Pseudo-coordination and ellipsis[*]

Expressive insights from Brazilian Portuguese and Polish

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Abstract

In this paper, we offer some comments about the syntax of pseudo-coordination in colloquial registers of Brazilian Portuguese and Polish. Focusing on V1-*take (and)* pseudo-coordination, we suggest that V1-*take (and)* belongs to the expressive realm of language and we analyze V1-*take (and)* as an appositive element adjoined to *v*P in the extended projection of V2. In addition to the meaning of the structure, evidence for the expressive nature of V1-*take (and)* comes from the fact that it can be ignored for ellipsis purposes in contexts such as verb-echo answers, polarity contrast, verb-doubling and VP-topicalization. Evidence for the positioning of V1-*take (and)* at the *v*P edge is provided by distributional patterns, including the placement of adverbs and sentential negation with respect to V1-*take (and)* and V2. We propose that two minimally different structures are available for pseudo-coordination, depending on whether a coordinator accompanies V1.

Key words: pseudo-coordination, ellipsis, expressive language, verb-echo answers

1   Introduction

Pseudo-coordination is a type of a structure where two verbs bearing the same inflectional features are combined in a construction referring to a single event. Even though this phenomenon has arisen some interest in both theoretically-oriented and descriptive literature (see, e.g., Lødrup 2002, 2014, Wiklund 2009, Ross 2015, Di Caro 2015, 2019, Cardinaletti & Giusti 2003, 2016, Biberauer & Vikner 2017 and references cited therein), a number of intriguing empirical and analytical questions remain to be answered. This paper aims to contribute to the debates by investigating V1-*take (and)* pseudo-coordination in elliptical environments in colloquial registers of Brazilian Portuguese and Polish, illustrated in (1) and (2).

(1)   O   João **pegou**   e   **saiu.**
       the João took-3sg and left-3sg
       'João left.'   [BrP]

(2)   Jan **wziął**   (i)   **wyszedł.**
       Jan took-3sg.m   and left-3sg.m
       'Jan left.'   [Pl]

These structures manifest parallel behaviour in the two languages. Investigating their properties in elliptical environments, we show that the otherwise puzzling data are consistent with the hypothesis that V1-*take (and)* in the two languages is a purely expressive element. Observing some links between pseudo-coordination and appositive epithets, we suggest further that V1-*take (and)* stands in the appositive (adjunction) relation to V2's extended verbal projection.

We begin the discussion by providing some general remarks about pseudo-coordination in Brazilian Portuguese and Polish in Section 2. In Section 3 we introduce the phenomenon of verb-echo answers in the two languages, which constitutes an interesting environment for the study of the properties of pseudo-coordination, as we show in Section 4. The unexpected behaviour of the pseudo-coordinate structure under ellipsis, taken together with its inflectional properties, warrants its comparison with appositives, provided in Section 5. Section 6 concludes the main part of the paper, which is followed by Appendix 1, where we offer some additional comments on the use of the coordinator in pseudo-coordination in the two languages.

2 Pseudo-coordination in Brazilian Portuguese and Polish

In addition to denoting a single event, V1-*take* constructions in both languages show other hallmarks of pseudo-coordination (see Rodrigues 2006 and Almeida & Oliveira 2010 for a discussion of Brazilian Portuguese and Andrason 2018 for a detailed discussion of Polish, including a number of mono-clausality diagnostics[1]). For example, they manifest amelioration of the Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC) violations, as in (3)–(4), where the first example sentences show the familiar CSC violation effect, but the second sentences, featuring pseudo-coordination, do not.

(3) a. *De quem que o João comeu e reclamou *t*?
         of whom that the João ate-3SG and complained-3SG
         '*Who did João ate and complain about?'
     b. ?De quem que o João **pegou** e **reclamou** *t*?
         of whom that the João took-3SG and complained-3SG
         'Who did João complain about?'   [BrP]

(4) a. *O kim Jan jadł i tyle gadał *t* podczas koncertu?
         about whom Jan ate-3SG.M and so.much chattered-3SG.M during concert
         '*Who did Jan ate and chatter about so much during the concert?'
     b. ?O kim Jan **wziął** (i) tyle **gadał** *t* podczas koncertu?
         about whom Jan took-3SG.M and so.much chattered-3SG.M during concert
         'Who did Jan chatter about so much during the concert?'   [Pl]

In addition, unlike what we find with regular coordinations such as *coffee and tea/tea and coffee*, conjunct reordering is blocked in pseudo-coordination, as in (5)–(6).

(5) a. O João **pegou** e **saiu**.
         the João took-3SG and left-3SG
         'João left.'
     b. *O João **saiu** e **pegou**.
         the João left-3SG and took-3SG

                                                                                                          [BrP]

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[1] While we offer a mono-clausal analysis of the construction in this paper, we would like to acknowledge that bi-clausal analyses have also been suggested in the literature (see, e.g., Manzini, Lorusso and Savoia's 2017 discussion of Southern Italian dialects and Manzini and Savoia 2007, who take pseudo-coordination in Albanian dialects to be a bi-clausal restructuring coordinate structure, as well as Ledgeway 2016, focusing on grammaticalization patterns in the dialects of Salento).

