

Pseudocoordination in Swedish with *gå* ‘go’ and the “surprise effect”*

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Abstract. Pseudocoordination is a construction where two verbs or VPs appear to be conjoined by what looks like the conjunction *och* ‘and’. In my paper I focus on pseudocoordination with *gå* ‘walk, go’ as Verb 1, in particular cases where this has been claimed to give rise to a “surprise effect” (Wiklund 2005, 2008). I set out from the assumption that Verb 1 in pseudocoordination is a light verb, which, following Butt (2003, 2010), is assumed to be a special use of the corresponding main verb. I distinguish three different meaning variants of the main verb *gå* ‘walk, go’, and connect each of these to a particular type of pseudocoordination with *gå* as Verb 1. The “surprise effect” is associated with one of these, *gå*_{HAPPEN}. The main verb *gå*_{HAPPEN} assigns three theta-roles, one of them to quasi-argumental *det*, as in *Det gick honom illa* (it.N went him bad) ‘Things went bad for him’. As a light verb, *gå*_{HAPPEN} can assign only two theta-roles; hence one argument, the EXPERIENCER, is “left over”. This situation triggers subjectification, meaning that the role is assigned to one of the speech participants, usually to the LOGOPHORIC AGENT (the speaker). The “surprise effect” is a pragmatic interpretation of this pattern of theta-role assignment, in a context where the subject is +HUMAN, hence exerting CONTROL.

As for the alleged conjunction *och*, pronounced [ɔ], I argue that it is a version of the infinitival marker *att*, which is also pronounced [ɔ]. The crucial difference is that it lacks tense.

Key words: pseudocoordination, surprise effect, quasi-argument, subjectification, logophoric agent

1. Introduction

The term *pseudocoordination* refers to a construction with two verbs or verb phrases that appear to be conjoined with an element looking very much like the additive conjunction *och* ‘and’, pronounced [ɔ].¹ The number of verbs that can

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¹ For the sake of simplicity I will gloss *och* as AND in this study. In section 5 I discuss the nature of this element, on the basis of the proposed analysis. In a similar way, I will refer to the two parts of a pseudocoordination as *conjuncts*, without thereby implying that *och* ‘AND’ is a conjunction.

be used as Verb 1 in pseudocoordination is limited. In terms of frequency, *sitta* ‘sit’, *stå* ‘stand’, *komma* ‘come’, and *gå* ‘walk, go’ are probably the most common ones, but some other possibilities are *ligga* ‘lie’, *vara vänlig* ‘be kind’, and *springa* ‘run’ (see Teleman & al. 1999, vol. IV, § 17–22 for an overview). The main goal of the present study is to account for pseudocoordination with *gå* ‘walk, go’ as Verb 1, in particular the use illustrated in (1).^{2,3}

- (1) Hon har gått och gift sig.
she have.PRS go.SUP AND marry.SUP REFL
 ‘It so happens that she got married.’

An intriguing property of pseudocoordination with *gå* ‘walk, go’ in examples, such as (1), is that it is associated with what has been called a “surprise effect”. When sentence (1) is uttered, the speaker conveys the meaning that the event expressed in the second conjunct is unknown, new, or unexpected (see, for example, Wiklund 2008). For some native speakers, the subject is also vaguely ascribed the responsibility for the event denoted by the second conjunct, even in cases where the lower verb is strictly non-agentive, as in *Han har gått och brutit benet* (he have.PRS go.SUP and break.SUP leg.DEF) ‘It so happens that he has broken his leg’.

In my study I propose an explanation for the “surprise effect”, found in examples such as (1). In short, Verb 1 in pseudocoordination is assumed to be a light verb, and the meaning, as well as the syntactic properties of this verb, can be derived from the lexical semantics and the syntax of the corresponding main verb *gå* ‘walk, go’. *Gå* is a highly polysemous verb, and the “surprise effect” is associated with one of the uses of *gå*. However, in the light verb use of this version of *gå*, not all theta-roles can be assigned, which triggers *subjectification*, meaning that the EXPERIENCER role is carried by one of the speech participants.

The outline of the paper is as follows: In section 2, I present some background, including previous analyses of pseudocoordination. Section 3 is an analysis of three versions of *gå* ‘walk, go’. Section 4 presents an analysis of pseudocoordination with *gå* ‘walk, go’, based on the three meaning variants of this verb, presented in section 3. In section 5, the nature of the assumed conjunctive element *och* is discussed. Section 6 is a summary and discussion.

² The following abbreviations will be used: C = common gender, DEF = definite, EXPL = expletive, IM = infinitival marker, N = neuter, PST = past tense, PRS = present tense, SUP = supine, IM = infinitival marker, REFL = reflexive pronoun.

³ It should be pointed out that it is hard to give a proper English translation for many of the examples with pseudocoordination, in particular a translation that properly captures the “surprise effect”.

2 Background

Pseudocoordination has been the subject of much research; see, for instance, Teleman (1974), Josefsson (1991), Ekberg (1983; 1993a; 1993b), Lødrup (2002; 2014), Wiklund (2005; 2008), Darnell Kvist (2008), and Blensenius (2009). In this section I highlight the parts of the abovementioned literature that are relevant for my analysis, as well as some basic properties of light verbs.

Let us first take a look at the central properties of pseudocoordination. As shown in (1), both conjuncts of the pseudocoordination carry the same tense morphology. In sentences with complex tense there is only one finite verb, which appears in the second position of the clause. (This is expected, since Swedish is a V2 language.) (2) shows that there is only one overt subject, and that sentence adverbials may show up only in the first conjunct, never after *och*:

- (2) Pelle har förmodligen gått och (*förmodligen) gift sig.
Pelle have.PRS probably go.SUP AND probably marry.SUP REFL
 ‘To my surprise, Pelle has probably married.’

Pseudocoordination, as in (3a), differs from canonical coordination by the second conjunct not being an island for movement. In (3a), the object has raised from the second conjunct. (3b) shows that this is not possible in canonical coordinations:

- (3) a Alfred_i sitter hon och tänker på e_i hela dagarna.
Alfred it.PRS she AND think.PRS on e_i all days.DEF
 ‘She spends all days sitting thinking of Alfred.’
 b *Flöjt_i sjunger Bo_i i kör och spelar e_i i orkestern.
flute sing.PRS Bo in choir and plays flute in orchestra.DEF
 Intended meaning: ‘Bo sings in the choir and plays the flute in the orchestra.’

