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# PEJORATIVITY IN PSEUDOCOORDINATION: EXAMPLES FROM SWEDISH

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# Outline

- Swedish/Scandinavian pseudocoordination (SPC) as an aspectual contributor?
- Pejorative/emotive meaning in pseudocoordination
- Usage/exemplar-based CxG as the model (for development)
- Conclusions, questions and further work



# Background

Swedish/Scandinavian pseudocoordination, SPC, as an aspectual contributor

- Posture-verb PC as a progressive construction or corresponding to *be+V-ing*
  - *Hon sitter och äter.*
  - e.g. Johansson 1987, Josefsson 1991, Bertinetto et al. 2000, Ebert 2000, Henriksson 2006, Wiklund 2007, Holmes & Hinchliffe 2008:125, Hesse 2009, Hilpert & Koops 2009, Bylin 2013, Viberg 2013



# Background

Swedish/Scandinavian pseudocoordination (SPC) as an aspectual contributor

- Motion-verb PC ('go around' PC) as an aspectual construction
  - *Han går och funderar.*
  - e.g. Ebert 2000:615ff. ("motion progressive")
  - Breed (20xx) for Afrikaans ("progressive")



# Background

Swedish/Scandinavian pseudocoordination (SPC) as an aspectual contributor

- Directed Motion-verb PC ('go away' PC) as an aspectual construction:
  - *Han gick och hämtade nycklarna.*
  - transition (Hultman 2003:311)
  - emphasis on initiation/onset of event in 2nd predicate (Wiklund 2009:182)
  - +RESULTATIVE, foregrounding of the initiation of the Event (Josefsson 2014)



# Aspect?

No clear change of (imperfective/progressive) aspect with posture PC (unbounded V2s):

*Hon satt och läste.*

‘She read [hab.]/was reading [prog.] (while sitting).’

*Hon läste.*

‘She read [hab.]/was reading [prog.].’

cf. *She was eating vs. she ate*



# Aspect?

No clear change of (imperfective/progressive) aspect with posture PC (bounded V2s):

*Hon satt och somnade.*

‘She {fell/was falling} asleep (while sitting).’

*Hon somnade.*

‘She {fell/was falling} asleep.’



# Aspect?

*Tro mig eller ej! Han satt och tappade den brinnande cigaretten på min nya fina matta.*

believe me or not he sat and dropped the burning cigarette on my new nice carpet

‘Can you believe it! He dropped the burning cigarette on my nice new carpet.’



No clear change of (ingressive/“transitional”) aspect with *gå* PC

*Hon gick och hämtade nycklarna.*

‘She (walked away to the key-place and) picked up the keys.’

*Hon hämtade nycklarna.*

‘She picked up the keys.’



# Posture-verb PC: being stuck in a location

Sensitive to events that cannot be performed at one stretch (Platzack 1979:66). In other words: posture-verb PC restricts the event to a specific location:

- *Han håller på att skriva {anteckningar/ett brev/en uppsats/en novell/en roman/ett uppslagsverk}.*  
he holds on to write {notes/a letter/an essay/a short-story/a novel/an encyclopedia}
- *Han sitter och skriver {anteckningar/ett brev/?en uppsats/?en novell/\*en roman/\*ett uppslagsverk}.*  
he sits and writes {notes/a letter/an essay/a short-story/a novel/an encyclopedia}



# Posture-verb PC: being stuck in a location

Sensitive to events that cannot be performed at one stretch (Platzack 1979:66). In other words: posture-verb PC restricts the event to a specific location:

- *#Kim står och renoverar köket, men nu är han på jobbet.*
- *Kim håller på att renovera köket, men nu är han på jobbet.*  
(Blensenius 2015 study III:15)
- Jfr. Kinn, Blensenius & Andersson (2018) on facilitation of V2, Jfr. också Lödrup (2019:1) “I argue that pseudocoordination with posture verbs should not be seen as progressive, but rather as a locational (or situative) construction”.



