

Pseudo-coordinate constructions with 'take' in Apulian varieties.

Paolo Lorusso¹ & Ludovico Franco²

¹NEtS @IUSS scuola universitaria superiore Pavia / CRIL Università del Salento

²Università degli studi di Firenze



NETS
IUSS Center for
Neurocognition,
Epistemology and
Theoretical Syntax



UNIVERSITÀ
DEGLI STUDI
FIRENZE

Aim of the talk

In some Apulian varieties a pseudo-coordinate structure involving an inflected V1 *take* + *and* + an inflected lexical V2 is found as a periphrasis of the inflected V2, as in (1)-(2), taken from the variety of Conversano.

(1) Maria 'pɛɣiə ɛ 'mandʒə la 'mɛlə
M. take.3sg.prs and eat3sg.prs the apple
'Maria (starts to) eats the apple'

(2) Pə'ɣierənə e 'ʃerənə a la 'kɛsə
Take.3pl.pst and went.3pl.pst to the house
'They went home'

Conversano (Bari)

Aim of the talk

Research questions:

- (i) Are the two constructions alike?
- (ii) Are both pseudo-coordinate constructions with an aspectual interpretation?
- (iii) Do they share the same syntax (with a difference only concerning the overt inflection of V1), since they both show the very same V1 *take* + coordination + V2 structure?

> We propose a bi-clausal structure with both overt and reduced inflection with V1 but we argue that the differences in the inflectional pattern also imply a difference in the Tense/Mood of V1 and a different interpretation.

> We assume that the V1 in (1)-(2) has a full-fledged TP and both V show the same overt morphosyntactic features: this structure provides an aspectual ‘punctual’ inchoative reading at the semantic interface.

> If V1 shows the 2sg imperative morphology, as in (3)-(4), we are dealing with a CP lacking a temporal head (as imperatives), encoding a modal value: it encodes epistemic modality/counterfactuality.

Distribution of the Doubly Inflection Constructions with ‘take’

V1 (Take) -TENSE- φ + e + V2-TENSE $-\varphi$.

Pə'y-ier-ənə e 'ʃerənə a la 'kɛsə =(2)

Take_{PST} 3pl and go_{PST} 3pl to the house

Inflected, found in all person and all tenses, same inflection patterns in both verbs as pseudo-coordinate structures (Jaeggly & Hyams, 1993, De Vos 2005)(also compounds).

(5) Amə Pə'y-iet-ə e amə ʃiotə
 have.1pl taken and have.1pl gone
 ‘We have gone.’

Doubly Inflected Construction (Cruschina 2013) with aspectual interpretation₅

Distribution of the Doubly Inflection Constructions with ‘take

V1 (Take) - ~~TENSE~~ - φ + e + V2 - TENSE - φ

'Pεyio ε 'vannθ. = (3)

take 2sgPRES/IMP and go.3pl.prs

‘They could/might go’

Lack of Tense: V1 2nd person imperative (less marked combination in the terms of De Caro 2019). Main difference with doubly inflected *take* construction: invariant/uninflected V1.

However, invariant forms are a widespread pattern for aspectual periphrases in V1 (Manzini, Lorusso & Savoia, 2017).

Doubly Inflected Pseudo-coordinate aspectual constructions with reduced inflection of V1? Interpretive difference: non-aspectual reading

take Pseudo –coordination cross-linguistically: Spanish

Two groups: V1 GO ; V1 TAKE

TAKE less grammaticalized than GO and V2 constructions (for a review on analyses on Spanish see Ana Bravo (2020))

(6) Suena otro de los tres telefonos Pilar **agarra** y cierra uno de ellos.
rings another of the three telephones. P. takes and closes one of them
'Another of the three phones rings. P. takes and closes one of them.'

