Pseudo-coordination in German

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German pseudo-coordination (PC) is a construction with a relatively low degree of grammaticalization in comparison to PC in other languages (Proske 2019), for example English (e.g., Stefanowitsch 2000; Hopper 2002) or the Scandinavian languages (e.g., Kinn/Blensenius/Andersson 2018; Hilpert/Koops 2008). However, previous work has identified effects of semantic bleaching and subjectification with a class of cognitively basic verbs in the first conjunct (V1), which are cross-linguistically typical for both PC and grammaticalization in general: Motion verbs ('come', 'go') can be used for highlighting the purposefulness with which the subject referent carries out the action denoted by the verb in the second conjunct (V2) (Proske 2017), see example 1.[*] Posture verbs ('sit', 'stand') can mark purposefulness as well, but can also be used to highlight the temporal extension of the action denoted by the second verb (Proske forthcoming), see example 2.

(1) *gehen und* V ('go and V')

   also die ganz (.) die wenigsten GEhen irgendwie ma un inforMIERN sisch– über neue geSETze– oder über neue: SCHILder–
   'Few people go and read up on new laws or on new traffic signs.'
   (FOLK_00351_T_01, c8)

(2) *stehen und* V ('stand and V')

   und myrte steht dann da und fÖ:hnt sich die HAARe als ich komme.
   'And Myrte stands there and blow-drys her hair when I come.'
   (FOLK_00267_T_01, c809)

Some instances of V2 may also influence the meaning of the two conjuncts taken together; for example, when *sagen* ('say, utter') is combined with motion or change-of-posture verbs ('sit down', 'stand up'), the PC construction can take on meanings like 'claim' or 'argue', see example 3.

(3) *sich hinstellen und* V ('stand up and V')

   ich glaube nIcht dass äh– herr GEIßler sich jetz hInstellen wird und SAgen wird; das DARF gebaut werden oder darf NICH gebaut werden.
    'I don't think Mr. Geißler will stand up and say this and that may be built or may not be built.'
   (FOLK_00070_T_09, c58)

The goal of our study is to systematically describe the spectrum of meanings that (given V1s in) PC can express in German and the (grammatical and lexical) factors that contribute to particular examples taking on one meaning rather than another one. While previous studies of German PC were based on oral data only, we use the spoken German reference corpus FOLK (http://agd.ids-mannheim.de/folk.shtml) as well as the much larger web corpus DECOW (Schäfer/Bildhauer 2012) in order to obtain a sample that is large enough for quantification. The coded categories include, among others, the lexeme and verb class of V2 (using the categories of Vendler 1967) as well as a coarse classification of the meaning of V1 as either 'literal', 'aspectual' or 'subjective'. The results show specific preferences of each V1 for certain V2s (e.g., is V2 *sagen* ('say') especially associated with V1 *kommen* ('come')?) as well as associations between the meaning of certain V1s and the choice of particular types of V2 (e.g., are subjective uses of *stehen* 'stand' associated with stative V2s?). In both cases, it has to be considered whether it is the verb class as a whole or just individual V2 lexemes that are responsible for the association. With regard to posture verb PC, the results will allow for a comparison to the *am*-progressive, which can be seen as the more strongly grammaticalized alternative for expressing 'ongoingness' in German and which has been investigated in terms of verb classes and subjective meanings as well (e.g., Flick 2016; Anthonissen/De Wit/Mortelmans 2016).

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[*] Examples from the spoken corpus FOLK have been transcribed according to GAT2 (Selting et al. 2009).