What can Faroese pseudocoordination tell us about English inflection?

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1 Introduction

English, with its relatively impoverished morphology within Germanic, offers no evidence for determining whether a given verb form is inflected identically to the lexical root or not inflected at all. Furthermore, it is unclear whether all such identical forms are accidentally homophonous or are indications of systematic syncretism that is part of the mechanics of the morphosyntax of the language. This article addresses a particular morphosyntactic phenomenon for which this distinction has greater implications for the grammar. Does the grammar allow for specific requirements of uninflected verbal forms in certain constructions? Are uninflected present-tense forms of the verb systematically equivalent to the infinitive in a way that is operational in the grammar?

Specifically, the ban on inflection found in English *try and* pseudocoordination is investigated in detail. As shown in (1), the construction is permitted if and only if both verbs happen to be in their uninflected forms.[1]

(1)   a. Try and win the race! [Then even if you do not succeed, you tried.]
      b. I will try and win the race [but I am tired and might not be able to win].
      c. I try and win the race every time [even though I rarely succeed].
      d. *He tries and win(s) the race every time [but he rarely succeeds].
      e. He did try and win the race [but his injury made it impossible].
      f. *He tried and win/won the race [but his injury made it impossible].
      g. *I am trying and win(ning) the race [but I am too tired].

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[1] There is an alternative reading to these sentences with normal coordination ('try one's best and then also…'). This article is concerned only with the reading equivalent to *try to*.

We can call this descriptive generalization the Bare Form Condition. But in a theory of English morphosyntax, is this condition to be taken literally, that there is a ban on inflected forms in the construction, or is there another explanation? Following Ross (2014), I propose an alternative hypothesis here, that the second verb is a bare infinitive and that the first must be parallel in its inflection and therefore also be uninflected. However, given the limited information available to us due to the improverished verbal inflection found in English and that this morphosyntactic constraint is not explained by any more general component of the grammar, identifying another perspective from which to analyze the data is desirable. In fact, this opportunity is provided by Faroese, a North Germanic language with a similar construction and richer morphology.

Section 2 introduces the general phenomenon of pseudocoordination. The Bare Form Condition as found in English is discussed in some detail, followed by a survey of other languages with similar 'try and' constructions. Section 3 explores a similar construction in Faroese, with implications for the analysis of English. First, background information about the language is provided, followed by the results of survey research with speakers to explore the issues of morphology in 'try and' pseudocoordination. Section 4 is a brief discussion of the results and implications for the analysis of English and grammatical theory.

2   Pseudocoordination in English and other languages

Pseudocoordination, as a descriptive term, can be defined simply as unusual usage of a coordinating conjunction, especially when an apparently coordinative construction displays properties of subordination. Such constructions involving pairs of verbs appear in a number of language families around the world, including Indo-European (especially Germanic, Romance and Slavic), Semitic, the so-called Khoisan languages of southern Africa, and Austronesian (especially the Oceanic subgroup).[2] Outside of Germanic, discussion is sporadic, often only in descriptive grammars or in passing in comparative work. Pseudocoordination of an aspectual nature with posture verbs found in the Scandinavian languages has received the most attention (Lødrup 2002; Wiklund 2007; Kvist Darnell 2008; Hesse 2009), as in (2):

(2)   Han   sitter   og   skriver   dikt.   (Norwegian)
        he   sits   and   writes   poems
        'He is writing poetry.'   (Lødrup 2002:121)

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[2] Examples are presented in Section 2.2.

There is also a small but substantial literature on English (Ross 1967; Carden & Pesetsky 1977; de Vos 2005; Ross 2014). As in the Norwegian example above, pseudocoordination does sometimes allow inflected verbs, as shown below. The most common pseudocoordination construction in English is found with motion verbs and has a purposive meaning. There are also postural constructions — similar to but not as grammaticalized as those in the Scandinavian languages — and polite expressions, as well as control verb structures including *try and*. One indication of the exceptional nature of these constructions is that unbalanced extraction is allowed, which would otherwise violate the Coordinate Structure Constraint (Ross 1967:170).

(3)   a. I will go and buy a pizza.   (Motion verbs)
          a'. What did you go and buy?
          b. He sat and read all night.   (Posture verbs)
          b'. What did you sit and read?
          c. Do me a favor and wash the dishes.   (Polite expressions)
          d. We try and do our best every day.   (Control verbs)

Only the type with control verbs involves the Bare Form Condition. Motion verb pseudocoordination is permitted in any inflection, and the type with posture verbs, to the degree it is grammaticalized in English at all, is not restricted either. The type with polite expressions is typically found in imperatives and other bare forms, although this is likely for pragmatic reasons given the meaning of the construction, but this type has not been investigated in detail.