# *gå och V*

Three types previously assumed (see e.g. Josefsson 2014):

- *gå* AROUND: -RESULTATIVE
  - *Han går och funderar.* [Lit.: he walks and ponders]
- *gå* OUT: foregrounds initiation, +RESULTATIVE
  - *Han gick och hämtade nycklarna.* [Lit.: he walked and picked-up the keys]
- *gå* HAPPEN: surprise, unexpectedness
  - *Han gick och gifte sig i går.* [Lit.: he walked and married yesterday]



# Gå och V

Two types assumed by Andersson & Blensenius (2018):

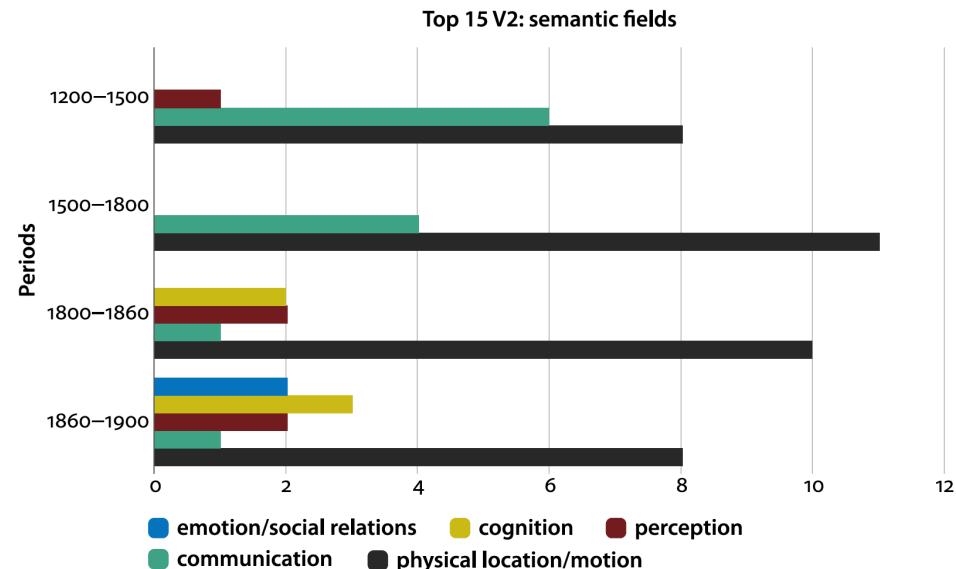
- Goal oriented cxn
  - *Han gick och hämtade nycklarna.*
  - *Han gick och gifte sig i går* (pejorative/emotive)
- Non-goal oriented cxn
  - *Han går och funderar.* [pejorativ]  
(jfr. SAG: rörelseangivande verb för befintlighet)





# Gå och V över tid

	Old Sw	E Mod Sw	L Mod Sw	
	1225–1500	1500–1800	1800–1860	1860–1900
	Size: 5.5 million tokens	Size: 31.2 million tokens	Size: 437.5 million tokens	Size: 476.9 million tokens
Token frequency	101	102	1435	5625
Type frequency	65	71	393	889
Types per 100 tokens	64	70	72	66





# gå och V

Old Swedish	Early Modern Swedish				Late Modern Swedish			
	1200–1500		1500–1800		1800–1860		1860–1900	
	se 'see'	beta 'graze'	lägga sig 'lie down'	lägga sig 'lie down'	lägga sig 'lie down'	lägga sig 'lie down'	360 (6.40)	
lägga sig 'lie down'	8 (7.92)	hänga sig 'hang oneself'	4 (3.92) se 'see'	83 (5.78)	se 'see'	292 (5.19)		
tala 'speak'	5 (4.95)	bereda 'prepare'	4 (3.92) tigga 'beg'	47 (3.27)	bära 'bear in mind'	164 (2.91)		
predika 'preach'	4 (3.96)	tjäna 'serve'	4 (3.92) hämta 'fetch'	37 (2.59)	läsa 'study'	129 (2.29)		
bedja 'pray'	4 (3.96)	spatsera 'walk/stroll'	3 (2.94) söka 'seek'	37 (2.59)	tänka 'think'	114 (2.02)		
besöka 'visit'	3 (2.97)	tala 'speak'	3 (2.94) vänta 'wait'	26 (1.81)	söka 'seek'	90 (1.60)		
spatsera 'walk/stroll'	3 (2.97)	lägga sig 'lie down'	3 (2.94) sälja 'sell'	26 (1.81)	hörta 'hear'	67 (1.19)		
kyssa 'kiss'	3 (2.97)	sprätta 'strut'	2 (1.96) ta 'take'	25 (1.74)	hänga sig 'hang oneself'	67 (1.19)		
hämta 'fetch'	2 (1.98)	bedja 'pray'	2 (1.96) tala 'speak'	24 (1.67)	hämta 'fetch'	57 (1.01)		