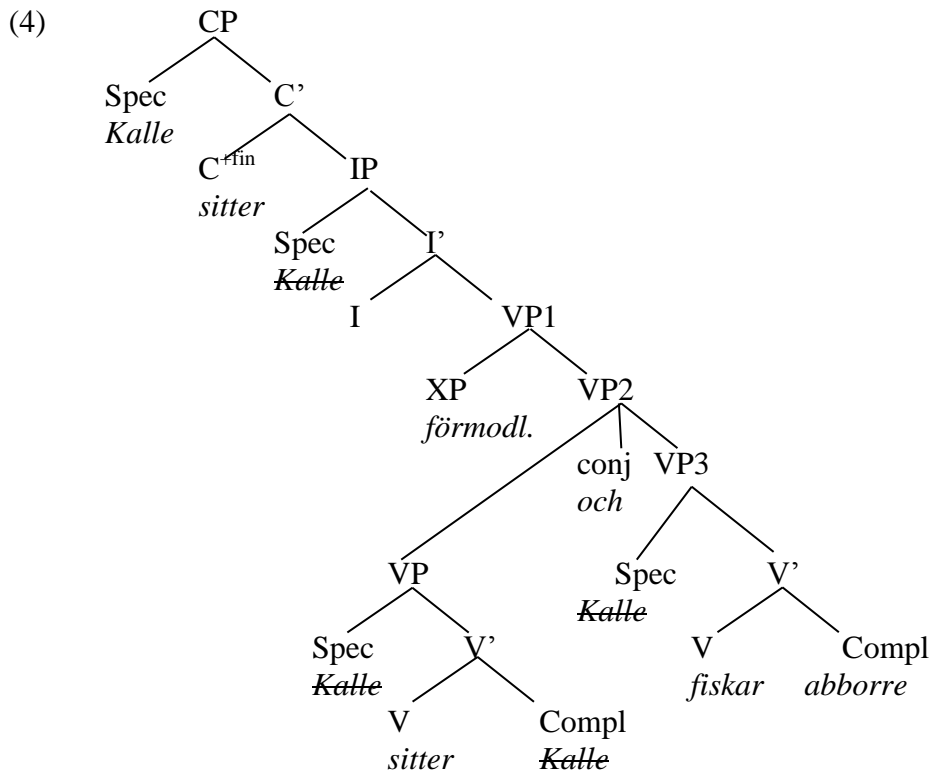
In many cases, the use of pseudocoordination with *sitta* ‘sit’ and *gå* ‘walk, go’ conveys what has been referred to as “oavgränsad aktionsart” ‘unbounded aktionsart’ (Teleman & al. 1999, vol. 4, 904), which roughly corresponds to states or processes. Teleman & al. (1999, vol. 1, 215) also claims that Verb 1 semantically has the character of an auxiliary. However, other analyses have shown that Verb 1 is better viewed as a light verb or a vector verb, and that we understand the construction best if we think of Verb 1 as a version of the corresponding main verb. This is the line that will be pursued in this paper.

2.1 Some previous analyses of pseudocoordination

In this subsection, I present some of the main ideas put forward in Josefsson (1991), Ekberg (1993a, b), Wiklund (2005; 2008), and Blenselius (2009). The purpose is not to cover all the research in the area, but to introduce the ideas that are relevant for the analysis that I propose in section 4.

2.1.1 Josefsson (1991)

Josefsson (1991) argues that pseudocoordination is a VP + VP coordination. She suggests the following structure for the example *Kalle sitter förmodligen och fiskar abborre* (Kalle sit.PRS probably and fish.PRS perch) ‘Kalle is probably fishing perch’.



Josefsson (1991) bases her analysis on the sentence structure in Holmberg & Platzack (1995), where a strict distinction between tense and finiteness is made. There is only one instance of finiteness in (4), located in C, which takes scope over the whole sentence, and only one inflection node, IP (corresponding to TP in more recent frameworks), which encodes the tense features. One important property of (4) is that the structure corresponds to one single event, though a complex one, each conjunct being associated with a subevent. (For the terms

event and subevent, see Pustejovsky 1991.) The structure in (4) also accounts for the observation that there is only one position for negation and other sentence adverbials, namely in the middle field of the first conjunct. This is in line with the idea that negation is dependent on the presence of a TP (see, for instance, Laka 1990).

- (5) Abborrar sitter hon (inte) och (*inte) fiskar (*inte).
perch.PL *sit.PRS* *she* *(not)* *AND* *(not)* *fish.PRS* *(not)*

Since the second conjunct in (4) is a VP, no sentence adverbials can appear there. As for the subject, Josefsson (1991) assumes some version of coindexing of the noun phrase in Spec VP in both conjuncts, but no detailed account is presented.

Importantly, Josefsson (1991) regards the second conjunct as a VP, not a full clause.

2.1.2 Ekberg (1993a, b)

Ekberg (1993a, b) focuses on coordination with *ta* ‘take’, as in (6):

- (6) Hon tog och simmade 200 meter. Ekberg (1993a, 39)
she take.PST AND swim.PST 200 meters
 'She started to swim 200 meters.'

One of Ekberg's main points is that pseudocoordination operates on a fine grained Event structure, such as the one proposed in Pustejovsky (1991). With *ta* 'take' as Verb 1, the initiation part of the event is foregrounded and treated as volitional or agentive. With a non-agentive verb, such as *somna* 'fall asleep' in (7), coercion takes place, in this case meaning that a non-voluntary action, such as falling asleep, is treated as a voluntary one.

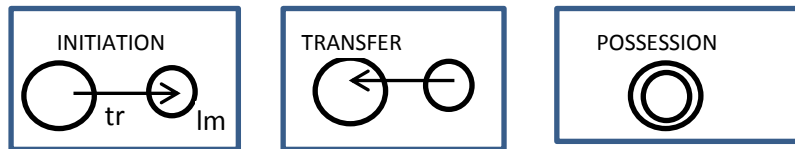
- (7) Ta och somna nu!
take.IMP AND swim.IMP now
 ‘Try to go to sleep now!’

Ekberg argues that there is a close connection between *ta* ‘take’, used in pseudocoordination, and the main verb use of the verb *ta* – they are, in fact, the same verb. Consider (8):

- (8) Hon tog pennan.
she take.PST pencil.DEF
 'She took the pencil.'