(6) a. Jan **wziął** (i) **wyszedł**.
   Jan took-3SG.M and left-3SG.M
   'Jan left.'

   b. *Jan **wyszedł** (i) **wziął**.
   Jan left-3SG.M and took-3SG.M

<div align="right">[Pl]</div>

The use of the overt coordinator in pseudo-coordination in Brazilian Portuguese and Polish is a complicated issue, subject to variation dependent on the speaker's dialect or idiolect, as well as on the grammatical context in which the structure appears. Throughout this paper we present the Brazilian Portuguese examples as featuring an obligatory coordinator, whereas we present the coordinator in Polish as being optional. As the use of the coordinator is not the main aspect which we would like to focus on here, we postpone some more comments on the matter until Appendix 1 and move on to discuss the interesting context of verb echo answers.

3 Verb echo answers in Brazilian Portuguese and Polish

Answers to polar (*yes/no*) questions in Brazilian Portuguese and Polish can be provided in the form of the verb repeated from the question, as (7)–(8) illustrate.
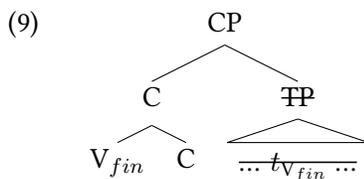
(7) A: O João **trouxe** açucar?
   the João brought-3SG sugar
   'Did João bring sugar?'

   B: **Trouxe**.
   brought-3SG
   'Yes, he did.'

<div align="right">[BrP]</div>

(8) A: Czy Jan **przyniósł** cukier?
   if Jan brought-3SG.M sugar
   'Did Jan bring sugar?'

   B: **Przyniósł**.
   brought-3SG.M
   'Yes, he did.'

<div align="right">[Pl]</div>

This pattern can be taken to result from clausal ellipsis preceded by the movement of the finite verb above the ellipsis site, as schematised in (9)–(11).

(9)

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{CP} \\
\diagup \quad \diagdown \\
\text{C} \qquad \text{\sout{TP}} \\
\diagup \diagdown \qquad \diagup \diagdown \\
\text{V}_{fin} \quad \text{C} \quad \overline{\cdots \, t_{\text{V}_{fin}} \, \cdots}
\end{array}
$$

(10) A: O João **trouxe** açucar?
   the João brought-3SG sugar
   'Did João bring sugar?'

   B: **Trouxe** ~~o João t_{trouxe} açucar~~.
   brought-3SG the João sugar
   'Yes, he did.'

<div align="right">[BrP]</div>

<div align="center">3</div>

(11) A: Czy Jan **przyniósł**   cukier?
          if   Jan brought-3SG.M sugar
          'Did Jan bring sugar?'
      B: **Przyniósł**   ~~Jan $t_{przyniósł}$ cukier~~.
          brought-3SG.M Jan   sugar
          'Yes, he did.'   [Pl]

The evidence that the subject stays inside the ellipsis site and we are indeed dealing with clausal ellipsis rather than independent argument drop comes, among others, from the fact that the intended subject of a verb-echo answer can have the indefinite interpretation, inherited from the antecedent (see (12)–(13)), which is incompatible with a subject *pro*-drop derivation (see Mendes 2018 for several other testing environments; see also Holmberg 2016 for a detailed discussion and Kato 2016 for further argumentation regarding Brazilian Portuguese).[2]

(12) A: Alguém trouxe   açucar?
          someone brought-3SG sugar
          'Did anyone bring sugar?'
      B: Trouxe   ~~alguém t_{trouxe} açucar~~.
          brought-3SG someone   sugar
          'Yes, someone did.'   [BrP]

(13) A: Czy ktoś   przyniósł   cukier?
          if   someone brought-3M.SG sugar
          'Did anyone bring sugar?'
      B: Przyniósł   ~~ktoś $t_{przyniósł}$ cukier~~.
          brought-3M.SG someone   sugar
          'Yes, someone did.'   [Pl]

According to Holmberg (2016), *pro*-drop is possible in languages like Brazilian Portuguese and Polish when the features of the pronoun are redundant with the agreement features in T. Since indefinites do not have a counterpart in the verbal inflectional morphology, they cannot be dropped.[3]

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[2] The example in (12) comes from Holmberg (2016), where it is presented with a European Portuguese judgement. The Brazilian Portuguese and European Portuguese judgements are the same here.

[3] Crucially, Brazilian Portuguese and Polish data exemplified in (12) and (13) respectively contrast with Georgian examples such as (ii) below. Holmberg shows that while Georgian allows verb-echo answers, the subject of a verb-echo answer cannot have the indefinite interpretation in this language.

(i)   A: Gushin   vano   movida?
          yesterday vano-NOM came-AOR
          'Did Vano come yesterday?'
      B: (xo) movida
          (yes) came
          'Yes.'   [Georgian]

(ii) A: Gushin   vinme   movida?
          yesterday anyone-NOM came-AOR
          'Did anyone come yesterday?'
      B: xo (*movida)
          yes (*came-AOR)
          'Yes.'   [Georgian]

Holmberg (2016) reports similar observations for Syrian Arabic. The difference between languages like Brazilian Portuguese and Polish on the one hand and Georgian and Syrian Arabic on the other can be accounted for if in the former the subject stays inside the ellipsis site, while in the latter the subject is *pro*-dropped (see Holmberg 2016).