2.1   The Bare Form Condition

The type of pseudocoordination with *try* is found in English with subject-only control verbs: it is not found with raising verbs like *seem*, nor with verbs that allow object-control like *ask*. It is found most frequently with *try*, but *be sure* and *remember* are also widespread, and some speakers also accept other verbs:

(4)   a. Be sure and take out the trash.
          b. Son, remember and brush your teeth!
          c. Sam likes to pretend and do his homework.
          d. If you promise and buy me a present…

Therefore, while *try* is used in the examples in this article, the construction is not an idiom found only with this verb. It is the most frequent, however, and appears to have been the first to develop historically (Ross 2013a). Observations that the verbs in this construction must be uninflected can be found in prescriptive

or semantic accounts since the late 1800s (Harrison 1889; Waddy 1889:147–8; Fowler 1926:666), followed by brief discussions with theoretical implications (Zwicky 1969:440; Shopen 1971:262). In an article devoted to the topic, Carden & Pesetsky (1977) introduced the Bare Form Condition[3] as a constraint for this construction as well as the *go get* or *come see* construction, which they believed to be related.[4] The account most similar to the current hypothesis is Zwicky's. He proposed that a rule of *hendiadys*[5] that would replace *to* with *and*. Because this was an actual replacement of *to* during the derivation, the second verb was always an infinitive. Furthermore, he stipulated that "For this rule to be applicable, the first verb must agree with the second in this respect" (Zwicky 1969:440). Zwicky does not motivate this constraint on the first verb except by empirical data, but it is still more explanatory than a literal Bare Form Condition.

While useful corpus research has followed these initial observations (Lind 1983; Hommerberg & Tottie 2007), relatively little research has been done on the Bare Form Condition at the level of syntactic theory (Ross 2014:208). The most complete previous account (Hargreaves 2004, 2005; de Vos 2005:202–207) still does not address all properties of the constructions. Along the lines of what Shopen proposed, Hargreaves claims that *try* has grammaticalized toward being an auxiliary, having fused with *and* into a single syntactic head. There are two immediate problems with this account, in that it does not explain the grammaticality (for some speakers) of (5), nor the ungrammaticality of (6):

(5)   I will try hard and win the race.
(6)   *He try and win the race.

While for me and some other speakers (5) is grammatical, Hargreaves (2005:31) explicitly indicates that this is ungrammatical for her. The difference could be between British and American English, but I have not identified such a pattern. On the other hand, the ungrammaticality of (6) holds for all dialects (except those which do not require agreement for third-person singular in the present tense: Faarlund & Trudgill 1999) and this would seem to rule out

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[3] In their original terms, the *bare-stem condition*. I use Bare Form Condition to emphasize the hypothesis that this has something to do with the form of the verbs (rather than, for example, a null morpheme), as well as to abstract away from the notion of a *stem* given suppletion of *be*, etc. Although it is not necessarily the case that Carden & Pesetsky originally intended a literal bare form analysis as a theoretical explanation, they did not provide any alternatives.

[4] Whether or not this construction is related is not important for the argument in this article. Shopen (1971) analyzed this *go/come* construction as involving partially grammaticalized auxiliaries, which may fit these verbs, found without a coordinator, better than *try*. He proposes multiple lexical entries for the inflected and uninflected forms of the verb, which is not appealing for reasons of redundancy. For a more recent account, see Jaeggli & Hyams (1993).

[5] From the Greek for 'one through two', representing a subordinate structure as a coordinate one.

Hargreave's analysis. Still, an explanation along the lines of what Shopen (1971) or Jaeggli & Hyams (1993) propose for the *go get* construction might suffice and eliminate this counterargument as well. Therefore, it is challenging to fully rule out the possibility of *try-and* as a compounded, developing auxiliary. The use of the construction with other verbs seems to be evidence against this, but again here one could claim that these are multiple auxiliaries developing, perhaps with *and* as a sort of auxiliary suffix. I do not agree with this analysis, and therefore I will turn to Faroese data in Section 3 to more strongly argue against it.