According to Ekberg, the core meaning of the main verb *ta* ‘take’, has three components, which are illustrated by the following sequence of image schemata. The components are INITIATION, TRANSFER and POSSESSION:

(9)



Ekberg argues that *ta* ‘take’, as Verb 1 in pseudocoordination operates on the same sequence of components, but that the INITIATION and the POSSESSION parts are the most prominent ones (though in a metaphorical sense). The notion of POSSESSION corresponds to the observation that pseudocoordination with *ta* takes scope over the whole event. This is shown in (10) and (11), where pseudocoordination with *ta* is contrasted to the use of the “semi auxiliary” *börja* ‘begin’ in (11), which, in a similar way, foregrounds the first subevent of the complex event, but does not scope over the whole event.

- (10) Hon tog och simmade 200 m *(men avbröt efter 100 m).
she take.PST AND swim.PST 200 m. but stop.PST after 100 m.
 ‘She started to swim 200 meters (*but stopped after 100 meters).’ Ekberg (1993a:39)

- (11) Hon började att simma 200 m (men avbröt efter 100 m).
she start.PST to swim.PST 200 m. but stop.PST after 100 m.
 ‘She started to swim 200 meters (but stopped after 100 meters).’ Ekberg (1993a:39)

The idea that a main verb use and the pseudocoordination use of the same verb are intimately related is a corner stone of the analysis that I propose.

2.1.3 Wiklund (2005; 2008)

An important point in Wiklund’s analysis is that pseudocoordination is restructuring and that the subject has moved from conjunct 2 to conjunct 1. She also assumes that pseudocoordination is subordination, and that the “conjunction” *och* is a subordinating element, which she represents as &. Wiklund claims that pseudocoordination involves two clauses, and that the tense feature of the upstairs verb is copied onto the downstairs one. The idea that pseudocoordination is biclausal will not be considered in this paper, at least not when it comes to pseudocoordination with *gå* ‘walk, go’. The “true” nature of

the element *och* is discussed in more detail in section 5, where I draw on Wiklund's analysis.

Wiklund (2008; see also 2005) discusses pseudocoordination with *gå* 'walk, go' and *ta* 'take'. She claims that there is a "surprise effect" associated with both these verbs, when used as Verb 1, and she bases her claim on examples such as (12):

- (12) Ragna tog och läste en bok.
Ragna take.PST AND read.PST a book
 'Ragna started to read a book.'

More specifically, Wiklund argues that there is "a touch of surprise, unexpectedness, or suddenness" to such sentences (Wiklund 2008:163). I disagree with Wiklund that a possible "surprise effect" in examples, such as (12), is grammatically encoded, and agree with Blenselius (2009:22), that a strict distinction has to be made between surprise as a feature of a syntactic configuration and surprise due to a surprising content of a clause. Hence, the content of (12) might be unexpected, but there is no grammatically triggered surprise reading. In my view, it is only pseudocoordination with *gå* 'walk, go' as Verb 1 that may give rise to what we could consider a grammatically encoded surprise effect – even though the term surprise might not be the best term. If a surprise effect is triggered by other verbs, it is an epiphenomenon, due to other factors, such as surprising content or maybe prosody.⁴

Wiklund suggests an analysis of pseudocoordination with *ta* 'take', which she claims explains the "surprise effect". Taking the functional sequence of Ramchand (2008) as her point of departure, she argues that the "surprise effect" is due to a clash, caused by the way the two verbs realize different segments of this functional sequence. According to Wiklund (2008), the source of the assumed surprise effect with coordination with *gå* 'walk, go' is that there would be a "clash between the initiator and the eventuality of the embedded predicate; from having the initiator be identical to the undergoer in the context of a verb that does not perhaps have an [init] feature in its lexical specification and with which a causativization in this context would yield a funny result" (Wiklund 2008:174). Instead of resorting to a Ramchand style of analysis, I will argue that

⁴ A preliminary observation is that the tonal gesture that corresponds to what we might call a "surprise prosody" is akin to that of focus. It might be interesting to investigate the possibility that the use of two verbs in a sequence prolongs the space where the tonal gesture corresponding to focus may occur, which, in turn, would facilitate a "surprise prosody". This, in turn, would imply that a "surprise prosody" may be associated with pseudocoordination more generally.

the surprise effect is due to restrictions on the expression of theta-roles when *gå* ‘walk, go’ is used as a light verb.

Wiklund’s analysis is based on the assumption that Verb 1 in pseudo-coordinations is a light verb. The notion of light verbs or vector verbs will be discussed in more detail below.

2.2 Light verbs

Wiklund (2008) argues that Verb 1 in pseudocoordination is a light verb. This is also the analysis of Ekberg (1993a, b), even though she, basing her analysis on Traugott (1982; 1988), uses the term *vector verbs*. The notion of light verbs, alias vector verbs, will be important in my analysis.

The nature of light verbs is discussed extensively in Butt (2003; 2010). Rather than seeing light verbs as a special verb category, Butt proposes that light verbs are main verbs used in a special way. She also argues that some verbs may be more or less universally used as light verbs, what she calls *passepourtouts*:

[T]he lexical specification of a handful of verbs (somewhere between 5 and 20) cross linguistically allows for a use as *either* a main verb *or* a light verb. Some common examples cross linguistically are the verbs for ‘come’, ‘go’, ‘take’, ‘give’, ‘hit’, ‘throw’, ‘give’, ‘rise’, ‘fall’ and ‘do/make’. One can think of this set of verbs as *passepourtouts*: their lexical semantic specifications are so general that they can be used in multitude of contexts, that is, they ‘fit’ many constellations. (Butt 2010:22)

An important part of Butt’s analysis is that light verbs, in contrast to auxiliaries, are not diachronically the result of a grammaticalization process.⁵ She presents evidence from Indo-Aryan that indicates that light verbs may stay the same over decades; in other words, they do not enter the “grammaticalization cline” (Butt 2010:10; see also Bower 2008, paragraph 174, for a similar conclusion).

At least some of the *passepourtout* verbs that Butt list are commonly used in pseudocoordinations, for example ‘come’, ‘go’ and ‘take’.

As for the syntax of light verbs, I assume that they are instances of little *v* (Adger 2003:134). A light verb is a lexico-functional projection which has two arguments, one in Spec *vP* and one in the complement position. A light verb *vP* is presumably not recursive.⁶

⁵ Hopper & Traugott (1993:108), suggest that vector verbs, alias light verbs, optionally enter into the grammaticalization cline.