When the question involves an auxiliary or a modal verb, it is this verb that is echoed in the answer, as in (14)–(15).

(14)   A: O   João **vai**   trazer açucar?
            the João will-3sg bring sugar
            'Will João bring sugar?'

       B: **Vai**   ~~o   João~~ t_{vai} ~~trazer açucar~~.
            will-3sg the João   bring sugar
            'Yes, he will.'   [BrP]

(15)   A: Czy Jan **będzie**   przynosił cukier?
            if   Jan will-3sg bring-sg.m sugar
            'Will Jan be bringing sugar?'

       B: **Będzie**   ~~Jan~~ $t_{będzie}$ ~~przynosił   cukier~~.
            will-3sg Jan   bring-sg.m sugar
            'Yes, he will.'   [Pl]

As we show in the following section, from this perspective, pseudo-coordination manifests some intriguing behaviour.

4   Pseudo-coordination meets ellipsis

When the polar question is a pseudo-coordinate structure, the answer cannot be constituted by V1-*take* (see also Andrason 2018:586 for a brief comment about Polish). However, as (16)–(17) illustrate, it can be constituted by V2 only. Such a pattern is never possible in auxiliary and modal structures.

(16)   A: O   João **pegou**   e   **comprou**   café?
            the João took-3sg and bought-3sg coffee
            'Did João buy coffee?'

       B: *Pegou./ **Comprou**.
            took-3sg bought-3sg
            'Yes, he did.'   [BrP]

(17)   A: Czy Adam **wziął**   (i)   wreszcie **kupił**   kawę?
            if   Adam took-3sg.m and finally   bought-3sg.m coffee
            'Did Adam finally buy coffee?'

       B: *Wziął./ **Kupił**.
            took-3sg.m bought-3sg.m
            'Yes, he did.'   [Pl]

B's reply is the same as what it would be if the question were a simple mono-verbal clause built around V2-*buy*.

What is more, the two languages make available also other elliptical structures involving focused polarity. Pseudo-coordination behaves similarly in all these structures, as we show in (18)–(26).

First, verb repetition coupled with ellipsis can be employed to reverse an assertion from the preceding context, as in (18)–(19). In this case, it is likewise possible to echo V2, but echoing V1 leads to unacceptability.

(18)   A: O   João **pegou**   e   não **comprou**   o   café.
            the João took-3sg and not bought-3sg the coffee.
            'João didn't buy the coffee.'

B: *Pegou, sim./ **Comprou**, sim.
took-3SG yes/ bought-3SG yes.
'He did.' [BrP]

(19) A: Adam **wziął** (i) nie **kupił** kawy.
Adam took-3SG.M and not bought-3SG.M coffee
'Adam didn't buy coffee.'

B: *Wziął./ **Kupił**.
took-3SG.M bought-3SG.M
'He did.' [Pl]

Similar structures used to confirm an assertion show the same effect, as in (20)–(21). This context shows that V1-*take* cannot be used on its own as a response even in a context where speaker B is also irritated at the fact under discussion.

(20) A: O João **pegou** e não **comprou** o café.
the João took-3SG and not bought-3SG the coffee.
'João didn't buy the coffee.'

B: Não, infelizmente não **comprou**./ *Não, infelizmente pegou./ *Não, infelizmente não
no unfortunately not bought-3SG no unfortunately took-3SG no unfortunately not
pegou.
took-3SG
'No, unfortunately he didn't.' [BrP]

(21) A: Adam **wziął** (i) nie **kupił** kawy.
Adam took-3SG.M and not bought-3SG.M coffee
'Adam didn't buy coffee.'

B: No niestety nie **kupił**./ *No niestety wziął./ *No niestety nie
PRT unfortunately not bought-3SG.M PRT unfortunately took-3SG.M PRT unfortunately not
wziął.
took-3SG.M
'No, unfortunately he didn't.' [Pl]

The same holds of (22)–(23), which illustrate the structure used to express polar contrast.

(22) A Ana disse que o João **pegou** e não **comprou** o café, mas **comprou**/
the Ana said-3SG that the João took-3SG and not bought-3SG the coffee, but bought-3SG
*pegou sim.
took-3SG yes
'Ana said that João didn't buy coffee, but he did.' [BrP]

(23) Anna powiedziała, że Adam **wziął** (i) nie **kupił** kawy, ale **kupił**/
Anna said that Adam took-3SG.M and not bought-3SG.M coffee but bought-3SG.M
*wziął.
took-3SG.M
'Anna said that Adam didn't buy coffee, but he did.' [Pl]

Furthermore, Polish makes available a verb-doubling structure used to express emphatic affirmation.[4]

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[4]Though possible in European Portuguese, this type of emphatic affirmation is unavailable in Brazilian Portuguese.