Another dimension that is both relevant both for understanding the Bare Form Condition and related to the Faroese data presented later is the diachronic development of *try and* pseudocoordination in English (Ross 2013a). The Bare Form Condition developed slowly, indicating that it is not a single condition but a collection of several grammatical properties, which also supports the hypothesis proposed in this article, by isolating the requirement for inflectional parallelism to a specific stage in the history of the language. This same development is shown later for Faroese.

Try (*trien*) was borrowed into English from French (*trier)* with an original meaning of 'separate out' or 'examine' during the Middle English period. The meaning of 'attempt' had developed by the 1300s with nominal complements. It was not until the mid-1500s that verbal complementation developed with *to* and *and*. By the end of the century, clear instances of *try and* were found:

(7)   You maie (saide I) trie and bring him in…   (c.1569: Ross 2013a:116)

At this time, the construction was limited to usage in the infinitive (and imperative) and could not be used in finite contexts, even with uninflected verbs. This can be explained as due to ambiguity, where in most infinitival and imperative constructions there is no truth-conditional entailment of the second verb even if it is coordinated, for reasons of context:

(8)   a. Please try and win the race.
        b. I want to try and win the race.

As much as the former is a request to try, it is also a request to win, and in the latter there is clearly a desire to win. It is important to note that at this time, the construction could be explained as the requirement of shared syntactic features on both verbs (e.g., those of infinitives or imperatives) and could often be considered true coordination. While the semantics pose a different problem, the form of other pseudocoordination constructions (for example, in (2) and (3) above) can be explained in this way: the two verbs are syntactically parallel.

During the mid-1800s, the situation with inflection changed, with usage then allowed in the uninflected present tense (Ross 2013a:120):

(9)   Do sit down by the fire, whilst I try and get you some breakfast.   (1841)

This reanalysis poses a problem for a theoretical account involving syntactic features: the first verb is syntactically finite and agrees with the subject (again, refer to the ungrammaticality of (6) above), but it is in some sense the same as the second verb, which is syntactically an infinitive. This can be shown by the irregular verb *be*, in use since the early 1900s (Ross 2013a:121):

(10)   If I try and be terribly good they think I am wicked.   (1926)

(11)   a. I try and be on time every day, but sometimes I am a few minutes late.
         b. *I try and am on time every day, but sometimes I am a few minutes late.

As clearly shown in (11), the subject does not agree with the second verb: it is a true infinitive. Therefore, the explanation for the Bare Form Condition now need only explain the necessarily uninflected first verb. This could be either as a literal bare form or through some sort of parallelism to the second verb. In the second case, the constraint could not be at the level of syntactic features, as they can differ between the verbs. Likewise, the constraint is not merely surface-level regarding the phonological form, as shown by irregular past tense verbs:

(12)   a. If I try and hit the target, I might miss.
         b. *I tried and hit the target, but I missed.

Therefore, such a constraint would need to be at the level of morphological inflection: any verbal inflection manifested on the first verb must also be manifested on the second verb. As the second verb is inherently uninflected as a bare infinitive, it can never be inflected, and therefore neither can the first. As stated in the introduction to this article, this particular constraint is unusual in its nature and difficult to test given the impoverished morphology in English. Now we turn to data from other languages that may help to resolve this.

2.2   Other languages with 'try and'

Although pseudocoordination can be found in a number of languages, inflectional restrictions like the Bare Form Condition are not common. Several languages do have 'try and' constructions, but they either have no verbal inflection or do not restrict inflection in the 'try and' construction:

(13)   Tok Pisin (English-based creole), Papua New Guinea (Ross 2013a:128)
        Em   traim   na   help-im   mi.
        He   try   and   help-TRANS   me
        'He tries/tried to help me.'

(14)   Juǀʼhoan ('Khoisan'), Botswana and Namibia (Dickens 2005:54)
        E   nǁurì   tè   kxóní   ǀʼùrì   ǃóm.
        we try   and   fix   bicycle wheel
        'We tried to fix the bicycle wheel.'

(15)   Paiwan (Austronesian, Formosan), Taiwan (Tsai & Wu 2012:170)
        Ru-q<em>ayam=a'en   a   p<em>anaq   ta   vavuy
        IRR-try<AV>=1SG.NOM   LNK   shoot<AV>   OBL   wild.hog
        'I will try to shoot wilg hogs.'

(16)   Erromangan (Austronesian, Oceanic), Vanuatu (Crowley 1998:261)
        Yococ-tapmi   m-am
        1SG.PAST-try   and-speak
        'I tried to speak.'