fråga 'ask'	2 (1.98)	vanka 'saunter'	2 (1.96)	spatsera "walk/stroll"	22 (1.53)	dränka sig 'drown oneself'	56 (0.99)
lyfta upp 'lift up'	2 (1.98)	fråga 'ask'	2 (1.96)	hänga sig 'hang oneself'	22 (1.53)	inbilliga sig 'imagine'	56 (0.99)
svära 'swear'	2 (1.98)	hämta 'fetch'	2 (1.96)	beta 'graze'	20 (1.39)	köpa 'buy'	51 (0.90)
söka 'seek'	2 (1.98)	två 'wash'	2 (1.96)	sätta sig 'sit down'	20 (1.39)	tala 'speak'	51 (0.90)
säga 'say'	2 (1.98)	beklagा 'regret'	2 (1.96)	tänka 'think'	19 (1.32)	beta 'graze'	49 (0.87)
ta 'take'	2 (1.98)	skilja 'separate'	2 (1.96)	dränka sig 'drown oneself'	19 (1.32)	förälska sig 'fall in love'	47 (0.85)



# gå och V

Non-goal oriented  
negative/pejorative

*men nu Kan du gå och sprätta helt allena så mycket dej lyster*  
but now can you go and strut all alone so much you please  
'but now you can strut around all alone as much as you please'

*hade han gått och burit på den känslan Att kejsaren begått en*  
had he went and carried on that feeling that the emperor committed an  
*oförrätt mot honom*  
injury to him  
'he felt in his mind that the emperor did him wrong'



# gå och V

## Goal oriented negative/pejorative

*För några dagar sedan har en ung gosse i Allerums socken företagit*  
for some days ago has a young boy in Allerum community carried.out  
*sig det orådet Att gå och hänga sig ute i Skogen*  
REFL the mischief to go and hang himself out in the.forest  
'A few days ago, a young boy in Allerum Community carried out the mischief of going and hanging himself out in the forest.'

*Er pappa har gått och gift sig Med en hvit qvinna af allravärsta*  
your father has gone and married REFL with a white woman of worst  
*slaget*  
the.kind  
'Your father has married a white woman of the worst kind'

*från den tiden då Den stackars olyeklige (sic) gick åstad och gifte*  
since the time when The poor unfortunate went away and married  
*sig lefver Han som den sämste kälkborgare*  
REFL lives He as the worst philistine  
'Since the poor unfortunate man was married, he lives as the worst kind of middle class Philistine.'

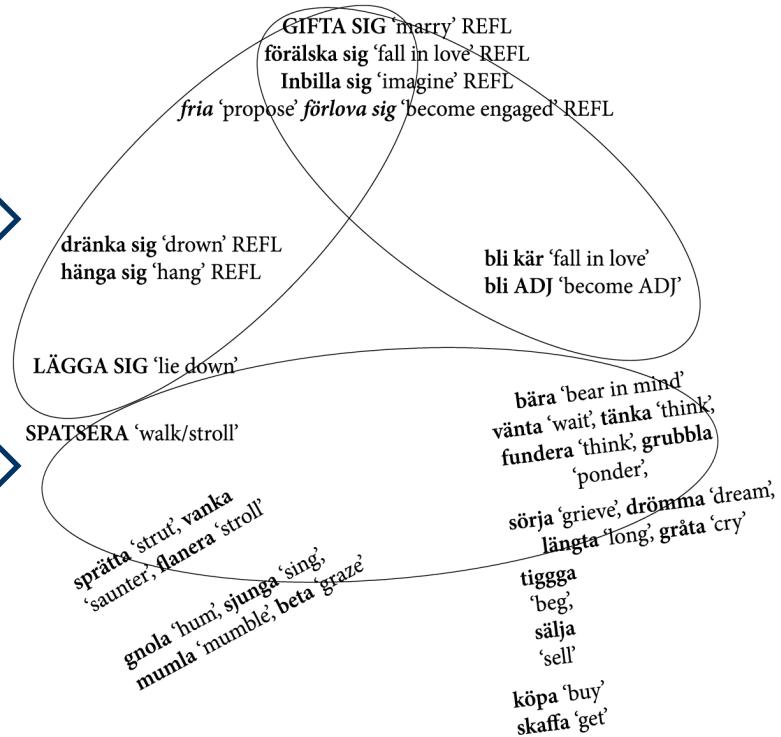
*Det är minst sagt löjligt att en Gammal man som du kan gå och*  
it is least said ridiculous that an old man like you can go and  
*förälska sig flera gånger om Året*  
fall.in.love REFL several times a year  
'To say the least, it's ridiculous that an old man like you falls in love several times a year'



