SYNTAX, SEMANTICS, AND PRAGMATICS OF PSEUDO-COORDINATION

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ABSTRACT

There have been very few attempts to date to provide an explicit semantics/pragmatics for Pseudo-Coordination (PseCo) expressions. This chapter is an attempt to fill that gap, zooming in on the 'go-(and-)get'-type. To do so, I first provide a syntactic account of PseCo, which derives from a standard coordination structure (which I label Junction), onto and from which a compositional semantic account is derived. The signature pragmatic properties of PseCo of negative-emotive factivity are also derived. Aside from providing the first systematic and cross-modular analysis of PseCo, the chapter also provides a number of new diagnostics for identifying and classifying PseCo expressions which may be useful in future work on the topic.

1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a unified syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic investigation into Pseudo-Coordination[1] (PseCo) trying to derive

(1) (Desiderata)
   a. a single syntactic structure suitable for both full fledged symmetric coordination and PseCo (which is capable of covering a range of typological instantiations of coordination and coordination-like expressions),
   b. a compositional account, or at least blueprint, of the meanings that PseCo expressions have,
   c. a pragmatic analysis of the attitude ascription that PseCo expressions communicate.

PseCo are unlike standard coordination construction in many respects (see §1.2), but also alike some other non-PseCo expressions, which I discuss in the following subsection.

I focus almost exclusively on the 'go-(and-)get'-type of PseCo and note in the conclusion the differences and potential connections for other verbs like

1 PseCo, as a shorthand, is really intended to mean Pseudo-Conjunction, since Pseudo-Coordination is less informative, given that there is no Pseudo-Disjunction out there. Under Mitrović's (2021) analysis, the inherently clausal (or propositional) nature of disjunction predicts the inexistence of Pseudo-Disjunction if the tenets of asymmetric junction made in this paper are correct.

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'try'. This is the empirical sense in which I operate with the term PseCo, while the theoretical apparatus I employ and develop here should have more over-arching consequences (that I leave for future work). A relevant aspect of the present paper is that it aims to add a useful perspective on trying to understand the boundary between PseCo and SCo. This is in line with, for example, Lakoff (1986) who was among the first to ask the questions I am revisiting and who asked this question of how to draw the line between 'normal' and 'exceptional' coordination.

1.1 EXCEPTIONAL CONJUNCTION: ASYMMETRY AND NON-TRUTH-TABULARITY

There exists a less obvious link between the syntactic makeup of a conjunction expression and the logical interpretation of the conjunction marker. One property that standard and proper conjunction has is that of *t*-reducibility (nominal collectives are an exception to this,[2] but let me ignore this). This property allows us to express all instances of conjunction in clausal form. If 'John and Mary like Corbyn' (must be true/*mbt*), then the truth of this single clause can be expanded into, and paraphrased as, two clauses: 'John likes Corbyn' (*mbt*) and 'Mary likes Corbyn' (*mbt*). The property of *t*-reducibility applies beyond nominal conjunction: if 'Zebidee cooked and ate the lasagna' (*mbt*), then 'Zebidee cooked the lasagna' and 'Zebidee ate the lasagna' (both *mbt*), or if 'Gilbert is smart and funny' (*mbt*), then (it *mbt* that) 'Gilbert is smart' and 'Gilbert is funny', and so on. These expansion options show that conjunction is a Boolean operation and that the truth of a conjoined subconstituents percolates to the top of the clause which may, in turn, be expressed as two (or more) clauses with truth-conditional equivalence (each clause may be judged for truth separately). Note also that if these expansions are valid, commutativity of conjuncts also obtains and the ordering of conjuncts is free. There are, naturally, exceptions to this expansion principle underlying this property but let me mention two (one of which will be the focus of this chapter).

1.1.1 CASE NUMBER ONE: CONCEALED CONDITIONALS

The first case of exceptions is the following where the conjunction marker does not really seem to be a marker of conjunction:

(2) $[_{CP_{[-DECL]}}$ Do this] and $[_{CP_{[+DECL]}}$ I'm leaving]

The expansion is not an issue since what seems to be conjoined in (2) are two clauses. However, the two conjunct clauses cannot be reversed (3):

(3) *$[_{CP_{[+DECL]}}$ I'm leaving] and $[_{CP_{[-DECL]}}$ do this]

2 To subsume collectives within the system, one could resort to *e*-reducibility – see Partee & Rooth (1982, 1983) or Hoeksema (1983) for details and further references.

Furthermore, the conjunction in (2) cannot also not be evaluated for truth, since one of the conjuncts is not a declarative clause (proposition) but an imperative (since imperatives, just like interrogatives, cannot be true or false). Proper *t*-reducible conjunction does not only require the conjuncts to have identical categorial makeup, but also the 'sub-categorial' makeup, i.e., for (2) to be an instance of proper conjunction, both conjuncts must share the clausal force (identically declarative, identically imperative, identically interrogative, etc. for instance).

In terms of meaning, (2) seems to be a concealed conditional, paraphrasable as in (4-a). If we understand the asymmetric conjunction in (2) as actually incarnating a conditional-like logical operator, then the asymmetry and the non-commutativity of the two conjuncts, or rather the conditional and the consequent (4-b), follows.

(4) a. If you do this, I'm leaving
you do this → I'm leaving
b. *If I'm leaving, you do this
I'm leaving → you do this

I suggest in this paper how the notions of syntactic asymmetry of the kind I just mentioned, *t*-reducibility and logical interpretation may be analysed in concert. In brief, if two (or more) conjuncts are syntactically symmetrical (in a featural sense deeper than pure category), then proper *t*-reducible or Boolean conjunction is possible, otherwise it is not. Consider also another case that is exceptional in this regard.

1.1.2 CASE NUMBER TWO: PSECO

Another case of exceptions where conjunction is semantically concealed concerns Pseudo-Coordination (PseCo), with an example in (5).

(5) She went and got a mortgage

PseCo (under the same reading) expressions prohibit both the ordering reversal of its conjuncts (6-a), as well as the clausal expansion (6-b).

(6) a. *She got a mortgage and went
b. *She went and she got a mortgage

Just as in the first case above, the meaning of the conjunction marker does not seem to be the one marking Boolean conjunction, but rather causation or result. One of the aims of this chapter is to pin-point the construction meaning behind PseCo expressions.

Based on the distributional facts from the first case above, where the clausal force was the source of the syntactic asymmetry, I will suggest that PseCo, too, are structurally non-identical.[3] Many authors have in fact proposed this

3 I will assume the external conjunct is a verb, while the internal verbal conjunct is a causative

before so let me turn to some preliminary diagnostics of PseCo and the discussion of what makes PseCo and standard conjunctions distributionally different.

1.2 DIAGNOSTICS AND DISTRIBUTION OF PSECO

I generally focus on the syntactic diagnostics and facts (also because there exists a wide semantic gap in the literature) and reproduce here the descriptive arguments made in de Vos (2004).

Previous literature on PseCo (Ross 1967, Carden & Pesetsky 1977, de Vos 2004, int. al.) has established differences between standard coordination or conjunction (SCo) and PseCo. Let me list them (they essentially summarise de Vos 2004), along with pairs of contrasting examples for exposition.