(17)   Modern Hebrew (Semitic), Israel (Kuzar 2006:125)
        niːsah   ve-zəlzel   [ניסה וזלזל]
        try.PAST.MASC.3SG   and-belittle.PAST.MASC.3SG
        'He tried to belittle.'

        Although this widespread distribution of 'try and' is interesting and may
have implications for the semantics or development of the construction, it does
not help us solve the immediate problem of the Bare Form Condition. Variation in
inflectional restrictions is found in not too distant languages, however: in North
Germanic a construction with 'try and' is found without inflectional restriction in
some Swedish and Norwegian dialects but subject to usage only in the imperative
and infinitive in Danish (Wiklund 2007:190; Kjeldahl 2010:121; Jespersen
1895:165; Tavs Bjerre, p.c.), in contrast to other types of pseudocoordination in
Danish such as aspectual constructions with posture verbs (Brandt 1992; Bjerre &
Bjerre 2007). Therefore, the usage in Danish today is similar to what was found
from the mid-1500s to the mid-1800s in English:

(18)   a. Prøv   og   gør   det.
           try.IMP   and   do.IMP   that
           'Try and do it!'

b. Jeg vil   prøve   og   gøre det.
    I   will   try.INF   and   do.INF it
    'I will try and do it.'

c. *Han prøver   og   gør   det.
     He   try.PRES and   do.PRES that

Note that this is not a Bare Form Condition, given that the infinitive is inflected. In general, the mainland Scandinavian languages (Swedish, Norwegian and Danish) have no subject agreement in their verbal paradigms, with a shared inflection for all persons in each tense. Therefore, either 'try and' pseudocoordination is allowed in inflected finite forms that do not share a form with the infinitive, or it is not.[6] There is no possibility for a variety that allows some finite forms because they *look like* the infinitive, as no such forms exist, in contrast to the English present tense. Therefore, we turn now to Faroese, which has exactly that type of verbal paradigm, with partial subject agreement like English, and which also has a 'try and' pseudocoordination construction.

3   Faroese *royna og* 'try and'

Faroese is a North Germanic language descended from Old West Norse, and therefore like Icelandic is genetically related to Norwegian. Like Icelandic, Faroese is relatively conservative in its grammatical structure, preserving many features now lost in mainland Scandinavian. Faroese is spoken by about 50,000 speakers in the Faroe Islands in the north Atlantic, located between Denmark and Iceland. The political history of the Faroe Islands is complicated, with Danish rule for centuries, followed by the current status of self-rule within the Kingdom of Denmark since the end of World War II. This constant contact with Danish, which is much more innovative, has had a profound effect on the language so that today it shares properties with Icelandic and Danish, and is intermediate in many grammatical domains. For more on the history of Faroese and sociolinguistic situation with Danish contact, see Petersen (2010).

The inhabitants of the Faroe Islands are native speakers of Faroese but sequential bilinguals in Danish as well, and much of the population is now fluent or at least able to hold a conversation in English. Some know or are familiar with other languages including Norwegian, Swedish, Icelandic, German and French. It is not unusual to find a Faroese speaker who knows three or more other

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[6] Another logical possibility, of one inflected form being allowed but not another, is found in Italian dialects (Cardinaletti & Giusti 2001:380), which is like the full copying constructions in Swedish (Wiklund 2007) but restricted to less marked inflections in the verbal paradigm. This is beyond the scope of the current paper as it relates to inflection type rather than syncretism.

languages, especially in the linguistically-interested participants in my surveys, the results of which are reported below. Although there are several population centers in the 18 islands that make up the archipelago, there are many smaller villages as well, and there is substantial dialectal variation at least at the level of pronunciation. Faroese language policy is a topic of interest among the population and there are significant efforts to support language use in the community through newspapers, television, translation of foreign literature, and education. There are even classes for foreigners to learn the language at the University of the Faroe Islands, which is how I came to be familiar with the language and do the survey research presented in this article.

