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Progressive constructions in Swedish

(Swedish Summary)

av Kristian Blensenius



GÖTEBORGS UNIVERSITET

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Abstract

This thesis aims to provide new insights into the semantic properties of some progressive constructions in Swedish and to provide better understanding of aspect in Swedish. The five included studies present analyses of previously understudied as well as more familiar progressive constructions, based on authentic language data.

Constructions with a verb followed by a verbal present participle, e.g. *försvinna skrikande* 'disappear screaming', are analyzed in the first study, and they are labeled progressive participial. It is shown that the verb and the participle, taken together as a construction in a construction-grammar sense, yield progressive reading.

More familiar constructions, standardly considered progressive in the literature, are studied in the remaining papers, primarily from a two-componential theory of aspect. The second study analyzes the constructions *hålla på att* 'hold on to' + infinitive verb and *hålla på* och 'hold on and' + finite verb. While the difference between them is usually taken to be primarily stylistic, it is shown that only *hålla på att* is a progressive marker in a canonical sense.

Posture-verb pseudocoordinations, e.g. *sitta* 'sit' / *stå* 'stand' / *ligga* 'lie' + *och* 'and' + finite verb, are analyzed in the third study. It is shown that posture-verb pseudocoordinations are not progressive like e.g. *hålla på att* but instead locative and, in some cases, episodic.

The fourth study returns to the *hålla på* construction, primarily assessing the pseudocoordinative *hålla på och* variant in detail, noting its restrictions in terms of compatibility with certain types of VP. It is shown that *hålla på och* does not combine with VPs with homogeneous internal structure, and a pluractional analysis is proposed instead. Finally, as a way to find out the nature of *hålla på att* constructions, the fifth study investigates constructions of the type <verb + linking element + VP> from the perspectives of e.g. finiteness and aspect.

KEYWORDS: Swedish, aspect, imperfective, progressive, pseudocoordination, finiteness, semantics, pluractionality, implicative verbs

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Kristian Blensenius

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1. Introduction

This thesis is a compilation of five self-standing studies investigating multi-verbal constructions expressing progressive aspect in Swedish. The departure point of much work in the thesis is Smith's (1997) two-componential theory of aspect. The term multiverbal refers to the form of the investigated constructions: they consist of two verbal elements typically acting together semantically as a (more or less) single predicate. I account for the constructions exemplified in (1) below (see Appendix for a list of abbreviations used in examples):

- (1) a. Lina kom gående nedför gatan.
Lina came walking down street-DEF
'Lina came walking down the street.'
- b. Lina höll på {att förbereda /och förberedde} festen.
Lina held on to-INFM prepare-INF and prepared party-DEF
'Lina was preparing the party.'
- c. Lina satt och läste.
Lina sat and read-PAST
'Lina was (sitting) reading.'

The first type investigated is a previously understudied construction consisting of a verb and a verbal participle without a linking element¹ in between. I label

1 The term *linking element* is borrowed from Wiklund (2007). In this thesis, it refers to an element that links two verbs or VPs, e.g. an element considered a marker of syntactic dependency such as coordination or subordination. In writing, the element in question is typically rendered as the infinitive marker *att* 'to' or the conjunction *och* 'and'. In casual writing, both ele-

it *progressive-participial* and it is exemplified in (1a). The thesis also contains analyses of more familiar types such as the *hålla på* ‘hold on’ construction, which is standardly followed by an infinitive marker and a VP with an infinitive verb (also labeled *hålla på att* construction). However, in informal writing it is instead typically followed by a conjunction *och* ‘and’ and a VP with a finite verb provided that *hålla på* has a finite verb form (this type is also labeled *hålla på och* construction), cf. example (1b). A number of pseudocoordinations with posture verbs in the first conjunct (primarily *sitta/stå/ligga* ‘sit/stand/lie’) are also analyzed. These are obligatorily followed by the conjunction *och* ‘and’ and a finite verb form if the first-conjunct verb is finite; see (1c). We will return to the constructions in section 1.2, after a brief introduction to aspect.

1.1 Aspect

An important reason for studying progressive constructions in Swedish is that they have been overlooked in previous research and are perhaps even misunderstood in some parts. This may partly be due to the fact that Swedish is not considered to be a typical aspect language, having a variety of progressive expressions rather than a single progressive marker with certain additional features (such as obligatoriness). However, Swedish does indeed express aspect through progressive constructions when needed, and this need is largely dictated by the type of verb phrase and contextual factors.

The characterizing term *aspectual* is commonly used – in this thesis as well – in an inclusive sense for encompassing a variety of semantic dimensions in language related to the description of internal temporal structures of situations (see e.g. Brinton 1988, Croft 2012).² However, it is difficult to give an adequate broad semantic definition of what it means to be aspectual, so I instead provide brief characterizations of three basic aspectual categories (e.g. Sasse 1991, Michaelis 1998, Binnick 2006), which I label *viewpoint*, *situation type*, and *phasal constructions* (I include the latter, phasal constructions, in the situation-type category).

The starting point of much of the work in this thesis is Smith’s (1997) two-component theory, which comprises the two aspectual components *situation type* (also known as e.g. *aktionsart*, *actionality*, or *lexical aspect*) and *view-*

ments are also rendered as e.g. *å*, reflecting the pronunciation /ɔ/ in casual speech.

² The corresponding noun *aspectuality* is sometimes used as well (although not in this thesis), covering roughly the same aspectual dimensions (e.g. Binnick 2006).

point. Together, these components make up sentence-level aspect (or viewpoint aspect), which is also known as e.g. *grammatical aspect* in other accounts. I only account for Smith's theory very briefly here, as it is described in detail in section 2.2.

Depending on the aspect of a sentence, the described situation is viewed as bounded or unbounded in relation to other events/times, i.e. aspect is basically binary. Compare (2a) with (2b):

- (2) a. Jag färdigställde rapporten när hon kom hem.
I finished report-DEF when she came home
 'I {finished/was finishing} the report when she came home.'
- b. Jag höll på att färdigställa rapporten när hon kom hem.
I held on to finish report-def when she came home
 'I was finishing the report when she came home.'

The finishing of the report as described in the isolated example in (2a) is aspectually ambiguous, representing either a perfective event – the finishing of the report is perceived as roughly occurring in its entirety when/after she came home – or a progressive (imperfective) event – the finishing of the report is described as being in progress when she came home. In (2b), on the other hand, the adding of the progressive viewpoint through the viewpoint marker *hålla på att* 'hold on to' signals that the event is unambiguously progressive (imperfective) – the finishing of the report was in progress when she came home.³

In (2a) above, the perfective reading, 'finished the report', describes a finished event. However, the "finishedness" depends on the situation type in the sentence. The event of finishing a report has a final endpoint (after which the report is finished) and a process part. We can infer an initial endpoint as well; the subject referent must initiate the working with the report before it is finished. But we receive a different result by exchanging 'finishing the report' for, say, 'swimming', as in *Jag simmade när hon kom hem* 'I {swam/was swimming} when she came home'. Like in (2a) above, we can obtain a progressive reading of the swimming event, but the other reading does not involve a finished event of swimming (cf. Smith 1997:67, 192). The event is instead stopped or terminated, since 'swimming' includes no final endpoint. This difference is due to the other component of Smith's aspectual theory, situation type.

3 It could be added that Smith (1997) also employs the alternative concepts of closed and open readings, which roughly (but not necessarily, according to Smith 1997:64) correspond to perfective and imperfective aspect, respectively. Closed events have both initial and final endpoints and "present an event without concern for its internal structure", whereas open events have no endpoints (Smith 1997:6).

The other component of Smith’s aspectual theory, situation types, refers to the description of inherent temporal features of situations, based on Vendler’s (1957) situation taxonomy. Vendler identifies four “time schemata”: *state terms*, *activity terms*, *accomplishment terms*, and *achievement terms*. Smith (1997) adopts these types (as *states*, *activities*, *accomplishments*, and *achievements* respectively) and adds the category of semelfactives. Situation types are distinguished on the basis of three binary semantic features: [dynamic/static], [durative/instantaneous], and [telic/atelic]. Dynamic situations include successive stages occurring at different moments, whereas static situations do not. Duration is related to temporal extension: durative situations take some significant amount of time while instantaneous situations do not. Finally, telic situations carry an intrinsic final endpoint whereas atelic situations are processes without final endpoints (the telicity feature is considered irrelevant for states, since they are undifferentiated periods of time). The combination of semantic features yields the five situation types:

(3) Semantic features	Situation type	Example
static, durative	state	know the answer
dynamic, durative, atelic	activity	sing
dynamic, durative, telic	accomplishment	write a report
dynamic, instantaneous, atelic	semelfactive	tap
dynamic, instantaneous, telic	achievement	win the race

These five situation types are coded by so-called verb constellations, i.e. verbs and their arguments. For example, the sentence *She built a house* is associated with the underlying verb constellation [she build a house], which expresses the concept {she build a house}. However, it is usually sufficient to represent situation types as simply consisting of the verb and its internal arguments, e.g. as *build a house*, and this is done in this thesis.

Not only the verb is categorized for situation type (although it can be, as seen above), because different types of argument affect categorization. For example, certain verbs without objects, or with indefinite-plural objects, e.g. *sing (songs)*, are typically characterized as activities; they are dynamic and durative but lack intrinsic endpoints. Other verbs may be classified as accomplishments when combined with objects denoting specified quantity (e.g. *write a report*) or path-goal adverbials (e.g. *walk to the store*). These are like activities, but also have a final endpoint, typically defined by the object referent or the adverbial.

The third aspectual component, which is peripheral in this thesis (see instead Bylin 2013), can be labeled *phasal*. It refers to constructions like *börja* ‘begin’, *fortsätta* ‘continue’, or *sluta* ‘stop, quit’ + verb, e.g. *Jag slutade röka i går*

(lit. I quit-PAST smoke-INF yesterday) ‘I quit smoking yesterday’. Phasal constructions are sometimes claimed to focus particular phases of situations (cf. Brinton 1988), but they can also be seen as describing events in themselves and therefore be categorized as (derived) situation types. The latter view is taken by Smith (1997), whose model is adopted in this thesis. Smith considers VPs with ‘begin’, ‘end’, etc. to be cases of aspectual shifts on the level of situation type. For example, the difference between *röka* ‘smoke’ and *sluta röka* ‘stop smoking’ is a difference between a description of an activity situation (*röka*) and a derived accomplishment (or perhaps achievement). This situation type can in turn be presented from different perspectives by viewpoint. For example, a Swedish sentence can include a progressive construction aspectually modifying a phasic verb, e.g. *Han höll på att fortsätta tjata* (lit. he held on to-INEM continue-INF nag-INF) ‘He was continuing his nagging’.

1.2 Constructions investigated in the included studies

As can be concluded, the constructions investigated in this thesis are considered viewpoint constructions typically conveying progressive aspect. While the so-called progressive participial constructions (see section 1.2.2) are studied primarily from a construction-grammar perspective, the remaining studies of progressive constructions (1.2.3 and 1.2.4) are more oriented towards aspectual semantics.

Before I present the constructions in question, something should be said about progressive aspect.

1.2.1 Progressive aspect

Progressive aspect is partly characterized by being expressed by verbal periphrases in many languages (e.g. Dahl 1985:90f.), and, as seen, Swedish does not seem to be an exception to this tendency. Progressivity is typically considered to be a subtype of imperfective aspect in the literature (e.g. Comrie 1976, Dowty 1979, Smith 1997, and Dahl & Velupillai 2013), which usually, but not exclusively, conveys that “an event is progressing dynamically over a time frame opened up by an utterance” (Mair 2012:803). Other imperfective meanings such as the generic and the habitual (e.g. Comrie 1976:24f.) are thus not primary targets of the studies in this thesis. The qualification “but not exclusively” above is added because of a special progressive type, in the literature labeled e.g. *achievements with progressives* (Dowty 1979:137) and

progressive achievements (Rothstein 2004). The *hålla på att* construction can namely under certain circumstances express a special kind of imperfective/progressive aspect, for example in *Jag höll på att spy* (lit. I held on to puke), here referring to the reading ‘I was about to puke’. This ‘be about to’ reading is here referred to as *prospective*, and it resembles progressive aspect in referring to a progression towards an endpoint that it not attained (in the present case, it refers to an incomplete puking event), see e.g. section 2.5.1 and study V.

1.2.2 Progressive participial constructions

I primarily study three progressive constructions in this thesis, as mentioned in the beginning, and one is the progressive participial construction (exemplified in 1a above). Progressive participials are <VERB + VERBAL PRESENT PARTICIPLE> sequences such as *springa flåsande* ‘run panting’, which have previously not attracted much interest in the literature.⁴ The study distinguishes three subtypes of progressive participial construction, and it suggests that these are all part of the inventory of progressive constructions in Swedish:

- (4) a. Han kom gående nedför gatan.
he came walking down street-DEF
 ‘He came (was) walking down the street.’
 b. Hon blev sittande vid bordet.
she became sitting by table-DEF
 ‘She became/was/remained sitting by the table.’
 c. Han sprang gråtande genom skogen.
he ran crying through forest-DEF
 ‘He was running through the forest while crying.’

The first type, illustrated in (4a), is represented by directive participial constructions, denoting progressive directed motion, and have *komma* ‘come’ as the only verb and a participle denoting directed motion, e.g. *komma gående* ‘come walking’. The second type (4b) is represented by locative participial constructions, with *bli* ‘be(come)’ as verb and a locative (postural) participial, e.g.

⁴ The constructions are mentioned briefly in a note in the reference grammar *Svenska Akademiens grammatik* (‘The Swedish Academy grammar’), SAG (2:512), where it is stated that they can express ‘ongoingness’. Also, Kvist Darnell (2008:199) briefly brings up the <VERB + PRESENT PARTICIPLE> sequences *sitta väntande* ‘sit waiting’ and *stå undrande* ‘stand wondering’, concluding that they are conceivable progressive constructions but limited in their use (for example, *sitta läsande* ‘sit reading’ is not considered to be a likely combination).

bli sittande ‘be(come) sitting’. The third type (4c) comprises the rather schematic additive participial constructions, e.g. *springa gråtande* ‘run crying’. These allow many types of verbs, while the participle position is typically reserved for those denoting dynamic events.

Progressive participial constructions are examined in study I, “*Springa flåsande och andra progressiva participkonstruktioner i svenskan*” [*Springa flåsande* and other progressive participial constructions in Swedish]. The analysis in study I is couched in the framework of construction grammar (Goldberg 2006), studying progressive participial constructions as conventional pairings of form and function. It is shown that progressive participial constructions are particularly suitable for a construction-grammar analysis, partly because it is difficult to determine the valency of the included verbs.

1.2.3 *Hålla på* constructions

The *hålla på* ‘hold on’ constructions (also exemplified in 1b above) appear in two main variants, *hålla på att* ‘hold on to-INFM’ + VP with an infinite verb, as in (5a), and the less formal *hålla på och* ‘hold on and’ + VP with a finite form of the verb if *hålla på* is finite, as in (5b).

- (5) a. Lina höll på att nysa.
Lina held on to-INFM sneeze-INF
 ‘Lina was about to sneeze.’, ‘Lina was sneezing.’
 b. Lina höll på och nös.
Lina held on and sneezed
 Only: ‘Lina was sneezing.’

In spite of their seemingly rather different syntactic configurations, the two variants are usually given a semantically unified treatment, since they can often be used interchangeably. Both tend to yield progressive reading when combined with activity VPs and, to some extent, with accomplishment VPs. For example, there is no obvious semantic difference between *Hon höll på att springa omkring* (lit. she held on to run around) and *Hon höll på och sprang omkring* (lit. she held on and ran around); both can be interpreted as ‘She was running around’. The only semantic difference between them that is acknowledged in the literature is essentially that *hålla på att*, typically when combined with punctual (achievement or semelfactive) predicates, can also yield prospective reading, whereas the *hålla på och* variant typically only yields iterative reading with these VPs. This is illustrated in (5) above.

Constructions with *hålla på* are described in study II, “En pluraktionell progressivmarkör? *Hålla på att* jämförd med *hålla på och*” [A pluractional pro-

gressive marker? *Hålla på att* compared with *hålla på och*]. It evaluates the repertoire of *hålla på* constructions in Swedish, making it a kind of pre-study for the more detailed investigation carried out in study IV, “A syntactic reflex of event structure. Two variants of the Swedish aspectual periphrasis *hålla på* ‘hold on’”. Study II argues that *hålla på* constructions should not be given a unified semantic treatment; *hålla på och* is argued to be a pluractional construction, which in basic terms means that it describes a multiplicity of (sub)events. Study IV contains a more thorough scrutiny of the *hålla på* constructions; event structure is given more emphasis as the concept of pluractionality is presented. In study V, “(Ir)realis in finite and infinitive verbal complement structures in Swedish”, I examine the type <VERB + LINKING ELEMENT (*å*)⁵ + VERB PHRASE>, with the complement alternating between finite and infinitive VP head. The starting point is the alternation between *hålla på* constructions combining with infinitive and finite verb phrases. This alternation is explored in relation to the semantic concept of realis.

1.2.4 Posture-verb pseudocoordinations

Together with the *hålla på* construction, pseudocoordinations with a posture verb in the first conjunct, e.g. *ligga och läsa*, lit. lie and read (cf. also 1c above), are probably the most familiar Swedish constructions considered progressive in the literature. Posture-verb pseudocoordinations consist of a posture verb *sitta* ‘sit’, *stå* ‘stand’, or *ligga* ‘lie’ in the first conjunct, which is why I also label them *SSL coordinations*. The posture verb is followed by *och* ‘and’, which is in turn followed by a VP with a finite verb if the posture verb has a finite, tensed, form:

- (6) Kim står och röker i biblioteket.
Kim stands and smokes in library-DEF
 ‘Kim is (standing and) smoking in the library.’

