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Pseudo-coordinations in Faroese[*]

Caroline Heycock & Hjalmar P. Petersen

In this article we describe the system of pseudo-coordinations in Faroese—coordinations in the verbal system in which the second conjunct appears in fact to be subordinated to the first—in the light of previous discussions of this phenomenon in Scandinavian. We discuss pseudo-coordinations—mainly, but not exclusively, with verbs of posture in the first conjunct—that have an aspectual interpretation (e.g "sit and …"); and also pseudo-coordinations where the second conjunct alternates with an infinitive clause (e.g. "try and …"). We conclude with an overview of the distribution of pseudo-coordinations in Germanic, and offer some suggestions as to how they may have arisen in Faroese.
Keywords: syntactic change without word-order change; language contact; pseudo-coordination; subordination; hendiadys; absentives.

1. Introduction

In common with the Mainland Scandinavian languages, but unlike Icelandic (Josefsson 1991, Wiklund 1996), Faroese has a rich system of what have been termed pseudo-coordinations, a term that in the Scandinavian context probably goes back to Teleman (1974). In this article we will attempt to give a description of the phenomenon in modern Faroese (FA), to compare it with pseudo-coordination as it has been described and analyzed in particular in Mainland Scandinavian, and to provide some speculations as to the origins of the construction(s) within Faroese.

2.   What are pseudo-coordinations?

The pseudo-coordination that we discuss here (sometimes also referred to in the literature as verbal/clausal hendiadys) has the apparent form of "ordinary" coordination in the verbal system, but with a number of distinct syntactic and semantic features. These will be discussed in more detail in the course of this article, but as a first summary we can take the following:

1. The tense/aspect of the verbs in the conjuncts (which we will refer to as V1 and V2) must match; in ordinary coordination this is not required.

2. The second conjunct never has an overt subject.

3. "Asymmetric" extraction is possible from the second conjunct, in apparent violation of the Ross's (1967) Coordinate Structure Constraint.

4. The two conjuncts are not perceived as being informationally equivalent; the initial verb may be "bleached" of at least some aspect of its independent meaning. Thus, for example, a verb with a positional meaning like 'sit' or 'stand' as V1 no longer entails this bodily position but carries instead an aspectual meaning.

To illustrate: (1) below is potentially ambiguous between ordinary coordination and pseudo-coordination. The ordinary meaning entails that Jógvan is seated, and eating fish. Read as a pseudo-coordination, there is no entailment that Jógvan is actually sitting, just that he is engaged in the act of eating fish (the semantic bleaching of V1 mentioned in point 4 above).

(1)   Jógvan   **situr**   **og**   **etur**   fisk. (FA)

Jógvan-N   sit-PRS3SG   and   eat-PRS3SG   fish-A

'Jógvan is sitting and eating fish' *or* 'Jógvan is eating fish.'

If we change the aspect of one of the conjuncts, as in (2a), the sentence remains grammatical; but as it is now unambiguously a case of ordinary coordination, it unambiguously entails that Jógvan is sitting. The same effect obtains if we give the second conjunct an overt subject, as in (2b). Conversely, extraction of a wh-phrase from the second conjunct, as in (2c), is only compatible with the pseudo-coordination reading, so this example does not have the entailment that Jógvan is sitting.

(2)   a.   Jógvan   **situr**   **og**   **hevur**   **etið** fisk.

Jógvan-N   sit-PRS3SG   and   have-PRS3SG   eaten-SUP

fish-A

'Jógvan is sitting and has eaten fish.'

b.   Jógvan   **situr**   **og   hann etur**   fisk.

Jógvan-N   sit-PRS3SG   and   he-N eat-PRS3SG   fish-A

'Jógvan is sitting and he is eating fish'

c.   **Hvat** situr   Jógvan   og   etur   *e*?

what sit-PRS3SGJógvan-N   and   eat-PRS3SG

'What is Jógvan eating?'

We can initially distinguish two main types of pseudo-coordination in Faroese. In the first type, the interpretation of the construction is principally aspectual. Thus the examples in (3) all express some type of progressive or durative aspect.[1] The first example is from the FADAC database, which consists of data from spoken FA (For more on the FADAC database, see Section 3 and Petersen 2010: 55ff).[2]

(3) a. Eg **standi**   **og** **hugsi**   um Lenu.

I-N stand-PRS1SG and think-PRS1SG about Lena-A

'I am thinking about Lena.'   (FADAC)

b. … hann hoyrir   í útvarpinum, at ein bilur

he-N hear-PRS3SG in radio-DEF-D that a   car-N

á Eysturoynni **liggur**   **og** **koyrir**   við

on Eysturoy-DEF-D lie-PRS3SG and drive-PRS3SG with

fullari ferð   á skeivari síðu.

full   speed-D on wrong   side-D

'He hears on the radio that a car on Eysturoy is driving at full speed on the wrong side of the road.'

(heima.olivant.fo/~finnur/hahaha.htm; accessed 31.1.11)

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[1] In this article we will gloss over the distinction between these two types of aspect. See Hesse (2009, 2011) for more detailed discussion of the aspectual interpretation of pseudo-coordinations in Faroese, and also Barnes &Weyhe (1994: 211) and Thráinsson et al. (2004: 74).

[2] From now on, all examples are in Faroese unless indicated otherwise.

This is the type which Wiklund 1996 refers to as "Pseudocoordination A (PCA)." Pseudo-coordinations of this type are also found in all the Mainland Scandinavian languages (Danish, Swedish and Norwegian). This suggests a convergence area within the Scandinavian languages consisting of Mainland Scandinavian and Faroese (Petersen 2010: 116), an issue that we will return to in Section 5.