3.1 Faroese pseudocoordination

There has been limited research on Faroese pseudocoordination, with the earliest discussion to be found in Lockwood's descriptive grammar (1955:147) regarding posture verb constructions indicating progressive aspect. Most of the research that followed was either examples of this sort in descriptive grammars or references to Faroese in passing in descriptions of pseudocoordination in the mainland Scandinavian languages. Petersen (2010:116–119) discusses pseudocoordination in relation to Faroese-Danish contact, suggesting that the grammatical feature is due to Danish influence. Heycock & Petersen (2012) provided the first dedicated study to Faroese pseudocoordination, indicating a strong resemblance to that found in the mainland Scandinavian languages. They emphasized the posture verb constructions, but also discuss control verb pseudocoordination with *royna og* 'try and', as well as *prøva og* with the same meaning but using a verb borrowed from Danish. Specifically, they discuss inflectional restrictions in this construction: "In distinction to the aspectual type of pseudo-coordination, both *royna og* and *prøva og* appear to be limited to the imperative and the infinitive" (Heycock & Petersen 2012:274–275):

(19) a. Royn og les bókina!
   try.IMP.SG and read.IMP.SG book.DEF
   'Try and read the book!' [singular]

   b. Roynið og lesið bókina!
   try.IMP.PL and read.IMP.PL book.DEF
   'Try and read the book!' [plural]

   c. Tú mást royna og lesa bókina.
   You must.PRES.2SG try.INF and read.INF book.DEF
   'You must try and read the book.'

(20) a. *Hann   roynir   og   lesur   bókina.
          He   try.PRES.3SG and   read.PRES.3SG   book.DEF

The inflectional restrictions are thus like those found in Danish, supporting the possibility of an origin for the construction under the influence of Danish. However, in a footnote they also indicate that there may be a change in progress: "Some speakers—perhaps a minority—marginally accept 3rd person plural verbs in the present, where the inflection is identical to the infinitive. For such speakers there is a contrast between" (20) and (21) (Heycock & Petersen 2012:274). They also indicate that such usage can be found on the internet.

(21) a. ?Tey royna   og   lesa   bókina.
          They try.PRES.PL   and   read.PRES.PL=INF   book.DEF
          'They try and read the book.'

If this is indeed the case, Faroese conveniently provides the type of verbal inflection required to test the hypotheses regarding the Bare Form Condition, whether they involve a requirement of parallel inflection on both verbs or a literal ban on inflection. Given that Faroese has an overt suffix forming the infinitive, the latter hypothesis is not possible, and the former is supported.

One possibility for data regarding the usage of this construction in the plural present tense is in a Faroese corpus. However, with only relatively small corpora available and the low frequency of this construction, the results are minimally informative. The construction was found in *Føroyskt TekstaSavn*, a corpus of about 4 million words based on the 1998 year of the Faroese newspaper *Dimmanlætting* (Hansen 2003, 2005; Rasmark 2005), but only ten tokens were identified: six with singular imperatives, three with plural imperatives, and one with an infinitive, with no results for finite forms. This does verify the usage of the construction and tendency toward non-finite forms, and the results suggest especially frequent usage in the imperative rather than infinitive. The results do not provide any conclusions about usage in the plural present tense.

For this reason, I used surveys to test the acceptability of these forms, the results of which are presented below. First, the reader should be aware of the Faroese verbal paradigm:

Table 1: Faroese conjugation paradigm for *royna* 'try'

| PRES	1SG *royni*	2SG *roynir*	3SG *roynir*	**1PL *royna***	**2PL *royna***	**3PL *royna***
PAST	1SG *royndi*	2SG *royndi*	3SG *royndi*	1PL *royndu*	2PL *royndu*	3PL *royndu*
IMP	**SG *royn***			**PL *roynið***		
Non-finite	**INF *royna***		PresPart *roynandi*	PastPart *royndur*		Supine *roynt*

3.2   Survey results

The first survey on Faroese pseudocoordination was conducted in the Faroe Islands with a group of students in the teacher education program at the University of the Faroe Islands. Of the 66 subjects who completed the survey, the results of the 64 native speakers are reported here. The 64 test items included basic morphological variants for *royna og* 'try and' and peripheral forms, as well as other kinds of Faroese pseudocoordination. As the other results did not in general provide any additional information beyond what has been described by Heycock & Petersen (2012), only the core results for *royna og* are reported here, though it can be added that in general the results do support the use of other kinds of pseudocoordination such as aspectual forms with posture verbs.