⁶ I relate the assumption that a light verb *vP* cannot be recursive to the observation that a sentence can have no more than three DP arguments (Platzack 2011). Following Baker’s UTAH principle (Baker 1988; 1997), Platzack (2011:95) assumes that two theta-roles are

option (Chomsky 1991; 1994). The *pro*-analysis is not feasible either, since it would entail that the subject could be phonologically realized, which is not the case. The remaining option is thus to analyze SU as either PRO or an operator. Since PRO is generally associated with infinitival constructions, I will settle for the last alternative, and assume that the subject SU is an operator, which is coindexed with the “upper” subject. It should be stressed that this choice is of not crucial for my proposal.

3 Three shades of *gå* ‘walk, go’

The verb *gå* is probably one of the most polysemous of all Swedish words. In this section, I discuss three different meaning variants of this verb. My main point in this section is that the “surprise effect” is related to one of these.

The core meaning of the verb *gå* is presumably the one associated with a +HUMAN subject in a sentence such as *jag går* (I walk.PRS), with the meaning ‘I walk’, a meaning that is sometime referred to as ‘distal’ (Wiklund 2008, Blenselius 2009). In my analysis, the notion ‘distal’ will not be of importance. Instead I will focus on the three versions of *gå* that I refer to as *gå*_{OUT}, *gå*_{AROUND}, and *gå*_{HAPPEN}, the first two of which may, but need not, have a distal meaning.

3.1 *Gå*_{OUT} ‘walk away’, ‘cease’

Consider (15) for an example of the version of *gå* that I term *gå*_{OUT}:

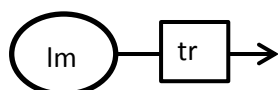
- (15) Han har gått.
 he have.PRS go.SUP
 ‘He has gone.’

Optionally, the particle *ut* ‘out’ may be added, as well as a specification of the SOURCE and/or the GOAL:

- (16) Han har gått ut från huset till skogen.
 he have.PRS go.SUP out from house.DEF to wood.DEF
 ‘He has gone out of the house, to the woods.’

The meaning of *gå*_{OUT} can be illustrated by the following image schema; the subject is the trajectory and the source is the landmark:

(17)



The verb $gå_{OUT}$ is clearly +RESULTATIVE. (15) and (16) implies a resultative state: *Han är utgången* ‘He is out’. The question of what theta-role the verb $gå$ assigns here is a bit more complicated. At first glance it might seem unproblematic to assume that $gå_{OUT}$ assigns the theta-role AGENT to its sole argument; in order to walk, a person has to make an effort or induce power. One problem with such an assumption is that the person who walks out in (15) and (16) is the entity being moved, too, which is one of the characteristic properties of a THEME. In other words, the verb would assign the role THEME to the DP, too. This, in turn, would mean that the verb would assign two theta-roles to the same DP, a violation of the theta criterion. Even more problematic would be the observation that theta-role assignment would depend on the animacy status of the argument itself. Consider (18), where the argument *budskapet* ‘the message’ is -HUMAN:^{7, 8}

- (18) *Budskapet gick ut igår.*
 message.DEF go.PST out yesterday
 ‘The message spread yesterday’

The most reasonable conclusion is therefore that $gå$ assigns the theta-role THEME, and only this role. This would be in line with Marantz (1997), where the notion of ‘internal force’ plays an important role in the assignment of theta roles and the subsequent behavior of the corresponding nominalizations. Motion verbs are defined by an internal force acting upon a participant causing him/her/it to move; therefore I assume that such verbs assign a THEME role. The AGENT role is assigned only to a participant exerting external force upon another participant. So, instead of assuming that the verb $gå_{OUT}$ sometimes assigns the role AGENT, sometimes the role THEME, or that the verb assigns both roles to the same DP, I will assume that the verb $gå$, as well as motion verbs in general, assign the role THEME. Importantly though, if the DP carrying this role is +HUMAN, as in (15) and (16), the participant in question has CONTROL over the event.⁹ The notion of CONTROL could be understood as ‘the power to voluntarily make a motion Event start of stop’. The notion of CONTROL is important in the analysis that is

⁷ In some studies a difference is made between the features HUMAN and ANIMATE. Such a distinction is irrelevant in the present study; the term that will be used is +/-HUMAN.

⁸ Thanks to Johan Brandtler for suggesting this example.

⁹ The idea that +HUMAN arguments are ascribed CONTROL in the context of motion verbs does not imply that all +HUMAN arguments have this marking; it is presumably a characteristic of motion verbs and maybe some more verb classes.

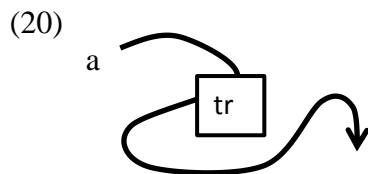
presented in section 4.¹⁰ It is important to keep the theta-role AGENT and the notion of CONTROL apart, the former being a feature of the lexical conceptual structure of a predicate, the latter being inherent features of an argument.

3.2 Gå_{AROUND} ‘wander around’

The second version of *gå* is termed *gå*_{AROUND}. Consider (19) for an example:

- (19) a Han går runt.
 he walk.PRS around
 ‘He walks around.’
- b Han går och går.
 he walk.PRS and walk.PRS
 ‘He walks and walks.’

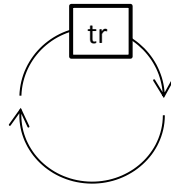
This use of *gå* ‘walk, go’ can be illustrated by the image schemata in (20a) and (20b). The main point of these diagrams is that the motion has neither SOURCE nor GOAL. This use of the verb is not resultative, but processual.



¹⁰ By assuming that motion verbs, such as *gå* ‘walk, go’, do not assign the theta-role AGENT, I need to stress that theta-role assignment is not a question of a scientific analysis of whether or not walking is volitional. The important point is that the meaning of the verb is that of the two components MOTION and MANNER. Some motion verbs can indeed assign an AGENT role, which initiates the event by inducing external force, for example *rulla* ‘roll’ in (i), where *Pia* is the AGENT. Example (i) should be compared to (ii) where *rulla* ‘roll’ does not assign AGENT role, whether or not the movement is voluntary.