As seen in (6), the verbs in the first and in the second conjunct have co-referential subject marked once. Syntactically and prosodically, SSL coordinations are characterized by a number of features which are not shared with canonical coordinations; for example, the first conjunct of an SSL coordination is typically unstressed, and the conjuncts cannot change places (*Jag satt och läste* ‘I sat and read’ vs. **Jag läste och satt* ‘I read and sat’).

5 I only render the linking element as *å* in study V, reflecting the pronunciation /ɔ/. It is found in the previous studies that the most decisive semantic factor is not the type of linking element but the inflection of the second verb.

Like the previously (section 1.2.3) mentioned *hålla på* variant allowing two finite verbs, *hålla på och*, SSL coordinations most frequently combine with atelic VPs like in example (6) above, seemingly providing progressive aspect. However, they also combine with telic VPs, including achievements, and in these cases, SSL coordinations (7a) can be rather different aspectually from e.g. *hålla på att* constructions (7b):

- (7) a. Lina satt och somnade.
Lina sat and fell.asleep
 ‘Lina fell asleep (while sitting).’
 b. Lina höll på att somna.
Lina held on to fall.asleep
 ‘Lina was about to fall asleep.’

The SSL coordination in (7a) does not specify aspect in any obvious way; the preferred reading is that Lina did fall asleep (maybe several times) and, in addition, the speaker may provide an attitude towards Lina falling asleep (like ‘Can you believe it, Lina fell asleep’). In (7b), on the other hand, the preferred reading with the *hålla på att* construction is prospective: ‘Lina was about to fall asleep’.

SSL pseudocoordinations are primarily analyzed in study III, “Maintaining contact with pseudoprogressive pseudocoordinations. Swedish verbal coordinations with ‘sit’, ‘stand’, and ‘lie’ from a spatial perspective”. The focus of this study is on the nature of the progressive aspect of SSL coordinations. It is shown that SSL coordinations do not necessarily determine, or alter, the aspect value of the sentence (i.e. its perfective or imperfective value), as illustrated in e.g. (7) above. The aspectual value is instead largely provided by the second conjunct. This, among other features, leads me to question the status of SSL coordinations as “proper” aspectual markers.

1.3 Aims

This thesis is intended to provide new insights into progressive constructions in Swedish, primarily their semantic properties, and provide better understanding of progressive aspect in Swedish.

The included studies aim to investigate progressive constructions in two ways:

First, I intend to analyze and describe some constructions – progressive participial constructions – that are hitherto severely understudied as progressive constructions. These are analyzed from a construction-grammar perspective.

This aim is related to study I.

Second, I intend to analyze more well-described progressive constructions such as *hålla på* constructions and posture-verb pseudocoordinations from a semantic perspective, primarily based on aspectual theory. This is essentially done in studies II–V. The second aim is related to the problematic relationship between aspectual models of English – which is by far the most dominant object language in general semantic accounts of aspect – and the often direct application of these models cross-linguistically, for example to Swedish. I intend to show that one must employ a more fine-grained aspectual analysis than what is employed in some previous accounts in order to capture the use of progressive constructions in Swedish.

2. Previous research on progressive aspect

According to an assessment of a number of aspect theories provided by Sasse (2002:201f.), there is general consensus in the literature that there are two overall types of situation: those that are conceived of as including (initial and/or, typically, final) endpoints and those that do not. In addition to this semantic notion of aspect, the aspectual meaning, there are formal devices that encode situations with respect to boundaries. This is in line with characterizations of the category ‘perfective’ as “indicating that a situation is viewed as bounded” and the category ‘imperfective’ as “indicating that a situation is viewed as not bounded” (Bybee & Dahl 1989:55).⁶ Another feature that appears to be a general property of aspect is that several factors contribute to aspectual meaning, for example lexicon, syntax, and context.

In other respects, there is, according to Sasse (2002:202), disagreement as to how aspect should be interpreted, and one such disagreement concerns the interpretation of certain aspectual effects. Progressive aspect can serve as an illustration. In section 1 above, it is simply stated that progressive aspect is expressed by a verbal periphrasis expressing a type of imperfective meaning conveying that an event is in progress. However, model-theoretic work on the progressive aspect has also discussed the truth-conditional nature of its interaction with telic situations, raising questions such as why one can truthfully

⁶ The notion of boundedness refers to different concepts in the literature. Depraetere (1995) distinguishes between *potential* boundaries (associated with the concept of telicity) and *attained* boundaries (which are often, but not always, associated with perfectivity). See also Dahl (1981) and cf. Sasse’s (2002) *boundedness*₁ vs. *boundedness*₂.

state that an event with a boundary is ongoing if it is never completed, and explaining the imperfective paradox that arises in English progressive sentences (cf. Dowty 1977, 1979). For example, Bennett & Partee (2004 [1972]:71) analyze the progressive, e.g. *John is building a house*, as an operator in relation to intervals:

- (8) *John is building a house* is true at I if and only if [...] there exists an interval of time I' such that I is in I', I is not an endpoint for I', and *John builds a house* is true at I'.

If a verb phrase such as *walk* in *I was walking* is to be true at some interval I, then the sentence is true at every subinterval of I. If *I was walking* is true between 10 and 10:30, *I was walking* is true at 10:23 as well. However, an event such as *Mary was building a house* is true at an interval only if it is a subinterval of a larger interval in which the complete tense- and aspectless sentence *Mary build a house* is true.

The analysis by Bennett & Partee does not cover e.g. accomplishment situations which are true even though the final endpoint is not realized in the real world, as in *he was crossing the street when he was abducted*. Dowty (1979) notes this and proposes a modal analysis in which the (tense- and aspectless) sentence does not need to be fully realized in the real world, by adding a set of so-called inertia worlds to the representation. These worlds are exactly like the real world up to a certain time, and after this time, the course of events proceeds in ways that are most compatible with the past course of events (p. 148f.). Other notable approaches are provided by e.g. Parsons (1990) and Landman (1992).

Now, let us acquaint ourselves with the theoretical point of departure of much of the work presented here. The choice of aspectual theory namely touches upon a fundamental point of disagreement in aspectology according to Sasse (2002): the number of aspectual dimensions acknowledged (also noted by e.g. Dahl 1981 and Bertinetto 2001). As mentioned earlier, the theory chosen here is Smith's (1997) two-componential approach, which is described in section 2.1. Smith's theory is an example of a bidimensional approach, acknowledging two levels of analysis, and it contrasts with unidimensional approaches, acknowledging one level. We examine the different approaches in section 2.2 below, where some arguments in favor of a bidimensional approach are presented. Sections 2.3–2.5 are devoted to aspectual accounts of Swedish and, in some measure, to other Scandinavian languages, since observations in these languages are to a certain extent valid for Swedish as well. Situation-type composition is discussed in section 2.3, and a number of constructions that are considered progressive in the literature are presented in 2.4. In section 2.5, some previous approaches to aspect in Swedish and Scandinavian are presented.

2.1 Smith’s theory of aspect

In Smith’s (1997) two-component theory of aspect, *aspect* (viewpoint aspect) is yielded by the composition of the two independent but interacting components *situation type* and *viewpoint*. I find Smith’s two-component theory appealing from an operational perspective, since it rather straightforwardly distinguishes the two components and the compositional result:

- situation type: a description of a situation “conveyed by the verb constellation, which I define as a main verb and its arguments, including subject” (Smith 1997:2)
- viewpoint: “conveyed by a grammatical morpheme, usually verbal. Adverbials may give relevant information” (Smith 1997:2). It is typically dichotomous, perfective or imperfective, but there is also a third category, the *neutral* viewpoint (see below).
- (viewpoint) aspect: the compositional result at the sentence level.

Below is an example of a schematic representation taken from Smith, which illustrates how it is done. The leftmost column contains the temporal schema, i.e. the representation of each step in the aspectual composition (I = initial endpoint, F = final endpoint, dots = internal “event stages”, slashes = the interval of the situation that is presented by viewpoint). The middle column, the sentence-information column, contains information on the situation type, viewpoint, or aspect, and the rightmost column contains examples of each level of analysis:

TABLE 1 *Two-componential analysis of the imperfective sentence Mary was walking to school (Smith 1997:3)*

temporal schema	sentence information	examples
I F	situation type: accomplishment	Mary walk to school
...	viewpoint: imperfective	be+ing
I ..///.. F	composite	Mary was walking to school

The schema represents the accomplishment situation type *Mary walk to school*. By adding the viewpoint marker, the progressive *be+ing*, we receive the composite *Mary was walking to school*.⁷

⁷ The composite level is represented without tense by Smith (1997:3). I include tense for illustrative purposes.

2.1.1 Situation types

By *situation type*, we do not refer to aktionsart as it is often perceived, i.e. as only referring to single verb lexemes (e.g. Dahl 1985:26f.). Situation types in Smith's model are instead classes of events or states encoded by particular verbs in particular contexts: "verb constellations". These contexts are typically verb phrases (main verb + its internal arguments; Smith 1997:19) like *build a house* or, in some cases, tenseless propositions like "Mary walk to school".

Smith (1997:19) defines situation types in terms of three semantic features:

- [static/dynamic]: states consist of a single, undifferentiated period. They obtain in time but they do not "take time". Dynamic situations include successive stages occurring at different moments.
- [durative/instantaneous]: duration is not clearly defined by Smith, but it has to do with temporal extension: durative situations take time whereas instantaneous situations do not.⁸
- [telic/atelic]: telic situations have "a natural final endpoint, or intrinsic bound", whereas atelic situations are processes" that "can stop at any time".⁹

The resulting collection of situation types is reminiscent of Vendler's (1957) four "time schemata" *state terms*, *activity terms*, *accomplishment terms*, and *achievement terms*. There is one augmentation, the semelfactive type.¹⁰

8 Durativity also seems to overlap with notions like processuality: for example, it is indicated by "the presence or absence of internal stages in a temporal schema" (Smith 1997:23). On the other hand, states are considered durative as well. Cf. Christensen (1995:63f.) for a discussion of durativity vs. processuality.

9 Note that telicity here refers to a *possible* final bound, which is sometimes also referred to as boundedness (see e.g. Croft 2012:33). However, some researchers use boundedness to refer to actually attained final endpoints (cf. Depraetere 1995).

10 For Comrie (1976:42), *semelfactive* refers to a situation that takes place once only (e.g. one cough), whereas *iterative* refers to repeated situations (as in the progressive *he was coughing*, which can only refer to a series of coughs).

TABLE 2 *Situations types* (Smith 1997:3)

situation type	features	examples
states	static, durative	know the answer, love Mary
activities	dynamic, durative, atelic	laugh, stroll in the park
accomplishments	dynamic, durative, telic	build a house, walk to school
semelfactives	dynamic, instantaneous, atelic	tap, knock
achievements	dynamic, instantaneous, telic	win a race, reach the top

The temporal schemata are provided below. As seen, states (3a) are undifferentiated periods represented by the line, and the initial and final endpoints are not part of the situation. Activities (3b) consist of an initial endpoint and, because they can stop but do not exactly finish,¹¹ an arbitrary final endpoint (F_{Arb}) and stages (the dots) in between. An activity with a “natural” (inherent, potential) final endpoint and a result state ($F_{\text{Nat R}}$) is an accomplishment (3c), and the process part advances towards this until it reaches its outcome and results in a new state.¹² Semelfactives are single-stage events E with no results or outcomes (3d). Achievements, finally, are also single-stage events, but they carry a resultant state (E_{R}), and they have both preliminary and resultant stages.

- (9) a. States: (I) — (F) (Smith 1997:32)
 b. Activities: I F_{Arb} (Smith 1997:23)
 c. Accomplishments: I $F_{\text{Nat R}}$ (Smith 1997:26)
 d. Semelfactives: E (Smith 1997:29)
 e. Achievements: ... E_{R} ... (Smith 1997:30)

It is well known that situation types can be tested with, or determined by, quantification and determination, as well as by arguments and adverbials (e.g. Dowty 1979, Dahl 1985, and Verkuyl 1993). There is a mereological connection between situation types and entities in that telic situation types (accomplishments and achievements) are often expressed in part by nominal arguments (Smith 1997:20). These arguments are either specified with respect to quantity, which typically makes them telic (e.g. *he played a sonata*),¹³ or non-

11 Activities can stop at any time or, for example, be combined with a temporal adverbial providing a temporal endpoint such as *for*-adverbials like *for ten minutes*.

12 Accomplishments can be distinguished from activities through past-progressive-to-simple-past entailment tests (e.g. Smith 1997:28f., Dowty 1979:133). For example, a sentence with an accomplishment predicate in the past progressive like *I was drawing a circle* does not entail the simple-past *I drew a circle*, whereas an activity predicate in the past progressive like *I was running around* entails the simple-past *I ran around*. These tests resemble Garey’s (1957:105) test “if one is verbing but interrupted while verbing, has one verbed?”

13 Note that telic meaning is dependent on both a quantized object and the meaning of the

specified, expressed by e.g. bare-plural objects (e.g. *he played sonatas*) or no object (e.g. *he played*). The two latter cases are atelic.

Smith (1997) distinguishes between basic-level situation types and derived-level situation types. Basic-level situation types are “simple, complete situations” (p. 22) which are “always available for a verb constellation” (p. 19) (e.g. production verb + object like *build a house*, or motion verb + directional/goal PP like *walk to school*; examples are provided in table 2 above). Derived-level situation types require “adverbial or other information from context” (p. 19) and “focus part of a situation; or have a complex internal structure which consists of instances of another situation type; or represent a marked association of verb constellation and situation type” (p. 22). An example of a basic-level situation type is the one in the sentence *Mary coughed* (semelfactive), and a derived-level situation type is included in *Mary coughed for an hour*, which is shifted (*coerced* in Moen’s 1987 terms) to an activity situation type by addition of a temporal *for*-adverbial. The adverbial “overrides” the semantic feature of the basic verb constellation (in this case, the durativity feature $f\alpha$ is overridden by $f\beta$), following a compositional rule taking as input a (interpreted) verb constellation (VCon) referring to a basic-level situation with certain temporal features (a,b, $f\alpha$), together with overriding external elements like adverbials (10a) and giving a derived verb constellation (DVCon) with the temporal features a,b, $f\beta$ as output (10b).

- (10) Mary coughed for an hour.
 a. $V_{Con}[a,b,f\alpha] + [f\beta] \rightarrow DV_{Con}[a,b,f\beta]$
 b. $V_{Con}[+Dyn -Telic -Dur] + Adv.[+Dur] \rightarrow DV_{Con}[+Dyn -Telic +Dur]$

Not only adverbials can shift situation types. For example, “super-lexical morphemes” (Smith 1997:48f.) such as *continue*, *begin*, and *stop* can be seen as expressing separate events, unlike viewpoint expressions such as *be + V-ing* and Swedish *hålla på att*: since end-points of situations are considered telic, the end-point focusing *begin/stop* shift the activity situation of, say, *rotate* into the achievement or accomplishment situation expressed by (*gradually*) *begin/stop rotating*. The verb *continue* in e.g. *continue reading the book* instead produces an atelic event consisting of the internal stages of reading the book. Smith (1997:53) also notes that the progressive viewpoint, apart from providing viewpoint aspect, can trigger a shift from semelfactive to (multiple-event) activity, e.g. *Mary coughed* (semelfactive) vs. *Mary was coughing* (activity).

verb. For example, Dowty’s (1979:133) ‘push a cart’ situation is atelic.

Other than overriding basic-level situation types, durative adverbials like ‘for x time’ and ‘in x time’ are used when diagnosing telicity: ‘for x time’ co-occurs with atelic situations (11a), whereas ‘in x time’ co-occurs with telic situations (11b).

- (11) a. Mary walked in the park for an hour. (activity, Smith 1997:41)
b. Mary built the sandcastle in an hour. (accomplishment, Smith 1997:41)

Smith provides additional syntactic configurations that are capable of changing situation types. Activity sentences can combine with objects, but these are typically of the mass-/bare-plural-NP type. It is also noted that certain prepositions make telic verb constellations atelic (I call this type *conative*¹⁴, cf. Levin 1993:41f.): Smith (1997:25) mentions the alternation between the telic verb constellation *read a book* and the atelic *read in a book*. It is also noted that result constructions, e.g. *paint the house red*, augment the telic situation by providing additional information about the resultant state of the outcome.

2.1.2 Viewpoint and (viewpoint) aspect

Smith (1997:61) likens viewpoint with a lens focusing different parts of situations; it is an abstract mechanism that focuses a certain part of a situation. Imperfective, including progressive, viewpoints “focus an interval that excludes endpoints” (Smith 1997:62).¹⁵ Note that viewpoint, unlike the category of derived-level situation types expressed by e.g. adverbials (section 2.2.1), does not typically shift situation types, but instead marks (viewpoint) aspect.

Smith sometimes also uses the term *viewpoint aspect*, or simply *aspect* for the resulting grammaticized aspectual meaning of a sentence (the composite level in the representation in table 4 and 5 below), which is conveyed or signaled by language-particular instances of viewpoint information.¹⁶

All sentences are required to have viewpoints, even those without “aspectual morphemes” (the category of aspectual morphemes does not only include bound morphemes according to Smith; it also includes any overt linguistic

14 The term *conative* is also associated with predicates like *attempt* and *try*, e.g. Smith (1997:50) and Croft (2012:107).