Pseudo-coordinations are also found in Afrikaans, English, Low German and North High German dialects (Höder 2009).

(4) a. Ik **bün**   bi **un feul**.   (Low German)

         I-N be-PRS1SG   at and wipe-PRS1SG

         'I am wiping the floor'   (Höder 2011: 177)

     b. Denn **geht**   er bei **und repariert**   das.

         then   go-PRS3SG   he-N at   and   repair-PRS3SG it-A

                                              (North High German (dialect))

         'Then he proceeds to repair it'.   (Höder 2011:177)

That is, while pseudo-coordinations are found in Faroese and the languages just mentioned, they are not found in standard German, Dutch[3] (Höder 2009), or Icelandic (Josefsson 1991, Wiklund 1996).

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[3] They are however found in Middle Dutch (Le Roux 1923, Robbers 1997, Robertge 1994, de Vos 2005).

FA   NO   SW

EN   DA

DU

LG

NoHG

GE
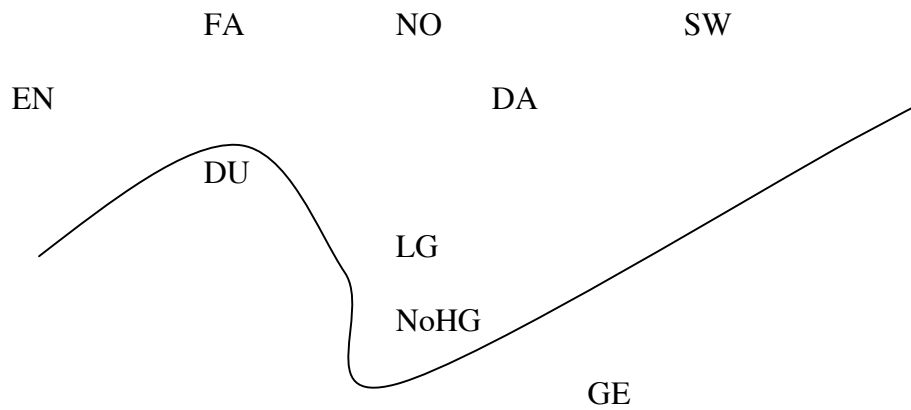
Fig. 1. Pseudo-coordination in the Germanic languages.

In contrast to this first type of pseudo-coordination, in the second type, which Wiklund (1996) refers to as "Pseudo-coordination B (PCB)," there is alternation with infinitival complementation.

(5) a. **Royn   at selja**   húsini!

try-IMPSG to sell-INF house-DEF-A-PL

'Try to sell the house!'

b. **Royn   og   sel**   húsini!

try-IMPSG and   sell-IMPSG   house-DEF-A-PL

'Try and sell the house!'

As can be seen from the translation, English also has this type of coordination with *try* (see Hommerberg & Tottie 2007 and references therein). Within Scandinavian, Wiklund cites examples from spoken

Swedish (although she says only that these are allowed by "speakers of some dialects") and seems to indicate that it is also possible in some Northern Norwegian dialects, but not in Danish, although her discussion is not entirely clear on this point (Wiklund 1996: 31ff).

Besides *pröva* 'try,' Wiklund cites Swedish *fortsätta* 'continue,' *börja* 'begin, '*sluta* 'stop,' *skynda sig* 'hurry,' *se till* 'make sure,' *kommaihåg* 'remember,' *glömma* 'forget' and politeness phrases such as *varasnäll* 'be kind/please' and *vara så god* 'be so good/help yourself' as verbs that can appear as V1 in PCB in Swedish.

3.   On the hunt for pseudo-coordination in Faroese

3.1   Sources

Our principal data come from the FADAC (Faroese-Danish Corpus) database at SFB 538: Multilingualism at the University of Hamburg, with some supplement from the *corpuseye* online tagged corpus, and the *spraakbanken* corpus.

The Faroese part of the FADAC database consists of informal interviews with a number of native Faroese speakers from three generations: 16-21, 40-50 and 70+. The speakers—divided between male and female— come from different dialect areas within the Faroe Islands. The data were

originally collected for work on Faroese-Danish bilingualism but can obviously also be used for different research purposes, as is done here.

	Young (16–20)	Mid (40–50)	Old (70+)
Male	8	10	8
Female	8	11	7

Fig2. Faroese speakers in the FADAC database.

The *corpuseye* corpus (http://corp.hum.sdu.dk/cqp.fo.html) consists of the text from issues of the newspaper *Sosialurin* from 2004 (approximately 112,000 words), and a selection of texts from the Faroese edition of Wikipedia (approximately 94,000 words). The texts are tagged for part-of-speech. The *spraakbanken* corpus (http:/spraakbanken.gu.se) consists of all the issues of the newspaper *Dimmalætting* from 1998; it does not have part-of-speech tagging.

We also searched through volumes I-IV of *FøroyaKvæði*/*Corpus carminum Faeroensium*, which is a collection of Faroese ballads. The language in these ballads represents older Faroese, although it is hard to date the language with any accuracy, as these ballads, first written down in the second half of the 18th and in the 19th century, are part of an oral tradition. We obtained the ballads in electronic format from *Føroyamálsdeildin* (The Institute for Faroese, part of *Fróðskaparsetur*, the

University of the Faroe Islands), Tórshavn. The total word count in volumes I–IV is 683,869

Finally, as a supplement to this, we have used Google to search the internet; searching for e.g. *standi og* 'stand-PRS1SG' *site:fo*. We have also where necessary constructed examples. Where Faroese examples and judgments are given without other attribution these are due to the Faroese-speaking author of this article, HPP, and other native speakers we have consulted.

