assume that the passive auxiliary is a functional head without a PRED, which only contributes grammatical features to f-structure (Butt et al. 1996, Frank and Zaenen 2004, Falk 2008). I assume the same analysis for the perfect auxiliary.

With the functional head analysis, the relevant auxiliaries do not head an f-structure, they only contribute grammatical features at the same level as the main verb (Butt et al. 1996, Frank and Zaenen 2004). This analysis gives a morphological passive and a periphrastic passive basically the same f-structure (with the option of using a feature to distinguish them). Both the passive suffix and the passive auxiliary contribute a passive feature, which unifies with another passive feature when there is agreement. This means that sentences with voice agreement such as (32)-(34), corresponding to (26), but with one or two periphrastic passives, also have the f-structure (28).

(32) Dette forsøkes å bli gjort.
this try.PRES.PASS to become.INF do.PART
(33) Dette blir forsøkt å gjøres.
this become.PRES try.PART to do.INF.PASS
(34) Dette blir forsøkt å bli gjort.
this become.PRES try.PART to become.INF do.PART

This account of voice agreement works without any special rules or stipulations in LFG. There are, however, problems with overgeneration. The account given predicts that feature agreement should be possible with all verbal features in all reanalysis sentences; there is no place for economy.

For some varietes of Norwegian, the account given could be a good approximation of the real situation (see section 1). There is, however, both linguistic and sociolinguistic variation, and the account would overgenerate for most speakers. An unfortunate prediction is that a long passive can realize passivity with the second verb only (which is actually possible with sentences such as (31) above). This is impossible with long passives — either the first verb or both verbs must be passive. Overgeneration can be avoided with optimality restrictions, as in Sells (2004).

4. The account for pseudocoordinations

Pseudocoordinations require a different account. Agreement in pseudocoordinations concerns the inflectional form only. Treating pseudo-coordinations as complex predicates the same way as long passives would not give the correct results. It would predict the ungrammatical examples (12) and (14) above, repeated here as (35)-(36), to be grammatical, because the morphological and periphrastic passive realizations would agree in the monoclausal f-structure.

(35) *Men det blir sittet og produseres.
but there become.PRES sit.PART and produce.PRES.PASS
(36) *Men det sittes og blir produsert.
but there sit.PRES.PASS and become.PRES produce.PART

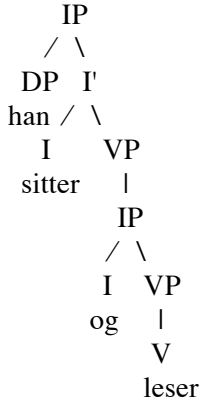
Wiklund (2007) gives an account of verbal feature agreement in pseudocoordinations which is based upon the assumption that they are reanalysis sentences.[10] However, she does not consider voice agreement.

[10] Wiklund (2007:89-91) assumes a version of reanalysis which does not necessarily result in a complex predicate in a monoclausal structure; the subordinate clause is then reduced in some way (see also Wurmbrand 2001:10-15).

The differences between agreement in pseudocoordinations and reanalysis sentences make different accounts necessary. Treating pseudocoordinations as reanalysis sentences would not give the correct results concerning voice agreement. It is necessary to take a critical look at the assumption that pseudocoordinations are reanalysis sentences. This assumption is common in the literature on Scandinavian pseudo-coordinations, with somewhat different implementations (see e.g. Bodomo 1997:260-70, Cardinaletti and Giusti 2001, Wiklund 2001, 2007, Hesse 2009:33-89, Kjeldahl 2010, Hansen and Heltoft 2011:980). Arguments against this view can be found in Lødrup (2002, and especially 2014a).

I assume that all pseudocoordinations have the same c-structure. The tree in (37) is the c-structure for *Han sitter og leser* 'he sits and reads'.[11] The grammatical word *og* (literally 'and') is assumed to be in the position of the infinitival marker (as in Wiklund 2007). (But see note 8.)

(37)



My position is that different groups of pseudocoordinations have different grammatical properties. I assume that some pseudocoordinations are reanalysis sentences; a good example is the type with *ta* 'take' as a first verb

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[11] A problem for this analysis, which seems to have no simple solution, is the following: It predicts the sentence adverb to precede the second verb, which is impossible with a finite verb in a main clause, such as (i).