Along the lines of Martins (2006, 2007, 2013) and Nunes (2004), verb doubling emphatic affirmation in Polish has been analyzed as involving VP ellipsis licensed by Σ and accompanied by the pronunciation of two copies of the verb, made possible due to the

Only V2 can take part in the doubling derivation, as (24) shows.

(24)   A: Adam **wziął**   (i)   nie **kupił**   kawy.
             Adam took-3SG.M   and not bought-3SG.M coffee
             'Adam didn't buy coffee.'
        B: **Kupił,**   **kupił.**/   *Wziął,   wziął.
             bought-3SG.M bought-3SG.M   took-3SG.M took-3SG.M
             'He certainly did.'   [Pl]

     Another verb-doubling structure, V(P) topicalization, is available in both Brazilian Portuguese and Polish.[5] We observe the same pattern here: V2 can be echoed and doubled, but V1-*take* cannot, as in (25)–(26).

(25)   A: O João pegou   e   comprou   café?
             the João took-3SG and bought-3SG coffee
             'Did João buy coffee?'
        B: **Comprar**, **comprou**,   mas onde   ele colocou, eu não sei.
             buy-INF   bought-3SG but   where he   put-3SG I   not know
             'As for buying it, he bought it, but where he has put it, I don't know.'
        B′: *Pegar,   pegou,   mas onde   ele colocou, eu não sei.
             take-INF take-3SG but   where he   put-3SG I   not know
                                                         [BrP]

(26)   A: Czy Adam **wziął**   (i)   **kupił**   kawę?
             if   Adam took-3SG.M   and bought-3SG.M coffee
             'Did Adam buy coffee?'
        B: **Kupić**, **kupił**,   ale gdzie ją dał, to   ja nie wiem.
             buy-INF bought-3SG.M but where he put PRT I   not know
             'As for buying it, he bought it, but where he has put it, I don't know.'
        B′: *Wziąć,   wziął,   ale gdzie ją dał, to   ja nie wiem.
             take-INF took-3SG.M but where her put PRT I   not know
                                                             [Pl]

     The unavailability of echoing V1 and, further, the disregard for its existence as far as the relation between the antecedent and the ellipsis site is concerned can be viewed from the perspective of expressive language.

4.1   Expressive elements under ellipsis

The behaviour of V1 in elliptical contexts parallels the behaviour of pure expressives, which are known to be speaker-oriented (e.g. Potts 2007) and are also disregarded in elliptical structures, as illustrated in (27) from Potts et al. (2009:364).

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fusion of V and C (Ruda 2013):

(i) $[_{CP}$ C$_{[EMPH]}$+T+Σ$_{[AFF]}$+V $[_{TP}$ T+Σ$_{[AFF]}$+V $[_{ΣP}$ $t_{Σ+V}$ $[_{VP}$ V ...]]]]

[5]This construction can be analyzed as involving two independent movement chains: the movement of V to Σ and V(P) topicalization (Ruda 2013; for discussion and alternative analyses proposed for a variety of languages, see Abels 2001; Aboh & Dyakonova 2009; Bondaruk 2009, 2012; Cheng & Vicente 2013; Landau 2006; Trinh 2009; Vicente 2007):

(i) $[_{CP}$ C $[_{TopP}$ VP Top $[_{TP}$ T $[_{ΣP}$ Σ$_{[AFF]}$+V t_{VP}]]]]

(27)   A: I saw your fucking dog in the park.
         B: No, you didn't—you couldn't have. The poor thing passed away last week.

The patterns which we observe with pseudo-coordination under ellipsis in Brazilian Portuguese and Polish thus receive a straightforward explanation if V1-*take* is a purely expressive item here. This analysis is supported by the semantic features of the structure.

First, the pseudo-coordinate structure clearly introduces emotional colouring to the utterance, that is the speaker's dramatization, intensification, or emphasis in Brazilian Portuguese (see also Rodrigues 2006) and the speaker's irritation, impatience, insistence, emphasis, or surprise in Polish, among others (see also Andrason 2018 and the references cited therein).[6] Considering this within a more formal approach, we can say that the meaning of V1-*take* pseudo-coordination can be described by appeal to its use conditions rather than truth conditions (see Gutzmann 2015 for a discussion of this distinction). Namely, it is straightforward enough to state when such structures are felicitously used (see above), but an attempt at stating the contribution of V1-*take (and)* to the truth conditions of the utterances yields no reasonable results.

Another relevant factor is speaker-orientedness, which can be tested by considering the meaning of the relevant element under embedding. For example, as discussed in Potts (2005:59), the sentence in (28a) can be employed to report Bush's statement in (28b). The meaning contribution of the item *damn* remains with the speaker and is not attributed to Bush.[7]

(28)   a.   Bush thinks the **damn** Republicans deserve public support.
         b.   *Bush*: The Republicans deserve public support.

Similarly, (29)–(30), which would be appropriate in a context where the speaker dramatizes or is irritated at Anna's statement, show that the contribution of V1-*take (and)* remains with the speaker.