15 Smith (1997:90) also notes that there is often a connection between imperfectivity and irrealis modality.

16 Cf. e.g. Mair (2012), who distinguishes between *aspect* (the marking) and *aspectuality* (the semantic-cognitive notion).

form that expresses the functional category of viewpoint aspect, for example the periphrastic English progressive; Smith 1997:131, 170). Sentences which can be characterized as having aspectual morphemes are either aspectually perfective, i.e. represent the situation in its totality, or imperfective, i.e. focus part of a situation. Sentences with no overt viewpoint morphemes are characterized as having neutral viewpoint, which focuses the initial endpoint and at least one internal stage:

TABLE 3 *Viewpoints (Smith 1997:3)*

viewpoint	focus	endpoints included
perfective	situation in its entirety	initial, final
imperfective	part of a situation	(none)
neutral	at least one internal stage	initial

The neutral viewpoint is difficult to represent in a two-component temporal schema (Smith 1997:81 represents the viewpoint as “I .”, i.e. the initial endpoint and at least one internal stage), but the imperfective and perfective viewpoint aspects can be illustrated as below (the imperfective schema is repeated):

TABLE 4 *Two-componential analysis of the imperfective sentence Mary was walking to school (Smith 1997:3)*

temporal schema	sentence information	examples
I F	situation type: accomplishment	Mary walk to school
...	viewpoint: imperfective	be+ing
I ..///.. F	composite	Mary was walking to school

TABLE 5 *Two-componential analysis of the perfective sentence Mary walked to school (adapted from Tonne 2001:32)¹⁷*

temporal schema	sentence information	examples
I F	situation type: accomplishment	Mary walk to school
...	viewpoint: perfective	past-morpheme
I .....F /////	composite	Mary walked to school

17 Smith (1997) does not present a full two-componential representation of the perfective (but see p. 66).

The progressive viewpoint is a subtype of the imperfective viewpoint, together with other types of imperfective (p. 130). The temporal schema of progressives is basically the same as that of imperfectives (Smith 1997:63); the difference between imperfectives and progressives is that the progressive viewpoint is generally reserved for non-stative predicates, and it connotes dynamicity, temporariness, and/or volitionality (p. 130, 172).

The progressive construction in English is not only used for focusing internal stages of situations, it can also focus preliminary stages of achievements (included in the prospective meaning, i.e. the meaning ‘be about to’, in this thesis); recall the dots preceding “... E_R ...”¹⁸ in the temporal schema in 2.2.1.¹⁹ An example with the achievement predicate *win the race* together with the marked imperfective/progressive viewpoint:

(12) Bright Star was winning the race. (Smith 1997:172)

In order to capture both internal and preliminary stages, Smith (1997:174f.) also represents the English progressive as including the final endpoint of an event, F, or an achievement single stage, E_t:

(13)F/E_t
 ///+
 stage

‘The viewpoint presents an interval of an event that includes neither its initial nor final endpoint.’

The preliminary stages, which represent a dynamic property of situations (Smith 1997:19), may seem to be a part of the situation in the temporal schema, but they are “conceptually detached from the events” (Smith 1997:31). The motivation for this position is, for example, that winning a race requires that you run it first. This view is consistent with other accounts of preliminary stages of achievements, e.g. Mittwoch (1991).

To justify an alleged aspectual value, Smith uses different techniques. One is conjoining the tested telic sentence with a clause that denies event completion. If the result is reasonable, the situation is presented as not completed, i.e. it has an aspectual viewpoint that is open or imperfective (14a), if contradictory, it is presented as completed, i.e. it has an aspectual viewpoint that is closed or

18 The succeeding dots are said to represent resultant stages, which can be focused by the progressive construction, e.g. *Your socks were lying on the bed* (Smith 1997:76). This sentence is claimed to denote a state succeeding a telic event (that of placing the socks on the bed).

19 However, semelfactives are claimed to lack preliminary stages (Smith 1997:75).

perfective (14a'). Another diagnostic is addition of temporal clauses, typically 'when' clauses, testing whether situations are simultaneous, overlapping, or successive. In (14b), the matrix event of leaving overlaps the ringing, yielding open reading and imperfective viewpoint of matrix situation, whereas in (14b'), the leaving succeeds the ringing, yielding closed reading and perfective viewpoint of the matrix situation.²⁰

- (14) a. Mary was walking to school but she didn't actually get there. (Smith 1997:63)
 a'. #Mary walked to school but she didn't actually get there. (Smith 1997:64)
 b. Bill was leaving when the bell rang. (Smith 1997:64)
 b'. Bill left when the bell rang. (Smith 1997:64)

Both tests illustrate a time-relational quality of viewpoint aspect. The *but*-clause test evaluates a situation posterior to the occurrence of that (whole) situation, concluding that an inherent endpoint was or was not reached. The *when*-clause test evaluates a situation *as* it occurs, an inclusive temporal relation. Note that this is a different time-relational concept to what is often called the deictic feature of tense (e.g. Bylin 2013:65), or situation-external time (Comrie 1976:5), which refers to the fact that the time of a (whole) situation is anchored to a time axis and ordered with respect to the time of utterance.

Smith notes that sentences presenting one imperfective situation in isolation often seem incomplete (at least in non-present tenses), since they, like e.g. anaphora, only give partial information. She (p. 90) cites Jespersen (1931:179), commenting on the isolated sentence *He is hunting*: "The hunting is felt to be a kind of time frame around something else [...]". In a way, Smith's theory of aspect (and many other, particularly bidimensional, accounts) is a relational aspect theory (Binnick 2006:256). This goes well together with accounts presented by Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria (2000, 2007), who, following Klein (1995), consider both tense and aspect to "express spatiotemporal relations – precedence, subsequence or inclusion – between time intervals" (Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria 2007:330). They consider progressive aspect to be a two-place predicate WITHIN, ordering two time spans: the event time and the assertion time (roughly corresponding to Jespersen's "time frame around something else"; also cf. section 5.2.2).

20 When marking sentences, "*" stands for 'ungrammatical', "?" means 'somewhat questionable in a syntactic or a semantic sense', and "#" is used to indicate syntactically well-formed sentences which are semantically ill-formed, implausible, or only acceptable with special contextual support.

Lastly, the status of the *neutral* viewpoint should be discussed. According to Smith (1997), this viewpoint is aspectually vague, which suggests that one and the same neutral sentence can be taken as having alternative aspectual values. It is “neither perfective nor imperfective” (Smith 1997:78), yet it primarily blurs the binary distinction between perfective and imperfective – although a language might “in principle” (p. 95) have a neutral viewpoint that contrasts with one of the two familiar viewpoints, i.e. perfective and imperfective. Smith does not consider the possibility of the neutral viewpoint instead being ambiguous between perfective and imperfective, which is suggested by Tonne (2001:9,32f.) based on the fact that context usually determines the (perfective or imperfective) reading. However, it seems that it is not crucial here to take a stand in the discussion on neutral viewpoint as being either vague or ambiguous; the difference in opinion seems to result from the importance attached to the ability of context to set viewpoint (Smith 1997:78, Tonne 2001:9).

Smith (1997:5,81) considers languages like Finnish and Icelandic to have neutral viewpoint, since they are claimed to have no grammaticized viewpoints.²¹ In view of this (although it is not motivated why these languages would have neutral viewpoint), Swedish may seem to pose a challenge to an analysis of progressive aspect based on Smith’s model.²² However, the neutral viewpoint can also be a feature of individual sentences – Chinese, for example, is taken to have perfective, imperfective, and neutral viewpoints.

I take it that we can consider Swedish to be a type of language with at least partially neutral viewpoint. Viewpoint markers like *hålla på att* ‘hold on to’ are indeed used when needed but they are perhaps not systematic enough, and there are competing progressive constructions as well (see e.g. section 4). On the other hand, this is also true for a language like English, where only about 10 per cent of all VPs are considered perfective or progressive (cf. section 2.5.2). Furthermore, Smith (1997:170) considers the English simple past to have perfective viewpoint, because it is claimed to obligatorily contrast with the overtly marked imperfective progressive. This is not an unproblematic claim: for example, de Swart (2012:761) suggests that the English simple past is in fact an “aspectually neutral tense”, which seems reasonable in the light of progressive-past vs. simple-past activity sentences like *It was raining yesterday* vs. *It*

21 This does not seem to be a correct characterization, at least as far as Icelandic is concerned; cf. Comrie (1976:99) and Jóhannsdóttir (2011).

22 Smith (1997) does not discuss Swedish – or Danish or Norwegian – in her book, except in a note on p. 120, when referring to Dahl’s (1985:23) discussion on obligatoriness and uniqueness of aspectual markers in Swedish.

rained yesterday. In this case, the progressive is not syntactically obligatory, although the progressive sentence can indeed refer to a particular part of the raining (or carry a particular evidentiality value). On the other hand, so does the Swedish progressive *Det höll på att regna i går* (lit. it held on to rain yesterday), which has a simple counterpart in *Det regnade i går* (lit. it rained yesterday). I consider Swedish to have three viewpoints: perfective, imperfective, and neutral.

2.2 Aspectual dimensions

Smith's (1997) bidimensional aspectual theory represents a common way of treating aspect, which "always seems to be a feature of a later stage in the development of aspect theories" (Sasse 2002:222). The bidimensional approaches generally distinguish between a binary²³ aspect (perfective/imperfective) on the one hand and intrinsic temporal characteristics of situations (e.g. categories like state, event, etc.) on the other. While intrinsic aspect is sometimes seen as objective, perfective/imperfective aspect is sometimes considered a subjective category (e.g. Bache 1982).²⁴ There are several examples of the bidimensional type, making more or less clear distinctions between the two dimensions. I present a number of accounts below.

Comrie's (1976) treatment of aspect is essentially a two-componential account (he does not explicitly take a stand here), but little reference is made to other components than that of perfectivity vs. imperfectivity. Comrie distinguishes between aspect ("particular grammatical categories in individual languages that correspond in content to the semantic aspectual distinctions [perfective, imperfective] drawn", p. 7) on the one hand and the not so rigidly defined "situations" (states, events, processes, etc.) on the other (p. 13).²⁵ He asserts, for example, that "a perfective form referring to a telic situation implies attainment of the terminal point of that situation" (p. 46), but one also finds statements suggesting that the concepts of situations and aspects are inter-

23 Some scholars allow more categories, e.g. habitual aspect.

24 Johanson (2000:31) notes that *objective* and *subjective* are misleading terms. It could as well be the other way round: the choice of situation depends on the speaker's conceptualization of a situation (hence it can be subjective), and perfective/imperfective aspect depends on context and situation (hence not always subjective).

25 The *aktionsart* term is not used in my own analyses, partly because it is not part of Smith's two-component theory, and partly because it may lead to unwanted connotations: "Aktionsart was invented to indicate a strict division between lexicon and grammar" (Sasse 2002:203).

twined, e.g. “the term ‘process’ [the internal structure of a dynamic situation] means a dynamic situation viewed imperfectly, and the term ‘event’ [a dynamic situation as a single complete whole] means a dynamic situation viewed perfectly” (p. 51).

Michaelis (1998), outlining a model of the perfect, adopts a modified version of Smith’s (1991) two-component theory (see section 2.2 below):²⁶ Michaelis employs three components: situation type, viewpoint, and, in addition, phasal aspect. There are essentially two situations types: events, which, among other things, have salient boundaries, and states, which do not (p. 6). Contrary to Smith, Michaelis also claims that grammatical aspect (viewpoint) encodes an event-state distinction as well: event predications, expressing “attention to endpoints” (p. 58), evoke external viewpoints (e.g. the perfect), whereas state predications evoke internal viewpoints without reference to boundaries. This leads her to conflate lexical states and grammatically derived states. The latter type of states is also derived by the English progressive. This means that the difference between a sentence with a telic predicate like *repair the fence* in the simple past and the progressive past is a difference between an event and a state, and not a difference between one and the same (telic) type of situation presented as attaining an inherent boundary vs. not attaining it.

The previously mentioned accounts are bidimensional, but the dimensions are rather intertwined. They can be compared with bidimensional approaches which require that the two dimensions be strictly distinguished. Here, we find work by e.g. Bache (1982), distinguishing between *aspect* and *aktionsart*, and Bertinetto & Delfitto (2000), distinguishing between *aspect* and *actionality*. This kind of bidimensional approach, with independent aspectual components, is also represented by the analytical basis in this thesis, Smith (1997)²⁷.

The *unidimensional* (sometimes also referred to as one-dimensional) approach can be characterized as employing the same type of semantic category on different aspectual levels (for a bidimensionalist). This single dimension is then called e.g. *aspect* or *aktionsart* (alternatively, both labels are employed in an essentially unidimensional analysis; see e.g. de Swart 1998:348). The characterization often reflects the predominant view of the topic; with a unidimensional view one can be interested in either more “sentence-aspect-like” distinc-

26 As far as I can see, the basic characteristics of Smith’s two-component theory in the 1991 edition are unchanged in the 1997 version which is presented in section 2.2 (cf. Smith 1997:xif).

27 As noted by Sasse (2002:204), sharing the bidimensional approach does not mean that there is agreement about the details. For example, Bertinetto & Delfitto (2000) and Smith (1997) refer the concept ‘habituality’ to different dimensions: it is a feature of viewpoint aspect for Bertinetto & Delfitto and a feature of situation type (corresponding to *aktionsart*) for Smith.

tions or more “aktionsart-like” features. Sasse (2002:205) notes that the latter dimension is often embraced by unidimensionalists, since it is easier to operationalize using “psychological” characterizations.

Verkuyl (1972,1993), presenting a theory of aspectual properties of sentences, explicates the insight that telicity is not a purely lexical feature of the verb, but a compositional phenomenon depending on properties of the verb and its arguments, particularly internal NP arguments (which was noted already by Garey 1957:108f.). Verkuyl does not use fixed classes, except for two, operating at the sentence level: terminative aspect (which is claimed to be roughly similar to the notion of boundedness) and durative aspect (claimed to be roughly similar to the notion of unboundedness)²⁸. For terminative aspect, e.g. *Judith ate three sandwiches*, a semantic feature expressing dynamicity is associated with the verb and allows combination with a semantic feature expressing specified quantity.

Moens (1987) uses a unidimensional approach in which transitions between aspectual classes in a network play a central role. The five classes are states²⁹ (corresponding to Vendlerian states), processes (corresponding to Vendlerian activities), culminated processes (corresponding to Vendlerian accomplishments), culminations (corresponding to Vendlerian achievements), and points (culminations without consequent states). Moens represents all classes with a complex entity called a “nucleus”, consisting of a sequence of a preparatory process, a culmination point, and a succeeding consequent state. For example, a culminated process includes all three parts, whereas culminations only include the culmination point and the consequent state, and processes only describe the (preparatory) process. Events, e.g. processes, can then be parts in other event nuclei. For Moens, the aspectual classes are dynamic; a verb belonging to a class can move to another class to suit the context. By adding a culmination point to a process like *run*, we can for example receive the culminated process *run a mile*. By adding a progressive auxiliary (p. 69), we can turn a culminated process into a process, by “stripping off” the culmination, and then into a “progressive state” (like e.g. Vlach 1981, Moens 1987 considers progressives to be states).

28 This notion of boundedness, tested by e.g. ‘in/for’ adverbials, seems to refer to inherent/potential bounds rather than actually attained bounds.

29 The state class is divided into consequent states, habitual states, progressive states, and lexical states (Moens 1987:61).

2.2.1 Some arguments in favor of bidimensionality

Operating in a single aspectual dimension seems appealing in some respects. For example, we can describe connections between certain aspectual concepts in the same terms. One example is the connection between (some) telic predicates and perfective aspect in e.g. Swedish, discussed by Lundquist (2012) and taken up in study II and section 5.2 below.

However, after having assessed Moens' fitting of sentences with progressive aspect into the rather complex state category, which also includes habituais, perfects, and so-called lexical states (Moens 1987:60f.), I find a unidimensional approach operationally complicated in a field already characterized by terminological turmoil (which is further supported in my assessment of some aspectually unidimensional accounts of Swedish and Scandinavian in section 2.5.1 below). The conflation between progressive aspect and other aspectual concepts like states also creates problems when analyzing specific cases, e.g. state sentences with marked progressives like *That cake is looking done* (Smith 1997:85), since the progressive is typically associated with dynamic situations.

Furthermore, it seems obvious that situation type is transparent independently of viewpoint; even though *I walked to the store* and *I was walking to the store* involve different viewpoints, situation type (accomplishment) is unchanged. Its final endpoint is defined, although it may not be attained under a progressive reading (Smith 1997:83). Also, a unidimensional approach fails to recognize incompatibilities between certain constructions that are considered progressive and some situation types. For example, incompatibilities between the *hålla på och* construction and some accomplishment subtypes (see study IV) are difficult to account for in a unidimensional approach. Therefore, I assume a bidimensional (or two-component) approach, based on Smith's (1997) theory, as my point of departure.

2.3 Situation-type composition in Swedish

The rest of section 2 is dedicated to aspectual features of Swedish and, to some extent, to other Scandinavian languages. Before examining viewpoint-aspectual constructions in section 2.4 and some aspectual approaches in 2.5, something should be mentioned in this section about the situation-type level of Swedish aspect.

Situation types (see section 2.1.1) in Swedish are typically reflected by structurally similar compositions as those for English, presented by Smith (1997) and others. Like Smith, some researchers (e.g. Norén 1996:67) also note that

situation types are expressed compositionally in a step-by-step fashion. For example, telicity can be expressed by the lexical content of the verb, which can in turn be specified by e.g. an object. Finally, e.g. temporal adverbials can determine the telicity value.

The fact that telicity is dependent on the specificity of quantification of nominal arguments (objects and subject) in Scandinavian languages is well known, e.g. Andersson (1977:125f.), Platzack (1978), Platzack (1979:72f.), Christensen (1995:82f.), Norén (1996:61ff.), SAG (2:18), and SAG (4:328f., 337). Other constructions involved in the derivation of situation types include the following:

- the de-telicizing effect of *i* ‘for’ adverbials and the telicizing effect of *på* ‘in’ adverbials
 - e.g. Andersson (1977:118ff.), Schneider (1977:27), Platzack (1978), Platzack (1979), Christensen (1995:96ff.), Norén (1996:61), SAG (2:709), SAG (3:539ff.), SAG (4:331), and Larsson (2009:51).