A summary of the pseudo-coordinations that we found in the FADAC database, the two corpora, and *Føroyakvæði* is given in the Appendix.

3.2   *Diagnostics*

As the discussion in Section 2 suggests, while there are cases where we can determine whether a given coordination is a case of ordinary coordination or a pseudo-coordination, many examples that occur in texts or dialogues cannot be unequivocally assigned to one or the other type. Further, it has been argued in a study of pseudo-coordinations in English and Afrikaans by de Vos (2005) that as well as distinguishing between pseudo-coordinations that alternate with infinitive subordinations and those that do not, it is necessary to distinguish between subtypes within PCA which have distinct syntactic properties both inter- and intra-linguistically. In particular, de Vos

argues that while both (6a) and (6b) below are pseudo-coordinations in English, they have different syntactic properties.[4]

    (6)   a.   He went and bought a whole stack of books.

           b.   He went to the bookshop and bought a whole stack of books.

We discuss a number of the diagnostics most relevant for Faroese below.

3.2.1 *Non-inversibility of conjuncts*

It is a minimal (necessary, but not sufficient) condition for a coordination to qualify as a pseudo-coordination that the two conjuncts cannot appear in the inverse order without a significant change in meaning: (7a,b) are not equivalent. In contrast, ordinary coordination in at least some cases will allow the two conjuncts to appear in the opposite order, as shown in (8a,b)

    (7)   a.   Hann **situr**   **og**   **lesur**.

                 he-N sit-PRS3SG   and read-PRS3SG

                 'He is reading'.

           b.   Hann **lesur**   **og**   **situr**.

                 he-N read-PRS3SG and   sit-PRS3SG

---

[4] De Vos refers to the construction in (6a) as Contiguous Coordination (ConCo) and that in (6b) as Scene-setting Coordination (SceCo). On the other hand, writing about pseudo-coordination within Scandinavian, Hesse (2011: 148) is unequivocal in excluding any case with a locative adjunct in the first conjunct from the category of pseudo-coordination

'He reads and sits'.

(8)   a.   Hann **etur**   og   **drekkur**.

            He-N eat-PRS3SG   and drink-PRS3SG

            'He eats and drinks.'

       b.   Hann **drekkur**   og   **etur**.

            he-N drink-PRS3SG   and   eat-PRS3SG

            'He drinks and eats'.

There are of course cases of ordinary coordination where temporal ordering is implied, as in (9), so that there is a significant change of meaning when the conjuncts appear in the opposite order.

(9)   a. She shot him and she was imprisoned.   ≠

             b. She was imprisoned and she shot him.

Notice however that such cases involve actions that are read as occurring in sequence. In the case of Faroese pseudo-coordinations, the two conjuncts cannot be exchanged even though no temporal sequencing is implied.

3.2.2   Extraction

As mentioned earlier, pseudo-coordination allows for asymmetric extraction out of the second conjunct, in apparent violation of the coordinate structure constraint and the "Across-the-Board" [ATB] constraint (Ross 1967,

Williams 1978). This contrasts with canonical cases of symmetric coordination. Extraction from a pseudo-coordination in Faroese was illustrated in (1)/(2c) above, repeated here as (10a,b); the contrasting pattern with ordinary coordination is illustrated in (11)

(10) a.   Jógvan   **situr**   **og**   **etur**   fisk.

            Jógvan-N   sit-PRS3SG   and   eat-PRS3SG   fish-A

            'Jógvan is sitting and eating fish' *or* 'Jógvan is eating fish.'

      b.   Hvat **situr**   Jógvan   **og**   **etur**   *e*?

            what sit-PRS3SG   Jógvan-N   and   eat-PRS3SG

            'What is Jógvan eating?'

(11) a.   Jógvan   **tosar**   og   **etur**   fisk.

            Jógvan-N   talk-PRS3SG   and   eat-PRS3SG   fish-A

            'Jógvan is talking and eating fish'

      b. * Hvat **tosar**   Jógvan   **og**   **etur**   *e*?

            what talk-PRS3SG   Jógvan-N   and   eat-PRS3SG

            Intended: 'What is Jógvan talking and eating?'

Not only arguments, but also adjuncts can be extracted; of course in the case of adjuncts it is more difficult to determine the extraction site, but (12) has

an interpretation where what is being asked about is the carefulness of reading, not of sitting:[5]

(12)   Hvussu vandaliga **situr**   hann (har)   **og   lesur**

how   carefully   sit-PRS3SG   he-N (there)   and   read-PRS3SG

bókina?

book-DEF-A

 'How carefully is he reading the book (there)?'

Again, as has been much discussed for English, there are a number of exceptions to these constraints on extraction, so this diagnostic must also be treated with caution (*cf.*Wiklund 1996, de Vos 2005).

3.2.3   Negation, yes/no questions

In aspectual pseudo-coordinations (PCA), negation appears in the first conjunct, but negates the whole complex:

(13)   Jógvan   **situr**   **ikki og   hyggur**

Jógvan-N   sit-PRS3SG   NEG   and   look-PRS3SG

út   gjøgnum   vindeygað

out   through   window-DEF-A

'Jógvan isn't looking out of the window'.

---

[5]For readers familiar with De Vos's work on pseudo-coordination in English and Afrikaans, it may be of interest that in Faroese it appears that the inclusion of a locative in the first conjunct does not block this type of extraction.

Compare the ordinary coordination, as illustrated in (14). If only the first verb appears before negation, the second verb does not fall within its scope.