(7) a. The first conjunct in PseCo is (in SCo is not) restricted to a closed class of verbs. (In this paper, I focus on the *go*-type PseCo only.)
(EX.) PseCo)'Janša went (/∗intellectualised) and crushed democracy'
SCo)'Janša decided and crushed democracy'

b. PseCo does (while SCo does not) allow for systematic violations of the Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC; see Ross 1967).
(EX.) PseCo)'What has Janša gone and done now?'
SCo)'What has Janša tweeted about liberals and eaten'

c. The interpretation of PseCo expressions does (while SCo does not) yield derived interpretations and readings: PseCo may be interpreted aspectually, pejoratively, or carries a 'surprise' reading. (This paper derives the pejorative/surprise effect of PseCo – see §3 and §3.2 in particular).
(EX.) PseCo)'Mary went and got a mortgage' [surprise/accomplishment]
SCo)'Marry applied for and succeeded in getting a mortgage'

d. The lexical meaning of the first verbal conjunct is (while in SCo it need not be) bleached (e.g., *go* does not require actual physical motion or 'going'), as discussed below.
(EX.) PseCo)'The Democrats went and self-destructed'
SCo)'Bernie went out and never returned'

e. In PseCo, the reordering of conjunct is (while in SCo it is not) prohibited. (This effect is derived in §2 and §3.)
(EX.) PseCo)'He {went and lost, ∗lost and went}'
SCo)'He lost and (then) started an NGO'

f. PseCo constructions express meanings restricted to, or contained within, single-events (while SCo do/need not), as §3.1.1 demonstrates.
(EX.) PseCo)'He went and tweeted' [one event]

VoiceP.

SCo)'He went out of the car and (then) tweeted' [two events]

g. Consequenly, PseCo constructions disallow distributive long conjunction marking with *both* and *and*. (The absence of long/distributive conjunction follows from ((7-e)) – for discussion and context, see Mitrović & Sauerland 2016, Mitrović 2021, int. al.)

(EX.) PseCo)'Johnny (∗both) went and tweeted'

SCo)'Johnny both decided and was committed to tweeting'

h. PseCo cannot (while SCo can) express states – this property will be indirectly derived in §3.

(EX.) PseCo)∗'Janša went and resembled Trump'

SCo) 'Janša tried to and ended up resembling Trump'

With respect to the well established empirical properties in (7), I hope to derive some of these systematically and without stipulation. The analysis I put forward is consistent with the restriction of the first PseCo conjunct to a set of motion verbs which can be interpreted as accomplishments in conjunction with the internal conjunct, which may shed light on the nature of (7-a).

CSC violations (7-b) apply only to proper coordination structure, which PseCo are not, as I demonstrate. Proper coordination will be analysed as a Junction structure to which a Boolean operator β may attach iff the Junction is symmetric. In absence of a specified β, Junction is improper and non-standard in terms of the truth-tabular meanings of conjunction (or disjunction – ignored here). PseCo will be shown to constitute improper Junction which may only receive a Dynamic Conjunction (DC) interpretation. As such, PseCo is not a proper coordinate structure, and hence not subject to the CSC.

The nature of 'derived readings' that PseCo gives rise to (7-c) is one of the driving questions of this chapter. As noted above, the restriction on ordering in a PseCo (asymmetry) will be tied to a view that two conjuncts do not share structural complexity and, therefore, are not properly conjoined, but rather 'joined' in a construction which composes a meaning that symmetric conjunction (and proper junction) cannot. My analysis will derive compositionally the meanings behind narrative (past tense) uses of the 'go and' construction and argue that the meanings PseCo has is that of treating the internal conjunct verb as a factive state caused or derived by the first motion verb. Furthermore, the pragmatic signature of PseCo expressions (as noted by Carden & Pesetsky 1977) will also be explained.

The fact that the first motion conjunct verb in PseCo is bleached (7-d) with respect to its lexical content will derive from the latter point of treating PseCo as resultative-like expressions. In this regard, the verb of motion *go* is semantically lifted to the meaning of cause or change of state.[4]

4 The contribution of the bleached motion verb is not that of intention, given PseCo expressions like the following:

(8) Bleaching of the semantic content of *go*:

$$\text{go}\begin{bmatrix}+\text{LEX}\\ \text{MOTION}\end{bmatrix} \mapsto \text{go}\begin{bmatrix}-\text{LEX}\\ \text{MOTION/CAUSE}\end{bmatrix}$$

For alternative, or rather supplementary, mechanisms that derive the bleaching of the motion verb, see Cardinaletti & Giusti (2001, 392ff)

What will also follow directly from the compositional analysis is the prohibition of reordering of the two conjuncts (7-e) since the two verbal conjuncts will be shown to have different roles to play: one denotes a state, and the other the event which is the causing of that state. Based on this core semantic opposition between the two roles, the reordering constraint (7-e) follows naturally and logically. In the following sections, I will treat the junction structure involved in PseCo as asymmetric, which will block the junction from being interpreted conjunctively, hence the lack of possibility for reordering the con/juncts.

The fact that PseCo expressions are restricted to single-events (7-f) follows from the account that one of the conjuncts denotes an event of causing of a state, which will maintain the single-event property.

Since only Boolean expressions may be expressed using the long conjunction form (*both+and*), the observation that PseCo cannot be prefixed with *both* in English (or any other language for that reason), follows from the treatment of PseCo as improper Junction (itself tightly related to the no-reordering property noted above). This explains (7-g).

I will also be able to explain (7-h) under an analysis which treats PseCo to denote complex causative predication, featuring a causing event and a caused state. This in itself precludes the possibility that PseCo should denote states – informally, they denote complex caused states, as I will suggest.

2 SYNTAX

This section serves two purposes. The first is to motivate (or transplant) a novel conjunction structure which allows for a more consistent treatment of conjunction and conjunction-like expressions with different properties and meanings. The other is to take this structure and use it as a parametric battery for testing and deriving various types of conjunctions and conjunction-like expressions. The aim being to understand PseCo within a wider system of expressions.

I first develop a semantically-sensitive syntactic analysis for PseCo that rests on a modified coordination structure, as developed in Mitrović (2021; 2014), and resting on previous work by den Dikken (2006), as implemented by Slade (2011).

The goal for this section is to motivate a Junction structure, a construction

(i) He went and got himself fired.
(ii) She went and won the lottery.

that underlies both conjunction and disjunction, while also divorcing the logical ascription of the Junction expression from its structure.

2.1 JUNCTION

A coordination structure of the type proposed in Kayne (1994) or Zhang (2010), int. al., is too strong as it uniformly derives a single logical closure at the interface with the interpretative module. Equating the conjunction marker *and* with a Boolean conjunction meaning of '$\wedge$' is a strong assumption that misses several cross-linguistically common expressions with *and*. (For one type of expressions this assumptions fails to explain, see Mitrović 2014; Mitrović 2021). I overviewed two classes of exceptions in the introduction (in §1.1.1 and §1.1.2) which clearly showed that a singular treatment of conjunction cannot be maintained.

One solution to maintain the semantic variability of *and*-marked expressions is to revise the syntactic structure for coordination, which would in turn allow for a more flexible semantic treatment. This subsection looks at one such approach, by motivating the notion of Junction.

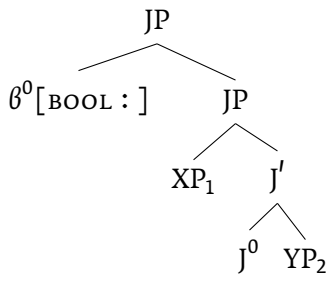
Winter was among the first to propose that the meaning of '*a and b*' does not go beyond forming a pair of a and b, or $\langle a, b \rangle$.

Mitrović (2014) adopts a Junction Phrase structure, based on den Dikken's (2006) analysis, that is semantically not only neutral between *con*junction and *dis*junction, but is also able to yield either intersective or subsective readings (derived as contextual allosemy, à la Marantz 2011). J^0 has the semantics of junction or non-Boolean join in form of a $\bullet$-operator that forms a tuple as proposed by Szabolcsi (2015) building on Winter's (1995) analysis. Therefore the denotation of a junction of two phrasal juncts is a suspended pair-formation.