- the telicizing effect of path-goal adverbials with ‘to’, like (*simma*) *till hamninloppet* ‘(swim) to the harbor’
 - e.g. Andersson (1977:122), Johansson (1987), Platzack (1979:73), Christensen (1995:79), Norén (1996:61), SAG (4:330)

- the de-telicizing effect of conative constructions of the type *skriva på en roman* ‘write on a novel, be writing a novel’
 - e.g. Andersson (1977:132ff.), Thorell (1977:120), Johansson (1987:46), Schneider (1977:79), Platzack (1979:131ff.), Christensen (1995:83), Norén (1996:61, 63), SAG (3:461ff.), and SAG (4:330)

- the telicizing effect of resultative constructions like (*Anja*) *stickade koftan färdig* (lit. Anja knitted the cardigan finished) ‘Anja finished knitting the cardigan’
 - e.g. Andersson (1977:130), Christensen (1995:84), SAG (4:329)

The general international aspectological literature has paid less attention to the aspectual effects of phrasal verbs. For example, Smith (1997:179) only touches lightly upon *out* in the example *John ran out*, forming an accomplishment

based on an activity. In Swedish, on the other hand, phrasal verbs are known to be productive situation-type determiners. Phrasal verbs like *dra fram* ‘pull forward’, *skriva färdigt* (lit. write finished) ‘finish writing’, and *sparka sönder* (lit. kick broken) ‘kick into pieces’ are accounted for by many researchers on e.g. Swedish (e.g. Wellander 1964, Andersson 1977:129ff., Schneider 1977:33, Sigurd 1981, Ekerot 1995:131, Christensen 1995:83, Norén 1996, SAG 3:428; 4:329f., Strzelecka 2003, Toivonen 2003:132ff.).

Phasal-verb constructions like *börja* ‘begin’, *fortsätta* ‘continue’, and *sluta* ‘stop’ + verb (e.g. Bylin 2013, also mentioned in study V) are sometimes interwoven with viewpoint concepts like progressiveness. For example, The Swedish Academy grammar (SAG 3:573; 4:906) treats the phasal *fortsätta* and the progressive *hålla på* ‘hold on’ as belonging to the same group of actional verbs denoting “ongoing phase”.³⁰ However, phasal constructions were considered distinct situation-type categories already by Noreen (1925:611ff.): verb phrases with the auxiliary *börja* ‘begin’ are treated as having *ingressive* aktionsart and verb phrases with *sluta* ‘stop’ are labeled *cessative* aktionsart (Bertinetto et al. 2000:534 treat both as achievement constructions). Andersson (1977:113) suggests another approach, declaring that the complements of *börja* and *sluta* are not changed at all aspectually; they are instead entirely new verb phrases with their own aspectual features (like e.g. *lova* ‘promise’ + verb is claimed to alter the situation type of the verb into an instantaneous situation).

2.4 Progressive constructions in Swedish and in Scandinavian

In this section, I present previous accounts of allegedly progressive multi-verbal constructions in Swedish and, briefly, in other Scandinavian languages. (Progressive participial constructions are not previously acknowledged as progressive constructions, so they are not included here but in study I.) I also touch upon the systematicity of some familiar Swedish progressive constructions and account for some other potentially progressive constructions in Swedish.

Section 2.4.1 focuses on what I consider to be the two most well-known progressive constructions in Swedish and Scandinavian, which are also discussed in studies II–V: posture-verb pseudocoordinations and constructions with *hålla*

30 The verb *fortsätta* is also labeled *kontinuativ* ‘continuative’ (SAG 1:192), and *hålla på* is also labelled *progressiv* ‘progressive’ (SAG 2:511f.). However, the difference between the two is distorted in the labeling of *hålla på* as “continuative progressive” (SAG 4:336).

på. As a complement to section 2.4.1, I present frequencies of posture-verb pseudocoordinations and constructions with *hålla på* in section 2.4.2, since this has not been done before to my knowledge; more precisely, I compare the relative frequencies presented for the English progressive in the literature with a count of the Swedish constructions. In section 2.4.3, I present some other relevant constructions which I consider potentially progressive.

It could be noted (it is rather indistinct in the assessments) that much of the literature assessed in sections 2.4.1 and 2.4.3 is characterized by lacking aspectual tests to confirm the semantic characteristics of the allegedly aspectual constructions. It seems that the connection between form (e.g. posture-verb pseudocoordination) and function (e.g. progressive aspect) is taken for granted: a particular form carries a particular function, because this particular function is expressed by this particular form. This is not surprising, considering that many analyses are primarily interested in syntactic characteristics and therefore cannot devote their energies to semantic issues. Nevertheless, I return to this problem, primarily in study III.

2.4.1 Posture-verb pseudocoordinations and *hålla på*

Two types of multiverbal construction in Swedish are well-known and typically claimed to be progressive (see studies II–IV): the posture-verb pseudocoordinations, in which both verbs can be finite, and *hålla på* constructions followed by *att* ‘to-INFM’ + infinitive verb and, sometimes, *och* ‘and’ + finite verb. They are listed below.

- Posture-verb pseudocoordinations with *sitta* ‘sit’, *stå* ‘stand’, and *ligga* ‘lie’ (and, possibly, *hänga* ‘hang’) in the first conjunct + *och* ‘and’ + finite second verb
 - e.g. *Pelle {sitter/står/ligger} och läser* (lit. Pelle {sits/stands/lies} and reads) ‘Pelle is (sitting/standing/lying) reading’
 - e.g. Thorell (1977:120), Schneider (1977:76f.), Andersson (1979), Platzack (1979:55f.), Ekberg (1983), Jørgensen & Svensson (1986:80), Johansson (1987), Josefsson (1991), Ekerot (1995:131), SAG (4:335f., 904f.), Bertinetto et al. (2000), Ebert (2000), Johanson (2000:57), Henriksson (2006:140ff.), Wiklund (2007:93ff.), Kvist Darnell (2008), Larsson (2009:198), Viberg (2013:143)
 - (Norwegian *sittel stålligge og V*: Faarlund et al. 1997:647f., Tonne 2001, Danish *sidde og V*: Bjerre & Bjerre 2007, Icelandic *sitjalstandaliggja og V*: Jóhannsdóttir 2007, 2011)

- VPs consisting of *hålla på att* ‘hold on to-INF’ + infinitive verb³¹
 - e.g. *Pelle höll på att läsa* (lit. Pelle held on to-INF read-INF) ‘Pelle was reading’
 - e.g. Noreen (1925:613), Thorell (1977:120), Andersson (1977:109ff.), Schneider (1977:74ff.), Platzack (1979:55), Jørgensen & Svensson (1986:78f.), Johansson (1987), Pihlström (1988), Törnudd-Jalovaara (1988), Bybee & Dahl (1989:79f.), Christensen (1995:118), Ekerot (1995:131), Norén (1996), SAG (4:334f.), Bertinetto et al. (2000), Ebert (2000), Henriksson (2006:131ff.), Wiklund (2007:49f.), Kvist Darnell (2008), Larsson (2009:148)
 - (Norwegian *holde på å*: Faarlund et al. 1997:647, Tonne 2001) VPs consisting of *hålla på och* ‘hold on and’ + finite verb³²
 - e.g. *Pelle höll på och läste* (lit. Pelle held on and read-PAST) ‘Pelle was reading’
 - e.g. Noreen (1925:613), Wellander (1964:197), Ekberg (1983:1), Jørgensen & Svensson (1986:78f.), Pihlström (1988), Törnudd-Jalovaara (1988), Christensen (1995:118), SAG (4:335f., 906f.), Bertinetto et al. (2000), Ebert (2000), Johanson (2000:57), Henriksson (2006:131ff.), Kvist Darnell (2008)
 - (Norwegian *holde på og*: Faarlund et al. 1997:648, Tonne 2001:98ff.)

The posture-verb pseudocoordination takes a verb describing a bodily posture (e.g. sitting, standing, or lying), which the subject referent must usually be in, followed by the conjunction *och* ‘and’ and a verb phrase with a finite verb. The verb phrase is typically atelic and dynamic (SAG 4:904). Although it has been proposed that the pseudocoordination is an information-structural construction highlighting the second conjunct (e.g. Huldén 1961), the most prominent claim by far is that pseudocoordinations have an aspectual function. This aspectual function varies depending of the approach of the researcher. For example, SAG (4:904) employs the notion of emphasized durativity (also cf. Ekberg 1983:3), whereas Thorell (1977:120,190) and Ekberg

31 The infinitive marker *att* is usually pronounced /ɔ/, which is also the pronunciation of the letter *å*. See study V.

32 Like the infinitive marker *att* ‘to’, *och* ‘and’ is usually pronounced /ɔ/, which is also the pronunciation of the letter *å*.

(1983:3) also use the notion ‘imperfective’. Ekberg (1983:3), Bertinetto et al. (2000),³³ Ebert (2000), Henriksson (2006:140ff.), Kvist Darnell (2008:2), and Bylin (2013:72) employ the notion of ‘progressivity’.

The *hålla på* construction was described already by Tiällmann (1696:202)³⁴ when accounting for the Swedish tense *præteritum imperfectum*, noting that *hålla på* is an “unnecessary help word”. Later studies show that the *hålla på* construction³⁵, including other infinitive-complement constructions such as *vara i färd med att* (lit. be in trip with to-INFM) and *vara på väg att* (lit. be on way to-INFM), occur with two major situations depending on the type of situation they combine with: progressive and prospective, i.e. ‘be about to, be close to’ (e.g. Platzack 1979:55, 66, SAG 4:335, Larsson 2009:148, 212).³⁶ The progressive meaning is illustrated in (15a). When combined with certain telic situations (15b), the meaning is prospective ‘be about to’. Stative predicates (15c) are usually not acceptable (examples in 13, including acceptability judgements, are taken from SAG 4:335):

- (15) a. Hon höll på att laga kvällsmat i köket när de kom.
she held on to cook supper in kitchen-DEF when they came
 ‘She was cooking supper in the kitchen when they came.’
- b. Hela huset höll på att brinna upp.
whole house-DEF held on to burn up
 ‘The whole house was burning, and was about to be destroyed by fire.’
- c. *Boken håller på att ligga på bordet.
book-DEF holds on to lie on table-DEF
 Intended: ‘The book is lying on the table.’

The general meaning of the construction is taken to be ‘before a potential boundary’ (Christensen 1995:122). Both progressive meaning ‘ongoingness,

33 Bertinetto et al. (2000:523, 530ff.) argue that posture-verb pseudocoordinations be classified as “durative progressive” (which means that the situation is evaluated with respect to an interval). This category is contrasted with the “focalized progressive” (which means that the situation is evaluated with respect to a single point in time), in which no locative meaning persists in the progressive marker. The latter type is exemplified by the English progressive, which can be combined with a motion predicate, e.g. *Fred is going home*.

34 This was noted by Bylin (2013:56).

35 Schneider (1977:74) states that *hålla på att* is identical to Danish *være ved at* ‘be at’ + INF, noting that the “need” for using *hålla på att* in Swedish is greater than the need in Danish for using *være ved at*.

36 Constructions such as *vara nära att* (lit. be close to), *vara på vippen att* (lit. be on the point of), *vara på håret att* (lit. be on the hair to), and *stå i begrepp att* (lit. stand in engagement to) are excluded, since they typically occur only in prospective and immediate-future sentences (cf. e.g. Andersson 1977:109ff., SAG 2:511).

unattained boundary’ and prospective meaning ‘about to attain boundary’ are imperfective in referring to unattained boundaries, but prospectives are not primarily associated with ‘ongoingness’. However, note that the prospective meaning can focus initial (16a) as well as final (16b) bounds:

- (16) a. Jag höll på att spy.
I held on to puke
 ‘I was about to puke.’
- b. Kristoffer höll på att äta upp hela korven.³⁷
Kristoffer held on to eat up whole sausage-DEF
 ‘Kristofer (was in the middle of eating and) was about to eat the whole sausage.’

Finally, *hålla på att* has a sister with a finite complement verb, *hålla på och*, which was attested in the early 1900s (e.g. Cederschiöld 1911). This construction typically only yields the reading ‘be occupied with’, as noted by e.g. Törnudd-Jalovaara (1988). Compare (16a) above with (17) below, containing the *hålla på och* variant. As seen, the *hålla på och* construction combines with finite verbs, which usually makes a prospective reading impossible.

- (17) Jag höll på och spydde.
I held on and puked
 ‘I was puking again and again.’
 #‘I was about to puke.’

Some features of the *hålla på och* construction have not been thoroughly discussed previously. One example of such a feature is the aspectual relevance of finiteness in e.g. Swedish progressive constructions, and this is discussed in study V. Another example is the possible multiple-event interpretation with e.g. *hålla på och* (the ‘again and again’ meaning in example 17), which is discussed in studies II and IV.

2.4.2 Posture-verb pseudocoordinations and *hålla på*: frequencies

Progressive constructions in Swedish is a rather infrequent phenomenon, as shown in table 6 below. However, it does not seem extraordinarily infrequent.

³⁷ Example taken from Christensen (1995:162), illustrating the combination of “durative” and “tendential” (i.e. prospective) in the past tense.

This is evident if we, for expository purposes, compare the frequencies with a progressive construction in a related language like English. The standard reference grammar of English, *A comprehensive grammar of the English language* (Quirk et al. 1985:198), states that “A count of a large number of verb constructions has indicated that less than 5 per cent of verb phrases are progressive”.³⁸ In the more recent *Longman grammar of spoken and written English* (Biber et al. 1999:461)³⁹, it is noted that about 90 per cent of all verbs, in all registers investigated, are unmarked for aspect. Verb phrases with perfect aspect (which in this case refers to the perfect tense construction *have + V-ed*) account for between 5 and 10 per cent of all verb phrases. This suggests that the progressive construction *be + V-ing*, which is “slightly less common than perfect aspect verb phrases” (there are no precise figures here), accounts for a few per cent, which may seem surprising.⁴⁰ It is most common in conversation and fiction. It should be noted that the English progressive construction also carries uses that are only vaguely connected to a progressive-aspectual meaning, and these uses do not always have clear counterparts in progressive constructions in Swedish. These include the futurate present progressive (e.g. *We’re leaving tomorrow*), discussed by e.g. Dowty (1979:154ff.), and the heterogeneous class of expressive progressives (e.g. *We are forever being told about increased competition ...*, Leech et al. 2009:134). I do not know how frequent the use of these two types is.

Let us assume that the Swedish constructions discussed in section 2.4.1 above, posture-verb pseudocoordinations and constructions with *hålla på*,

38 It is not described how the figures were obtained, if the result is significant, or what non-progressive verb forms were included (for example, imperative VPs are not likely to be used in the progressive). In the first chapter, Quirk et al. (1985:33) states that they consulted the corpus of the Survey of English Usage (SEU, spoken and written British English texts), the Brown University corpus (American printed English), and the parallel Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen corpus (LOB, British printed English), but it is not stated whether these were used when counting verb constructions, or if the results refer to some previous study. – The nonprogressive verb phrases consist of simple main verbs (e.g. Quirk et al. 1985:202), and the progressive verb phrases contain the *be + V-ing* construction.

39 The grammar employs The Longman Spoken and Written English Corpus, which contains c. 10 million words of news texts, 5.3 million words of academic prose, 5 million words of fiction texts, and 6.4 million words of transcribed conversation. It also includes 5.7 million words of nonconversational speech and 6.9 million words of general prose (Biber et al. 1999:24f.). Once again, we do not know whether the scarcity of imperative progressives is reflected in the study, or if the results are significant.

40 The English progressive is often emphasized in textbooks, and some research suggests that the English progressive is often overused, for example by Norwegian learners (Johansson & Lysvåg 1987:158).

are representative equivalents of the English progressive *be + V-ing*. This assumption seems to be reasonable, considering that they are often mentioned as translational equivalents in English-Swedish grammars. For example, they are the only ones mentioned beside the simple tense in the English-Swedish contrastive grammar *Swedish. An essential grammar* (Holmes & Hinchliffe 2008:125). Since we do not know exactly how the figures for English were obtained by the English grammars presented above, rough equivalent statistics can be calculated by dividing the number of multiverbal progressive constructions with the total number of verbs in the corpora (see table 6). I use corpora from the same four core registers used in *Longman grammar of spoken and written English*: spoken language (conversations and interviews), fiction, news, and academic prose. The texts are provided by the Swedish part of the Nordic dialect corpus <tekstlab.uio.no/nota/scandiasyn/> and the corpus tool Korp <spraakbanken.gu.se/korp/>. ⁴¹

TABLE 6 *Relative frequencies of some progressive constructions in Swedish (absolute values in parentheses)*

	Posture-verb pseudocoordination	<i>hålla på att/och</i>
Spoken language (Nordic dialect corpus): 58,671 verbs	0.20% (116)	0.14% (81)
Fiction (Korp, the corpus "Skönlitteratur"): 3,969,569 verbs	0.26% (10,394)	0.09% (3,548)
News (Korp, the corpus "Tidningstexter"): 83,223,693 verbs	0.06% (47,054)	0.05% (37,319)
Academic prose (Korp, the corpus "Akademiska texter"): 2,881,782 verbs	0.03% (806)	0.02% (478)

Without drawing any strong register-based conclusions from the very different amounts of verbs in the different corpora, we see that constructions known as typical progressives in Swedish account for some tenths of a percent, seemingly most frequent in fiction and spoken language, in line with register findings by Biber et al. (1999:471). It is not possible to fully determine differences in e.g.

41 For a description of the corpus infrastructure Korp, see Borin et al. (2012). The search included the lemmas *sittal/stål ligga/hänga + och + VERB* and the lemma *hålla + på + att/och/å/o + VERB*. I also included results from additional searches with a gap after the first verb, e.g. *hålla [empty slot for SUBJECT/ADVERBIAL/etc.] på*. The search was conducted on May 2nd, 2015.

systematicity between use of progressive constructions in English and Swedish based on the values in table 6. However, assuming that systematicity is partly reflected in overall frequencies in similar types of text with assumingly similar aspectual content, progressives in Swedish seem to be somewhat less systematically used than in English.