- (i) Pia rullade Bo över fältet.
 Pia roll.PST Bo over field.DEF
 ‘Pia rolled her sister over the field.’
- (ii) Bo rullade över fältet.
 Bo roll.PST over field.DEF
 ‘Bo rolled over the field.’

b



The idea that $gå_{\text{AROUND}}$ does not assign the theta-role AGENT should not be controversial. I argue that a +HUMAN participant still has CONTROL over the event though, due to the power of such a participant to start or stop the action or to determine the direction of the movement.

As with $gå_{\text{OUT}}$, we get a different meaning if the participant is -HUMAN. The meaning in such cases is roughly ‘work, function’, which is a process, as in (21a), or a state, as in (21b):¹¹

- (21) a Maskinen går, trots att klockan är 22.
machine.DEF gå.PRS, despite that clock.DEF is 22.
 ‘The machine is still on, even though it’s 10 pm.’

- b Klockan går, den är inte trasig!
clock.DEF go.PRS, it be.PRS not broken
 ‘The clock works, it’s not broken!’

$Gå_{\text{AROUND}}$ is -RESULTATIVE, regardless of the plus or minus value of the feature HUMAN on the subject.

3.3 $Gå_{\text{HAPPEN}}$

The third version of $gå$, $gå_{\text{HAPPEN}}$, is similar to the use of English *go* in sentences such as *It went well*. Consider (22):

- (22) Det har gått honom illa.
it have.PRS go.SUP him bad
 ‘Bad things have happened to him.’

$Gå_{\text{HAPPEN}}$ has somewhat intriguing syntactic properties. First of all, the subject in (22) is presumably a quasi-argumental *det* ‘it’ (for more discussion on quasi-arguments, see Bennis 1986 and Falk 1992). A quasi-expletive element is not merely a filler of a position, but carries a theta-role, which is THEME, by default, or as Falk (1992:86) expresses it, as a last resort. The DP *honom* ‘him’ in (22) is

¹¹ It is possible that $gå$ in (21b) is better characterized as a fourth version of $gå$. This is not important for my analysis.

an EXPERIENCER, and *illa* ‘bad’ a GOAL or RESULT. The EXPERIENCER does not have to be realized as a noun phrase, it can be conveyed by a PP, as in (23a), or stay implicit, as in (23b). Importantly though, it is present in the lexical conceptual structure, and it can be realized, for example in a PP, normally *för* ‘for’ + DP.

- (23) a Det gick illa/bra för honom.
 EXPL goPST bad/good for him
 ‘It went bad/well for him.’

- b Det gick illa/bra.
 EXPL go.PST good/bad
 ‘It went bad/good.’

Now consider (24):

- (24) Matchen gick bra (för hemmalaget).
 game.DEF go.PST well (for home.team.DEF)
 ‘The game went well for the home team.’

The example in (24) shows that *det* in (22) and (23) is really a quasi-argument; *det* can easily be exchanged for an ordinary referential DP, which is one of the defining criteria of a quasi-argument (Falk 1992). The subject *matchen* ‘the game’ carries the role THEME, and the EXPERIENCER (*hemmalaget* ‘the home team’), is realized in an adjunct PP. As in (24), the element *bra* ‘good’ is the GOAL. This version of the verb *gå* is clearly +RESULTATIVE (a property that *gå_{HAPPEN}* shares with *gå_{OUT}*.) The schematic meaning is basically ‘something had happened to someone, which made “things” go well/bad in the end’.

It should be noted that DP subjects and quasi-argumental expletive subjects are not totally in free variation. A difference in meaning arises, depending of the subject. Consider two other examples of verbs taking quasi-argumental subjects in (25) and (26):

- (25) a Det sjunger i skogen.
 it.N sing.PRS in wood.DEF
 ‘It is singing in the woods.’

- b Skogen sjunger.
 wood.DEF sing.PRS
 ‘The wood sings.’

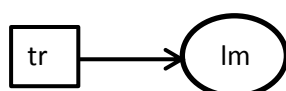
(26) a Det kryllar av larver i busken.
it.N teem.PRS of larva.PL in bush.DEF
 ‘It’s teeming of larvae in the bush.’

b Busken kryllar av larver.
bush.DEF teem.PRS of larva.PL
 ‘The bush is teeming of larvae.’

It seems that ‘the wood’ is more of an AGENT in (25b), as compared to (25a), where the wood is primarily seen as a location. In (26b), movement is to some extent assigned to the bush as a whole, whereas it is assigned to the individual larvae in (26a), at least to a larger extent (Josefsson 1994). This paper is not the proper place for an extensive investigation on the difference in meaning between pairs of sentences, such as the ones in (25a) vs. (25b) or (26a) vs. (26b); there are probably interesting differences between verbs of movement and verbs of sound, for instance. However, the important point is that the lexical meaning of a non-expletive subject has an effect as how to the event is construed. The difference in meaning that we find between examples, such as (23a) and (24), is what we expect with verbs taking quasi-argumental subjects.

$g\ddot{a}_{\text{HAPPEN}}$ can be illustrated by the image schema below, where the THEME, *det* in (22) and (23), *matchen* ‘the game’ in (24), is the trajectory, and the GOAL, *illa/bra* ‘bad/good’ the landmark. (The EXPERIENCER is not represented in the image schema, even though it is presumably present in the lexical conceptual structure.)

(27)



Note that the subject of $g\ddot{a}_{\text{HAPPEN}}$ neither in (22), nor (23) or (24) is +HUMAN.¹²

In section 3, I argue that the main verb use of the three versions of $g\ddot{a}$ can all appear in pseudocoordinations, giving rise to three different types of pseudocoordination, one of them, $g\ddot{a}_{\text{HAPPEN}}$, associated with the surprise effect, illustrated in (1). I also argue that the feature +HUMAN plays an important role here.

¹² There seems to be restrictions as to when the EXPERIENCER can be expressed as a DP, and when it has to be expressed as a PP. This issue is not crucial for my purposes here, and will be ignored.

4 Pseudocoordination with *gå* ‘walk, go’

If it is correct that light verbs are basically the same as the corresponding main verbs, we expect that the different versions of *gå* should be possible to use as light verbs. This is, in fact, the starting point for my analysis. Let us first look at *gå_{OUT}* and *gå_{AROUND}*, used as Verb 1 in pseudocoordinations, and then continue with *gå_{HAPPEN}* in 4.2.