(14)   Jógvan   **dagdroymir   ikki og   hyggur**

Jógvan-N   daydream-PRS3SG NEG and   look-PRS3SG

út   gjøgnum   vindeygað

out   through   window-DEF-A

'Jógvan isn't daydreaming and/but (he) looks out of the

window.'

Similarly, a yes/no question is formed, questioning the whole complex, by moving only the first verb in the pseudo-coordination to first position, as in (15a). Movement of both finite verbs is excluded, as illustrated in (15b).

(15) a. **Situr**   Jógvan   **og   lesur**?

sit-PRS3SG   Jógvan-N   and   read-PRS3SG

'Is Jógvan reading?'

b. * **Situr   og   lesur**   Jógvan?

sit-PRS3SG   and   read-PRS3SG Jógvan-N

Intended: Is Jógvan reading?

In ordinary coordination, on the other hand, both options are possible:

(16) a. **Lesur**   Jógvan   **og   skrivar**?

read-PRS3SG Jógvan-N   and   write-PRS3SG

'Does Jógvan read and write?'

b. **Lesur   og   skrivar**   Jógvan?

read-PRS3SG and   write-PRS3SG   Jógvan-N

'Does Jógvan read and write?'

3.2.4   Presentational focus

Faroese allows a "presentational focus" construction where the initial

position is occupied by an expletive and the subject appears post-verbally.

Thus alongside (17a) we find also (17b):

(17) a. Ein   drongur   lesur.

A   boy-N   read-PRS3SG

'A boy reads'

b. Tað   lesur   ein   drongur.

It-N   read-PRS3SG a   boy-N

'There is a boy reading'.

As discussed extensively in Lødrup (2002) with respect to Norwegian,

ordinary coordination cannot co-occur with this construction in Faroese in

the way illustrated in (18); but pseudo-coordination can, as shown in (19):

(18) a.   Ein   drongur **lesur**   **og skrivar**.

a   boy-N   read-PRS3SG and   write-PRS3SG

'A boy reads and writes.'

b. * **Tað lesur**   ein   drongur **og   skrivar**.

It-N   read-PRS3SG a   boy-N   and   write-PRS3SG

Intended: 'There is a boy reading and writing.'

(19). a.   Ein   drongur **situr**   **og   skrivar.**

a   boy-N   sit-PRS3SG   and   write-PRS3SG

'A boy is writing.'

b.   **Tað situr**   ein   drongur **og skrivar**.

it-N   sit-PRS3SG   a   boy-N   and   write-PRS3SG

'There is a boy writing.'

3.2.5   Semantic bleaching of V1

De Vos(2005) points out that in English, pseudo-comparatives with *go* as V1 and no intervening material between the verbs show no restrictions on the subject imposed by *go* itself; it is also clear that in this construction *go* has lost any meaning of change of location.

(20) a.   It went and rained on us.

b.   He lay down, and in seconds he had gone and fallen asleep!

This semantic bleaching, and concomitant transparency to subject selection, can therefore be used as a diagnostic for the particular construction, and is one reason that de Vos distinguishes between two types of pseudo-coordination in English. This bleaching may be a matter of degree, however; Lødrup states that the locational verbs that participate in pseudo-comparatives in Norwegian retain at least some aspects of their "literal" meaning at the same time as expressing durative or progressive aspect (Lødrup 2002: 122, and see also Hesse 2009, 2011). We return to semantic bleaching in section 4.

3.2.6   *Failure of distributivity*

Presumably in consequence of the different semantic contribution of the two verbs in a pseudo-coordination, overt markers of distributivity like *both* cannot occur in pseudo-coordinations. Hence (21a), which in the absence of *bæði* (both) is most naturally read as a pseudo-coordination, contrasts with (21b), an ordinary coordination.

(21) a. # Hon   **bæði situr**   **og**   **bindur**.

          she-N   both sit-PRS3SG   and   knit-PRS3SG

          Literally: She both sits and knits

       b.   Hon **bæði drekkur**   **og**   **roykir**.

she-N both drinks-PRS3SG   and   smokes-PRS3SG

'She both drinks and smokes'.

4.   Characteristics of pseudo-coordination in Faroese

4.1   Pseudo-coordination with aspectual meaning (PCA)

Lødrup's 2002 paper is the most detailed recent discussion of pseudo-coordination in Scandinavian easily available, and so to put Faroese in the context of the mainland Scandinavian languages, we largely follow his grouping and order of presentation here.

4.1.1   Positional verbs

As in the other Scandinavian languages, Faroese makes use of positional verbs to express progressive/durative aspect (Henriksen 2000: 45). Consider for example (22a.b), and compare also the examples in (3a,b) above.[6]

(22) a.   …ikki   at tala   um,   tá   tey   **liggja**

…not   to talk-INF about, when they-N lie-PRSPL

og   koyra   sunnudagskoyring…

and   drive-PRSPL Sunday-driving-A

---

[6] The sentence in (22b) is from the FADAC database. Here a man of the older generation talks about an old trawler. The sentence is difficult to translate; the lexical meaning of *tufla* is to 'walk clumsily.' The informant refers to the fact that the ship is old, and difficult to sail in the icy waters of Greenland.

'…Not to mention when they are driving [their] Sunday trips'

(kvinna.fo. 16.01.09; accessed 21.10.10)

b.   Harra   Gud   í   himmalinum situr,   teir

Lord   God-N   in heaven-DEF-D   sit-PRS3SG   they-

N

liggja   og   tufla   og   tufla…

lie-PRSPL and stumble-PRSPL and stumble-PRSPL

'Good Lord(N) in heaven, they sail so clumsily.'