2.4.3 Other potentially progressive constructions

Like other languages, e.g. English, known for having only one construction in the progressive class (*be* + *V-ing*) but employing other constructions as well,⁴² Swedish incorporates other, perhaps less well known, progressive constructions in addition to posture-verb pseudocoordinations and *hålla på* constructions. I provide additional examples below, which are mentioned more or less briefly in the literature.

Perhaps the most significant alternative to the *hålla på* construction is the less frequent prepositional *med* ‘with’ variant *hålla på med att*.⁴³

- VPs consisting of *hålla på med att* (lit. hold on with to-INFM) + infinitive verb ‘be (intentionally) V-ing’
 - e.g. *Jag höll på med att installera ett program* (lit. I held on with to-INFM install-INF a program) ‘I was installing a (computer) program’
 - e.g. Andersson (1977:90, 109ff.), Schneider (1977:74), Platzack (1979:55), Johansson (1987), Malmgren (1990:32), Christensen (1995:118), Norén (1996), SAG (4:336), Henriksson (2006:131ff.), Larsson (2009:198)
 - (Norwegian *holde på med å*: Tonne 2001)

42 Examples include e.g. *be in the middle/midst/process/act of V-ing* (Comrie 1976:99, van Rompaey 2014), which can be used as English translations of progressive example sentences in other languages (cf. e.g. Filip 1996), *be busy V-ing*, and the “simultaneous conjunction” (Newman & Rice 2005:366), *sit/stand/lie/go (around) V-ing* (Viberg 2013:143, also cf. Tonne 1999). Also cf. “durative” pseudocoordinations like *John sat and read a book* (de Vos 2005:102).

43 I conducted a search [2015-04-29] in Korp <spraakbanken.gu.se/korp> for <*hålla* [lemma form] + *på* + *med* + *att* + VERB> and <*hålla* [lemma form] + *på* + *att* + VERB> in the corpora “Skönlitteratur” (fiction), “Sociala media” (social media), and “Tidningstexter” (newspapers), comprising a total of 8.31 billion tokens. There were 2,644 occurrences of prepositional *hålla på med att* constructions (0.3 occurrences per million token) and 483,947 occurrences of *hålla på att* (58.2 occurrences per million token).

Although *hålla på med att* (lit. hold on with to) has roughly the same distribution as the English progressive *be + -ing* regarding compatibility with situation types (Andersson 1977:90, 109ff.), *hålla på med att* does not combine with predicates denoting unintentional actions such as the (metaphorical) ‘be about to’ situation in (18):

- (18) Hon höll på (#med) att skratta ihjäl sig.
 she held on with to laugh to.death REFL
 Intended: ‘She was about to laugh herself to death.’

Other prepositional multiverbal constructions include the following:

- VPs consisting of *vara på väg att* (lit. be on way to-INFM) + infinitive verb
 - e.g. *Det var på väg att byggas* (lit. It was on way to-INFM build-INF-PASS) ‘It was being built’, ‘It was about to become built’
 - e.g. Thorell (1977:120), Wiklund (2007:50)
- VPs consisting of *vara i gång med att* (lit. be going with to-INFM) + infinitive verb ‘be (successfully starting) V-ing’
 - e.g. *Vi är i gång med att uppdatera listan* (lit. we are going with to-INFM update-INF list-DEF) ‘We are updating the list’
 - e.g. Johansson (1987), SAG (2:511)
 - (Norwegian *være i gang med å*: Tonne 2001)
- VPs consisting of *vara i färd med att* (lit. be in trip with to-INFM) + infinitive verb ‘be (busy) V-ing’
 - e.g. *Vi är i färd med att renovera huset* (lit. we are in trip with to-INFM restore-INF house-DEF) ‘We were restoring the house’
 - e.g. Thorell (1977:120), Platzack (1979:55), Johansson (1987), Christensen (1995:79), SAG (2:511)
 - (Norwegian *være i ferd med å*: Tonne 2001)
- VPs consisting of *vara sysselsatt med att* (lit. be occupied with to-INFM) + infinitive verb ‘be (engaged in) V-ing’
 - e.g. *Vi var sysselsatta med att ringmärka fåglar* (lit. we were occupied with to-INFM ring-INF birds) ‘We were (busy) ringing birds’
 - e.g. Andersson (1977:109ff.), Platzack (1979:55), Johansson (1987), SAG (2:511)

Non-multiverbal, but progressive, constructions include the following:

- VPs consisting of *hålla på med* (lit. hold on with) + NP ‘be doing things to the NP referent’
 - e.g. *Jag håller på med bilen* (lit. I hold-PRS on with car-DEF) ‘I am doing things to the car (e.g. repairing it)’
 - e.g. Schneider (1977:74), Johansson (1987), Henriksson (2006:133)
- VPs consisting of *vara på väg* (lit. be on way) + GOAL/DIRECTION adverbial ‘be going somewhere, be on one’s way somewhere’
 - e.g. *Hon är på väg till New York* (lit. she is on way to New York) ‘She is going to New York’
 - e.g. Ebert (2000:631)
- VPs consisting of *vara under* + action noun, e.g. *vara under utredning* (lit. be under investigation) ‘be investigated’
 - e.g. *Problemet är under utredning* (lit. problem-DEF is under investigation) ‘The problem is being investigated’
 - e.g. Thorell (1977:120)

There are, finally, some other types of pseudocoordinations taken up in the literature, but these are usually not considered progressive since they are only considered progressive when combined with certain atelic predicates. Wiklund (2007:126) takes up the motion-verb pseudocoordination, which requires an atelic second conjunct in order to be progressive, e.g. *gå omkring och läsa en bok* (lit. walk around and read a book) ‘walk around reading a book’. She (2007:9) also discusses the “progressive-distal”⁴⁴ *vara* (LOCATION) *och* ‘be (somewhere) and’, which stands out in additionally marking that the situation denoted by the second conjunct is at a distance from a reference location (Wiklund 2007:114). For a detailed investigation of inceptive (hence, non-progressive) pseudocoordinations with *ta* ‘take’ and *gå* ‘walk’ in the first conjunct, see Wiklund (2009).

⁴⁴ *Distal* means that “the event denoted by the embedded predicate is interpreted as distinct from the reference location” (Wiklund 2007:127).

- Motion-verb pseudocoordinations with *gå* ‘go’ or *springa* ‘run’ in the first conjunct (+ *omkringl runt* ‘around’)⁴⁵ + *och* ‘and’ + finite (atelic) second VP
 - e.g. *Hon gick och grunnade* (lit. she went and pondered) ‘She was pondering’
 - e.g. Schneider (1977:76), Platzack (1979:56), Ekberg (1983), Josefsson (1991), Wiklund (2007:9, 126)

- Progressive-distal pseudocoordinations, with *vara* ‘be’ in the first conjunct (+ locative adverbial) + *och* ‘and’ + finite (atelic) second verb
 - e.g. *Hon är (iväg/lute/inne/luppel/nereli London) och sjunger* (lit. she is away/out/in/up/down/in London and sings) ‘She is singing (somewhere else/outside/inside/upstairs/downstairs/in London)’
 - e.g. Wellander (1964:197), Andersson (1979), Ekberg (1983), Johansson (1987), Wiklund (2007:105, 114)⁴⁶

2.5 Aspect in Swedish and Scandinavian

The bidimensional approach, distinguishing between aktionsart (corresponding to situation type) and aspect (corresponding to viewpoint aspect), is ascribed to a Swedish scholar studying Polish (Sigurd Agrell 1908). However, research on aspect in Swedish and Scandinavian not only recognizes two dimensions. In fact, accounts put forward in the 1900s present a diverse picture: some are bidimensional and some are unidimensional, and no single approach seems to be particularly dominant at any time. I describe some of the accounts below, more or less unidimensional work in 2.5.1 and more or less bidimensional work in 2.5.2.

45 The ‘around’ adverbial can always be inserted under the intended, progressive, reading.

46 Interestingly, this construction was frequently used without the locative adverbial in older, slightly colloquial, Danish, but it is “very rare” in modern Danish without a locative adverbial (Hansen & Heltoft 2011:988).

2.5.1 Unidimensional approaches

Unidimensional approaches are more or less clearly defined as such. For example, Vannebo (1969) states that he uses aktionsart as a cover term for both aspect and aktionsart, defining aktionsart as “måten verbalaktiviteten går føre seg på” (‘the way the event unfolds’). Another variant is provided by Wellander (1939:280f.). Here, the distinction is between imperfective and perfective verbs. Imperfective verbs, exemplified by present-tense sentences such as *han sover* (lit. he sleeps) ‘he is sleeping’, denote ongoingness (Sw. *fortgång*), without a notion of initial or final endpoints. Perfective verbs, on the other hand, are claimed to put focus on the initial or final endpoints of the event, e.g. *han somnar* (lit. he falls asleep) ‘he is falling asleep’. Wellander probably wants to illustrate unbounded (‘sleep’) vs. bounded (‘fall asleep’) situation types, which is made clear as he notes that only imperfective verbs combine with adverbials denoting duration, like *hela natten* ‘the whole night’, whereas perfective verbs do not.

Andersson (1977) also distinguishes between imperfective and perfective verbs and verb phrases, and like Wellander, he refers to the situation-type level, assuming a Moens-like derivational approach. For example, the *hålla på* construction is claimed to derive (Sw. *avleda*) an accomplishment (“durative event” in Andersson’s terms) into an activity (“temporary state”), and a temporal *på* ‘in’ adverbial like *på tre timmar* ‘in three hours’ can turn a temporary state into having perfective aspect. “Imperfective aspect” includes “stable states” (‘states’), e.g. *bo i Åbo* ‘live in Åbo’ and “temporary states” (‘activities’), e.g. *springa* ‘run’. The perfective type refers to “durative events” (cf. accomplishments), e.g. *rita en cirkel* ‘draw a circle’, and “instantaneous events” (cf. achievements), e.g. *försvinna* ‘disappear’. Only imperfective verb phrases combine with adverbials like *i tre timmar* ‘for two hours’, whereas perfective verb phrases only combine with the type *på tre timmar* ‘in three hours’ (p. 47f., 95). As a third aspect category, Andersson (1977:137) adds “perfectively irresultative” events (‘semelfactives’), e.g. *blinka* ‘blink’.

Christensen (1995) seeks to develop an adequate aktionsart model for Swedish, and she is, then, primarily interested in one dimension. After having discussed nine aktionsart models, eight employing fixed aktionsart classes and one (Verkuyl 1993) using a compositional model of interactions between verbs and nominal elements, Christensen finds that aktionsart is a semantic but also structural category and she argues that a Vendler-like model with fixed, semantically defined, classes is preferable (p. 43). The basis for developing these classes is the three features [\pm AVGRÄNSAD ‘TELIC’], [\pm PROCESS ‘PROCESS’] [\pm RESULTATIV ‘RESULTATIVE’]. The resulting set of classes is similar to Smith’s: she uses Vendler’s four types and adds the semelfactive type (p. 64, 66f.). She

mentions Platzack's (1979) intransformative event type (describing possible transitions that did not occur, see 2.5.2 below), e.g. *behålla boken* 'keep the book', noting that it is both punctual and stative, i.e. both telic and atelic, and therefore cannot be described using the feature [\pm AVGRÄNSAD 'TELIC'] (p. 139). It is therefore treated as a special case in the model, but not used in practice.

Although Christensen primarily studies one component of aspectual meaning, the aktionsart, she makes a difference between two types of expressions that can alter the aspectual interpretation (p. 79):⁴⁷

1. *Structural composition*, yielding aktionsart transitions. Examples include *Pelle cyklade* 'Pelle rode a bicycle' which denotes an activity, whereas the adverbial in *Pelle cyklade till affären* 'Pelle cycled to the store' yields accomplishment interpretation.
2. *Perspective shift*, which is the speaker's way of focusing different parts of one and the same situation. It is noted that this type partly conflates with the second component in Smith's aspect theory, and the English progressive is provided as an example. In Swedish, certain auxiliary expressions are used. For example, the telic *Pelle cyklade till affären* is perceived as "atelic" by adding *vara i färd med* (lit. be in trip with) 'be in the process of (V-ing)' *Pelle var i färd med att cykla till affären* 'Pelle was cycling to the store'.

The distinction seems clear: the two types represent two different levels of aspectual composition. However, in practice, they seem to be two structural ways of signaling aktionsart transitions: the perspective-shift type is also described as primarily comprising the difference between telicity and atelicity (p. 79), and this is underlined by the fact that perspective shifts are also claimed to be signaled by *i* 'for' and *på* 'in' adverbials, e.g. *{i/på} en kvart* 'for/in fifteen minutes' (p. 80, 154f.). On the other hand, the perspective-shift type can also be called aspect, since it is said to correspond to Smith's viewpoint component (Christensen 1995:158). This is a problematic claim, since Smith (1997:41) does not assign 'for' and 'in' adverbials to the viewpoint component, but to situation type. In addition, the first type, the structural-composition type, also includes posture-verb pseudocoordinations, e.g. *sitta och läsa* 'sit and read', (p.

47 Christensen also includes a third, unmarked, type: reinterpretation (Sw. *omtolkning*), involving different interpretations of sentences without structural marking. Examples include *Pelle springer marathon* (lit. Pelle runs marathon) 'Pelle {is running/runs} marathon', which can be interpreted as "ongoing", equaled to atelic (*oavgränsad*), or as *generic*, equaled to stative (Christensen 1995:79).

84), which are usually not considered to alter the aktionsart, but rather to be progressive constructions (e.g. Johansson 1987:37, Ebert 2000:607).

Christensen's types are in large parts taken over by the Swedish standard reference grammar, SAG (4:323ff), utilizing the Swedish labels *tillstånd* 'states', *oavgränsade processer* 'activities', *avgränsade processer* 'accomplishments', *resultativa punkthändelser* 'achievements', and *icke-resultativa punkthändelser*⁴⁸ 'semelfactives'.⁴⁹ Even though SAG essentially uses a unidimensional approach to aspectual meaning (for example, *aspect* and related terms like *perfective* and *imperfective* are not used)⁵⁰, the typically viewpoint-aspectual term *progressive* is, in fact, employed (referring to 'ongoingness', SAG 1:213), but it is not clear how this category relates to e.g. the aktionsarten or features of them, such as 'durativity'. Progressiveness is primarily associated with *hålla på* constructions,⁵¹ whereas e.g. posture-verb pseudocoordinations are said to co-occur with dynamic unbounded (Sw. *oavgränsade*) verbs in the second conjunct and denote unbounded (Sw. *oavgränsad*) aktionsart or "focus the part of the situation that precedes the final bound". With telic situations in the second conjunct, the pseudocoordination expresses that the situation is "ongoing" and "unfinished" at a certain time (SAG 4:335f., 904).

2.5.2 Bidimensional approaches

Among the bidimensional approaches we find more or less clear-cut cases; for example, they differ in assumptions about the independency of the aspectual dimensions. In some accounts the levels apply cumulatively, while in others, they are more intertwined.

Noreen (1925) openly distinguishes between aktionsart and aspect, presenting a very large number of aktionsart categories. Under the heading "uniform aktionsart" (p. 609), which refers to "non-interrupted events", he distinguishes momentaneous aktionsart, which, according to Noreen (p. 609) is also called *punctual*, *aojist*, or *perfective*. This category comprises events that happen "immediately" (e.g. *somna* 'fall asleep'). Another type of uniform ak-

48 Labeled *irresultativa punkthändelser* in Christensen (1995).

49 The small group of intransformative events is mentioned in a note (SAG 4:348).

50 The term *aspekt* 'aspect' is exchanged for *aktionsart* 'aktionsart' (SAG 1:155), and *avgränsad* 'bounded' and *oavgränsad* 'unbounded' are used instead of *perfektiv* 'perfective' and *imperfektiv* 'imperfective' respectively (SAG 1:181, 208). The term *progressiv* 'progressive' refers to verbs with durative processual aktionsart (SAG 1:213, 215).

51 However, SAG (2:512) also states that posture-verb pseudocoordinations like *sitta och + V* 'sit and V' can replace progressive constructions.

tionsart is the durative aktionsart, which, according to Noreen, is also called *cursive* or *imperfective* (e.g. *äta* ‘eat’). The intermittent aktionsart, which refers to “non-uniform events with interruptions” (p. 641) is subdivided into e.g. frequentative, which includes constructions with *bruka* + verb ‘do something habitually’, iterative aktionsart (e.g. *droppa* ‘drip’), and intensive aktionsart (includes verbal reduplications like *gråta och gråta* ‘cry and cry’).

As for viewpoint-type aspect, Noreen (1925:645ff.) notes that the terms representing the basic aspectual opposition, *imperfective* and *perfective*, are borrowed from Slavic grammar, and their denotations are thus not fully adequate for Swedish aspect. Instead, Noreen employs *cursive* aspect (or imperfective “in a narrow sense”) and *terminative* aspect (or perfective “in a broad sense”). A cursive example is *han (höll på och) läste Homerus när jag sist besökte honom* (lit. he held on and read-PAST Homer when I last visited him) ‘He was reading Homer when I visited him last time’. A terminative counterpart, with the same main verb ‘read’, is *han (tog och) läste Homerus, när han tröttnade på Cicero* (lit. he took and read Homer when he got.tired of Cicero) ‘He started reading Homer when he got tired of Cicero’. It is not clear in what way the example of terminative aspect differs from Noreen’s ingressive aktionsart, but it is clear that terminative aspect can refer to initial, as in this case, as well as to final, transitions.