(29)   a.   A Ana disse   que vai **pegar**   e   **sair**   de casa.
              the Ana said-3SG that will take-INF and leave-INF of home
              'Ana said she would leave her home.'
         b.   *Ana:* Eu vou   sair   de casa.
                     I   will-1SG leave-INF of home
              'I will leave my home.'   [BrP]

(30)   a.   Anna powiedziała, że może   **wziąć**   (i) **zaprzestać** leczenia!
              Anna said-3SG.F   that can-3SG take-INF and stop-INF   treatment
              'Anna said that she can stop the treatment!'
         b.   *Anna:* Mogę   zaprzestać leczenia.
                      can-1SG stop-INF   treatment
              '*Anna:* I can stop the treatment.'   [Pl]

All the abovementioned observations support the hypothesis that V1-*take* pseudo-coordination in Brazilian Portuguese and Polish belongs to the expressive realm of language. With this in mind, in the next section we consider the structural relation between V1-*take* and the rest of the clause.

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[6]As reported in Biberauer and Vikner (2017), pseudo-coordination in Danish and Afrikaans in some cases also introduces speaker-oriented colouring to the utterance.

[7]The use of boldface in (28a) is ours.

As a reviewer reminds us, the expressive realm can also encompass non-speaker-oriented readings.

5 Pseudo-coordination and appositives

As an expressive structure, V1-*take* pseudo-coordination bears resemblance to appositive epithets (*this idiot Adam*) in the nominal domain. The parallelism is certainly not ideal, as the epithet can clearly be a fully-blown phrasal projection with its own modifiers, unlike V1-*take*. However, just as the appositive epithet encodes the speaker's negative attitude towards the individual being referred to, V1-*take* encodes the speaker's emotions in Brazilian Portuguese and Polish. Furthermore, just as V1-*take* is ignored in elliptical structures in Brazilian Portuguese and Polish, so can be an appositive epithet, as (31)–(32) illustrate.
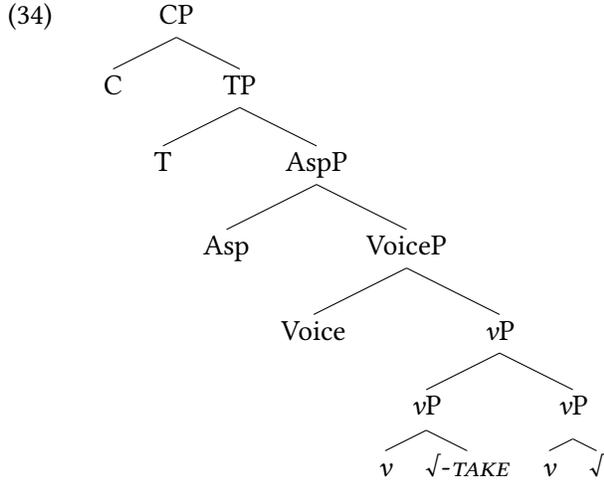
(31) A: O João, idiota, finalmente chegou?
          the João idiot finally   arrived-3SG
          'Has this idiot João finally arrived?'
      B: Chegou,   mas ele não é idiota.
          arrived-3SG but he not is idiot
          'Yes, he has, but he's not really an idiot.'   [BrP]

(32) A: Czy ten idiota Adam wreszcie przyszedł?
          if   this idiot Adam finally   came-3SG.M
          'Has this idiot Adam finally come?'
      B: Przyszedł,   ale on w sumie nie jest idiotą.
          came-3SG.M but he in sum   not is   idiot
          'Yes, he has, but he's not really an idiot.'   [Pl]

Interestingly, these two structures are also similar in terms of inflectional feature sharing. Appositive epithets share the case feature of their anchor, as revealed by the Polish example in (33).

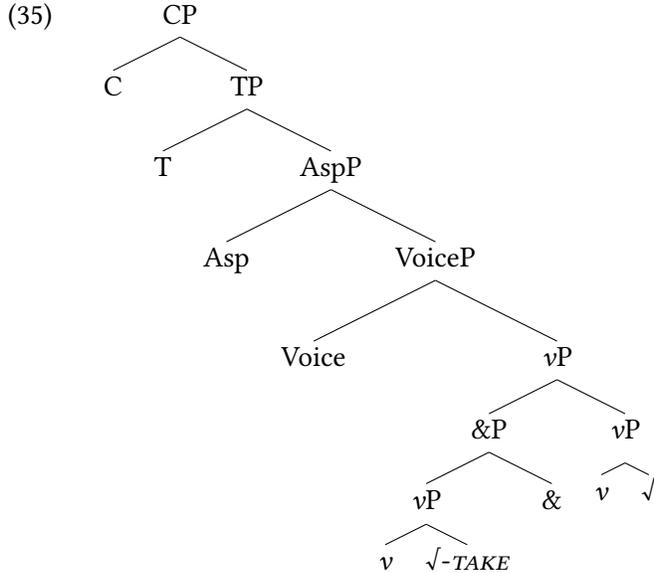(33) a. widzieć tego   idiotę   Adama
          see-INF this-ACC idiot-ACC Adam-ACC
          'to see this idiot Adam'   [Pl]
      b. z   tym   idiotą   Adamem
          with this-INSTR idiot-INSTR Adam-INSTR
          'with this idiot Adam'   [Pl]

Similarly, V1-*take* shares the verbal inflectional features of V2, as is generally true of pseudo-coordinate structures. These observations suggest that V1-*take (and)* can be analyzed as forming an appositive relation with the extended verbal projection of V2. We suggest that the relevant relation involves adjunction (see, e.g., Potts 2005 for an adjunction-based analysis of appositives).