4.1 The verbs *gå_{OUT}* and *gå_{AROUND}* used as Verb 1 in pseudocoordinations

Both *gå_{OUT}* and *gå_{AROUND}* as Verb 1 work fine in pseudocoordinations. Consider (28) and (29):

- (28) Hon gick och hämtade doktorn.
she go.PST AND fetch.PST doctor.DEF
 ‘She took off to get hold of a doctor.’
- (29) Hon gick och funderade på frågan.
she go.PST AND ponder.PST on question.DEF
 ‘She went around thinking about the question.’

The sentence in (28) denotes a +RESULTATIVE event, with a foregrounding of the initiation of the Event. (29) is -RESULTATIVE. The entire event is clearly in the scope of Verb 1 in (28), as witnessed by (30):

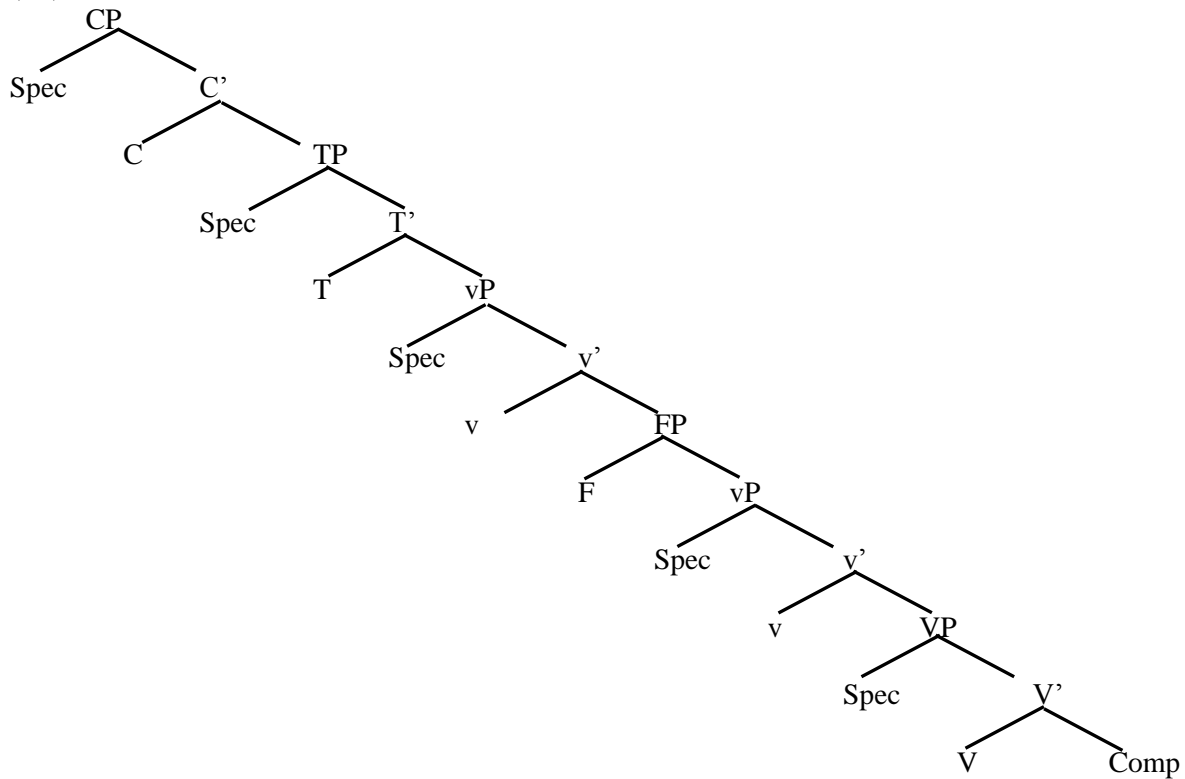
- (30) Hon gick och hämtade doktorn (*men hejdade sig innan hon hann dit).
she go.PST AND fetch.PST doctor.DEF but stopped REFL before she got there

In both (28) and (29), the meaning component ‘by foot’ is demoted, but not completely absent, which motivates classifying this use of *gå* as a light verb use. It would be odd, for instance, to utter the sentences if the subject referents are unable to use their legs. In any case, the lexical or distal meaning of *gå* in (28) and (29) is not demoted to any higher degree than in examples, such as *Hon gick iväg* (she go.PST away) ‘She went away’ or *Hon gick arbetslös* (she go.PST unemployed) ‘She was unemployed’. This shows that a bleaching of the meaning is present in other uses of the verb as well and should not be viewed as a “construction specific” property.

If Verb 1 in a pseudocoordination is a light verb, as assumed in section 2.2, an idea that is based on earlier proposals in the literature, we may conclude that the complement of the light verb is “the second conjunct”. The complement is an FP taking a VP or a vP complement, depending on whether or not the lower verb is

agentive. The element *och* is represented as F, standing for Functional element in the structure below.¹³

(31)



a *hon_i gick_j ~~hon_i~~ gick_j och SU_i hämtade hämtade doktorn*
she go.PST go.PST AND fetch.PST doctor.DEF
 ‘She took off to get hold of a doctor.’

b *hon_i gick_j ~~hon_i~~ gick_j och SU_i ~~funderade~~ på frågan.*
she go.PST AND ponder.PST on question.DEF
 ‘She went around thinking about the question.’

In both examples in (31), the argument of *gå* ‘walk, go’, *hon* ‘she’, is the THEME, endowed with the feature CONTROL, due to the feature +HUMAN, inherent in the DP subject. The internal structure of the downstairs predication is different, due to the differences in the lexical conceptual structure of the predicate; *hämta* ‘fetch’ is an agentive verb, whereas *fundera* ‘ponder’ is an experiencer type verb.¹⁴ There is certainly some kind of restrictions or criteria as to which version of *gå* ‘walk, go’ that can match which type of verb downstairs, but such details are not of importance for my investigation, so the question will not be pursued.

¹³ The verb *fundera* ‘ponder’ assigns an EXPERIENCER role to Spec VP. In this case I assume that there is no vP on top of the VP representing Verb 2.

¹⁴ Following Baker (1988; 1997) and Platzack (2011), I assume that theta-roles are assigned to designated positions. See also footnote 6.

4.2 $G\ddot{a}_{HAPPEN}$ and the “surprise effect”

Let us now turn to the “surprise effect”, exemplified in (1), repeated below as (32a). Some more examples are given in (32b)–(32e). Note that there is considerable variation with regard to Verb 2. Importantly, it can be agentive, as in (31a), or non-agentive, as in (32b)–(32d).