The two-way distinction is also made by Schneider (1977). The category aktionsart is “objective”: the truthful speaker cannot choose to ignore the result of situations like the one described by *bygga ett hus* ‘build a house’ (p. 51). It is divided into states, “durative situations” (cf. activities), and “resultative situations” (cf. accomplishments, achievements). Durative situations include, among other types, iteratives, e.g. *vältra* ‘billow’, continuatives like *fortsätta* ‘continue’ + VP, and conatives. The resultative type includes “ingressives” (which primarily seems to refer to situations expressed with phrasal verbs), e.g. *springa iväg* ‘run away’, terminatives, e.g. the particle *färdig* ‘finished’, instantaneous (Sw. *momentana*), e.g. the phrasal verb *slå till* (lit. hit to-PRT) ‘hit’, and, finally, the category “non-performatives”. This category includes situations “almost setting in”, and the example *jag höll på att falla omkull* (lit. I held on to fall over-PRT) ‘I was about to drop’ is provided (pp. 31ff.). However, Schneider notes that the difference between non-performative aktionsart and “cursive” (cf. progressive) aspect is not clear-cut. The distinction between aspect and aktionsart is generally made in a slightly different way than usual. For example, the conative construction counts as a viewpoint-aspectual construction: *skriva på ett brev* (lit. write on a letter) is equaled to *sitta och skriva* (lit. sit and write) (p. 79).

The “subjective” and “optional” category of aspect is binary, consisting of the mutually exclusive perfective and imperfective aspects. In the imperfective

aspect, the speaker is psychologically involved in the situation – there is a relationship between the speaker and the story – whereas the perfective aspect signals that the speaker has left the situation, which is put *ad acta historiae* (Schneider 1977:51). The imperfective aspect is subdivided into three subspecies: cursive (Sw. *kursiv*), retrospective, and prospective. The cursive, which is also labelled *introspective* as a result of the internal perspective on the situation, corresponds to our progressive. The other subspecies are *retrospective*, denoting the speaker’s psychological stance after a situation; primarily expressed by the perfect tense, and *prospective*, denoting the speaker’s psychological stance before a situation. The latter is illustrated by e.g. the English *be going to* and the Swedish *futurum praeteriti* in *han skulle en gång bli berömd* ‘he would eventually become famous’.

Thorell (1977) also distinguishes between two levels, labeled *aktionssätt* (which seems to be a variant of aktionsart, roughly corresponding to situation type) and aspect. *Aktionssätt* refers either to absence of temporal boundedness (durative, roughly ‘atelic’) or to presence of temporal boundedness (terminative, roughly ‘telic’), while aspect refers to the speaker’s subjective viewpoint of the action.⁵² Imperfective aspect is equaled to viewing the action from within, as ongoing, and perfective aspect is equaled to viewing the action from the outside, as completed. Thorell’s model is referred to by e.g. Ekberg (1983:3), and a similar approach is also adopted by Jörgensen & Svensson (1986:78f.).

Platzack (1979), employing the Extended Standard Theory to the subject of study, makes a distinction between aktionsart (the inherent temporal constitution of a situation, without relation to the communicative situation, provided that semantic disambiguation is not required, p. 39) and the aspect of a sentence referring to that situation (the way a speaker chooses to present a situation in relation to deictic time, p. 39), and treats both as properties of the sentence. Aktionsart is found in the bare propositional content as reflected in language, and it refers primarily to presence or absence of change (p. 39, 68). Platzack uses semantic functions of the type GO and BE to represent a model of seven different aktionsarten. The primary distinction is that between GO (subsuming activities, accomplishments, and achievements) and BE (corresponding to state) verbs. These two functions are then subdivided into BE: EXTENSIONAL (states), and BE: TRANSITIONAL (seemingly corresponding to

52 Thorell (1977:120) states that “Aspekt anger den synvinkel ur vilken den talande betraktar det av verbet uttryckta skeendet” ‘Aspect marks the viewpoint from which the speaker views the situation expressed by the verb’. The use of *anger* ‘marks’ instead of e.g. *är* ‘is’ makes it difficult to calculate the reference of *aspect* as form or function, which was also remarked by Scheider (1977:50).

stage-level predicates like ‘sit’, cf. Carlson 1980, alternatively labeled homogeneous activities, cf. Michaelis 2011). GO: TRANSITIONAL subsumes the type “intransformative events” like *behålla boken* ‘keep the book’, i.e. a category describing possible transitions that did not occur, and it also includes categories corresponding to activities, accomplishments, achievements. Finally, Platzack includes a category of the GO type, which characterizes the subject, e.g. *Vägen går till Malmö* ‘the road runs to Malmö’ (cf. Platzack 1979:114; this type can be categorized as a state, cf. Christensen 1995:49). Aspect is considered to be a limited phenomenon in Swedish, since Swedish lacks “systematically expressed oppositions in the realm of aspects”, i.e. that the meaning of one form excludes the other (the Swedish perfect is said to be an exception to this, Platzack 1979:40)⁵³. Following the Reichenbachian (1947) framework, Platzack uses the entities event time (E), utterance time (U), and point of reference (R). Illustrating with auxiliary expressions like *hålla på att* and posture-verb pseudocoordinations, which are said to express progressive meaning (p. 55)⁵⁴, Platzack (p. 57) represents the progressive aspect as R = E.

Another account that makes the distinction between aktionsart and aspect is provided by Ekerot (1995:130ff.). He distinguishes between perfective and imperfective aspect, but seemingly describes the situation-type level. He explains that aspect is related to concepts like boundedness and punctuality and provides examples with non-quantized objects illustrating imperfectivity and quantized object illustrating perfectivity. However, it is also noted that constructions like *hålla på att* and certain pseudocoordinations can express imperfective aspect. Moving on to aktionsart, Ekerot takes Russian as his starting point and classifies “verbs and verb phrases” as belonging to either perfective (e.g. *somna* ‘fall asleep’) or imperfective (e.g. *sova*) aktionsarten. In sum, we have two independent aspectual components: perfective and imperfective aspect and perfective and imperfective verbs.

Norén (1996), investigating phrasal verbs in Swedish, states that particles/phrasal verbs primarily belong to the aktionsart level of description (this is also claimed by e.g. Strzelecka 2003:18). They are treated as lexical phenomena in being related to words and phrases (p. 16, 49f.) and they involve natural/potential endpoints (Sw. *gränsrelatering*), which, I assume, roughly corresponds to

53 The aspectual status of the Swedish perfect (*halhade* ‘have/had’ + supine verb) is unclear to me. I imagine it is usually considered temporal rather than aspectual (but cf. Thorell 1977:124) since its primary function, expressing (unspecified) anteriority of an event and its relevance (or persistence) at a later time, does not seem to be typically aspectual (cf. Andersson 1977:335ff., Schubert 1986, Larsson 2009:52ff.).

54 However, Platzack (1979:55) also claims that “the construction without such an auxiliary can also express the progressive meaning”.

the concept of telicity. Aktionsart is thus, roughly, equal to telic (*gränsrelaterad*) vs. atelic (*icke-gränsrelaterad*).⁵⁵ Aspect, on the other hand, is “meaning in use” (p. 50) and it has to do with actually attained boundaries (Sw. *gränsuppnående*, which seemingly corresponds to *boundedness* as defined by e.g. Depraetere 1995)⁵⁶. Aspect is then bounded/perfective (*gränsuppnående*) vs. unbounded/imperfective (*icke-gränsuppnående*); cf. Norén (1996:51). Norén mentions one aspectual, imperfectivizing, marker, *hålla på att* (including *hålla på med att*), which yields ongoing meaning when combined with durative verbs and ‘be about’ meaning when combined with verbs which lack duration (p. 73ff.).

Investigating progressive constructions in Norwegian, Tonne (2001:17) adheres to a procedural distinction between aktionsart and aspect (shared by *The Norwegian reference grammar*, Faarlund et al. 1997:637ff.), but not a qualitative one, since she wants to represent aspect in truth-conditional semantics (e.g. Dowty 1979). She states that the two-component approach does not readily allow this. Aktionsart is denoted by the lexical part of the verb and its arguments, whereas aspect is “triggered by more grammatical means shown on the verb” (Tonne 2001:17). Consequently, Tonne makes a difference between telicity, i.e. an event directed towards a goal or limit, and perfectivity, i.e. actually attained goal or limit (p.15). Analyzing the “pseudo” group (which primarily includes pseudocoordinations), Tonne (p. 155) notes that Dowty’s (1979) possible-world representation of the English (accomplishment) progressive is not quite adequate for representing Norwegian pseudocoordinations, since they primarily combine with atelic⁵⁷ predicates and the truth-conditions for the lexical meaning of the posture verb is not included. She therefore provides a modified version taking into account the contribution of the posture verb and the situation type of the second conjunct (p. 159). Tonne claims that the function of pseudocoordinations is to make an aspectually neutral sentence imperfective (p. 79, 155); the stativity of the posture verb dominates the aspectuality of the whole sentence (p. 158). The function of the “prospec” group (which includes e.g. the Norwegian construction *holde på å* ‘hold on to’ and other constructions that can express prospective meaning), is to “imperfectivize otherwise perfective sentences or disambiguate aspectually neutral sentences in the imperfective direction” (p. 227). Tonne analyzes prospec forms using, among

55 Also cf. Malmgren (1990:28).

56 Norén (1996:53) includes *gränsrelation* in the boundedness category. The term *gränsuppnående* is instead associated with the attainment of a limit.

57 Tonne (2001:152) states that a telic-predicate sentence like *Mikkel Rev satt og skrev brevet sitt* (lit. Mikkel Rev sat and wrote letter refl) ‘Mikkel Rev was writing his letter’ is not totally out, but somewhat strange.

others, Rothstein's (1999) analysis of achievements undergoing a type shifting operation when combined with progressive constructions yielding prospective reading (from an achievement to an accomplishment, through associating the achievement with preparatory event stages).

A semantic analysis of progressives in English and Icelandic,⁵⁸ is provided by Jóhannsdóttir (2011), specifically analyzing less common instances of progressives, e.g. combinations with states and habitual progressives, based on Landman's (1992) theory. The three constructions discussed are the *vera að* 'be at' + infinitive, the present participle progressive *vera* 'be' + *V-andi* (cf. *V-ing*) and posture-verb pseudocoordination (the latter type is infrequent, cf. Jóhannsdóttir 2011:27). Following Klein (1994), she explicitly claims that aspect is a relation between times, the referent time RT and the event time ET (p. 3f.). Jóhannsdóttir also argues that the present participle progressive is pluractional (p. 158ff.).

58 According to Jóhannsdóttir (2011:10), English *be* + *V-ing* and Icelandic *vera að* + infinitive are the only Germanic languages with fully grammaticalized progressive constructions.

3. Materials and methods

Much aspectological work carried out in the field of semantics is based on English and habitually uses introspective examples. Introspection is very important in partly theory-driven semantic work, including the present study of Swedish, since a corpus tool (although based on semantic relations) cannot always make relevant semantic judgements that are required to determine the function of a construction. However, the studies included in the thesis also aim at describing and explaining usage patterns in natural texts as far as possible.

Corpora are primarily used in studies I–III, whereas the slightly more theoretical studies IV–V are more introspective, primarily using corpus tools in a “qualitative” way, to evaluate intuitions about grammaticality and acceptability, provided that the phenomenon is frequent enough in the corpus used.

My methodological approach when using corpora is corpus-based rather than corpus-driven (Biber 2010). That is, I aim to find evidence for and describe systematic patterns of variation and use for constructions that are already more or less pre-defined rather than inductively uncovering previously undefined constructions.

For quantitative (and qualitative) use, I mostly employ the corpus tool Korp <spraakbanken.gu.se/korp/> (see also Borin et al. 2012), which, at present, contains more than nine billion tokens of mostly written Swedish. Korp is also provided with a statistical tool for extracting frequencies for different constructions. The majority of texts in Korp are from social media (more than seven billion token), which are ideally suited for the present studies; the investigated constructions are often associated with informal language. However, Korp also covers a wide variety of other types of text, such as newspaper texts, literary texts, and academic texts, to mention but a few. I also use Google to find par-

ticular examples, and in study III, I create my own corpus of grammatical work on pseudocoordination, counting the number of different types of pseudocoordinations used in example sentences.

Examples are primarily taken from written language. This is of course convenient; it is easy to find large amounts of empirical data this way. But there are other reasons: a reason that is perhaps less important is that spoken Swedish tends to blur distinctions between the infinitive marker *att* 'to' and the conjunction *och* 'and' in writing, which are often impossible to tell apart in casual speech (cf. the different *hålla på* constructions discussed in studies II and IV). More importantly, spoken language also often blurs the distinction between finite and non-finite, especially infinitive, verb forms. This is particularly relevant when examining the common first-conjugation verbs such as *prata* 'talk', which often lose their preterite (past-tense) suffixes in casual speech. This can make it difficult to distinguish constructions with infinitive second verbs from constructions with finite second verbs, which is problematic since this distinction often matters for the semantics of the constructions investigated in this thesis (e.g. study V). However, this does not mean that I only account for written language; semantic judgements are primarily based on the abstract linguistic form, and they are supposed to cover both spoken and written Swedish.

When marking sentences, “*” stands for ‘ungrammatical’, “?” means ‘somewhat questionable in a syntactic or a semantic sense’, and “#” is used to indicate syntactically well-formed sentences which are semantically ill-formed, implausible, or only acceptable with special contextual support.

I also use the term *situation* to denote both situation types, i.e. the particular class of event or state, and events/states denoted by finite sentences. The initial endpoint of a situation is alternatively labelled *initial boundary* or *transition*, and the final endpoint is alternatively labelled *culmination (point)*, *completion*, *termination*, *transition*, or *final boundary*. *Aspect*, including *aspectual*, is also to be understood in a broad sense, as covering both the semantic notions of situation type and viewpoint aspect in Smith's (1997) terminology.

4. Summaries of included studies

As mentioned in section 1.1, my overall aim is to provide an account of progressive constructions in Swedish. This is partly done in the thesis introduction and partly in the included studies, which are summarized in this section. The studies are numbered in the chronological order they were produced.

I. *Springa flåsande* och andra progressiva participkonstruktioner i svenskan

[*Springa flåsande* and other progressive participial constructions in Swedish]

In this early study (2009), a number of different Swedish <VERB + PRESENT PARTICIPLE> sequences, e.g. *springa flåsande* ‘run panting’, are surveyed in a corpus material within the framework of Construction Grammar (Goldberg 2006). Goldberg also inspires the study in another way, suggesting that certain corresponding sequences in English, e.g. *go reading*, be treated as constructions as defined by construction grammar.

Previous studies only mention participial sequences such as *komma gående* ‘come walking’ and *bli sittande* ‘be(come) sitting’ in isolation and not as a generalized group of constructions. Furthermore, these sequences have not been thoroughly analyzed with respect to their syntactic and semantic features, and descriptions and analyses are primarily based on introspection. The aim of this study is therefore to extract relevant constructions from a large corpus ma-

terial and characterize their form and function, augmenting the existing repertoire of descriptions of complex verbal progressive constructions in Swedish (primarily posture-verb pseudocoordinations and *hålla på* constructions).

After examining approximately 10,000 potential progressive participial sequences in a 20-million-word corpus with mixed types of texts (primarily newspaper text), I find 875 which can be defined as progressive participial constructions, i.e. with a verbal participle (for example, adverbial participials like *dröjande* as in *gå dröjande* ‘walk slowly’, are excluded).

The results show that three types of related progressive participial constructions can be distinguished: directive participial constructions with *komma* ‘come’ as the only verb, e.g. *komma gående* ‘come walking’, locative participial constructions, with *bli* ‘be(come)’ in the verb position, like *bli sittande* ‘be(come) sitting’, and the more schematic additive participial constructions like *springa flåsande* ‘run panting’. These sequences are shown to be particularly suitable for a construction-grammar analysis, partly because it is difficult to determine the valency of the included verbs.

Incorporating both an auxiliary-like verb and a bound morpheme in the form of a verbal affix, I suggest that the progressive participial construction as defined in the study is a kind of morphological progressive marker in Swedish.

II. En pluraktionell progressivmarkör? *Hålla på att* jämförd med *hålla på och*

[A pluractional progressive marker? *Hålla på att* compared with *hålla på och*]

After having examined some constructions in study I that have previously not been studied in detail, the question of how to characterize Swedish aspect from a primarily semantic perspective arises. I therefore turn to a more well-known progressive construction in study II, the *hålla på* ‘hold on’ construction, as a starting point for examining the semantic concept of aspect in Swedish.

I set out to question the predominant view that the two major variants of the *hålla på* construction, *hålla på att* ‘hold on to’ + INFINITIVE VERB and *hålla på och* ‘hold on and’ + FINITE VERB, are primarily stylistically distinctive. The former, infinitive, variant usually manifests itself in neutral prose, whereas the latter, finite, variant is an informal variant appearing in for example discussion forums on the internet. However, there are semantic differences between the variants as well, and this study tries to find out what these semantic differences are.

The aim of the study is to examine the *hålla på* construction with respect to its alternation between the infinitive marker *att* + infinitive verb and the conjunction *och* + finite verb. I want to find out if there are other aspectual differences between the alternative variants than those found in previous work on *hålla på att* vs. *hålla på och*. Apart from the stylistic differences mentioned above, the literature (e.g. Tömuudd-Jalovaara 1988) essentially notes that only the *hålla på att* variant expresses both a progressive and a ‘be about to’ reading, whereas *hålla på och* only expresses a “progressive” reading.

Study II employs a corpus method as well. There are two corpus studies: 1 and 2.

Corpus study 1 is the most extensive of the two. Here, I use the same 20-million-word corpus as in study I. This is primarily because the interface of this corpus allows for easy access to surrounding context (or so it did when I wrote this article), which is often useful when determining the aspect. I search for *hålla på* constructions with all kinds of verb phrases following them, except for achievements (I want to analyze progressive vs. non-progressive meaning only, not e.g. prospective, i.e. ‘be about to’, meaning which is common with achievement predicates), finding 590 *hålla på att* and 50 *hålla på och* constructions in total in the whole corpus and grouping them based on the types of verb they combine with and the meaning of the constructions.