If verbs are minimally built with the root and a verbalizing head (*v*), the structure of pseudo-coordination lacking *and* can be represented as in (34). On the assumption that the verbalizer is a phase head (see, a.o., Embick 2010), this analysis is in line with Biberauer & Vikner's (2017) view that speaker-oriented colouring is contributed by elements merged at phase edges.

(34)

```
              CP
            /    \
           C      TP
                /    \
               T      AspP
                    /    \
                 Asp      VoiceP
                        /    \
                    Voice     vP
                            /    \
                          vP      vP
                         /  \    /  \
                        v  √-TAKE v  √
```

Drawing inspiration from Munn's (1993) adjunction-based analysis of coordination, we suggest further that what adjoins to *v*P in the structure featuring *and* is an &P containing *v*P-*take*. While we do not attribute significance to the label &P here, which under Bare Phrase Structure is just a projection of the features contained in *and*, if any, we use it for the clarity of exposition. It should also be noted that in Munn's version of the structure of coordination the second conjunct is a complement of *and* and &P adjoins to the right of the first conjunct. Due to the ordering facts, we cannot retain these assumptions. The exact structure suggested here also differs from Biberauer & Vikner's, where V1 does not form a constituent with *and*, the two being subsequently merged at the edge of *v*P.[8] This difference accounts for V1 movement-related variation observed in the relevant languages (see (37) and footnote 9 below).

(35)

```
              CP
            /    \
           C      TP
                /    \
               T      AspP
                    /    \
                 Asp      VoiceP
                        /    \
                    Voice     vP
                            /    \
                          &P      vP
                         /  \    /  \
                        vP   &  v    √
                       /  \
                      v  √-TAKE
```

One immediate benefit of this approach is that it provides a straightforward account of cases where V1-*take* *(and)* is not adjacent to V2 (see (36)-(37)) in terms of the movement of the adjunct to a higher projection.[9]

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[8]See also Cardinaletti & Giusti (2016) for an analysis where V1 and the linking element are merged as separate functional heads in the extended verbal projection of V2.

[9]Brazilian Portuguese and Polish, where *and* has to be adjacent to V1-*take* and seems to form a constituent with it, thus differ from Danish and Afrikaans, where V1 alone undergoes V2 movement, leaving *and* V2 lower in the structure (except for the so-called quirky V2 cases in Afrikaans, where the entire V1 *and* V2 complex undergoes V2 movement; see Biberauer & Vikner

(36)   A Ana **pegou**   e   *finalmente* **comprou**   café.
        the Ana took-3sɢ and finally   bought-3sɢ coffee
        'Ana finally bought the coffee.'   [BrP]

(37)   Anna **wzięła**   (i)   *się wczoraj   nagle*   **obraziła**.
        Anna took-3sɢ.ꜰ and sᴇ yesterday suddenly took.offence-3sɢ.ꜰ
        'Anna suddenly took offence yesterday.'   [Pl]

The patterns found with sentential negation likewise support the hypothesis that V1-*take* is not part of the main line of the extended verbal projection of V2. As noted by Andrason (2018:589) and illustrated in (39), the negative marker, which in Polish always attaches to the verb as a prefix (though the orthography requires it to be spelled separately), cannot attach to V1-*take*. The same holds of Brazilian Portuguese, as (38) shows.[10]

2017).

As a reviewer notes, the separation of V1 and *and* from V2 could, in principle, also be achieved by taking the former elements to be merged as high functional heads, as in Cardinaletti & Guisti (2003). However, the negation data offered in (38) and (39) immediately below, speak against this solution, as all other verbal heads which can be taken to be merged high in the structure (e.g. modals) can host the negation marker, unlike V1-*take*. In addition, V1-*take (and)* can also appear below the adjuncts, as (i) illustrates for Polish.

(i)   Anna *wczoraj   nagle*   **wzięła**   (i)   **się obraziła**.
          Anna yesterday suddenly took-3sɢ.ꜰ and sᴇ took.offence-3sɢ.ꜰ
          'Anna suddenly took offence yesterday.'   [Pl]

Finally, another fact which militates against such an approach is that verb-echo answers in Brazilian Portuguese and Polish typically employ the highest finite verb in the clausal spine (see section 3). However, as we have shown, V1-*take* cannot be used in verb-echo answers. These observations are also incompatible with Almeida & Oliveira's (2010) suggestion that V1-*take (and)* in Brazilian Portuguese is located in the TP alongside V2.

[10]A reviewer is interested in data involving expletive negation. In Polish the relevant contexts follow the same pattern as regular negation. The example in (ia) first shows that expletive negation is available in Polish. A parallel example with V1-*take (and)* is acceptable when negation is adjacent to V2, but not when it is attached to V1, as in (ib)–(ic).