(7) En vez de eso **coge** y se va de vacaciones.
in time of this takes and reflex.3sg goes of holiday
'Instead of this, he just takes and goes on holiday'

take Pseudo –coordination cross-linguistically

Brazilian Portuguese

Mendes & Ruda (2019)

- (8) Daí o Adão **pegou** e **comprou** o café.
Then the Adam took-3sg and bought-3sg the coffee.
'Then Adam bought the coffee.'

Polish (Mendes & Ruda, 2019, Andrason 2018)

- (9) Adam **wziął** (i) wreszcie **kupił** kawę.
Adam took-3sg (and) finally bought-3sg coffee

Take pseudo –coordination cross linguistically: Italian Dialects

Rohlf's (1966-1969, 3: 134-135 on Italian dialects)

Rohlf's describes *take*-constructions as 'Imminenza dell'azione' / imminence of actions and incoative

(10) Pigghiau San Petru e si manciàu lu finocchiu (Pitré 3, 52), *Sicilian*
Take.pst.3sg S. P. and cl.refl eat.pst.3sg the fennel
'San Peter ate the (sea) fennel'

(11) Pigghiau e cci detti lu gaddu
take.pst.3sg and cl.dat give the cock
'He gave the cock to him' (ibid. 3, 54)

(12) pigghiau e si nde jiu. *Calabrese*
take.pst.3sg and cl.rfl went down
'He went down'

(13) pijau e disse *Salentino*
take.pst.3sg and say.pst.3sg
'He said'

Pseudo –coordination cross linguistically: Italian Dialects

Rohlf's (1966-1969, 3: 134-135 on Italian dialects)

- (14) pijje e ll' accidd
Take.prs.3sg and cl.acc kill.prs.3sg
'He kill him' *Abbruzzese*
- (15) ciapà su e l' è nà via
take.pst.3sg up and cl.sbj is gone away
'He went away' *Veneto*
- (16) Al figliai più giùan va tòit sii e l' è u
the son more young goes take away cl.refl and cl.acc is gone
'The youngest son went away' *Lombardo*

Definition of pseudo-coordinate constructions

A subset of coordination structures which seem to be different to common coordination, namely ‘subordinating’ coordination, also described in traditional grammars as the *hendiadys* constructions:

Some properties of pseudo-coordination, Wiklund(1996), Jaeggli & Hyams (1993), Carden & Pesetsky (1977), Ross (1967) *inter alia*):

- no reordering between verbs
- Restriction on first conjunct (except the Balkan control type languages): *go, come, stay/be, want*.
- Pseudo-coordinates allow the violation of Coordinate Structure Constraints.

Pseudo –coordination : no reordering

- (17) a. Mariə peyᶑ i remə da nderə e accəghiə i pronə
M. **takes the branches from** ground and **collects the** **plums**
'Maria takes the branches from the ground and collects teh plums'.
- b. Marie accəghiə i pronə e **peyᶑ i remə da nderə**
M. **collects the** **plums** and take the branches from ground
'Maria collects the plums and takes the branches form the ground'.
- (18) a. Mariə **peyᶑ** e **accəghiə i** **pronə**
M. takes and collects the plums
'Maria collects the plums '
- b. *Marie **accəghiə i** **pronə** e **peyᶑ**
M. collects the plums and takes
'Maria collects the plums and takes'

Pseudo –coordination: CSC

Pseudo-coordinates allow the violation of Coordinate Structure Constraints

Coordinate

- (19) *Ci a peyietə i remə e a accəghiotə Marie?
What has taken the branches and has collected Marie?
'What has Marie taken the branches and collected?'

Pseudo-coordinate

- (20) Ci a peyietə e a accəghiotə Marie?
What has taken and has collected Marie?
'What has Marie taken and collected?'

θ Assignment

The full fledged V1, as in pseudo –coordination, is semantically bleached and it does not assign any thematic role. With the take periphrasis, only V2 is responsible of the theta assignment.