One result of the study is that the *hålla på att* construction combines more frequently with telic predicates than the *hålla på och* variant, which primarily combines with atelic predicates. This is in line with research in the area suggesting that finite variants, like the *hålla på och*, primarily take atelic predicates (e.g. Tonne 2001:98f.). Since atelic predicates intuitively should be less likely to need progressive marking if a perfective reading is to be avoided, the *hålla på och* variant may have some other function than being a “true” progressive. Another result, which seems to be in line with the telicity of the combined predicate, is that the *hålla på att* variant almost always indicates progressive aspect, whereas the *hålla på och* variant is more likely to produce other aspectual readings, such as the habitual.

Corpus study 2 is a small follow-up study, which aims at also capturing less standardized language (as mentioned, the corpus in corpus study 1 primarily contains newspaper text), because there is a risk that the *hålla på och* variant is “standardized away”. Here, *hålla på* constructions in a corpus containing various blog posts are examined with respect to the type of predicate they combine with. The results seem to suggest that the results in corpus study 1 are correct: the most frequent predicates (tokens) combined with *hålla på att* are telic, whereas the most frequent *hålla på och* predicates are atelic.

The results in the corpus studies supplement the examination of the semantic differences between *hålla på att* and *hålla på och*. It is noted that *hålla*

på att is more oriented towards, and strips off, culmination points of telic events (it is the only possible variant with prospective aspect, for example), whereas *hålla på och* tends to make reference to the process part of primarily atelic events, for example by intensifying subevents of an atelic event through what seems to be iteration (e.g. *Du bara håller på och tramsar dig!* ‘You are just fooling around!’). While *hålla på att* is able to change the aspectual value of a sentence, the aspectual value with *hålla på och* is more dependent on the situation type of the verb phrase following *hålla på och*.

There seems to be a need for examining event structure in greater detail than what is done in general aspectual theory. The aspectual concept of pluractionality (roughly, multiplicity of events) seems to provide additional perspectives for this mission, and it is suggested that *hålla på och* is a pluractional marker. Study II can be seen as a pre-study for the semantically more elaborated examination presented in study IV (“A syntactic reflex of event structure. Two variants of the Swedish aspectual periphrasis *hålla på* ‘hold on’”).

III. Maintaining contact with pseudoprogressive pseudocoordinations. Swedish verbal coordinations with ‘sit’, ‘stand’, and ‘lie’ from a spatial perspective

As a side-result of study II, it is found that the verbal construction *hålla på och* + finite verb can usually be replaced by the simple verb form. This is an important insight influencing study III, in which another type of verbal construction which allows two finite verbs is considered: the posture-verb pseudo-coordination, which typically consists of a first verb of the type *sitta* ‘sit’, *stå* ‘stand’, or *ligga* ‘lie’, conjoined by *och* ‘and’, followed by a VP. It is considered progressive in the literature, but it stands out somewhat in allowing two finite verbs; for example, the familiar English progressive *be* + *V-ing* takes a non-finite *ing*-participle, like the Swedish present-participle progressive. The Dutch posture-verb progressive *zitten/staan/liggen* ‘sit/stand/lie’ + *te* ‘to’ takes an infinitive complement, like the Swedish *hålla på att* construction. Cf. Ebert (2000).

The aim of study III is to account for the semantics of Swedish posture-verb pseudocoordinations with ‘sit’, ‘stand’, and ‘lie’ in the first conjunct (e.g. *sitta och läsa* ‘sit and read’), also labeled “SSL coordinations”. Like *hålla på och* paired with a finite verb, but unlike the progressive *hålla på att* + infinitive verb, SSL coordinations are often non-obligatory and seem to be used in contexts where the corresponding simple verb (*läsa* ‘read’) could have been used as well, without a change in aspect.

After having analyzed a number of SSL coordinations, through introspection and corpus findings, it is concluded that they cannot be progressive markers like e.g. the English *be + V-ing*. Arguments against analyzing SSL coordinations as progressive include the following:

1. Contrary to canonical progressive markers, SSL coordinations are compatible with all situation types including all kinds of state situations (but, still carrying a locative meaning, they are usually incompatible with motion predicates in the second conjunct).
2. Contrary to canonical progressive markers, SSL coordinations cannot suppress event boundaries, i.e. they cannot alter the aspect of the sentence. It is shown that Dowty's (1979) progressive-to-simple-past entailment test does not work as well in Swedish as it does in English. For example, it is difficult to determine whether a sentence with a telic predicate in the past tense like *Jag satt och ritade en cirkel* 'I sat and drew a circle' entails the simple-past sentence *Jag ritade en cirkel* 'I drew a circle'.
3. The allegedly progressive SSL coordination can be followed by another progressive, e.g. a *hålla på att* construction. An example is *Jag sitter och håller på att fylla i en ansökan* (lit. I sit-PRS and hold on to fill-INF in an application) 'I am filling in an application form'. This is unexpected under the assumption that the SSL coordination is a progressive marker.

SSL coordinations are instead considered locative (note that they are not necessarily postural in a strict sense; certain SSL coordinations even take expletive subjects). According to a corpus study, speakers of Swedish seem to prefer locative posture-verb constructions, e.g. *sitta i bilen* 'sit in the car', to existentials like *vara i bilen* 'be in the car', and because of this "all-too-common usage" of posture verbs in general, they are possibly inclined to use SSL coordinations as well. This argument is supported by the fact that sentences with SSL coordinations denote events which are often restricted to a certain location.

It is argued that SSL coordinations, possibly as a side-effect of the still-retained meaning of being located on a spot and aspectually non-bounded nature of posture-verb predicates, tend to (but do not necessarily) disambiguate episodic readings which could otherwise be interpreted as e.g. habitual. (The connection between durativity and the 'be located at' sense is also noted by Bybee & Dahl 1989:81.)

IV. A syntactic reflex of event structure. Two variants of the Swedish aspectual periphrasis *hålla på* ‘hold on’

Combining the insights of the studies presented so far, particularly study II, but also study III, study IV is a follow-up study of the survey of *hålla på* in study II.

Here, the *hålla på att* construction is once again compared with the *hålla på och* construction. The event structure is more emphasized, and the theory of pluractionality is presented in more detail, which leads to the important distinction between event-external pluractionality (which is rather similar to iterativity) and event-internal pluractionality (which can refer to a multiplicity of subevents in the process part of a single event, e.g. an activity). The first aim is to argue further that *hålla på och* is a pluractional marker. As such, its meaning cannot necessarily be captured using traditional aspectual theories. The second aim is to study instances where *hålla på och* is combined with accomplishment predicates. This combination seems contradictory under the assumption that *hålla på och* is not oriented towards a culmination point.

The results of the study show that the ability for *hålla på och* to combine with accomplishment predicates is dependent on the type of accomplishment. Some accomplishments, e.g. *bygga ett hus* ‘build a house’, are internally heterogeneous, having discernible subevents (building a house involves performing several different types of actions), and these combine with *hålla på och*. Other accomplishments, e.g. *gå över bron* ‘cross the bridge’, involve internally homogeneous bounded scalar readings (walking towards a goal involves moving along a path, taking a sequence of steps), and this type is not compatible with *hålla på och* unless the complete event is iterated.

In sum, accomplishment predicates differ in internal structure, which is reflected in their compatibility with *hålla på och*. To capture this difference, one must go beyond the standard inventory of situation types, adopting a more fine-grained approach. It is argued that a pluractional account constitutes such an approach.

V. (Ir)realis in finite and infinitive verbal complement structures in Swedish

By focusing on verb sequences of the type <VERB + LINKING ELEMENT (*å*) + VERB PHRASE>, study V combines insights from aspectology, the semantic concept of finiteness, and the nature of so-called implicative verbs. The concept of implicative verbs is analogous to the concept of factive verbs (but entailing infinitive complements) and it is ascribed to Karttunen (1971) and further developed in Karttunen (2012).

The starting point is once again the *hålla på* construction, which alternates between combining with infinite and finite verb phrases, often with different interpretations. The important parameters are then finiteness, situation type, and the implicative type of the first verb (e.g. the phrasal verb *hålla på*). The overall aim is to show that there is indeed a semantic difference between infinitive and finite verb phrases in the studied verb sequences, not just with *hålla på* as the first verb, but also with e.g. phasic verbs like *fortsätta* ‘continue’. The difference is argued to be one of realis vs. irrealis.

The results show that realis vs. irrealis meaning cannot only be ascribed to finiteness of the verb-phrase head, but is also a matter of situation type in the verb phrase (for example, an activity situation is realized as soon as a part of it is realized, while this is usually not true of e.g. accomplishment situations) and the implicative type of the first verb (for example, a negative implicative like *vägra* ‘refuse’ yields no realization of the event described by the verb phrase under a single-event reading, while a non-implicative like *hålla på* can do this under certain circumstances).

5. Discussion and outlooks

As summarized in section 4, the studies in the present thesis offer different perspectives on progressive aspect. Apart from an investigation of one understudied construction that can be labeled progressive in Swedish, i.e. the progressive participial construction, I carry out analyses of previously rather well-known progressive constructions. It is shown that constructions with *hålla på* and posture-verb pseudocoordinations are more multi-faceted than has previously been acknowledged and that more factors than plain situation type and viewpoint may contribute to their meaning. However, there is still much to be done in the field of progressive constructions in Swedish; for example, I listed a number of potentially progressive constructions in section 2.5.3 that require both syntactic and semantic description.

In sections 5.1–5.3 I bring up some semantic areas that are discussed in the studies and will make for further research. The nature of Swedish episodicity and perfectivity is discussed in sections 5.1–5.2, and pluractionality is dealt with in section 5.3.

5.1 Progressive incompleteness and episodic ongoingness

It is shown, particularly in study III, that multiverbal constructions which allow two finite verbs usually yield a “progressive” meaning only if the simple verb would do so as well: the matrix clause in *Han satt och läste en bok när strömmen gick* (lit. he sat and read-PAST a book when electricity-DEF went out) can be in-

terpreted as progressive if *Han läste en bok när strömmen gick* (lit. he read-PAST a book when electricity-DEF went out) can be construed as progressive as well. Apart from denoting location, a function of pseudocoordinations with *sitta* ‘sit’, *stå* ‘stand’, and *ligga* ‘lie’ in the first conjunct, i.e. SSL coordinations, is to emphasize episodic reading rather than habitual. This was also suggested earlier by a few researchers; for example, Ekberg (1983:4), primarily investigating distal pseudocoordinations like *vara och* + V ‘be and V’, notes that the construction favors specificity rather than genericity, and Andersson (1979:10) expresses a similar idea, noting that the SSL coordination describes “momentaneous” (here corresponding to episodic) situations.⁵⁹ However, in later years reinforced durativity has been described as the main feature of SSL coordinations (e.g. SAG 4:904), and the characterization of SSL coordinations as progressive has also seen a revival (e.g. Kvist Darnell 2008, Viberg 2013:143).

What we have, then, is at least two types of “progressive”:

The first type is a subtype of the imperfective viewpoint aspect; it is a dynamic and “ongoing” imperfective, denoting non-boundedness (cf. for example the definition of imperfective in Bybee & Dahl 1989:55). This categorization leads to the progressive being involved in the distinction between (1) reached transitions (in the sense of e.g. Dowty 1979) and (2) non-reached transitions. An example would be the *hålla på att* + INF construction, e.g. *Hon höll på att köra om* (lit. she held on to overtake) ‘She was overtaking’.

The second type is an episodic marker rather than a proper progressive, e.g. the SSL coordination in an isolated sentence like *Han sitter och röker i köket* (lit. he sits and smokes in kitchen-DEF) ‘He is smoking in the kitchen’. This second type of Swedish “progressive” often seems to be involved in the distinction between (1) episodicity and (2) nonepisodicity, e.g. habituality (or, more generally, genericity). Episodicity refers to “a single specific event or multiple specific events” (Mathew 2009:1), and these events tend to have specific time reference (e.g. Dahl 1995:416). Episodic sentences tend to be dynamic (Mathew 2009:4), e.g. *I am speaking English*, but not necessarily so. In this thesis, I include ‘ongoingness’ and related concepts in the notion of episodicity (cf. Sasse 2002:210). Non-episodicity (which is found in generic and habitual sentences) refers to more general, characterizing facts like *I speak English* ‘I speak English now and then, I can speak English’.

Note that episodicity is a function of e.g. the Swedish progressive *hålla på att* as well. Here, it is predominantly evident in the present tense, where it can in-

59 The function of providing episodic reading is also noted for counterparts of SSL coordinations in Danish (Hansen & Heltoft 2011:995, using ‘situational’ rather than episodic).

dicate non-genericity, non-futurity,⁶⁰ and non-historical-present (19a). In the past tense (19b), it is more of an imperfective marker in primarily indicating unattained bounds (Christensen 1995:162).

- (19) a. Anna håller på att baka.
Anna holds on to bake
'Anna is baking.'
b. Anna höll på att baka.
Anna held on to bake
'Anna was baking.'

In what way a change from habitual to episodic reading is related to aspect is not clear in the literature (for a discussion, see Dahl 1995:413). Languages with a perfective vs. imperfective distinction tend to let the imperfective denote habituality, but whether this suggests that habituality is a universal aspectual feature or a tense feature can be discussed (Carlson 2012:832). Carlson (2012:829, 831) suggests that the change from 'generality' to 'specific occurrence' constitutes a change from a dynamic predicate such as an accomplishment, which constitutes the episodic reading, to a state (or state-like situation), which is claimed to be the nature of habituais. Note also that there is no one-to-one correspondence between viewpoint marking and episodicity; for example, both the English present progressive *I am smoking a pipe right now* and the simple past *I smoked a pipe yesterday after dinner* are episodic (Dahl 1995:415). Taken together, this suggests that, if we are dealing with an aspectual shift at all, we are dealing with a change at situation-type rather than viewpoint level.

5.2 Telicity and perfectivity

The fact that episodic reading with SSL coordinations seems to be dependent on the intrinsic aspectual meaning of the corresponding simple-verb sentences underlines that further research on the aspect of simple-verb sentences is needed. I discuss some issues on what I call "boundary visibility" in section 5.2.1 and evaluation time in 5.2.2.

60 It can express a progressive future 'Anna will be in the middle of baking tomorrow', but not the ordinary inceptive future 'Anna will bake (including starting baking) tomorrow'.

5.2.1 “Boundary-visibility” differences between telic predicates

Simple telic-predicate sentences often tend to receive perfective reading in Swedish, in line with assumptions presented by Bohnemeyer & Swift (2004) and Lundquist (2012), who assume a correlation between telic situations and perfectivity with the simple tense. For example, leaving out the progressive construction *hålla på att* does alter aspectual interpretation with certain (types of) situations, e.g. path-goal accomplishments (this is shown in study IV). The example in (20a) presents a progressive-prospective sentence – it presents both a driving process and a ‘be about to’ reading with respect to the goal. As for the (isolated) sentence in (20b), the interpretation is most likely perfective.

- (20) a. Jag höll på att köra till Stockholm i går.
I held on to drive to Stockholm yesterday
Likely interpretation: ‘I was about to drive to Stockholm yesterday.’
b. Jag körde till Stockholm i går.
I drove to Stockholm yesterday
‘I drove to Stockholm, and reached the destination, yesterday.’

However, I do not think that a general statement such as “telic predicates cannot get a progressive interpretation in Swedish (at least not without overt morphology)” (Lundquist 2012:29) captures the whole picture. This telicity-sensitivity is partly based on the assumption that one cannot locate assertion-time (section 2.2.2) inside a telic predicate (accomplishment or achievement), because these situation types are assumed to be true only for the whole event, not for any event-internal interval (cf. also Kearns 2003:607). Although this characterization seems to fit English, I suggest that Swedish is more *or less* telicity-sensitive. The boundary is sometimes more visible and sometimes less visible, depending on the type of telic predicate. This is partly a claim about Swedish, but also about perception of certain telic predicates in general; it can be connected with Parsons’ (1990) note that non-culminated accomplishments are also accomplishments (albeit non-culminated). For example, as language users, we are often willing to accept unfinished objects such as incomplete houses, as ‘houses’ (however, circles pose a challenge). Moreover, noting that accomplishments are two-componential (process and transition), Christensen (1995:71) concludes that there need not be a difference between the process part of an accomplishment and an activity. This perspective links up with Rothstein’s (2004:109f.) assumption that accomplishments are basically activity predicates related to a BECOME event. Tonne (2001:158) also asserts that one must distinguish aspectual properties of predicates and eventuality tokens: to see someone sitting and reading a book (telic predicate) is to see someone sitting and reading (the eventuality token). The eventuality token

does not lead one to perceive the situation as telic or atelic.

Interesting examples include the habitual situation involving the step-by-step building of a single house (Andersson 1977:98):

- (21) Hade din far något att göra på lediga stunder?
'Did your father have anything to do on free moments?'
– Han byggde en sommarstuga.
he built a summer.house
'He was building a (single) summer house.'

Using a narrow time-span adverbial (in relation to an accomplishment predicate that is preferably interpreted as perfective without the adverbial) also forces progressive reading, because a perfective event demands an adverbial that covers the whole event (Andersson 1977:98f.):

- (22) När jag senast såg din far, skrev han ett lexikon.
when I last saw your father wrote he a lexicon
'When I last saw your father, he was writing a lexicon.'

On the other hand, a sentence with a specified quantizedness like 'two NP' seems odd – with SSL coordination as well:⁶¹

- (23) ?Jag (satt och) drack upp två öl när han kom in.
I sat and drank up two beers when he came inside
Intended: 'I was drinking up two glasses of beer when he entered.'

As seen in examples (21)–(22) above, sentences that are possible to interpret progressively with simple verbs often take indefinite objects with rather weak quantizedness such as *ett hus* 'a house' (cf. Lundquist 2012:66). This could perhaps be explained by analyzing the indefinite object noun as part of the predicate verb. For example, a sentence like *Hon byggde ett hus* 'She built a house' could, in the right context, also mean 'She was house-building', i.e. the object NP characterizes the event rather than delimiting it.