(i)   a.   Ile   ona nie wydała na te   wszystkie bibeloty!
            how.much she not spent   on these all   trumpery
            'How much she has spent on all this trumpery!'
      b. ?Ile   ona wzięła   (i)   nie wydała na te   wszystkie bibeloty!
            how.much she took-3sɢ.ꜰ and not spent   on these all   trumpery
            'How much she has spent on all this trumpery!'
      c. *Ile   ona nie wzięła   (i)   wydała na te   wszystkie bibeloty!
            how.much she not took-3sɢ.ꜰ and spent   on these all   trumpery
            'How much she has spent on all this trumpery!'   [Pl]

In Brazilian Portuguese the facts are more complicated. As shown in (ii), expletive negation is available, but, unlike in Polish, it can cliticize to both V1-*take* and V2.

(ii)   a.   Imagine o   quanto   que o João não incomodou a   Maria!
           Imagine the how.much that the João not annoyed-3sɢ the Maria
           'Imagine how much João annoyed Maria!'
      b. ?Imagine o   quanto   que o João pegou   e   não incomodou a   Maria!
           Imagine the how.much that the João took-3sɢ and not annoyed-3sɢ the Maria
           'Imagine how much João annoyed Maria!'
      c. ?Imagine o   quanto   que o João não pegou   e   incomodou a   Maria!
           Imagine the how.much that the João not took-3sɢ and annoyed-3sɢ the Maria
           'Imagine how much João annoyed Maria!'   [BrP]

We need to leave investigating the consequences of these interesting observations for future research.

(38) a. O João **pegou** e não **comprou** o **café**.
the João took-3SG and not bought-3SG the coffee
'John didn't buy coffee.'

b. *Não pegou e comprou.
not took-3SG and bought
Intended meaning: 'He didn't buy it.' [BrP]

(39) a. **Wziął** nie **przyszedł**.
took-3SG.M not came-3SG.M
'He didn't come.'

b. *Nie wziął przyszedł.
not took-3SG.M came-3SG.M
Intended meaning: 'He didn't come.' [Pl]

This is unlike what we find with auxiliary and modal verbs, as shown in (40)–(43).

(40) Ele não quer vir.
he not want-3SG come-INF
'He doesn't want to come.' [BrP]

(41) Ele não vai trabalhar.
he not will-3SG work-INF
'He won't work.' [BrP]

(42) Nie chciał przyjść.
not wanted-3SG.M come-INF
'He didn't want to come.' [Pl]

(43) Nie będzie pracować.
not will-3SG work-INF
'He won't work.' [Pl]

On the assumption that ordinary coordination involves a structure where both conjuncts are contained within &P (so-called Spec/Head configuration: [&P CONJ1 & CONJ2]; see, e.g., Munn 1987, Kayne 1994), adopting the adjunction-based structure for pseudo-coordination provides a way to capture the extraction (CSC) violation differences. In particular, it can be hypothesised that CSC violation effects arise with the Spec/Head &P structure. As adjuncts are not known to interfere with extraction, such effects are not expected to arise in pseudo-coordinate structures on the current analysis.

Finally, we observe that V1-*take* by itself cannot head a clausal structure in either language, as in (44)–(45).

(44) *O João **pegou**.
the João took-3SG

[BP]

(45) *Jan **wziął**.
Jan took-3SG.M

[Pl]

This implies that V1-*take* is parasitic on another clausal structure and further supports the current analysis on which V1-*take* is a *v*P adjunct.

The technical question about the way in which the inflectional uniformity of V1 and V2 is achieved presents a nontrivial challenge. A solution according to which the projection of V1 could be more complex

than shown in the tree structures above, containing also Voice, Aspect, T, and Mood heads, is insufficient without introducing auxiliary assumptions guaranteeing the uniformity of the values of the relevant features with the values of these features in the extended projection of V2 and prohibiting the introduction of another (subject) argument by the Voice head, if this head is responsible for introducing the Agent into the structure. A more parsimonious solution seems to be to take the *v* head to contain verbal inflectional features ([Voice], [Aspect], [Tense], and [Mood]) whose values are interpreted at the SM interface with the relevant morphological forms. Along the lines suggested in Ruda (2018) for independent reasons, the valuation process can technically be implemented by adopting the feature-sharing approach to valuation (Frampton & Gutman 2000) and the hypothesis that verbal heads in the clausal spine are successively linked by Agree, by which means the values of the relevant features are passed along the spine. As the subject-verb agreement features are standardly taken to be introduced in T, these may need to be taken to be copied and inserted into the feature matrices of both verbs for morphophonological interpretation to be possible.

We leave evaluating the theoretical options related to verbal inflection in pseudo-coordination for future work here and would only like to note one additional point. Namely, although this requires much more detailed research, the analysis suggested here may also provide a way to approach the grammaticalization process of pseudo-coordination in that the bi-clausal Spec/Head &P structure can be taken to shift towards an adjunction &P (V1-*take and*) structure, which is further reduced to an adjunction V1-*take* structure.