Figure 1: Survey 1 results for acceptability of *royna og lesa* 'try and read'
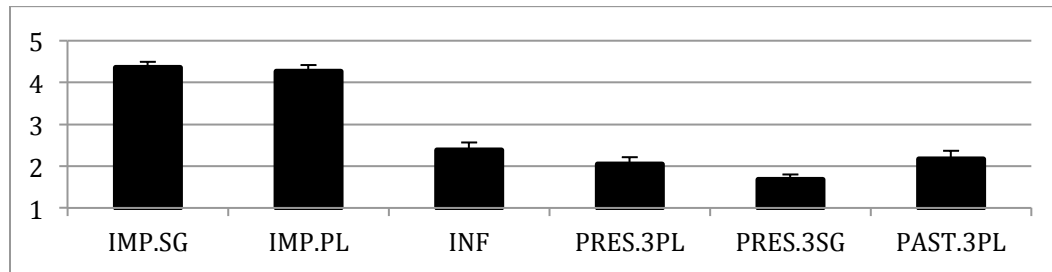
The results indicate that imperatives are categorically different from both finite forms and infinitives. This is not inconsistent with the preliminary corpus results reported above, but it is inconsistent with English. Figure 2 shows the results of a similar study with English (from Ross 2013b).

Figure 2: English results for acceptability of *try and*
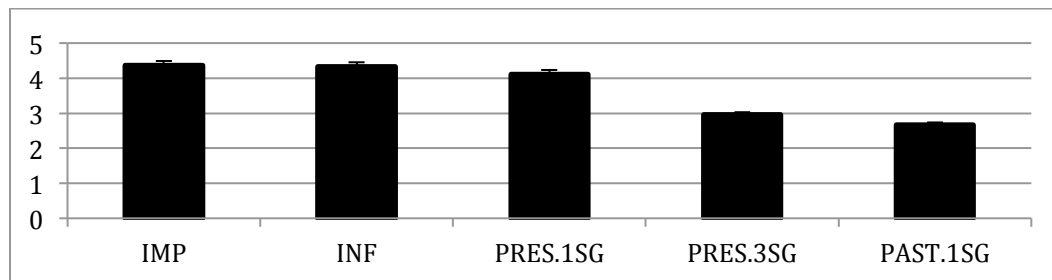
In English, the uninflected forms are all consistently acceptable, while inflected forms are consistently judged to be less acceptable, which reflects the

well established grammaticality requirement of the Bare Form Condition. In Faroese, it is not the case that the infinitive is obviously distinct from the ungrammatical finite forms, even though it has been established that it is grammatical (Heycock & Petersen 2012). This is possibly due to the influence of prescriptivism, which can interfere with Faroese research: in this case, the subjects were training to become teachers, and they were concerned with speaking Faroese correctly, according to prescriptive standards, rather than necessarily how the language is spoken in daily life. On the other hand, imperatives are a part of spoken language, while the rest are found in all domains including formal writing. For these reasons, a second survey was conducted to look at the properties of inflection in the construction in more detail. This second survey was conducted online in the same format, with subjects recruited primarily through a Facebook group about the Faroese language with a large number of members but with an emphasis on prescriptivism and standards for the language. In total, 105 subjects completed the survey and the results from the 100 native speakers are reported below. In addition to the acceptability ratings on a 1-5 scale, this time subjects were asked a yes/no semantic interpretation question to distinguish between normal coordination and pseudocoordination ('try to') readings (see also footnote 1). In addition to the forms where the two verbs share the same morphological inflection as in Survey 1, for those finite forms differing in inflection from the infinitive, alternative sentences were included with the first verb inflected and the second followed by an infinitive after *og* 'and'.

Figure 3: Survey 2 results for acceptability of *royna og lesa* 'try and read'
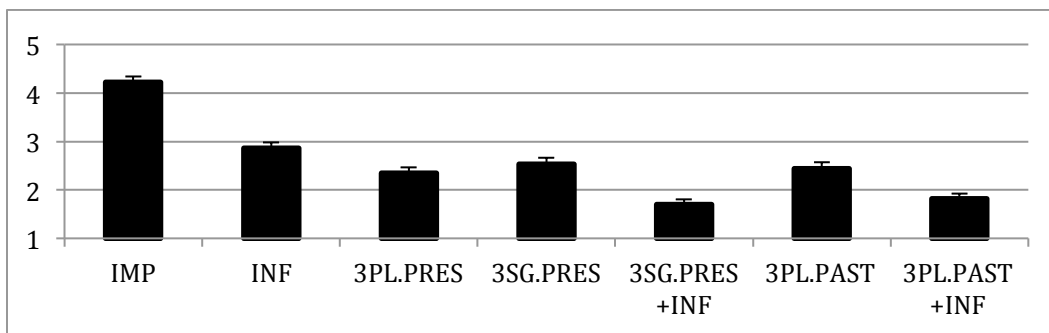
The results are consistent with the first survey in that the imperative (singular) is rated most acceptable and the other forms are less distinct, though the infinitive is again slightly more acceptable than the rest. A statistical analysis[7]