(9) $[\![[_{JP}\ XP\ [\ J\ YP\ ]\ ]\!] = [\![XP]\!] \bullet [\![YP]\!]$
$= \langle [\![XP]\!], [\![YP]\!] \rangle$

Mitrović (2014, ch. 2) proposes that there be a silent Boolean operator, β that attaches to JP and delivers a Boolean value for, or logical closure of, $\langle [[XP]], [[YP]] \rangle$, based on the feature value that checks it.

(10) A Junction Phrase



I propose there exists a mechanism of symmetry checking: an algorithm

for J that verifies whether the juncts are symmetric in categorial and also sub-categorial features. Fig. 1 states this toy algorithm.

Recall the first exception case, repeated in (11), or PseCo:

(11) $[_{\text{CP}_{[-\text{DECL}]}}$ Do this] and $[_{\text{CP}_{[+\text{DECL}]}}$ I'm leaving]

(12) She $[_{\text{VP}_{[-\text{CAUSE}]}}$ went] and $[_{\text{VP}_{[+\text{CAUSE}]}}$ got a mortgage]

In the first case (11), the categories of the two juncts match, both being clauses, and therefore conjunction is sanctioned. In case the second step (concerning the question about the sub-categorial features) returns a negative value, the conjunction is asymmetric and a standard Boolean interpretation cannot apply. Using the algorithm, the β-valuation is determined as shown in (13), where the conception of symmetry in junction is directly tied to the Boolean definability and t-reducibility.

For further details about the nature of this proposed mechanism of β-valuation, see Mitrović (2014); Mitrović (2021), and those cited therein.

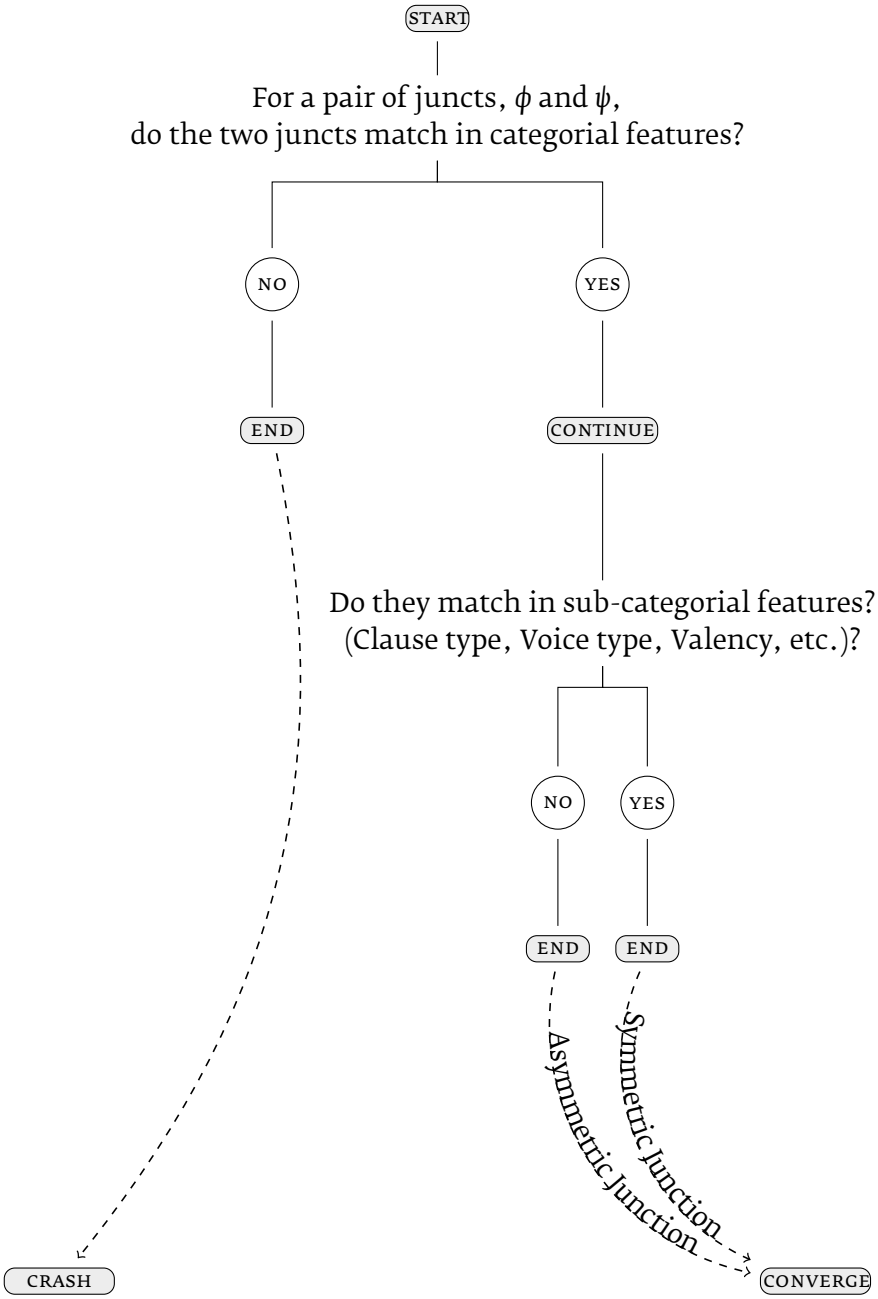
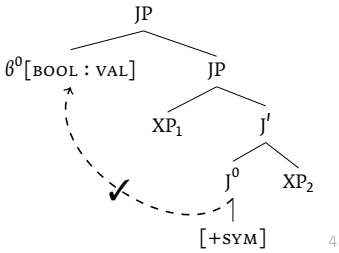


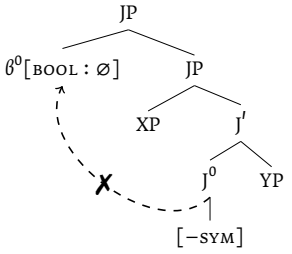
FIGURE 1: A toy algorithm determining junction symmetry.

(13) β-valuation in

a. Symmetric Junction:



b. Asymmetric Junction:



In cases where the Junction is asymmetric, the β-operator remains unvalued. I propose that it is Dynamic Conjunction that kicks in as last resort in such cases.

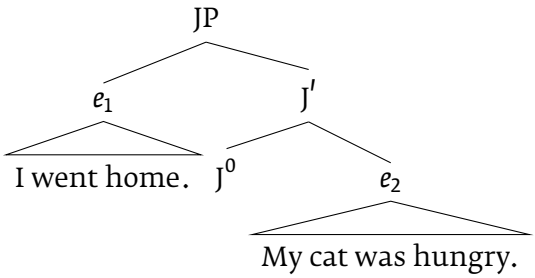
DYNAMIC CONJUNCTION

Dynamic conjunction requires that sequencing be the only compositional operation. The Junction syntax set up in the last section given structural and interpretational basics for this approach which I develop in this section.

I propose that [uF :] on β^0 may remain unvalued, à la Preminger's (2011) analysis, in which case Dynamic Conjunction (DC) obtains, in the sense of Dekker (2012), as a default interpretation of β and JP. In this default scenario, the dynamically interpretive mechanism will apply DC by universally interpreting the second sentence S' in $\langle S, S' \rangle$ in the context of the S (Dekker, 2012), yielding 'consecutive' or implicative meaning that is consistently reflected in supra-sentential discourse structures and which I model as null Junction of $\langle S, S' \rangle$.