Coordinate

(21) A: Sən'derənə ε də'ferənə na prɛ'ɣir **Shared internal argument**
listened 3pl and said3pl a prayer
'They listened to and said a prayer'

B: No, sən'derənə la 'predəkə e də'ferənə na prɛ'ɣir
No, listened 3pl the sermon and said3pl a prayer
'No, they listened to the sermon and said a prayer.'

Conversano (Bari)

θ Assignment

(22) A: P ə'ɣierənə ε də'ʃerənə na prɛ'ɣir
took 3pl and said.3pl a prayer
'They said a prayer'

B: a. *#No, pə'ɣierənə na 'mɛlə e də'ʃerənə na prɛ'ɣir
No, took.3pl an apple and said.3pl a prayer
'no, they took an apple and they said a prayer'

b. *#'Sənə, pə'ɣierənə na prɛ'ɣir
yes, took.3pl a prayer
'Yes, they took a prayer.'

c. 'Sənə, də'ʃerənə na prɛ'ɣir
yes, said3pl a prayer
'Yes, they said a prayer.'

Conversano (Bari)

Lexical aspect of V2

Take pseudo-coordination and lexical aspect: this pseudo-coordinate structure cannot be found with state and achievement V2, according to Vendler's (1967) classification like the progressive inflected construction (stay+to+V2) in the same varieties:

- (23) a. *'Pɛɣiənə e 'sapənə **State**
take3pl n and know3pl
- b. *'pɛɣiənə e ca'nəʃənə **Achievement**
take3pl and meet3pl

We have similarities with the progressive which is rendered via another pseudo-coordinated constructions in the same variety :

- (24) a. *stek a 'sattʃə **State**
stay1sg to know1sg
- b. *stek a ca'nəskə **Achievement**
stay1sg to meet1sg

Conversano (Bari)

Stay progressive periphrases and part-whole relation

Manzini, Lorusso & Savoia (2017) (updating the analysis of Manzini & Savoia 2005) account for the progressive structure in (18) which imply an aspectual (inflected stay + inflected lexical verb)

(25) stɛk a mandʒə (Apulian: Bari South East)
 Stay.1SG to eat.1SG
 ‘I am eating’

in terms of a

- bi-clausal control finite structure that instantiates a **inclusion/part whole relation**, which was originally proposed by Belvin (1996), Belvin & den Dikken (1997) for the (various instances of the) verb have (we notate it as \subseteq for ease of reference). *Note that both the auxiliary and the embedded verbs share the same inflections as finite control constructions, as in Balkan languages (Manzini et al. 2017)*

Stay progressive periphrases and part-whole relation

- The inclusion relation in stay progressive periphrases is between the utterance time (the auxiliary) and the embedded event (following Landman’s 1992 semantics for PROG) (cf. also Franco & Lorusso 2020). Landman (1992)’s proposal for progressive, which he summarizes as the Part-of Proposal, can be sketched as:
- E, the set of events, is ordered by two relations: a relation of ‘part-of’ and a relation of ‘stage-of’ [...] a stage of an event is a special sort of part of that event” (e.g. Mary is crossing the street is true iff some actual event realizes sufficiently much of the type of events of Mary’s crossing the street”)
- Here, the inclusion (‘part-of’) relation is instantiated by means of the adposition *a*.

(26) [IP [VP stɔk [⊆P a [IP *pro* mangia]]]]

Difference between \subseteq and $\&$

$\&$ is an operator coordinating (at least) two arguments of the same type.

- Informally, the meaning of *and* is basically “given X, give me more of the same kind”: $\text{and}(x, x)$. (De Vos, 2005)

In pseudo coordination

- Pre-theoretically, it appears that the conjunction in pseudo-coordination takes a single event, and divides it into two sub-stages.

Coordination between Vs is an instantiation of a temporal ‘part whole’ relation: Txurruca (2003) in a discourse-based perspective: the coordination implies a ‘temporal inclusion’ between two discourse topics.