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[7] This statistical analysis was performed using R with the least squares method, using the *lm()* function for an overall fit of inflection type followed by pairwise comparisons of each type using the *lsmeans()* function.

reveals that there is a significant effect for inflection type (p<.0001). The imperative is significantly more acceptable than all other categories (p<.0001). The infinitive is more acceptable than third-person plural present tense (p<.05), but neither the infinitive nor third-person plural present tense is significantly different from third-person singular present tense or third-person plural past tense, neither of which is inflected like the infinitive. The finite inflected forms (third-person singular present tense and third-person plural past tense) followed by an infinitive are significantly less acceptable than all other forms (p<.05), suggesting that these non-parallel forms are indeed ungrammatical. The lack of distinction between the infinitive and parallel finite inflected forms requires further analysis. This is possible using the responses to the semantic interpretation questions. Figure 4 presents the percentage of responses indicating the pseudocoordination 'try to' reading. As the survey was likely priming the 'try to' interpretation, only the relative values for the ratings are informative.

Figure 4: Interpretation as pseudocoordination for *royna og lesa* 'try and read'
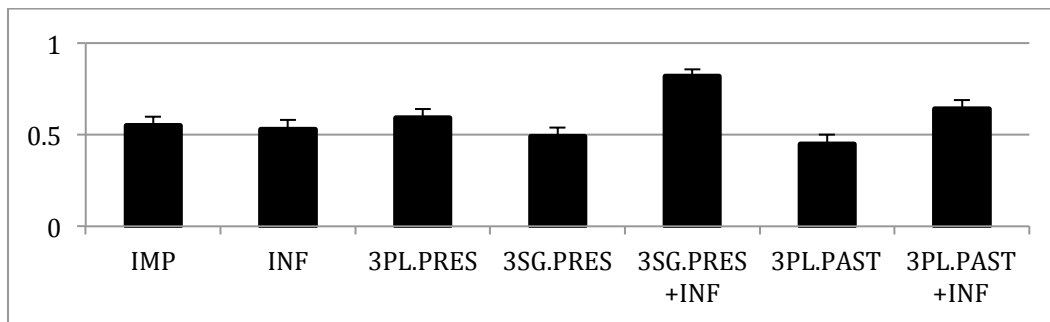
Third-person plural present tense, which looks like the infinitive, is slightly more likely to be interpreted as 'try to' (59%), and it is also slightly higher than the other finite forms, though not significantly so. Note that for this form the syncretism of the Faroese verbal paradigm does not allow comparison between the finite form and the infinitive, so this usage is ambiguous. For those forms that can be tested in this way, the results show that although in general both interpretations seem possible, for the inflected finite forms followed by *og* 'and' and an infinitive, the intepretation is more likely to be that of pseudocoordination (infinitival complementation with 'try to').[8] The contrast between these forms is

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[8] For third-person singular present tense p<.0001; third-person plural past tense is only marginally significant (p=.0803), when calculated within all of these responses. If calculated within only these two pairs of sentences for which an alternation between finite and infinitive forms is possible in the Faroese verbal paradigm, then the result is significant (p=.0232). The statistical model uses the tukey method for adjusting p-values based on the number of samples, and as several layers of

strong evidence in support of the hypothesis that the construction involves both an infinitive complement and inflectional parallelism for the two verbs. Similar results are found for English as well (Ross 2013b): while (22a) is ungrammatical, it is likely to be interpreted as 'try to'; (22b), on the other hand, is grammatical but only under the reading of a past event of both trying and winning, so it is unlikely likely to be interpreted as 'try to'. The same is true of the Faroese data in Figures 3 and 4, and as shown in (23).

(22) a. *John tried and win the race.
      b. John tried and won the race.

(23) a. Tey   royndu   og   lósu   bókina   hvønn   dag
          They   try.PAST.PL   and   read.**PAST**.PL book.DEF   every   day
          men   tey   høvdu   úr   at   gera
          but   they   have.PAST.PL   from   to   do.INF
      'They tried and read the book every day, but they had a lot to do.'
      Is it possible that they did not read the book some days? (Yes: 45%)

      b. *Tey   royndu   og   lesa   bókina   hvønn   dag
           They try.PAST.PL   and   read.**INF**   book.DEF   every   day
          men   tey   høvdu   úr   at   gera
          but   they   have.PAST.PL   from   to   do.INF
      Is it possible that they did not read the book some days? (Yes: 64%)

Finally, to establish that the second verb in the construction is actually an infinitive, consider the verb *vera* 'be', which is irregular in Faroese just like in English: it is the only verb in the language for which the plural present tense (*eru*) is not the same form as the infinitive (*vera*), as shown in Figure 5 and (24).