- (32) a Hon har gått och gift sig.
she have.PRS go.SUP AND married REFL
 ‘It so happens that she got married.’
- b Hon har gått och brutit benet.
she have.PRS go.SUP AND break.SUP leg.DEF
 ‘It so happens that she has broken her leg.’
- c Hon har gått och vunnit en miljon.
she have.PRS go.SUP AND win.SUP a miljon
 ‘She just won a miljon.’
- d Hon har gått och blivit professor.
she have.PRS go.SUP AND become.SUP professor
 ‘It so happens that she has become professor.’

My proposal, in fact the main point of this study, is that the “surprise effect”, sometimes associated with pseudocoordination with $g\ddot{a}$, is related to the use of $g\ddot{a}_{HAPPEN}$ as Verb 1. Recall that $g\ddot{a}_{HAPPEN}$ can be constructed with a quasi-argumental *det*, carrying the theta-role THEME, as subject (see examples (22)–(23)) or with a non-expletive DP subject (see example (24)). In examples such as (33) below I assume that the argument of the light verb $g\ddot{a}_{HAPPEN}$ is coreferential with the subject of the downstairs verb:

- (33) Hon_i har gått och SU_i har gift sig.
she has go.SUP AND ~~she~~ has marry.SUP REFL
 ‘Much to my surprise she has married.’

I propose that the notion of CONTROL, which is an inherent aspect of +HUMAN DP arguments (at least with verbs of movement) is what conveys the meaning flavor that the subject in (33) is somehow responsible for or in control of the event expressed of the second “conjunct”. The nature and the degree of responsibility differ in the examples in (32), but the VP *bryta benet* ‘break a leg’

is clearly non-agentive. Nevertheless, a flavor of CONTROL can be derived from the logic “if one walks, one has, to some extent, control over the situation”.¹⁵

The idea that a +HUMAN subject has CONTROL over an EVENT does not *per se* explain the “surprise effect”. In order to achieve a deeper understanding of this we have to take into account that $gå_{\text{HAPPEN}}$ assigns an EXPERIENCER theta-role too, to *honom* ‘him’ in (22) and (23a), repeated below as (34a) and (34b):

(34) a Det har gått honom illa.
 EXPL have.PRS go.SUP him bad
 ‘Bad things have happened to him.’

b Det gick illa/bra för honom.
 EXPL go.PST bad/good for him
 ‘It went bad/well for him.’

Recall the restriction that light verbs have only two available argument positions, the specifier and the complement. However, the verb $gå_{\text{HAPPEN}}$ has three arguments in its lexical conceptual structure: THEME (optionally carried by expletive *det* ‘it’) EXPERIENCER and GOAL. As a consequence, there will be one theta-role “left over”, that cannot be assigned, if this version of $gå$ is used as a light verb. The EXPERIENCER argument can neither surface as a DP, nor as a PP:

(35) a Hon_i har gått (*honom) och gift sig
 she has go.SUP (him) AND marry.SUP REFL
 ‘Much to my surprise she has married.’

b Hon_i har gått (*för honom) och gift sig.
 she has go.SUP (for him) AND marry.SUP REFL

My background assumption is that an argument of a verb can indeed be left unexpressed, but an implicit argument cannot simply disappear. If this is correct, the question is how (35a) and (35b) can be well-formed if the EXPERIENCER role of $gå_{\text{HAPPEN}}$ cannot be realized. This is where I argue that the “surprise effect” comes into the picture.

Ekberg (1993a:131) argues that pseudocoordination with *ta* ‘take’ involves the process of subjectification, which she assumes happens when a lexeme goes from describing a situation in an “objective” perspective to describing it from a speaker-oriented point of view, expressing, for example, the speaker’s construal of the situation or how the speaker evaluates the situation. (For more discussion on subjectification, see Traugott 1982; 1988, and Langacker 1990.) In a

¹⁵ From a psychological point of view the idea of CONTROL is straightforward. Even if we know that it is beyond all reason we might be angry with people who get sick or die “on us”.

completely different framework, Sigurðsson (2004), shows that inherent speech participants, the *logophoric agent* (the speaker) and the *logophoric patient* (the listener) are syntactically active, and anchored in the C-domain of the clause. This insight is ultimately due to the seminal work of Bühler (1934), who coined the term *origo* for what roughly can be characterized as the speaker's deictic point of view, in other words the speakers NOW, HERE and I.¹⁶ The idea that the speaker is part of the syntactic make-up of a clause is even more evident if we consider the fact that there are a number of speaker-oriented adverbials, such as *lyckligen* 'happily' and *olyckligtvis* 'unfortunately'.¹⁷ I argue that subjectification, at least in the case of pseudocoordination with $g\check{a}_{HAPPEN}$, means that an EXPERIENCER role that cannot be expressed in the syntax is carried by an inherent speech participant, in Sigurdssons (2004) terminology, by the logophoric agent or the logophoric patient. This captures Ekberg's formulation above, the situation goes from describing a situation in an "objective" perspective to "describing it from a speaker-oriented point of view" (Ekberg 1993:131. To formulate this in another way, the speaker becomes the EXPERIENCER of a +RESULTATIVE event which involves a participant (the subject), which, in turn, executes (some amount of) CONTROL over the situation (by virtue of being +HUMAN). Since the speaker does not have CONTROL over the situation, it is construed as out of his or her CONTROL. This, in essence, is the "surprise effect". It should be pointed out that "surprise" might not be the best term for the effect of subjectification. In fact, Wiklund (2008:185) talks about a "touch of surprise, unexpectedness, or suddenness". In my view, 'unexpectedness', 'unawareness' or 'lack of control' would be a more appropriate characterizations.¹⁸

I have claimed that logophoric agent receives the EXPERIENCER role in the cases under discussion. This is not the only possible scenario, however. Consider (36):

¹⁶ For a recent discussion on the notion of *origo*, see Petersson, in press, ch. 2 and 4.

¹⁷ For an extensive discussion on speaker-oriented sentence adverbials in Mainland Scandinavian, see Nilsen (2004).