The ‘function’ of *and* is to mark a transition between the two sub-stages

In these inchoative periphrases (*and* pseudo-coordination) we identify two ordinated stages of an event (temporal inclusion) and *take* isolates the antecedent of these two stages (the beginning).

Aspectual Inchoative Reading

The transition between the two stages is between the beginning of the event and the result of the event (inchoative aspect). Remind that in Italian *prendere + to +V2* is an **inchoative periphrasis**.

- (27) I fatti che prendiamo a raccontare (Manzoni, apud: Treccani)
the fact that we.take to tell.inf
'The facts that we start to tell'

Remind also that the progressive is a *stage/part of* the event denoted by the verb (Landman, 1992) which in Apulian varieties is encoded by *a=to* (Manzini, Lorusso & Savoia, 2017)

Invariant V1 *take*

V1 (Take) -~~TENSE~~- φ + e + V2-TENSE - φ

'Peyi θ ε 'vann θ .
take 2sgPRES/IMP and go.3pl.prs
'They could/might go'

Lack of Tense: V1 2nd person imperative no restriction on tense and inflection for V2

Reordering with invariant V1 take

- (28)
- a. I yuaŋonə pəyɪɛrənə i remə da nderə e acəghierənə i pronə
The guys **take** the brackets from the ground and **collected** the prums’.
- b. I yuaŋonə acəghierənə i pron a pəyɪɛrənə i remə da nderr ə.
The guys **collected** the prums and **take** the brackets from the ground’.
- c. I yuaŋonə pɛyɪə e acəghierənə i pronə
The guys. Take2sg and collect the plums
- d. * I yuaŋonə acəghierənə i pron ə e pɛyɪə
The guys collected3pl sg the pums and Take 2sg

CSC

It seems to work like coordinate structures in not allowing extraction:

(29) *Ce peggie e accoghien i guagnon?
What take.imp and collect.3pl the guys

Pseudo-coordinate

(30) Ce pegghien e mangen i guagnon ?
What take.3pl and eat.3pl the guys
'What do the guys eat?'

BUT

(31) *Pccè peggie e accoghien i guagnon?
why take.imp and eat.3pl the guys

No interrogative operator version is allowed: *pegghie* maybe similar to an 'interrogative' operator.

No restriction on V2 lexical aspect

V1 ‘uninflected’ take

- Bleached semantic
- No theta assignment
- Obligatory use of *and*

But

No Aktionsart-based restrictions on V2

(32) a. Πεγιά e 'sapənə *State*
take2sg.imp and know3pl

b. 'πεγιά e ca'nəʃənə *Achievement*
take2sg.imp and meet3pl

Modal interpretation

- Modal operator interacting with interrogative elements:
 - No possibility of interrogative version
- Imperative Force: also imperative morphology
- No restriction on the embedded verb (no aspect values involved)

Modal interpretation

- Epistemic operator as *'capace'* (complementizer constructions in Cruschina & Remberger, 2018, Cruschina 2015) or evidentiality operator *'dice che'* (Cruschina 2015): its meaning is like 'it is possible that':

(33) Capace che sono già partiti
'It is possible that they have already left'

(34) Dice (che) la temperatura è salita.
says.prs.3sg that the temperature is gone-up
'The temperature has apparently gone up.'

- The only difference is that in our respect the embedded element is introduced by a coordinator not a Force *'che'* in the complementizer position.
- The speaker addresses the hearer on a given knowledge (embedded V2)

Biclausal structure inflecting V1

Pə'yierənə e 'ʃerənə a la 'kɛsə

(35) [CP...[**TP** Pə'yierənə...[VP ~~peggie~~ [_{CP} e/& [CP... [**TP** 'ʃerənə[VP ~~fə~~ ...[PP a la 'kɛsə]]]]]]]]

V1 is in TP since more material is possible in the left periphery contrary to what happens with uninflected take.