Figure 5: Survey 2 results for acceptability of *royna og eru/vera* 'try and are/be'
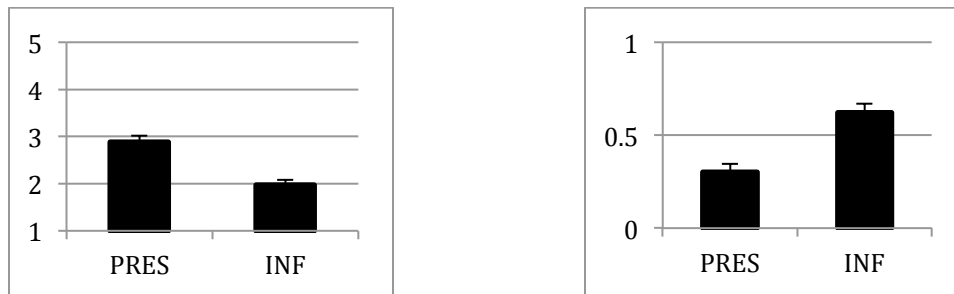
comparisons are built into the model, it is unclear whether for each of these comparisons all tokens should be included. Regardless, the most conservative results are reported here.

(24) a. Tey   royna   og   eru   stundislig hvønn dag.
          They   try.PRES.PL   and   be.**PRES**.PL   punctual   every day
          'They try and are on time every day.'

      b. *Tey   royna   og   vera   stundislig hvønn dag.
           They try.PRES.PL   and   be.**INF**   punctual   every day
          'They try and be on time every day.'

As in English with *be* (Ross 2013b), the form with two finite verbs is acceptable, but unlikely to be interpreted as 'try to'; the form with an infinitive as the second verb is less acceptable, but likely to be interpreted as 'try to'.

In summary, the survey results are complicated by prescriptive bias, and it is not the case that plural present tense usage of *royna og* is consistently rated as acceptable compared to other finite forms that do not look like the infinitive. However, the interpretation of these other forms is revealing: as in English, the infinitive form is required for interpretation as 'try to', while the parallel forms are required for grammaticality. This means that the plural present tense is subject to potential reanalysis and grammaticalization, while the other finite forms are not. As indicated by Heycock & Petersen (2012:274), it is only a subset of the population for whom this usage is currently acceptable, and it is unclear whether it will ever become grammatical for in the language as a whole. The results are strongly suggestive that this type of grammaticalization is possible at the very least. In contrast to English, there is no possibility of a literal ban on inflection in the construction, because Faroese infinitives are inflected. One remaining puzzle for Faroese is that three distinct inflections are permitted in the construction: the infinitive, the singular imperative, and the plural imperative. Although this is not explained by the hypothesis, the explanation is likely historical, that these forms were both reanalyzed in the contexts described in Section 2.1 for the development of English in the 1500s. Currently, Faroese appears to be going through the same stage of grammaticalization as took place during the mid-1800s for English with reanalysis of the construction allowing present-tense usage for some speakers.

4   Conclusion

Although the Bare Form Condition could potentially be interpreted literally for English *try and* pseudocoordination, this analysis is not possible for the equivalent *royna og* construction in Faroese. Instead, the analysis proposed earlier for English (Ross 2014) is supported. The Bare Form Condition is actually a combination of two properties: the second verb following 'and' is an infinitive selected by the construction, and the first verb cannot be otherwise inflected because it must have the same inflection as the second verb. In this way, the

Faroese data reinforces that this is the best analysis for English as well: although this type of inflectional parallelism is a strange grammatical requirement, it is the only explanation that fits the data. It is also in line with general observations by Wiklund (2007) and others: a hallmark feature of pseudocoordination is morphological parallelism between the verbs. In this case, it happens to operate at the level of morphological inflection (rather than syntactic feature or phonological form) and also interact with the syncretism and partial subject agreement found in the English and Faroese verbal paradigms. Furthermore, this is evidence that these identical forms are the same inflection, not merely homophonous.

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