# gå och V

Development of emotive/  
pejorative meaning,  
Item-based analogy

Entrenchment of frequent exemplars





# *gå och V*

Semi-schematic  $[V_{AG.MOTION} \text{ and } VP]_{AG}$



## Mismatch and coercion

Specific cxn: [Han gick<sub>AG</sub>      och    förälskade sig<sub>EXP</sub>]

The override principle: If a lexical item is semantically incompatible with its morphosyntactic context, the meaning of the lexical item conforms to the meaning of the structure in which it is embedded (Michaelis 2004:25)

Result: Not only pejorative but odd referring to the agents' "clumsiness"  
(*gå och förälska sig*, *gå och bli sjuk*, *gå och bryta benet*)



## ***sitta/stå/ligga och V and pejorative/emotive meaning***

- Lemmens (2005:209): Dutch *liggen* strongly associated with inactivity and decay.
  - ▶ Negative attitude expressed in e.g. *Lig niet te zeuren!* Lit.: lie not to whine.
- Henriksson (2006:140): posture-verb PC pejorativity associated with *härl/där'*  
(ex.: *Här sitter du och tittar på teve!*)



# *sitta/stå/ligga och V and pejorative/emotive meaning*

Ongoing pilot, Old + Late  
Modern Sw.

- Corpus size: c. 960 million tokens
- Search string:
  - [V] [*här/där*] ['and'] [V]
- Total N: 500 tokens
- Most frequent V2s: activities,  
typically AGENT subjects

Late Modern Sw (1800-1900)	N
vänta 'wait'	30
se 'see'	27
hörta/lyssna 'hear/listen'	14
prata/tala 'speak'	13
läsa 'read'	12
stirra 'stare'	11
tänka 'think'	10
spela 'play'	10
betrakta 'look at', 'observe'	9
arbeta 'work'	7
berätta 'tell'	5
gråta 'cry'	5
dricka 'drink'	6



# **sitta/stålligga och V and pejorative/emotive meaning**

Examples: *Huru länge behagar det frun att **sitta här och prata** och hindra mig ifrån att sovva  
Om det är en grefve som **sitter där och kråmar sig!***

Old Swedish: *O qwinna hwat lim hafwer thu mist aff thynom lykama / mædhan thu **siter**  
her oc **thigger** / oc fødher thik ey heldir mz thyno handa ærwodhe*



# *sitta/stålligga och V and pejorative/emotive meaning*

Ongoing pilot study: Modern Swedish

- *härl/där*
  - Example search in discussion forums (7.5 billion tokens): [V] [*härl/där*] ['and'] [V2]
  - Most frequent:
    - *sitta {härl/där} och skriva* NP/Clause 'sit {here/there} and write NP/Clause'
    - *sitta {härl/där} och gnälla* 'sit {here/there} and whine'
    - *sitta {härl/där} och fundera* 'sit {here/there} and ponder'



# *sitta/stå ligga och V and pejorative/emotive meaning*

Ongoing pilot study: Modern Swedish

- *härl/där*
  - Example search in newspapers (543 million tokens): [V] [*härl/där*] ['and'] [V2]
  - Most frequent:
    - *sitta {härl/där} och säga* NP/Clause 'sit {here/there} and say NP/Clause'
    - *sitta {härl/där} och prata* 'sit {here/there} and talk'



# Exemplar representations and CxG

Exemplar models propose that memory for linguistic experience is like memory for other types of experience: each token of experienced linguistic behavior has an impact on cognitive representation; when stored representations are accessed in either encoding or decoding, the representations themselves change. In addition, memory storage for linguistic experience includes detailed information about the tokens that have been processed, including their form and the contexts in which they were used (Bybee 2013:52).

In a model in which semantic representations contain only a core or abstract meaning and inferences are calculated on the fly in each context, there is no way for an implication/inference to stick to a construction. However, an exemplar model would record the inferences made in each instance of use, and if the same inference is made on multiple occasions, the strength of that inference increases. With sufficient strength among the semantic exemplars for a construction, the inference can become conventionalized as part of the meaning of the construction (Bybee 2013:56).



# Conclusions

- No obvious change of aspect for SPCs
- Often associated with pejorative/emotive meaning
  - Han gick och gifte sig
  - Vad sitter du (här) och säger
- Exemplar representations of constructions



# Questions for further work

- Hur identifiera betydelse och funktion av (andra fall av) SPC?
  - *Jag går och lägger mig gentemot jag lägger mig (Jag tar och går och lägger mig nu)*
  - *Hon kollar på tv gentemot Hon sitter och kollar på tv*
  - *Han låg och slöade i soffan hela dan gentemot han slöade i soffan hela dan*
- Beskrivning och analys inom CxG
- Metoder?



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