This is shown for a small stretch of discourse below. Note that both juncts in (15) seemingly match in their categorial and sub-categorial features, hence we expect the β-operator to be checked in syntax. While this is an available reading, there is another one in which the two juncts constitute a discourse stretch which is allegedly larger than two clauses and not subject to narrow syntactic operations but rather pragmatic (the reader may verify the dynamic reading by adding a longer pause between the juncts).

(14)



(15) $$[[(14)]] = \begin{cases} e_1 \wedge e_2 & \text{if } [[J^0]] = \wedge \text{ and } e_1 \neq e_2 \\ e_1 \rightarrow e_2 & \text{otherwise (DS)} \end{cases}$$

In the next section, as I turn to the semantic aspects of PseCo, I will show how the implicative meaning falls out in the presuppositional dimensions. In that case, the DC effects are derived from the presupposition projection properties of PseCo.

2.2 TYPOLOGY & VARIATION

Given the featural asymmetry between the conjuncts in PseCo, DC applies. However, DC is generally definable for propositions (clauses) only, while in the case of PseCo, it is structurally restricted to sub-clausal verbal juncts with a shared event-variable. If structures are supra-clausal, either $\wedge$ or $\rightarrow$ may be the logical closures, per DC. If the junction structure is sub-clausal (AP, VP, PP, etc.), only $\wedge$ is available since dynamic interpretation does not apply sub-clausally (i.e. to non-propositional elements). We assume a Junction structure (JP), as per den Dikken (2006) and Mitrović (2014), *int. al.* and propose a typology of coordination/junction with PseCo subsumed. Note that type-III conjunction in the Table refers to asymmetric conjunctions that are not PseCos, yet show similar and-to-if inferences (11), as investigated by Klinedinst & Rothschild (2012).

What makes Pseudo-Coordination possible in some languages and impossible in others? Given the proposed JP structure, the answer is expressed in hierarchical terms of the parameter theory, and given in Figure 2.

PseCo is subsumable within the parametric space for junction constructions and expression in Fig. 2. This also provides a parametric means of diagnosing PseCo and explicating a view of its acquisition within the line of thinking of macro-parametric design (an immodest task). In the next section, I will demonstrate the means of compositionally deriving PseCo also.

	Coordination parameters			*Category*	*Connective*	*β-val.*	*DC*
	maximal	symmetric	proper				
I	+	+	+	$\leqslant$ CP	$\wedge, \vee$	+	−
II	+	+	−	$>$ CP	$\wedge, \rightarrow$	−	+
III	+	−	−	CP[DEC|IMP]	$\rightarrow$	−	+
IV	−	+	+	NP|VP	$\wedge, \vee, \rightarrow$	+	−
V	−	−	−	V/VoiceP	$\wedge, \rightarrow$	−	+

TABLE 1: A typological partition based on the Boolean parametric hierarchy for coordination systems.

Note that the categories of con/juncts shown in Tab. 1 are all phasal: CP being the high phase, *v*P being the low phase, and the lexical maximal categories NP and VP being the first phase (see Roberts 2010 and those he cites for details on the phasal status of minimal categories).

(16) **(I)** Maximally & symmetrically proper coordination

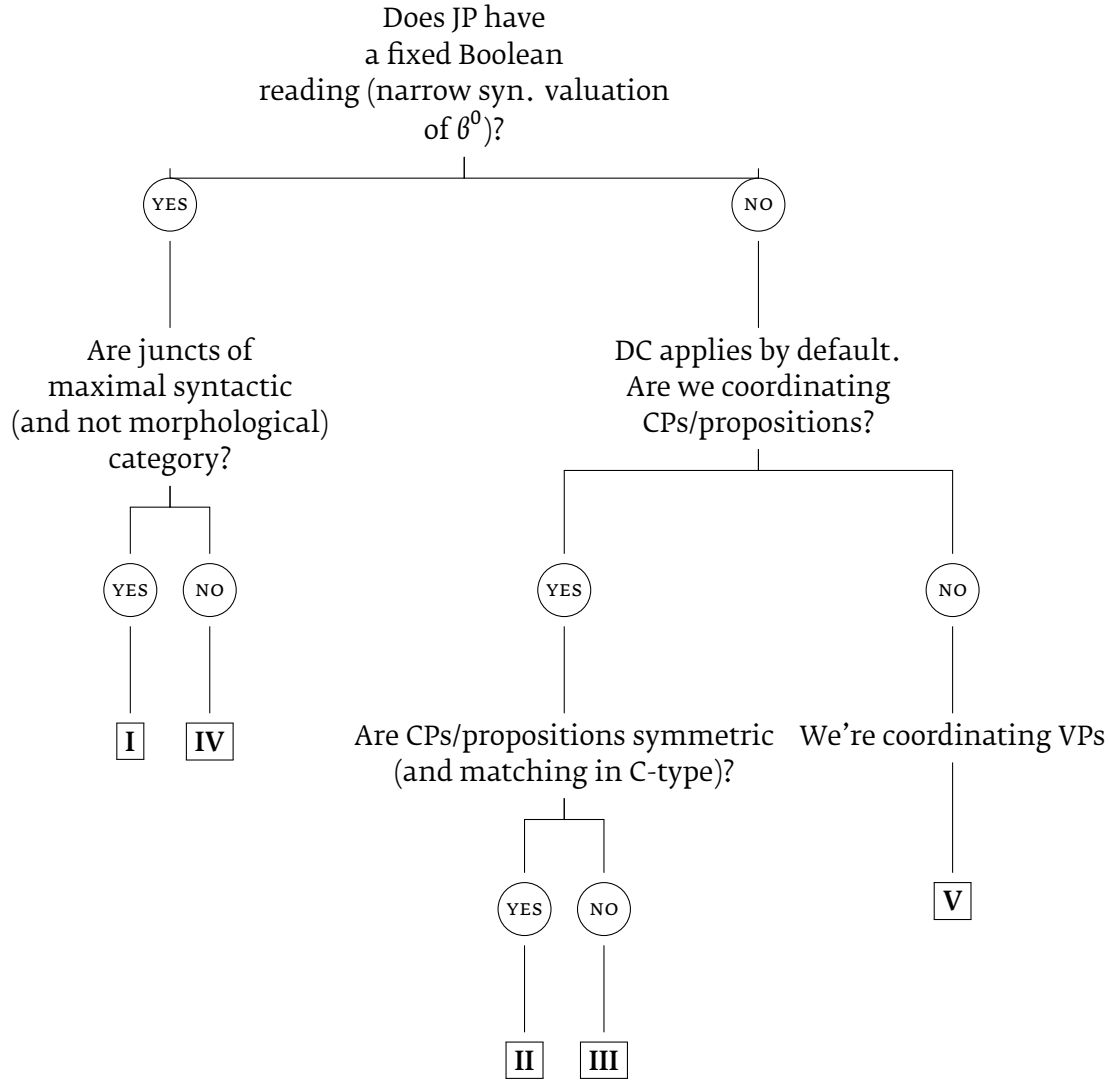


FIGURE 2: A Boolean parametric hierarchy for coordination systems, subsuming PseCo and yielding typological taxonomies and hypothesised learning pathways.