(FADAC)

An example like (22a) also shows that *liggja* is more bleached of its lexical meaning than Lødrup reports for the positional verbs in Norwegian pseudo-coordinations. *Liggja* does not retain its literal meaning here; it would be completely infelicitous to say in this context *tey liggja* 'they lie' of the participants in the action described.

Semantic bleaching is also very obvious in (23), from the FADAC database. The informant is not standing when she utters (23), on the contrary she is sitting down with her cup of coffee.

(23)   Eg   **standi**   **og   hugsi**   um   Lenu.

I-N stand-PRS1SG   and think-PRS1SG   about Lena-A

'I am thinking about Lena.'   (FADAC)

The verb *sita* 'to sit' when in a pseudo-coordination may retain at least some aspects of its lexical meaning. This is very clear in (24a), where the author says that she thinks that it is impolite that people who visit her just sit down and sent text messages. The meaning of *sita* 'to sit' in (24b) is also, if not totally bleached, then at least blurred, so to say. The sentence is about how people outside the capital are waiting for two more tunnels to be built. It is used figuratively, as it is not necessarily the case that these people are sitting while they wait for the government to make a decision.

(24) a. …at   fólk,   sum eg   havi   á vitjan
          …that people-N   that I-N   have-PRS1SG on visit-D

          sita   **og**   **sms'a**.
          sit-PRSPL   and   text-PRSPL

          '…That visiting people are texting.'

                              (kvinna.fo 18.01.05; accessed 22.02.11)

      b. So,   fyri at gleða   tey   mongu fólkini,
          so   for   to please-INF the   many   people-DEF-A

          ið   spent   **sita**   **og**   **bíða**   eftir
          that excitedly sit-PRSPL and   wait-PRSPL for

          avgerðini   um   holini   bæði…
          decision-DEF-D about tunnels-DEF-A   both-A

'So, in order to please those people who excitedly sit and

wait for the decision concerning the two tunnels…'

(Planet.portal.fo 25.6.08; accessed 22.02.11)

According to Vannebo (2003: 166) pseudo-coordinations in group 1 express an aspectual meaning; FA does not differ from the Mainland Scandinavian languages in this, as *liggja og* 'lie and,' *sita og* 'sit and,' and *standa og* 'stand and' express progressive/durative aspect, while *ganga og* 'go and' expresses iterative aspect. On this, see Henriksen (2000: 45). The progressive/durative meaning is also expressed by *vera og* 'be and,' about which we will say more below. For a further discussion of the aspectual meaning of these constructions and how it arises, see Hesse (2009, 2011).

In addition to stative positional verbs, Lødrup discusses the use of verbs of assuming a position as pseudo-coordinations. We have however not found any clear example of this kind of case in the Faroese sources we have searched; (25) is a potential example, but it is not at all clear that there is any semantic bleaching of *seta seg* 'sit down.'

(25)   Eg   trúgvi   neyvan at   eitt   djór

       I-N   believe-PRS1SG   hardly   that   an   animal-N

       fer   at **seta   seg   og   filosofera**

go-PRS3SG   to sit-INF REFL   and   philosophise-INF

um   moralir   og   etikkir.

about morals-A   and   ethics-A

'I hardly believe that an animal is going to sit down and

philosophize about morals and ethics'.

(gaming.fo 7.2.10; accessed 24.02.11)

4.1.2   *Verbs of motion*

The Faroese verb of motion that most clearly occurs as V1 in pseudo-coordinations is *ganga* 'to go, to walk.' As discussed in (Henriksen 2000: 45), from which (26) is taken, *ganga* in a pseudo-coordination expresses iterative aspect, as indicated by the translation. (27) is a further example from an internet forum.

(26)   Hann **gongur**   **og**   **argar**   fólk.

he-N go-PRS3SG   and   tease-PRS3SGpeople-A

'He is always teasing people'.(Henriksen 2000: 45(5))

(27)   Hvat skal   eg gera … havi eina sokallaða

what shall-PRS1SG I-N do-INFhave a   so-called

vinkonu   sum **gongur**   **og**   **lýgur**

girlfriend-A   that   go-PRS3SG   and   lie-PRS3SG

um   meg […]   Hon   **gongur**   **og**   **sigur**,

about me-A   she-N   go-PRS3SG   and   say-PRS3SG

at   eg   havi   havt   ein annan […]

that   I-N   have-PRS1SG have-SUP   another-A

'What shall I do? I have a so-called girlfriend who keeps

lying about me […] she keeps saying that I have had another'

(kvinna.fo 8.8.08; accessed 20.2.11)

4.1.3   Vera *(be)*

Two examples of the use of *vera* in pseudo-coordinations are given in (28):

(28) a.   Teir **vóru**   **og   drógu**   lunda.

they be-PSTPL   and   draw-PSTPL puffins-A

'They were catching puffins, by pulling them out of the

holes/nests'   (Henriksen 2000: 45)

b.   …táið eg   **var**   **og   bygdi**

…when I(N) be-PST1SG   and   build-PST1SG

hospitalið   í   60-inum.

hospital-DEF-A   in sixties-D

'…when I was [among the people] who built the hospital in

the sixties'.   (FADAC)

Note that it is possible to include a locative adjunct in either the first or the

second conjunct (although the preference seems to be for the first):

(29) a.   Hann **er**   í Danmark **og lesur**.

he-N be-PRS3SG   in Denmark   and   study-PRS3SG.

'He is studying in Denmark.'

b.   Hann **er**   **og**   **lesur**   í Danmark.

he-N be-PRS3SG   and   study-PRS3SG   in Denmark.

'He is studying in Denmark.'