6   Main conclusions

V1-*take (and)* pseudo-coordination manifests parallel behaviour in Brazilian Portuguese and Polish. On the meaning side, it is used to express the speaker's emotions. On the side of the grammatical behaviour, in contexts of focused polarity, V1-*take* is ignored in elliptical structures, with V2 being available for use. This differs from what we observe with auxiliary and modal verbs, but parallels the behaviour of expressives, which are generally disregarded in elliptical contexts. In addition, we have shown that V1-*take* cannot host sentential negation, again unlike auxiliary and modal verbs and that V1-*take (and)* can be separated from V2 by various constituents (adverbs, scrambled objects, etc.).

In terms of the structural analysis, we have suggested that V1-*take (and)* pseudo-coordination bears resemblance to appositive epithets. Both of them belong to the expressive realm of language and they are characterised by inflectional feature sharing. V1-*take (and)* can thus be analyzed as forming an adjunction relation with V2's extended verbal projection, as schematised in (46) for the structures without and with a coordinator respectively.

(46)   a. $[_{vP} [_{vP}\ v\ \sqrt{}\text{-}TAKE] [_{vP}\ v\ \sqrt{}]]$
         b. $[_{vP} [_{\&P} [_{vP}\ v\ \sqrt{}\text{-}TAKE]\ \&] [_{vP}\ v\ \sqrt{}]]$

Appendix 1: A brief note about *and*

Brazilian Portuguese

Rodrigues (2006) reports variability in the use of an overt coordinator in pseudo-coordination in Brazilian Portuguese. Out of the 85 examples of occurrences of V1-*take* extracted from a corpus of colloquial Portuguese spoken in Rio de Janeiro which she analyses, 24 (28%) feature an overt coordinator and the remaining cases lack the coordinator, as shown in (47).[11]

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[11]The corpus used by Rodrigues is based on interviews conducted in two periods of time: 1980–1984 and 1999–2000.

(47) … Ele **pegou deu** uma gargalhada. …
         he took gave a   laughter
         'He laughed.'   [BrP, Rodrigues 2006:30]

Almeida & Oliveira (2010) also report that V1-*take* is available without a coordinator in a dialect spoken in Matipó in the state of Minas Gerais. The data which we have presented in this paper come from the dialect of Brazilian Portuguese spoken in Curitiba (the South of Brazil), where speakers have a strong preference for using an overt coordinator.

Polish

According to Andrason (2018:585), *i* 'and' is usually absent in pseudo-coordination in Polish and whenever it is used, it can always be omitted. In some cases, using *i* 'and' results in degraded acceptability or even unacceptability. The examples in (48), marked by Andrason as unacceptable, are provided as an illustration.

(48) a. Weź   *i   przestań.
           take-2SG.IMPR and stop-2SG.IMPR
           Intended meaning: 'Stop!'
      b. Kijem   wziął   *i   go zabił.
           stick-INSTR took-3SG.M   and him killed-3SG.M
           Intended meaning: 'He killed him with a stick.'
      c. Wziął   *i   się obraził   i   poszedł.
           took-3SG.M and SE got.angry-3SG.M and went.away-3SG.M
           Intended meaning: 'He got angry and went away.'   [Pl]

However, the judgments of examples across speakers vary. One of our informants rejects all examples featuring *i* 'and'. The other informant rejects (48b–c), but accepts (48a). The second author of this contribution accepts (48a), rejects (48c), but finds (48b) at least marginally acceptable. Furthermore, a number of examples parallel to (48a) can be found via internet search, as shown in (49).

(49) a. No weź   i   przestań!
           PRT take-2SG.IMPR and stop-2SG.IMPR
           'C'mon, stop!'   [Pl, source: https://soniczkovo.blogspot.com/2018/08/odlot.html]
      b. JolkaM, Ty weź   i   przestań.
           JolkaM you take-2SG.IMPR and stop-2SG.IMPR
           'JolkaM, you stop.'   [Pl, source:
           http://zamoimidrzwiami.blogspot.com/2014/03/swieza-bueczka-na-zamowienie.html]
      c. Po   prostu weź   i   przestań.
           PREP simply take-2SG.IMPR and stop-2SG.IMPR
           'Just stop.'   [Pl, source: http://chadonistka.pl/czego-nie-mowic-osobie-chorej-psychicznie/]

The claim that *i* 'and' is always omissible is in accordance with the judgment of the second author of this contribution, but one of the informants provides contradicting judgments for the examples in (50)–(51).

(50) Weź   ?(i) tu   wreszcie posprzątaj.
       take-2SG.IMPR   and here finally   clean.up-2SG.IMPR
       'Clean up here finally.'   [Pl]

Rodrigues (2006) also observes several instances of V1-*go* and V1-*arrive*, which likewise manifest variation in the use of an overt coordinator.

(51) Adam wziął   *(?i)   się upił.
      Adam took-3SG.M   and SE got.drunk-3SG.M
      'Adam got drunk.'   [Pl]

In sum, the preference or requirement for one or the other option can be expected to involve an interplay of grammatical and pragmatic factors, whose investigation needs to be left for the future.[12]

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[12]Variation in the presence or absence of the linking element has also been reported for Italian dialects (see Di Caro 2015, 2019).

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