(**II**) Maximally & symmetrically improper coordination
(**III**) Maximally & asymmetrically improper coordination
(**IV**) Minimally & symmetrically proper coordination (:= compounding)
(**V**) Non-maximal improper coordination (:= PseCo)

Before resuming with the analysis, let me briefly take stock of the elements of the analysis developed thus far. Here are the syntactic properties of junctions:

(17) a. The Junction Phrase (JP) is a constituent formed by joining two daughter constituents, and is a common structural denominator between conjunction and disjunction, or larger stretches of discourse.
b. Coordination proper is derived though the silent attachment of a β operator to a JP and maps the junction of two arguments onto a Boolean value (i.e., it derives the *t*-reducibility of a coordination/junction expression). The structure containing a JP and a β operator is a proper junction, or coordination (Junction Proper).
c. The β operator can apply when the arguments are symmetrically joined. By virtue of *t*-reducibility, junction arguments are therefore commutative and the junction symmetric.
d. Improper junction involves an unvalued β head: in this scenario, β does not act as an intervenor to extraction from a JP.
e. Only proper junction is subject to CSC.

The analysis I laid out treats the internal conjunct of a PseCo expression as a resultative verb. In the next section, I will develop a compositional interpretation, according to which '(she went and) got a mortgage' denotes a state derived from the event of getting a mortgage, and the cause of the state is the first conjunct verb. Let me turn to that now.

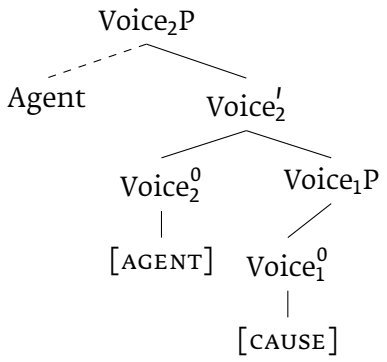
2.3 THE CAUSATIVE SYNTAX OF PSECO

I propose that the syntactic structure of PseCo be analysed as an asymmetric junction of a VP and a [CAUSE]-bearing VoiceP. My main motivation for this claim is semantic in nature and I will postpone the relevant discussion until the next section.

Note that [CAUSE] does not always add, or require, a causer argument, as Pylkkänen (2008) has shown. It is also valid to dissociate this [CAUSE]-bearing head from the Voice category that introduces the external argument. For evidence on this, also see Pylkkänen (2008). Let me therefore split the VoiceP into at least two formative layers: one carrying agenitive feature, or feature-bundles, and another specified for causativity, carrying (at least)

[CAUSE]:

(18) Splitting Voice:

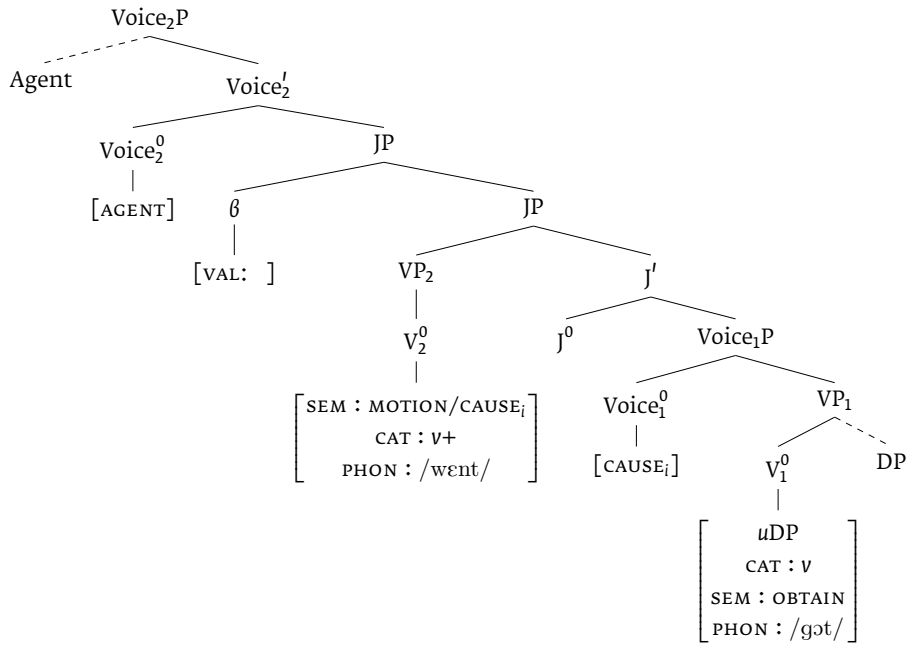


Under the reasonable assumption that there are at least two such Voice layers, it is further reasonable to allow for junction to take place at any of the two maximal category levels. Consider the junction site to be at Voice$_1$P-level, along with the assumption that PseCo is asymmetric, hence the two juncts do not match in structure, as motivated in Fig. 1 and the discussion above.

The analysis I submit considers the first conjunct of a PseCo to be a VP and the second a Voice$_1$P of the type noted above. Note that Cardinaletti & Giusti (2001) require there to be an additional non-lexical layer in the projection of the fist PseCo conjunct in order for them to derived the bleachedness effects (8).[5] This view is fully consistent with mine and my analysis does not require the first conjunct to be lexical in nature derivationally, but only distinct from the Voice$_1$P in lacking the [CAUSE] feature, as I will discuss. I tentatively assume that the bleached motion verb, presumably carrying a [CAUSE]-type feature, passes such a feature via Agree onto Voice$_1^0$ across the Junction boundary.

5 I therefore mark the categorial feature of the first conjunct as *v+*, signifying a possibly more functional property of the category, which is in line with the assumption that it carries a [CAUSE]-like feature.

(19) Deriving PseCo as improper VP/VoiceP-junction:



Consider the derivation of such a constructions given in (26). The next section provides a compositional obverse of the syntactic structure.

3 SEMANTICS & PRAGMATICS

3.1 SEMANTICS

I map the Junction structure here onto a composition engine with the aim of arriving at a compositional interpretation of PseCo that retains its core semantic signature, namely the single-event reading. The first subsection is devoted to empirically substantiating the claim that PseCo expressions allow for a single-event reading (hinging on and reproducing arguments from Cardinaletti and Giusti). The second half of this section transplants the syntactic structure onto a λ-driven extensional composition.

3.1.1 THE SINGLE-EVENT PROPERTY

The arguments presented here come largely from Cardinaletti & Giusti (2001), who investigate three languages in detail and justify the observation given in (20)

(20) The two verbs in the inflected construction [PseCo] refer to a single event. (Cardinaletti & Giusti, 2001, 386n40)

They cite Shopen (1971) who notices that in American English, PseCo does not have the same meaning as the corresponding infinitival (where 'and' and 'to' are swapped).

(21) Cardinaletti & Giusti (2001, 386n41–42), taken from Shopen (1971, 258)

a. They *go to buy* vegetables everyday, but there never are any vegetables.

b. *They *go buy* vegetables everyday, but there never are any vegetables.

c. *They *go and buy* vegetables everyday, but there never are any vegetables.

In PseCo, the two verbs are interpreted as denoting the same event (20), while the infinitival in (21-a) refers to two events and is felicitous (and grammatical) even if only one such event is true (their having gone but not purchased anything since there was nothing to purchase). Since the event of going-and-purchasing must coincide, the PseCo construction in (21-b), or its silent variant in American English (21-c), is ungrammatical and infelicitous.

The distribution in (21) also testifies to the factivity of PseCo (see §3.2.1): the fact that the corrective clause clashes with what the PseCo preceding it expresses is evidence for this. I will derive these properties and suggest that the event, from which the stative reading of the internal conjunct is derived, is presupposed in the denotation of the PseCo.

For this reading to obtain, I will posit a small VoiceP structure for the internal conjunct. We can maintain the split Voice analysis, retain one type of Voice as the structure of the internal (lexical) conjunct in PseCo. This type of Voice is the one specified for causality, carrying a [CAUSE] feature. As I argue in the next section, the [CAUSE] turns the interpretation of the lexical verb (internal conjunct) from one denoting an event to one denoting a state of an event. A state of an event is taken to be a property that an event has. This is the resultative-like meaning of the second conjunct in PseCo, making it semantically resemble an adjective.