As noted earlier, Hesse (2011) asserts that if the first conjunct contains a locative adjunct, the coordination cannot be taken to be a pseudo-coordination. Note, however, that (29a) does not seem to differ markedly in interpretation from (29b), and, further, allows extraction—even of adjuncts—from the second conjunct:

(30) a.   {Hvat/Hvussu seriøst}$_i$ **er**   hann í   Danmark

what/how   hard   be-PRS3SG   he-N in Denmark

og lesurt_i?

and   study-PRS3SG

'{What/How hard} is he studying in Denmark?'

We therefore rather follow Lødrup in concluding that even if V1 is modified by a locative adjunct the whole construction can be a pseudo-coordination.

Bertinetto et al 2000, Ebert 2000, Vogel 2007, have argued that Faroese pseudo-comparatives with V1 *vera* 'be' are, or can be used as absentives. This term seems to originate with de Groot 2000, who uses it to refer to the "grammatical expression of absence" (p. 695). Lockwood points out that (31) would be a typical sign on an office door (Lockwood 1977: 140), a context cited by de Groot as typical for an absentive.

(31)   **Eri   og fái**   mær   millummála.

be-PRS1SG   and   get-PRS1SG   me-D   tea-A

Verði   skjótur   aftur.

become-PRS1SG soon   back.

'Gone for tea. Will be back soon.'

Of course, the fact that *vera og* can be used in a context in which the referent of the subject is clearly absent does not mean that the construction itself *encodes* that meaning, it might only be compatible with it. More significant is that in a number of circumstances *vera og* cannot be used if the referent of the subject is co-present with the speaker. For example, in the context of a phone inquiry as to whether Rúnar has gone to work, Rúnar's wife can reply using use *standa og mála* 'stands and paints,' but not *er og mála* 'is and paints,' if she is in the same room as Rúnar as she speaks; the latter would convey that Rúnar was somewhere else.

(32)   Nei, hann {#**er**/   **stendur**}

           no   he-N   be-PRS3SG/stand-PRS3SG

           og málar   køkin

           and   paint-PRS3SG   kitchen-DEF-A

           Intended: 'No, he is painting the kitchen.'

De Groot says of the absentive that it encodes the information that the referent of the subject is absent from the "deictic centre;" is involved in an activity; will be absent for a predictable time; and will return (pp. 695,697). Any characterization of Faroese in these terms will require a careful definition of how the "deictic centre" is determined, however. Thus, de Groot (2000) and Abraham (2009) claim that, by definition, absentives cannot be used of people who are in the presence of the speaker, and cannot be used of 1st person subjects in the present tense (with present rather than future meaning). But neither restriction holds absolutely of the use of *vera og* in Faroese. Thus a speaker can introduce herself as follows:

(33)   Halló. Eg   eiti   Caroline úr   Skotlandi.

           hello   I-N   name-PRS1SG   Caroline from Scotland-D.

           Eg   **eri**   **og** **vitji**   Hjalmar.

           I-N   be-PRS1SG   and   visit-PRS1SG Hjalmar

           'Hi. I'm Caroline from Scotland. I'm visiting Hjalmar.

It seems that what licenses the use of *vera og* in this kind of situation is the lexical entailment of *vitja* 'visit' that the referent of the subject is absent from their usual home. Here however we do not have space to go into the semantics of the Faroese *vera og* construction in more detail, or to investigate whether or not uses like (33) above are also found for "absentives" in the other languages for which they have been proposed.

4.1.4   Taka *'take'*

The occurrence of the verb 'take' in pseudo-coordination in Scandinavian is described in detail in Vannebo (2003). The example in (34a) is from Henriksen (2000: 45); (34b) is from colloquial speech, and (34c) is from the FADAC database, where a woman is explaining how they used to play hide-and-seek when they were children.

(34) a.   Hann **tók**   **og**   **bardi**   hann   av.

he-N take-PST3SG and   beat-PST3SG him-A   off

'He beat him senseless'.   (Henriksen 2002: 45)

b.   Eg   **taki**   **og**   **selji**   bilin,   vissi

I-N   take-PRS1SG and   sell-PRS1SG car-DEF-A   if

eg   ikki fái   hatta arbeiðið

I-N   NEG get   that   job-A

'I am going to sell the car, if I don't get that job'.

c.   Altso   mann   **tekur**   **og   so rennur**

you.see one-N   take-PRS3SG and   so run-PRS3SG

undan.

away

'You see, one simply runs away'.   (FADAC)

The aspectual meaning of the *taka* construction in the Mainland Scandinavian languages is connected with sudden initiation of the activity (SAG 1999: 907; Vannebo 2003: 173; this is also the case in FA, as shown in (34c).

As a final note in this section, FA does not have any pseudo-coordinations corresponding to the "purely aspectual" Norwegian cases (Lødrup2002): *drive på* 'carry on', *holdepå* 'carry on' and *vereåt* 'be to.'

4.2   Pseudo-coordination that alternates with infinitival complementation

The most central exemplar of this type of pseudo-coordination in Faroese is *royna og* 'try and,' as introduced above in (5b), repeated here as (35)

(35)   **Royn   og   sel**   húsini!

try-IMPSG and   sell-IMPSG   house-DEF-A

'Try and sell the house.'