¹⁸ Johan Brandtler (p.c.) points out that the fact that the modal particle *minsann* 'indeed' may be felicitously added to examples with $g\check{a}_{HAPPEN}$ is an indication that the pseudocoordination with $g\check{a}_{HAPPEN}$ relates to focus. I agree on data here, but disagree with the idea it is "focus construction". *Minsann* is a clearly speaker oriented modal particle, and conveys the speakers attitude towards the proposition, generally the speaker's conviction that the proposition is true, possibly against a background of an expectation that would not be so. This paper is not a proper place for an extensive analysis of the semantics and pragmatics of *minsann*, but we may conclude the fact that the modal particle is so clearly speaker oriented fits well with the proposed subjectification analysis of pseudocoordination with $g\check{a}_{HAPPEN}$.

- (36) Jag har gått och gift mig.
I have.PRS go.SUP AND married REFL
 'I have married.'

Again, it is necessary to point out that the English translation does not convey the full meaning of the Swedish example. By using the wording in (36) the speaker presumes that the information about the subject having married is new, surprising or unexpected to the logophoric patient, in other words to the listener. Generalizing this observation we may say that subjectification means that the theta-role is assigned to a speech participant, the logophoric agent and patient, instead of to the event participants.¹⁹

To conclude: the so-called “surprise effect” is due to subjectification, meaning that an EXPERIENCER role, which cannot be assigned in the grammar, is assigned in the speech situation. The notion of CONTROL is a feature of the +HUMAN subject, which implies that the EXPERIENCER speech participant lacks control of the event.

5 The nature of the “conjunction” *och*

Wiklund (2005) suggests that *och* is a complementizer, and that it heads a full clausal structure, though with “silent” CP and TP parts. In my view there is little evidence to support this view, in particular since sentence adverbials, including the negation, may occur only in the upper part of the clause. A more plausible solution is that *och* is related to the infinitival marker, *att*, which is generally pronounced [ɔ] as well. An important difference, however, is that an infinitival clause contains a TP, though a defective one (Chomsky 1999). This implies that the infinitival marker checks for tense. The infinitival marker is presumably in C, and the (deficient) T head of the infinitival clause stand in the same checking

¹⁹ The proposed analysis could perhaps be carried over to a problem related to imperatives, discussed in Platzack & Rosengren (1998). Platzack & Rosengren conclude that 2nd person *du* (2SG) ‘you’ and *ni* (2PL) ‘you’ may occur in imperative clauses, but hesitate to call them true subjects. Consider (i):

- (i) *Köp du en glass!*
 buy.IMP you an icecream
 ‘You go ahead and buy an icecream!’

If we apply the proposed analysis to *du* ‘you’ in (i), we conclude that *du* may indeed carry the AGENT theta role, even if it is not a syntactic subject. On a par with pseudocoordinations with *gå* ‘walk, go’, the AGENT role is assigned in the speech situation, to the logophoric patient(s), optionally realized by a vocative pronoun, such as *du* in (i).

relation to C, as does T to C in finite clauses. This is presumably sufficient to license negation and other sentence adverbials in infinitival clauses. As expected, an infinitival clause may have a time reference that is disjoint from that of its matrix:

- (37) Bo lovade igår att inte skräpa ner nästa vecka.
Bo promise.PST yesterday IM not litter.INF down next week
 ‘Bo promised yesterday not to litter next week.’

In other words, what I propose is that *och* ‘and’ in pseudocoordinations is the infinitival marker *att*, minus tense features. The idea that there is but one TP in pseudocoordinations accounts straightforwardly for the fact that both verbs have the same tense morphology, that the clause describes only one event, and the fact that sentence adverbials can occur only in the first part of the clause.

Somewhat speculatively we may assume that *och* in pseudocoordinations is a member of a word class, suggested in Josefsson (2009:173), that consists of particles introducing non-finite clause equivalents, such as the infinitival marker *att* ‘to’, *med* ‘with’, introducing *with*-clauses, and the comparative markers *än* ‘than’ and *som* ‘as’.

6 Summary and conclusion

I have argued that *gå* ‘walk, go’ as Verb 1 in pseudocoordination is best understood as a light verb with basically the same meaning and syntactic properties as the corresponding main verb *gå*. What has been termed “the surprise effect”, sometimes arising in pseudocoordination with *gå* ‘walk, go’, can be explained as due to two factors: *Gå* is a highly polysemous verb, and the variety of *gå* that is actualized in these cases is the *gå* that is canonically used with a quasi-expletive subject, basically as in *Det går bra* (it go.PRS well) ‘Things work well’. This version of *gå* has an EXPERIENCER role that has to be assigned, explicitly, as a DP, or in a PP, or it may remain implicit. Crucially though, the EXPERIENCER role must not be cancelled altogether. In the light verb use of *gå*, here termed *gå_{HAPPEN}*, the EXPERIENCER role cannot be assigned. This triggers subjectification, in the sense that the EXPERIENCER role is assigned in the speech situation instead, either to the logophoric agent, i.e. the speaker, or, in other cases, to the logophoric patient, the addressee.

In order to fully explain the surprise effect we also need to take the feature +HUMAN into account. I have argued that verbs of motion always assign a THEME role, but that +HUMAN arguments execute CONTROL over the event. In

pseudocoordination with $gå_{\text{HAPPEN}}$, the speaker (or in some cases the addressee) is an EXPERIENCER argument and not conceived of as being in control over the event. The subject, which is the argument carrying the THEME role, has CONTROL, due to the feature +HUMAN. The vague feeling that the subject of a pseudocoordination with $gå$ as Verb 1 is doing something volitionally, even if the subject cannot reasonably have caused it (break a bone, win a million etc.), is due to the feature CONTROL. Consequently, the term “surprise effect” is not appropriate, even though lack of CONTROL can be pragmatically related to surprise.

Drawing on Wiklund (2005; 2008), contra Josefsson (1991), I have argued that the “conjunction” *och* is not a conjunction, but a version of the infinitival marker *att*, pronounced [ɔ], though differing from *att* in being devoid of tense. There is but one position for sentence adverbials, and the clause can have only one overt subject. Furthermore, there is but one FinP and one TP, which accounts for the fact that a pseudocoordination denotes one single event, which, however, may contain sub-events.

With the analysis proposed in this study, the possibility of using pseudocoordinations of the kind found in Swedish (and presumably also in the other Mainland Scandinavian languages) is at least to some extent a lexical issue – it requires a “deficient” infinitival marker, that is an infinitival marker that lacks tense. Whether or not this may explain similarities and differences between similar constructions in other languages remains to be investigated.

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