(i)*Han sitter og ikke leser.
he sit.PRES and not read.PRES

On the other hand, a sentence adverb can precede the second verb in all other cases, cf. (ii), with non-finite verbs, and (iii), with a subordinate clause.

(ii) Han vil sitte og ikke lese.
he will.PRES sit.INF and not read.INF
'He will sit without reading.'

(iii) Hvis han sitter og ikke leser ..
if he sit.PRES and not read.PRES
'If he sits without reading ..'

(Lødrup 2002, 2014, Vannebo 2003). An example is (38), with the simplified f-structure (39).

(38) Hun tok og kysset ham.
she take.PST and kiss.PST him
'She suddenly kissed him.'

(39)

```
PRED 'take-kiss <(↑SUBJ) (↑OBJ)>'
SUBJ [PRED PRO ]
OBJ  [PRED PRO ]
VFORM PRETERIT
```

With other verbs, pseudocoordinations can occasionally be found that show evidence for reanalysis (Lødrup 2014a). However, most pseudo-coordinations are assumed to be biclausal subordination constructions, with a simplified f-structure such as (40).

(40)

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PRED 'sit <(↑SUBJ) (↑XCOMP)>'
SUBJ [PRED PRO ]
XCOMP  SUBJ
       PRED 'read <(↑SUBJ)>'
VFORM PRETERIT
```

For simplicity, the focus is here on the common type of pseudocoordinations with posture verbs as first verbs. There are several arguments against reanalysis for these pseudocoordinations, including the following.

Argument 1: A general condition on reanalysis is that the two verbs do not have independent time reference (see e.g. Wurmbrand 2001:79-99). Pseudocoordinations allow independent time reference. Examples are (15)-(16) above, reproduced as (41)-(42), in which the first part of the pseudocoordination is in the present, and the second part in the future and the perfect, respectively. (This option has been claimed not to exist, see Cardinaletti and Giusti 2001:386, Wiklund 2007:121, Kjeldahl 2010:74-75.)

(41) sitter og skal holde kurs de neste tre timene
sit.PRES and shall.PRES hold.INF course the next three hours.DEF
'(I) am going to give a course the next three hours.' [from the www]

(42) Jeg sitter og har brukt opp datakvoten min
I sit.PRES and have.PRES use.PART up data.quota.DEF my
'I have filled my quota of data.' [from the www]

Argument 2: In reanalysis sentences, an adjunct modifies the whole complex predicate, and not just one of the verbs involved. In pseudocoordinations, an adjunct can modify one of the parts only, e.g. the time adverbial in (41) above, and the negation in (43). (This option has been claimed not to exist, see e.g. Anward 1988:6, Wiklund 2007:110, Kjeldahl 2010:46-48.)

(43) Da er det alltid en som sitter og ikke har det bra.
then be.PRES there always one that sit.PRES and not have.PRES it well
'Then there is always somebody who is not having a good time.'
[from the www]

Argument 3: In reanalysis sentences, the two verbs behave as a unit with respect to rules that operate on predicates. Pseudocoordinations, on the other hand, allow these rules to apply to one of the verbs, without affecting the other verb. A good example is the passive rule, as in (44). Another example is the rule for the presentational focus construction, in which the verb takes an expletive subject, and realizes its argument as an object (see e.g. Lødrup 1999).[12] An example is (45).

(44) Lillebror sitter i stolen og blir matet.
little.brother sit.PRES in chair.DEF and become.PRES feed.PART
'Little brother is fed sitting in the chair.'
(45) Det sitter en mann her og leser en bok.
there sit.PRES a man here and read.PRES a book
'A man is sitting here, reading a book.'

Argument 4: In reanalysis sentences, the two verbs constitute one predicate that takes one set of syntactic arguments. It can never be the case that e.g. the first verb takes one subject, while the second verb takes a different subject. Pseudocoordinations allow this situation. In (45) above, the expletive subject *det* 'there' is the subject of the first verb, but not of the second verb, which has *en mann* 'a man' as its understood subject (via functional control, see the f-structure (40)).

We see then that pseudocoordinations with posture verbs are not reanalysis sentences. (The same argumentation applies to most other pseudo-coordinations.)

[12] A different analysis of the presentational focus construction is proposed in Börjars and Vincent (2005). I am not sure if the argument based on (45) would work with their analysis.

Another difference between reanalysis sentences and pseudocoordinations is that the agreeing forms keep their regular morphosyntactic content in pseudocoordinations, but not in reanalysis sentences. Examples of reanalysis sentences are (46)-(47), with imperative and preterit agreement, respectively.

(46) Slutt å les!
stop.IMPER to read.IMPER
'Stop reading!'
(47) jeg prøvde å leste det lure smilet hennes.