Faroese has also borrowed another verb with a similar meaning from Danish, *prøva* 'try', The example in (36) is from the FADAC database:

(36)   Hvat veitst   tú   um

what know-PRS2SG   you-N   about

Sjálvstýrisflokkin?   **Prøva**   **og**   **fortel**!

independence-party-DEF-A   Try-IMPSG   and   tell-IMPSG

'What do you know about the Independence Party? Try and

explain!'   (FADAC)

In contrast to the wide variety of cases discussed for Swedish in section 2 above, in Faroese for example *halda áfram* 'continue,' *byrja* 'start,' and *steðga* 'stop' cannot function as the V1 in a pseudo-coordination, but rather must be followed by an infinitive:

(37)   Hann **helduráfram/byrjar/steðgar at lesa**   bókina.

he-N continue/begin/stop-PRS3SG to read-INF book-DEF-A

'He {continues/begins/stops} {to read/reading} the book.'

It is certainly possible to find such verbs as in the first conjunct of a coordination, as in (38), but these are all read as "ordinary" coordinations. The activity that is stopped, continued or started is not necessarily the one denoted by the second verb—as would be the case if these were pseudo-coordinations—rather some other activity, understood from context, is stopped/continued/started.[7]

(38).   Hann steðgar/helduráfram/byrjar   og

             he-N stop   /continue   /begin-PRS3SG   and

             lesur   bókina.

             read-PRS3SG book-DEF-A

             'He stops/continues/begins and reads the book.'

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. See the examples in (35) and (36) above, and the following:[8]

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[7]For some speakers *halda uppat* 'stop' can be V1 in a PCB, although it appears not to be considered standard. An informant during fieldwork in the Faroes in 2008 volunteered that she had heard *Halt uppat og skríggja* 'Stop shouting (Literally: stop and shout) although she herself was dubious as to how "correct" it was. The Faroese author of this article does not use this construction, and we have not yet been able to find out whether, for those who do, it is subject to the same distributional constraints as we find for *royna/prøva*.

[8] 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 (40) and (ia). The example in (ib) is from the internet:

(i)   a % Tey   **royna/prøva og   lesa**   bókina.
                they-N   try-PRSPL and   read-PRSPL   book-DEF-A

(39) a.   **Royn/prøva og   les**   bókina!

          try-IMPSG   and   read-IMPSG book-DEF-A

          'Try and read the book!'

    b.   **Roynið/prøvið og   lesið**   bókina!

          try-IMPPL   and   read-IMPPL   book-DEF-A

          'Try and read the book!'

    c.   Tú   mást   **royna/prøva og   lesa**

          You must-PRS2SG   try-INF   and   read-INF

          bókina.

          book-DEF-A

          You must try and read the book.'

(40)   * Hann **roynir/prøvar og   lesur**   bókina.

          he-N try-PRS3SG   and   read-PRS3SG book-DEF-A

          Intended: 'He tries to read the book.'

          'They try and read the book.'

    b.   Starvsfólk   og   avvarðandi **royna   og   gera**
          workers-N and   relatives-N try-PRSPL and   do-PRSPL
          sítt   allarbesta
          their best
          'Workers and relatives try and do their best.'
          www.tjodveldi.fo/forsida/tidindi.aspx?PID=36&NewsID=965
          (accessed 7/4/2011)

In English, the constraints on *try and* are parallel to those on *go+verb* and *come+verb* (*You should go talk to him; Come talk to me!*) in that in English the constraint appears to be purely (surface) morphological: both V1 and V2 have to be bare stem forms: this includes the imperative and the infinitive, but also any present tense form other than 3rd singular (*Try and be patient! You should try and be patient. They generally try and be patient. *He tries and is patient. *I tried and was patient*). It is striking that the constraints in Faroese are very similar—the cases that are excluded are those in which there is past tense morphology or person/number morphology that is distinct from the infinitive (see the footnote above for the questionable status of present tense plural forms). But in Faroese this generalization cannot be stated in terms of bare stem forms, since the plural imperative in Faroese shows distinct suffixal morphology, as illustrated in (39b), and the infinitive is not identical to the bare stem in verbs other than those of Class 1 (inf. at kalla 'to call' Imp. kalla! 'call').

In these restrictions, the distribution of pseudo-coordinations with *royna* as V1 is different from Mainland Scandinavian; as reported in Wiklund (1996:33), in Swedish at least *pröva* 'try' can occur in a pseudocomparative in tensed and supine forms as well as in the imperative.[9]

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[9] These restrictions in Faroese might suggest an effect of contact with English; however Björkman 2009 cites Modern Greek and Marsalese that show a similar phenomenon in the related 'go/come + verb' construction, so it seems that this kind of restriction may arise independently; this remains to be explored.

As with the aspectual type of pseudo-coordination, this type also can be negated by negating the first verb:

(41)   **Royn   ikki og   sel**   húsini!

          try-IMPS   NEG and   sell-IMPSG   house-def-A

          'Don't try to sell the house!'

Strikingly, negation in this position can also easily be interpreted as taking scope only over the second verb. For example, the example in (42) can be interpreted with this narrow scope for negation, as shown by the translation:

(42)   **Royn   ikki og   blív**   ov sein!

          try-IMPSG NEG and   become-IMPSG too   late

          'Try not to be too late!'

It is tempting to conclude from this that *og* must be within the second conjunct, possibly occupying the same position as the infinitive marker, since it in general in FA the negative marker precedes *at* in infinitives. However, it has been noted (Hommerberg & Tottie 2007:56) that *contra* the discussion in Horn (1989: 323), *try* can act as a 'Neg-Raiser.' That is, there are cases in English of a negation that is syntactically associated with *try*

nevertheless semantically scoping only over the embedded verb. (43a,b) are two attested examples from Hommerberg & Tottie (2007).[10]

(43) a.   I don't try and let things bother me.

      b.   Looking at her made him so sick, he didn't try to think about what he was doing.