The *e* introducer is an instantiation of the part-whole relation since it refers to a temporal inclusion of two different sub-stages which are ordered determining the inchoative interpretation.

As for progressives, the bi-clausal structure for this inchoative aspectual constructions takes the event denoted by the V2 as the set of events where the 'take' part is a stage of that event (in progressive is a part), actually the beginning of it

Double inflection

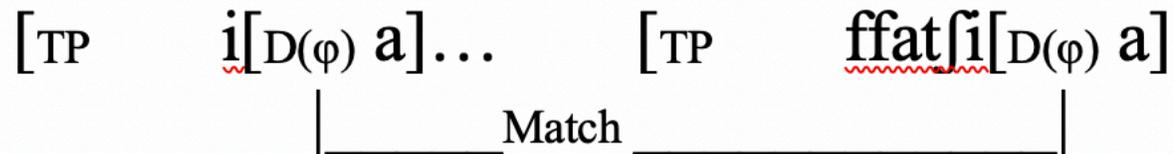
Matrix and embedded verb agree in φ -features with one another and therefore with their subjects.

Finite control sentences similar to Balkan type (Manzini, Lorusso & Savoia, 2017).

Just like progressive aspectual constructions.

We identify Agree with the Matching relation between a probe and a goal originally defined by Chomsky (2000: 122-124) as involving feature identity (“identity of the choice of features, not of value”) and Minimality, to which we add compliance with the PIC (Phase Impenetrability Condition).

The second member of the relation is interpreted as anaphoric to the first member – essentially as the second member of the temporal relation in. It is a sort of tense control configuration. (Manzini & Lorusso, under :



(36)

Biclausal structure of non inflecting *take*

Zanuttini (1997): imperative forms lack the Tense projection (V1).

No coreference for agreement morphology (V1 speaker addresses V2 referential subject)

\subseteq does not represent a temporal inclusion as in the inflected construction

\subseteq represents an inclusion relation between the beliefs/knowledge of the speaker and the hearer: the speaker through the imperative introduce to the addressee a beliefs on an event represented by the embedded verbs (no aspectual selection with V1).

‘Take V1 $\text{this}=\text{V2} \subseteq$ into consideration’

As for the use of & conjunction we might think to the individuation of two stages within the speech act represented by the imperative and the propositional content of the embedded CP.

Further semantic analysis is needed.

Concluding Remarks

- We have analyzed both constructions as biclausal, following Manzini et al. (2017).
- In particular, the different overt morphosyntactic inflectional patterns imply different structural representation and different interpretation at the syntax-semantic interface: we assume that the inflected V1 has a full-fledged TP and implies an aspectual ‘inchoative’ reading, while the uninflected V1 implies a CP with lack of temporal head, encoding an epistemic (exhortative?) mood.
- In both structures the coordinator has the value of a part-whole relator. The *e* introducer is an instantiation of the part-whole relation since it refers to a temporal inclusion of two different sub-stages which are ordered determining the inchoative interpretation with inflected *take* V1.
- As for the use of & conjunction with uninflected *take* V1 we might think to the individuation of two stages within the speech act represented by the imperative and the propositional content of the embedded CP.

Concluding Remarks

Our analysis does not support the cartographic program as to the ‘syntacticization of semantics’ (Cinque and Rizzi 2009) – which implies the *Uniformity Hypothesis* of Culicover and Jackendoff (2005):

- namely that **to the same meaning** corresponds **the same syntactic structure**. Thus a **two-events** proposition will correspond to a **bi-clausal structure**; a **mono-eventive proposition** will be mapped to a **mono-clausal structure** even if the latter surfaces as two finite verbs connected by a complementizer-like element.
- Under the approach of Manzini and Savoia (2005ff.) syntax simply restricts meaning and does not determine it .
- which applied to the data at hand means that several different syntactic structures could converge to a single meaning and viceversa.