I try.PST to read.PST the sly grin.DEF her
'I tried to read her sly grin.' [from the www]

The imperative/preterit morphology on the first verb is 'real', in that it has the regular content of imperative/preterit morphology. However, the morphology on the second verb is 'fake', its regular content is not active. The same phenomenon can be seen with voice agreement, the two passive suffixes in (48) only reflect one passivization.

(48) Dette forsøkes å gjøres.
this try.PRES.PASS to do.INF.PASS
'One tried to do this'

In pseudocoordinations, on the other hand, the forms in the second part keep their regular morphosyntactic content, as in (49)-(51).

(49) Sitt og les!
sit. IMPER and read.IMPER
'Sit and read!'
(50) John satt og leste en bok
John sit.PST and read.PST a book
'John sat reading a book'
(51) Men det sittes og produseres ..
but there sit.PRES.PASS and produce.PRES.PASS
'One sits and produces.' [from the www]

The requirement for agreement in pseudocoordinations can be stated at the level of f-structure or m-structure (Butt et al. 1996). What is needed is an annotation with each verb that takes pseudocoordinations saying that its dependent verb should have the same inflectional form as itself.

5. Discussion

It was shown that there are two different ways that verbs might be said to agree. Verbal features are usually not focused upon in discussions of agreement. Corbett (2006:138-141), a monograph on agreement, mentions tense, aspect, mood and polarity in a section entitled "Unusual agreement features". Agreement in passivity is not mentioned at all.

One difference between the two cases discussed is that the reanalysis type can involve periphrastic forms, while the pseudocoordination type only involves word forms. Corbett (2006:13-14) writes that agreement is expressed canonically through inflectional morphology, but he does not rule out other options (Corbett 2006:13-14, 75-76, 268). The periphrastic passive is of course not inflectional, but it must be considered that it alternates with the morphological passive — which is inflectional. (However, this alternation is not present in all languages with agreeing periphrastic passives, cf. the English and French examples (24) and (25) above.)

An intuition concerning agreement is that different agreement forms of a lexeme (e.g. English present tense *walk* and *walks*) do not have different content — apart from the differing restrictions on the argument they agree with. The forms of the agreeing verbs discussed in this paper are not primarily agreement forms in that sense. They all have a primary use with a regular morphosyntactic content (tense, mood, diathesis). A striking difference between the two cases discussed here was discussed on the previous page: The regular morphosyntactic content of the agreements target is not active in reanalysis sentences, while it is active in pseudocoordinations. This fact contributes to making agreement in pseudocoordinations more different from regular agreement.

Another difference between the two types, which must be related to the absence or presence of regular morphosyntactic content, concerns optionality. Verbal feature agreement with reanalysis is optional in Norwegian, and varies between speakers. In pseudocoordinations, on the other hand, agreement is always obligatory.

The mechanisms behind the agreement are very different for the two cases. With the reanalysis type, the agreement 'comes from below', in that the verbal feature specifications unify in a monoclausal f-structure. With the pseudocoordination type, on the other hand, the agreement 'comes from above', in that there is an agreement requirement associated with the verbal head of the pseudocoordination.

Agreement in pseudocoordinations gives the impression of being something special. It does not follow from other grammatical properties. Lødrup (2002) argues that pseudocoordinations can be control sentences, raising sentences, or complex predicates. It is not easy to see what these subconstructions have in common other than the requirement for identical verb forms. This requirement seems to be a stipulation for a construction that

is not well understood, and it is not clear that it should be considered agreement. Verbal feature agreement in sentences with reanalysis is very different. It follows by itself in an LFG approach to reanalysis, and the results here only strengthen the insights from Niño (1997) and Sells (2004).

Corpus

NoWaC (Norwegian Web as Corpus)
http://www.hf.uio.no/iln/om/organisasjon/tekstlab/prosjekter/nowac/index.html
When searching in the NoWaC corpus, I went through the Glossa page:
http://hf-tekstlab.uio.no/glossa2/front

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