Given the possibility that *royna* 'try' might also be a Neg-Raising verb, the negative marker *ikki* in (42) may be in the matrix even when interpreted with low scope, and hence does not allow us to conclude anything about the position of *og*. That this may be the explanation is suggested by the fact that negation may also follow the second verb, as in (31a). The order in (31b) is also possible; presumably this is to be linked to the emergence of negative imperatives with the order *Negation–Imperative* (see Petersen 2010).

(44) a.   **Royn   og   ger   ikki** nakað   býtt!
            try-IMPSG and   do-IMPSG NEG anything-A stupid
            'Try not to do anything stupid!'

      b.   **Royn   og   ikki ger**   nakað   býtt!
            try-IMPSG and   NEG do-IMPSG anything-A stupid

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[10] For the British-English speaking author of this article, however, these examples are completely unacceptable; Hommerberg & Tottie (2007) suggest that the spread of Neg-Raising to *try* may be a recent development.

'Try not to do anything stupid!'

5.   The origin of pseudo-coordinations in FA, grammaticalization

Are the pseudo-coordinations we find in FA borrowed or the result of an internal change only? Vannebo (2003) expresses the opinion that the *ta* 'take'-constructions in Scandinavian are the result of an internal change, and that these started already at an early stage. Petersen (2010) briefly discusses pseudo-coordinations in FA, and he argues that as FA lacks the *vera að* 'be at' construction in IC, which expresses the progressive aspect, speakers have borrowed the pseudo-coordination construction from DA. This holds for at least the positional verbs *standa* 'stand', and *liggja* 'lie,' and for *vera* 'be.' Danish *ganga* 'go,' on the other hand, has a distant locative interpretation, different to the Faroese iterative interpretation of pseudo-coordinations with *ganga*. Support for a northern convergence area is given in Höder (2011), where he shows that these constructions are found not only in NO, DA and SW, but also in Low German and non standard variants of High North German (see Figure 1 above). This suggests a spread that might have started with the Hansa, and we may thus tentatively conclude that at least the constructions in question in FA are borrowed from DA, especially since they are not found in IC and thus are not likely to have been inherited.

While we find potential instances of pseudo-coordination in the language of the ballads, we have not found any clear examples of semantic bleaching of the V1[11]. This means that the borrowed V1 + *og* + V2 construction may have been adapted to a pre-existing structure in Faroese: a case of syntactic borrowing with no word order change.

6. Conclusion

Pseudo-coordinations do not express two equal events, in contrast to "normal" coordinations. Instead, in one type we find semantic bleaching of the first verb, so that it functions more like an auxiliary; that is, it gives rise to an aspectual meaning (Vannebo 2003, Hesse 2009, 2011). Bleaching is of course one of the characteristics Heine & Kuteva (2005: 80) set up as an indicator of grammaticalization, that is, what they call desemanticization, or loss of meaning content.

In Faroese pseudo-coordinations, we find semantic bleaching with *standa* 'to stand', *sita* 'to sit', *liggja* 'to lie' and *ganga* 'to walk', *vera og*

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[11] An example with *sita og* 'sit and' is from CCF 73 Aa; note that there is no evidence of semantic bleaching of *sita* 'to sit'.

(i)   Elvar **situr   og klæðir**   seg,   eina morgun stund …
       Elvar-N sit-3PSG and dress-3PSG self-A, one morning hour-A
       'Elvar is dressing himself early one morning'.

'be and' *taka og* 'take and,' but not with *koma og* 'come and,' or *fara og* 'go and.' The latter two are not discussed in this article.

In this article we have discussed two different instances of pseudo-coordination in Faroese: one (PCA) in which the construction is used to convey a number of different aspectual meanings, and in which the initial verb is largely bleached of its original meaning, and one (PCB) in which the pseudo-coordination alternates with an infinitive-embedding construction—in this case the initial verb (typically *royna/prøva* 'try') does not undergo any change of meaning. We have speculated that at least the first of these types has been borrowed into Faroese from Danish, and that the use of the positional verbs and *vera* 'be' has the same function in Faroese as the *vera að* progressive construction has in Icelandic. While we have described a number of the syntactic properties of these pseudo-coordinations, we have not here given a syntactic analysis: we hope to do so in future work.

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Appendix

In the tables below we set out the numbers of examples of pseudo-coordinations that we found in the FADAC database, the two corpora that we consulted (corpuseye and spraakbanken), and the ballads in volumes I-IV of *FøroyaKvæði/Corpus carminum Faeroensium*

FADAC database

		Pres			Past		
		1p	2p	3p	1p	2p	3p
standa	Sg.	2		1			2
to stand'	Pl.			3			2
Sita	Sg.	1		1			2
to sit'	Pl.						3
liggja	Sg.						
to lie'	Pl.			1			
ganga	Sg.					1	
to walk	Pl.					4	
Vera	Sg.	2			1		
go be'	Pl.						3
Fara	Sg.						1
to go'	Pl.						
koma	Sg,.						
to come'	Pl.						4

Corpuseye/spraakbanken:

	Pres	Past

		1p	2p	3p	1p	2p	3p
standa	Sg.			1			6
to stand'	Pl.						3
Sita	Sg.						1
to sit'	Pl.			3			2
liggja	Sg.						2
to lie'	Pl.						2
ganga	Sg.						
to walk	Pl.			1			
Vera	Sg.						1
go be'	Pl.						1

Ballads:

		Pres			Past		
		1p	2p	3p	1p	2p	3p
standa	Sg.			7			6
to stand'	Pl.						
Sita	Sg.			2			
to sit'	Pl.						
liggja	Sg.			1			
to lie'	Pl.						
vera	Sg.						
go be'	Pl.			1			