3.1.2 COMPOSING PSECO

This section provides an analysis inspired largely by Kratzer (1996, 2005). From her first work, I adopt and incorporate the notion of Event Identification, and from her second work, an analysis of resultatives. The latter will allow me to propose that verb serialisation, *qua* PseCo, is a concealed resultative construction. As I argue, what they both share is the presence of a [CAUSE] feature. So let me first motivate the two ideas in turn.

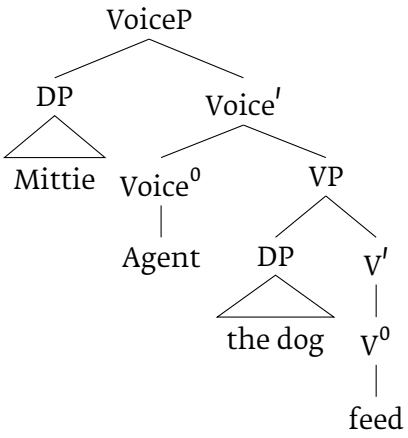
EVENT IDENTIFICATION

The first ingredient of the compositional system I develop is the one which will enable the merger of an Agent (or any other thematic assigner) within the VoiceP system.

Kratzer (1996) follows Bowers (1993) in assuming that all arguments are merged in the specifier position of their relevant heads: external arguments

are arguments of the Voice functional layer, and hence are generated in Spec(VoiceP), while direct objects are, being selected by (and being) arguments of V, externally merged in in Spec(VP).[6] Let me reproduce in (22-b), taken from Kratzer (1996, 121n21–2), an exemplar syntactic structure, along with the composition which requires a specialised composition rule, Event Identification.

(22) a. Construction of VoiceP:



b. Interpretation of VoiceP:

(i) $[\![\text{feed}]\!] = \lambda x \in D_e[\lambda e \in D_s[\textsc{feed}(x)(e)]]$

(ii) $[\![\text{the dog}]\!] = \textit{the dog}$

(iii) $[\![[\text{the dog}]\ [\text{feed}]]\!] = \lambda e \in D_s[\textsc{feed}(\textit{the dog}(e))]$ (by FA)

(iv) $[\![\text{Agent}]\!] = \lambda x \in D_e[\lambda e \in D_s[\textsc{agent}(x)(e)]]$

(v) $[\![[\text{Agent}]\ [\text{the dog feed}]]\!] = \lambda x \in D_e[\lambda e \in D_s \begin{bmatrix} \textsc{agent}(x)(e) \wedge \\ \textsc{feed}(\textit{the dog})(e) \end{bmatrix}]$ (by EI)

(vi) $[\![\text{Mittie}]\!] = \textit{Mittie}$

(vii) $[\![[\text{Mittie}]\ [\text{Agent the dog feed}]]\!] = \lambda e \in D_s \begin{bmatrix} \textsc{agent}(\textit{Mittie})(e) \wedge \\ \textsc{feed}(\textit{the dog})(e) \end{bmatrix}$

Event Identification (EI), which is required for the calculation of meaning in fifth step above ((22-b-v)), is a form of a conjunction operation for predicates which allows, informally, thematic participants in the event structure to be identified with the verb. EI divorces verbs from their seeming argument-taking semantics and, as Kratzer (1996) describes, Event Identification makes it possible to chain together various conditions for the event described by a sentence. It is defined in (23) below.[7]

6 This stance solves several empirical issues – see Kratzer (1996) for arguments and citations.

7 I standardly use e as a type of individuals (from its corresponding domain D_e), t as a type of truth values (in $\{0,1\}$), and s as a type of eventualities (from its own corresponding domain D_s). Note also that eventualities include both events proper (e, not to be confused with type e), and states (s, not to be confused with the type s).

(23) **Event Identification** (EI)

variable:	f	g	$\rightarrow$	h
type:	$\langle e\langle st\rangle\rangle$	$\langle st\rangle$		$\langle e\langle st\rangle\rangle$
composition:				$\lambda x \in D_e[\lambda e \in D_s[f(x)(e) \wedge g(e)]]$

EI takes two functions, f and g, and yields another function h which is similar to the first in being of type $\langle e\langle st\rangle\rangle$, i.e. the denotation of the VoiceP is a function from individuals to functions from eventualities to truth-values.

Consider now the fact that PseCos only allow for single-event readings: I will therefore take them as instantiating VP-junctions, sharing a single selecting Voice^0. Before stating the analysis, I need to motivate another crucial ingredient for my structure: the [CAUSE] feature on Voice, to which I turn next.

EVENTS OF CAUSING AND THE [CAUSE] FEATURE

In PseCo expressions such as 'she went and got a mortgage' can be analysed as resultative or causative construction. To see how causatives and resultatives are generally connected semantically, see Kratzer (2005) and those she cites.

In the previous section I proposed an asymmetric analysis of PseCo (19) where one conjunct is a VP, and the other a causative-like VoiceP. The crucial ingredient in the latter is the presence of the [CAUSE] feature which I motivate on semantic grounds.

The feature [CAUSE] is interpreted as the predicate CAUSE which I define below, following Kratzer (2005).

(24) $[\![[\text{CAUSE}]]\!] = \lambda P \in D_{\langle st\rangle}[\lambda e \in D_s[\exists s \in D_s[\begin{bmatrix}\text{STATE}(s) \wedge \text{EVENT}(e) \wedge \\ P(s) \wedge \text{CAUSE}(s)(e)\end{bmatrix}]]]$

The compositional analysis of the derivation I proposed in (19) hinges on the stative treatment of the internal conjunct which fed into the meaning of [CAUSE]. However, in order for this to obtain, I have to posit a silent STATIVISER function which takes a proper event of type $\langle st\rangle$, denoted by the internal conjunct VP, and returns a state of that event. The VP denotes an event of '(her) getting a mortage', and the STATIVISER extracts the property of that event as a state. Therefore, the denotation of Voice$_1$P denotes the resulting state of '(her) having got or obtained a mortgage'. The STATIVISER entry in (2) essentially just swaps the variable e for variable s, both of type s, while presupposing the state is derived from a corresponding event.[8] This step is legitimate on conceptual grounds, as Ernst (2001) argues using his *Fact-Event Object* (FEO) Calculus for which there are three rules; I give in (25) only one that is relevant here.

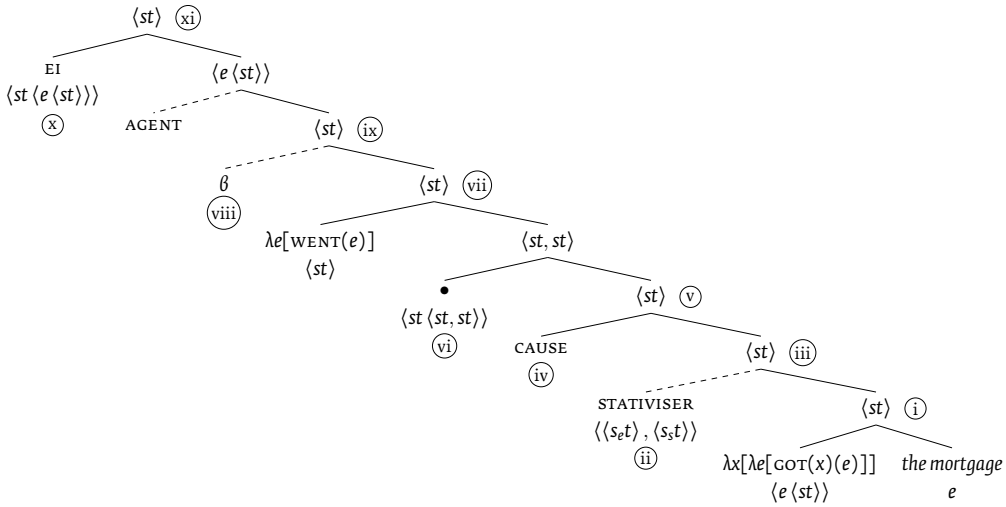
(25) Any FEO (sub)type may be converted to another FEO (sub)type as re-

8 The presuppositional content is marked before the bracketed nucleus and after the colon.

quired by lexical items or coercion operators. (Ernst, 2001, 50n2.25b)

The stativiser I propose therefore turns a dynamic event into a stative one, by extracting the state as a property of that event. I do not pursue the details of how active statives are derived in detail, but rather refer the reader to the semantics of Ernst (2001), Koontz-Garboden (2010), Michaelis (2011), Baglini (2012), and those they cite and rely on. (Note that the J head, interpreted as •-operator below, is realised as the 'and' marker.)

(26) Interpreting PseCo as improper VP/VoiceP-junction:



i. $[\![\text{VP}_1]\!] = [\![\text{got}]\!]([\![\text{the mortgage}]\!])$
$= \lambda x \in D_e[\lambda e \in D_s[\textsc{got}(x)(e)]](\textit{the mortgage})$
$= \lambda e \in D_s[\textsc{got}((\textit{the mortgage}))(e)]$
$= \lambda e \in D_s[\textsc{g}(m)(e)]$ (shorthand)

ii. $[\![\textsc{stativiser}]\!] = \lambda P \in D_{\langle st\rangle}[\lambda s \in D_s[\lambda e \in D_s : P(e)[P(s)]]]$

iii. $[\![\textsc{stativiser}]\!]([\![\text{VP}_1]\!]) = \lambda P \in D_{\langle st\rangle}[\lambda s \in D_s[\lambda e \in D_s : P(e)[P(s)]]]$
$(\lambda e \in D_s[\textsc{g}(m)(e)])$
$= \lambda s \in D_s[\lambda e \in D_s : \textsc{g}(m)(e)[\textsc{g}(m)(s)]]$

iv. $[\![\textsc{cause}]\!] =$ (24)

v. $[\![\textsc{cause}]\!]([\![\text{(iii)}]\!]) = \lambda P \in D_{\langle st\rangle}[\lambda e \in D_s[\exists s \in D_s \begin{bmatrix} \textsc{state}(s) \wedge \\ \textsc{event}(e) \wedge P(s) \wedge \\ \textsc{cause}(s)(e) \end{bmatrix}]]$
$(\lambda s \in D_s[\lambda e \in D_s : \textsc{g}(m)(e)[\textsc{g}(m)(s)])$
$= \lambda e \in D_s[\exists s \in D_s : \textsc{g}(m)(e) \begin{bmatrix} \textsc{state}(s) \wedge \textsc{event}(e) \wedge \\ \textsc{g}(m)(s) \wedge \\ \textsc{cause}(s)(e) \end{bmatrix}]]$

vi. $[\![\text{J}]\!] = \lambda\phi[\lambda\psi[\phi \bullet \psi]]$
$= \lambda\phi[\lambda\psi[\langle\phi, \psi\rangle]]$

vii. $[\![\mathrm{VP}_1 \bullet \mathrm{VP}_2]\!] = \left\langle \lambda e \in D_s[\exists s \in D_s : \textsc{g}(m)(e) \left[\begin{array}{c} \textsc{state}(s) \wedge \textsc{event}(e) \wedge \\ \textsc{g}(m)(s) \wedge \\ \textsc{cause}(s)(e) \end{array}\right]]], \lambda e[\textsc{went}(e)] \right\rangle$

viii. $[\![\beta]\!] = \lambda \langle \phi, \psi \rangle [\phi \wedge \psi]$

ix. $[\![\beta]\!]([\![\mathrm{VP}_1 \bullet \mathrm{VP}_2]\!]) = \lambda e \in D_s[\exists s \in D_s : \textsc{g}(m)(e) \left[\begin{array}{c} \textsc{state}(s) \wedge \textsc{event}(e) \wedge \\ \textsc{went}(e) \wedge \\ \textsc{g}(m)(s) \wedge \\ \textsc{cause}(s)(e) \end{array}\right]]]$
(by Predicate Modification)

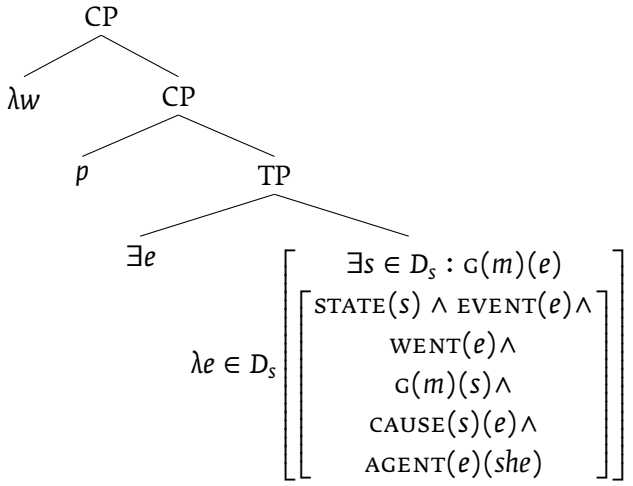
x. $[\![\textsc{ei}]\!] = (23)$

xi. $[\![\textsc{ei}]\!]([\![\mathrm{JP}]\!])([\![\textsc{agent}]\!]) = [\![(\!(\mathrm{x})\!)]\!]([\![(\!(\mathrm{ix})\!)]\!])([\![\mathrm{she}]\!])$

$$= \lambda e \in D_s \left[\begin{array}{c} \exists s \in D_s : \textsc{g}(m)(e) \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} \textsc{state}(s) \wedge \textsc{event}(e) \wedge \\ \textsc{went}(e) \wedge \\ \textsc{g}(m)(s) \wedge \\ \textsc{cause}(s)(e) \wedge \\ \textsc{agent}(e)(\mathit{she}) \end{array}\right] \end{array}\right]$$

The interpretation in (26) thus represents the composition of the event structure of PseCo, which further composes with the T-head to close off the abstracted *e*-variables and derive it with a proposition. The entire clause, in turn, denotes a word-dependent interpretation of that proposition. (This will become relevant in the next section, when we turn to the pragmatic effects of PseCo.)

(27) Composing the proposition that 'she went and got the mortgage'



Our analysis of stativisation also produces a presuppositional component of meaning in the first conjunct, which allows us, in combination with the single-event constraint, to provide a dynamic treatment of the conjunction, whereby the event denoted by the first conjunct will entail the event in the

second conjunct.

In §3.2 I turn to the pragmatics of PseCo expressions.

3.2 PRAGMATICS

This section argues for the following two pragmatic signatures of declarative PseCo expressions:

(28) i. PseCos are factives.
ii. PseCos are doxastics: PseCos commit a speaker to a belief (at least in declarative contexts). The commitment to a belief ϕ is emotive and surprising.

In the following two subsections, I address each of the properties in turn.

3.2.1 FACTIVITY

PseCo express factive propositions, unlike their close variants. Recall the contrast between PseCo and its infinitival variant, repeated below.

(29) Cardinaletti & Giusti (2001, 386n41–42), taken from Shopen (1971, 258), partially repeated from (21)
i. They *go to buy* vegetables everyday, but there never are any vegetables.
ii. *They *go and buy* vegetables everyday, but there never are any vegetables.

The pair in (29) clearly shows a contrast: PseCo are factives, infinitivals are not. The factivity property of PseCo is predicted under my semantic analysis since the denotation of the Voice_1P has existential presupposition with which the adversative *but*-conjunct clashes in (29-ii).

3.2.2 SURPRISE & EMOTIVITY

PseCo expressions communicate (generally negative) emotivity and surprise on part of the speaker, as Carden & Pesetsky (1977) have first noticed. Take the following example:

(30) It took me **six months** to get a mortgage.
i. (But,) John *went and got* it in **three**.
⇝ John managed to get a mortgage with ease.
ii. #(But,) John *went and got* it in **twelve**.
↛ John managed to get a mortgage with ease.

I adopt here a theory of *surprise* that treats it as a predicate that yields unexpected similarities between the actual world and the stereotypical world.

To see how surprise works, consider the following scenario (taken from Romero 2015). Since the relevant focus-marking in the complement clause,

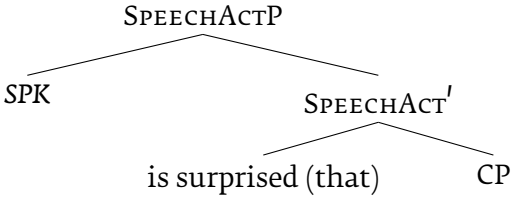
in line with the scenario, is on TUESday, the focus alternatives from the embedded clause are able to project upward point-wise and supply the emotive factive with the relevant doxastic alternatives.

(31) [SCENARIO] Lisa knew that syntax was going to be taught. She expected syntax to be taught by John, since he is the best syntactician around. Also, she expected syntax to be taught on Mondays, since that is the rule.

i. It surprised Lisa that John taught syntax on TUESdays — TRUE
ii. It surprised Lisa that JOHN taught syntax on Tuesdays — NOT TRUE

I follow Romero (2015, 227, ex. 12) in her adapting the semantics of desire-predicates (of Heim 1992 and Stalnaker 1984) to emotive factives, such as the *surprise* predicate. I take this predicate to be silently projected in the syntax, at some higher supra-clausal level, possibly where Speech Acts are encoded. Compositionally, this *surprise*-predicate combines with the proposition (32) and the Speaker (*SPK*):[9]

(32) i. The silent supra-clausal Speech Act layer hosting the *surprise* predicate



ii. Interpreting the clause:

$$[\![\text{CP}]\!] = \lambda w \left[\exists e \left[\left[\left[\begin{array}{c} \exists s : \textsc{got}(\textit{the mortgage})(e) \\ p(w) = \\ \textsc{state}(s) \wedge \\ \textsc{event}(e) \wedge \\ \textsc{went}(e) \wedge \\ \textsc{got}(\textit{the mortgage})(s) \wedge \\ \textsc{cause}(s)(e) \wedge \\ \textsc{agent}(e)(\textit{she}) \end{array} \right] \right] \right] \right]$$

Defining this predicate requires two ingredients. The first is a relation of comparative similarity, which maps p to p-worlds maximally similar to w_0, the actual world.

The second is an expectability ordering ($>^{\text{EXP}}_{\langle x, w_0 \rangle}$), which is defined as a relation between some individual x and the real-world w_0. I submit that the modal similarity operates on stereotypical modal ordering (which in turn derives the negative flavour of the emotive factive). A stereotypical ordering source maps w to a set of propositions characterising what typically (but

9 I do not delve deeper into how the syntax of Speech Acts and discourse is derived – for details of how the discourse participants are encoded in narrow syntax, see Woods (2016).

not always) happens in w (Reisinger, 2016). In more formal terms,

(33) i. A *stereotypical conversational background* is a function f which assigns sets of propositions to members of W such that for any $w \in W$: $f(w)$ contains all those propositions p such that it is the normal course of events in w that p (for someone, for a community, etc.). (Kratzer, 1981, 45)

ii. A *stereotypical ordering source* in w is then $g(w)$ which is a set of propositions that represent the normal course of events in w.

The proposition (32) expressed by a PseCo expression such as 'she went and got the mortgage' is therefore not a member of the stereotypical ordering source, which is the source of the surprise effect. Let's plug this into the *surprise*-predicate entry, which I adopt from Heim (1992) and Stalnaker (1984) via Romero (2015).

(34) $[\![\textit{SPK} \text{ is surprised that } p]\!] = \lambda w_0 \left[\begin{array}{c} \forall w \in \bigcap \text{Dox}(w_0) \\ \left[\text{SIM}_w(\neg p) >^{\text{EXP}}_{\langle \textit{SPK}, w_0 \rangle} \text{SIM}_w(p) \right] \end{array} \right]$

Therefore, for all the speaker knows given the stereotypical conversational background and (33), the speaker is not, or less, likely to expect that the world in which p is true to be similar to the worlds in the speaker's stereotypical ordering source $g(w)$. Hence the surprise.

4 CONCLUSIONS & OUTLOOK

This paper has attempted a unified treatment of syntax, semantics, and pragmatics, based more or less on a declarative PseCo expression. Despite the empirical limitation, the conclusions of the present work are more general.

(35) i. PseCo constructions are instantiations of improper junction.

ii. Junction is a structural umbrella notion that can handle a range of coordinate and coordinate-like constructions and expressions.

iii. PseCo constructions of the 'go-(and-)get'-type are concealed causatives where the first conjunct acts (or is interpreted) as an event of causing a state, which the internal conjunct denotes.

iv. PseCo expressions of the 'go-(and-)get'-type are doxastics and (in their narrative, declarative, episodic contexts) bring about a 'surprise' effect, thereby committing a speaker to hold an emotive attitude towards the proposition containing PseCo.

There are issues that remain to be resolved and integrated with the present proposal. One such open question concerns the nature of non-declarative and episodic PseCo expressions. In imperative contexts, by contrast, this attitude is absent, due to the nature of imperativity and future-anchoring of the proposition an imperative expresses.

Syntactically, these two types also correlate with the optional vs. obligatory presence of the overt conjunction marker. This, in turn, may turn out to correlate directly with the factivity property.

(36) Imperative:
'Go (and) get the mortgage!'

(37) Declarative:
'She went ∗(and) got the mortgage!'

Another question concerns the wider pool of PseCo expressions, containing other first-conjunct verbs (such as *try* or *come*, etc.) In this regard, the present work bring us closer to the discussion Kratzer (2005, 209) initiated:

> In a serial verb construction, a stack of VPs is interpreted via successive applications of Event Identification. Consequently, there are tight constraints on what kind of verbs can participate in the construction. Most run-of-the-mill event descriptions are not compatible with each-other: I can laugh while dancing and move while sleeping, but no laugh can be a dance, and no sleep can be a move. On the other hand, a watering event can be an event of causing the tulips to be flat, and a drinking event can be an event of causing your teapot to be empty. As long as VPs can describe such causing events without the help of inflection, we should find causal interpretations in serial verb constructions. We saw that in German and English, the availability of an unpronounced derivational suffix [cause] seems to produce a marginal case of seriali[s]ation. What other types of event identifications might be possible in principle? A walking event could be identified with an event that has a particular purpose, for example, like buying a refrigerator or talking to my boss. If VPs could describe such events without the help of inflection, we would expect to find serial verb constructions with purpose interpretations. We should be looking for inflectionless VPs with meanings corresponding to English *in order to*-infinitivals, then. More generally, the range of possible meanings for serial verb constructions should be jointly determined by the operation of Event Identification and the expressive possibilities for bare VPs.

If the presented analysis is on the right track, we should be able to derive Kratzer's predictions and find purposive serial constructions, which could be composed in ways similar to the one I advocated for in this chapter.

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