However, object definiteness alone does not seem to tell the whole story; the verb plays a role as well. For example, Smith (1997:58) notes that the sentence *Mary combed her hair* is aspectually vague between an accomplishment and an activity reading, depending "partly on the indeterminacy of English sentences,

61 The question of object quantizedness in relation to aspect in Swedish has been discussed previously. For example, Lundquist (2012:66) notes that "For some reason, definite internal arguments seem to have a stronger quantizedness effect than indefinite internal arguments".

partly on world knowledge” (p. 59). It can mean that Mary’s combing resulted in her hair being combed, but it can also be paraphrased with a *do* construction, focusing on the process, *Mary did some hair-combing*, in which the object is incorporated in the verb. The Swedish counterpart (or at least one of them), which has a definite object NP, is possible to interpret in a similar way. *Mary kammade håret* (which literally means that Mary combed *the* hair), is possible to interpret as both ‘Mary combed her hair’ or as ‘Mary was combing her hair’.

5.2.2 Evaluation time and tense

A rather common imprecision in aspectual accounts is that situations in example sentences are not (explicitly) related to reference points. It can for example be difficult to determine the aspect of uncontextualized sentences:

- (24) a. Hon bygger ett hus.
she builds a house
 ‘She {builds/is building/will build} a house.’
 b. Hon byggde ett hus.
she built a house
 ‘She {built/was building} a house.’

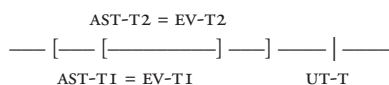
While present-tense situations are usually considered imperfective (24a) since there is a cut-off point of the processual part of the event at the time of utterance (also cf. Comrie 1976:72 and Smith 2006), the aspectual value of the event in (24b) is not necessarily perfective, despite the fact that it is in the past tense and the situation type is telic. The aspectual value must be evaluated by some other point, and when no frame to relate the situation to is provided, we interpret it relative to some other relevant point: “whenever we say *John was running along the beach*, we are implicitly assuming that *at the point we speak of*, John had not reached the natural endpoint of his run” (Goldsmith & Woisetschlaeger 1982:79, my emphasis).

Boundaries of telic situations are attained only in the perfective aspect, which is associated with past-time reference (e.g. Bohnemeyer & Swift 2004:292). Assuming that past tense only refers to the relation between event time and utterance time, this statement is unproblematic. However, we can refer to past-tense events without utilizing the time of utterance as the point of evaluation.

As mentioned in section 2, some aspect tests have been proposed as a means to tease apart perfective and progressive meaning: one of them is modification by temporal *när* ‘when’ clauses or other adverbial denoting a time, e.g. *klockan fem* ‘at five (o’clock)’, testing “ongoingness” at a co-temporal reference time. Another one is modification by adversative *men* ‘but’ clauses, testing “incom-

pletteness” at a later reference time, typically the utterance time. Using a manipulated version of the representation in Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria (2000, 2007), we can schematically represent the two types of evaluation. In (25), assertion time $AST-T$ is cotemporal with, and included in, both event times, $EV-TI$ and $EV-T2$.⁶² The aspectual meaning of $EV-TI$ is progressive:⁶³

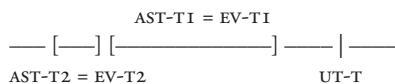
- (25) Telic progressive evaluated at $AST-T2$: *Jag skrev färdigt en uppsats när hon kom hem* ‘I was finishing an essay when she came home’.



‘[I was finishing an essay] $_{EV-TI}$ [when she came home] $_{EV-T2}$.’

Note that there is no viewpoint marking here, which means that there is neutral aspect (see section 2), and neutral aspect means aspectually ambiguous here. The aspectual value could then as well be perfective. This yields a sequential reading:

- (26) Telic simple past evaluated at $AST-T2$: *Jag skrev färdigt en uppsats när hon kom hem* ‘I finished an essay when she came home’.



‘[I finished an essay] $_{EV-TI}$ [when she came home] $_{EV-T2}$.’

When using the *när* ‘when’ clause test, we must distinguish potentially non-interrupting (and hence non-perfectivizing) temporal clauses such as *när klockan slog 12* ‘when the clock struck 12’, which does not usually force any event to seize, and potentially interrupting (perfectivizing) adverbials like *när jag trillade av stolen* ‘when I fell off the chair’. There is also a relation between the matrix-clause event structure and perfective interpretation. VPs denoting pro-

62 Event time is defined as “the time at which the event or state denoted by the VP occurs or holds” (Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria 2007:331). Assertion time is roughly the time span defined by viewpoint aspect (cf. Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria 2007:333), defined by Klein (1995:687) as “the time for which an assertion is made” (abbreviated $T-AST$ by Klein).

63 The sentence underlines that ‘to finish doing something’ (in Swedish as well) can refer to an extended process, not just a point (e.g. Dahl 2013:72).

duction, like ‘paint a picture’, and path-goal situations like ‘run a kilometer’ can serve as examples. Both are usually lumped together and classified as accomplishments, but they behave differently (see also study V):

- (27) a. Hon målade en tavla när hon såg en enhörning.
she painted a picture when she saw a unicorn
 ‘She {painted/was painting} a picture when she saw a unicorn.’
 b. Hon sprang en kilometer när hon såg en enhörning.
she ran a kilometer when she saw a unicorn
 ‘She {ran/started running/#was running} a kilometer when she saw a unicorn.’

Using a *men* ‘but’ clause test, we obtain an unambiguously perfective result, since the clause is evaluated at utterance time UT-T. The telic perfective cannot be denied:

- (28) Telic simple past evaluated at UT-T: #*Jag (satt och) skrev färdigt en uppsats men blev inte färdig* ‘I finished an essay but I did not finish it’.



Now, there are pragmatic conditions that seem to influence interpretation of *men* clauses. Andersson (1977:96) notes, as an aspectual “derivational rule”, that imperfective readings are possible to coerce through context. When a result is known (29a), the interpretation is perfective, simply because it is obvious at event time that there was no process leading up to the transition. But if the outcome is unknown at event time, imperfective reading is fully acceptable (29b):

- (29) a. ?Han byggde ett hus när jag var där, men fick det aldrig färdigt.
he built a house when I was there but got it never finished
 Intended: ‘He was building a house when I was there, but he never finished it.’
 b. Han byggde ett hus när jag var där, men har inte
he built a house when I was there but has not
 fått det färdigt än.
gotten it finished yet
 ‘He was building a house when I was there, but he hasn’t finished it yet.’

In order to find out which situations tend to be used with or without progressive viewpoint marking, studies of *när* ‘when’ and *men* ‘but’ clauses should be carried out.

5.3 Pluractionality

In section 5.1, a distinction is made between the progressive *hålla på att* and the often episodic SSL coordination. In this section, the focus is on the pluractional *hålla på och*.

As noted in section 2, the familiar category of progressive aspect is often treated as a time-relational concept, especially in bidimensional approaches. Unidimensional approaches instead tend to emphasize the “quality” of the situation, i.e. its durativity, ongoingness, etc. However, as was argued in studies II and IV, these concepts fail to make reference to the more fine-grained processual structure and therefore do not completely capture the nature of the *hålla på och* + finite verb construction. Compare the canonical progressive *hålla på att* in (30a) with the less acceptable *hålla på och* in (30b):

- (30) a. Hon höll på att äta upp sin kaka när hon somnade.
she held on to eat up_{REFL} cookie when she fell.asleep
‘She was eating her cookie when she fell asleep.’
b. #Hon höll på och åt upp sin kaka när hon somnade.
she held on and ate up_{REFL} cookie when she fell.asleep
Intended: ‘She was eating her cookie when she fell asleep.’

While the progressive construction in (30a) locates the falling-asleep event within the cookie-eating event, *hålla på och* in (30b) rather emphasizes the structure of the eating situation, focusing on the multiplicity of its internal parts (which is more or less negligible when it comes to ingesting a rather small object such as a cookie).

To my knowledge, pluractionality in Swedish has not been studied previously (excluding the studies in this thesis), but my findings side with those in studies of other languages in later years that have come to redefine verbal constructions that were previously thought of as “ordinary” progressives. Laca (2004, 2006) finds differences between the Spanish progressive periphrases *estar* ‘be’ + gerund and *andar* ‘walk’ + gerund. Only the former behaves like a typical, i.e. time-relational, progressive, whereas *andar* + gerund represents pluralized events. Furthermore, Schultze-Berndt (2012) argues that the construction involving the marker = *mayan* in the Australian language Jaminjung is not a progressive as usually assumed, but a pluractional construction. Also, as mentioned in section 2, Jóhannsdóttir (2011:189ff.) argues that the Icelandic present participle progressive is in fact a pluractional progressive, denoting a series of events ongoing at reference time.

The verbal category of pluractionality refers to “plurality of action” (Newman 2012:185), which means that it denotes events characterized by some kind of multiplicity. It includes familiar meanings such as unbounded

event repetition, which is often associated with the well-known concept of iterativity. This meaning is typically manifested by semelfactive predicates like *knacka* ‘knock’ (possibly combined with an “ordinary” progressive like *hålla på att*), but also by complex constructions such as verbal reduplication, e.g. *Han frågade och frågade* ‘He asked and asked’ (Lindström 1999:182ff.). However, pluractionality includes a range of different meanings associated with verbal plurality. Crosslinguistically, it concerns e.g. events happening at different locations (e.g. *Wa’kenatabrónnion* in Mohawk, meaning ‘I went visiting here and there’, Mithun 1999:90) and events carried out by a multiplicity of subjects (e.g. *Three children woke up*, Wood 2007:2), to name but a few. For a survey of other cross-linguistic characteristics of pluractionality, cf. Wood (2007:52ff).

The Swedish *hålla på och* construction is primarily associated with two pluractional meanings, namely iterativity (e.g. *Han höll på och tjatade* ‘He nagged again and again’), and another subtype which is associated with certain types of heterogeneous accomplishment predicates (e.g. *Han höll på och byggde om badrummet* (lit. he held on and rebuilt bathroom-DEF) ‘He rebuilt the bathroom completely again and again’ or ‘He was performing rebuilding sub-events on the bathroom’). The whole event of rebuilding the bathroom can be iterated in its totality (the ‘again and again’ meaning), and this is typically referred to as event-external pluractionality. The second possible meaning is more intricate, referring to the internal parts, or subevents, of rebuilding the bathroom. It may look like an ordinary progressive meaning on the surface, but it is not oriented towards the culmination of the situation and it tends to put focus on the internal structure. This meaning is similar to the meaning of another type of pluractional meaning, namely the conative meaning (e.g. Wood 2007:83, 118). It is associated with the conative prepositional-object construction in Swedish, e.g. *Hon skrev på dikten* (lit. she wrote on poem-DEF) ‘She was writing on the poem (a little here and a little there)’. As seen, the conative construction does not necessarily express “attempted action” as the term suggests, but rather “bit-by-bit action”. Further discussion on pluractionality and conation is provided in studies II and IV.

Pluractionality, then, resembles viewpoint aspect. It also includes subtypes like iterativity, which in turn can be perceived as processual (e.g. Christensen 1995:69). Pluractionality, particularly event-internal pluractionality, is then akin to the concept of processuality. Processuality is, in turn, a feature of the situation types accomplishments and activities (the activity situation type is even referred to as processes in many accounts, e.g. Moens 1987 and Bach 1986). Processuality is a well-known concept in aspectual accounts; to mention a few scattered examples, Vendler (1957:144) notes that “processes going on in time”, e.g. activities, are made up of “successive phases following one another in time”, and Christensen (1995:70) finds that the process of *springa*

‘run’ means that someone performs iterations of taking steps. Krifka (1998) mentions two events with quite different levels of structural granularity, the writing of a dissertation and the ticking of a watch. The ticking of a watch requires one-second events, but the writing of a dissertation likely has subevents of different magnitudes.

However, different levels of description must be kept apart: an *iterative* event is typically referred to as a special type of situation, for example a derived activity, and a *process* is an internal part of the structure of a situation involving several stages, which can be tested using adverbials like *långsamt* ‘slowly’ or by asking questions like *Vad hände?* ‘What happened?’ (Platzack 1979:71, Christensen 1995:115ff., 126f.). None of these alternative notions are adequate for characterizing pluractionality, which is evident by Verkuyl’s (2000:170) observation that the adverbial *for an hour* applied to the sentence *Judith ate a sandwich* “excludes the single event interpretation [...] the result being some other form of aspectuality (a queer sort of repetition)”. While a pluractional specifier may pertain to a process, it cannot be classified as a processual “specifier”. Moreover, event-internal pluractionality does not, as seen, correspond to the effect of adding an iterative adverbial like *flera gånger* ‘several times’ (Andersson 1977:92).

Recall from section 2 that the aspectual classification of the conative construction is not clear-cut. Smith’s (1997) and Schneider’s (1977) classification of the conative (the ‘read *in* a book’ type) differ in relating the conative construction to situation type (section 2.2.1) and, roughly, viewpoint (section 2.3.2), respectively. As mentioned, the functional content of conatives is often considered pluractional, and a concrete example is provided by van Geenhoven (2005:118), translating an accomplishment:

- (31) John was eating a fish.
Pluractional meaning: ‘John ate of a fish and ate of a fish and ...’

Like *hålla på och*, the conative removes any orientation towards an endpoint; no progress is made towards the accomplishment’s potential culmination:

- (32) Jag åt av kakan när hon kom hem.
I ate of cookie-DEF when she came home
‘I was eating pieces of the cookie when she came home.’

However, the constructions have different distributions. For example, the accomplishment situation *bygga klart* ‘build finished’ + quantized NP, which is interpreted as progressive in the present tense if co-temporal with utterance time, combines with *hålla på och* (33a) but not with the conative construction (33b).

- (33) a. Jag håller på och bygger klart motorn [...].⁶⁴
I hold-PRS on and build-PRS finished engine-DEF
 ‘I am (performing subparts of) finishing (building) the engine.’
 b. #Jag bygger klart på motorn.
I build-PRS finished on engine-DEF
 Intended: ‘I am (performing subparts of) finishing (building) the engine.’

A topic for future research is the distribution of conative constructions in Swedish, for example compared to accomplishments. In some cases, I would guess that a conative construction is more idiomatic with certain temporal adverbials; instead of e.g. *?Jag virkade en duk i 20 år* ‘I crocheted a tablecloth for 20 years’, the conative can be used: *Jag virkade på en duk i 20 år* ‘I crocheted on a tablecloth for 20 years’. Studies of conative constructions would probably benefit from the semantic concept of pluractionality, and I have hopefully shown that there are many questions left for future study of this topic, including the interaction between pluractionality and aspect.

5.4 Summary

In sum, it is shown that “progressiveness” is manifested in a variety of constructions in Swedish. However, a closer look reveals that constructions labeled progressive do not necessarily have all semantic features in common and therefore cannot simply be lumped together. For example, SSL coordinations are not progressive, at least not in the same way as e.g. *hålla på att* constructions; they can indeed sometimes underline episodic meaning, but their aspectual semantics is typically reflected by the (often atelic) situation type in the second conjunct. As a consequence, the aspectual semantics of the simple-verb sentence in Swedish is identified as an important area for further research, together with studies of how aspect in Swedish should be evaluated. As a complement to “traditional” aspectual frameworks, the perspective provided

64 <<http://www.bilsnack.com/gt/viewtopic.php?p=34144&sid=5b255c2adec9c2996b-1c090015bc4d3f>> [2015-04-20]

by pluractionality has proven to offer insights needed for better understanding of constructions labeled progressive in Swedish. Further study in these areas will not only provide welcome insights into progressive constructions, but into Swedish aspect in general.

Sammanfattning (summary)

Inledning och syfte

Denna sammanläggningsavhandling består av fem fristående studier som undersöker progressiva konstruktioner i svenskan från olika perspektiv. De primärt undersökta konstruktionerna exemplifieras nedan.

- (1)
 - a. Lina kom gående nedför gatan.
 - b. Lina höll på {att förbereda/och förberedde} festen.
 - c. Lina satt och läste.

Som synes består samtliga konstruktioner av två verbala led. I (1a) exemplifieras en konstruktion som tidigare var mer eller mindre okänd som progressiv konstruktion, och jag har döpt den till *progressiv participkonstruktion*. Den består av sekvensen <VERB + VERBALT PRESENSPARTICIP>. Exempel (1b) illustrerar en konstruktion med *hålla på*, som finns i två huvudvarianter som jag benämner *hålla på att* och *hålla på och*. Benämningarna används till stor del av praktiska skäl, men det centrala för betydelsen är förvisso inte, vilket ska visas, om *hålla på* följs av infinitivmärke eller konjunktion, utan om det står ett infinitivverb efteråt (vilket det brukar göra efter *att*) eller om det kan stå ett tempusböjt verb efteråt (vilket det kan göra efter *och*, förutsatt att även *hålla på* är tempusböjt). I (1c), slutligen, ges ett exempel med pseudosamordningen *sitta och* + VERB. Den pseudosamordning som undersöks i denna avhandling tar just

sitta, men även *stå* och *ligga* (och möjligen *hänga*) som första led, dvs. ett positionsverb (Kvist Darnell 2008) som anger kroppsställning. Därpå följer ett *och* och en verbfras vars huvudord kan tempusböjas.

En del progressiva konstruktioner har visserligen uppmärksammats, men då främst från ett syntaktiskt perspektiv. Deras semantiska bidrag, vilket primärt torde vara att ange progressiv aspekt, är inte särskilt välundersökt i svenskan, särskilt inte under senare år. Vissa påståenden om deras semantik kan därför behöva revideras.

Det övergripande syftet med avhandlingens kapp, som bygger på de ingående studierna, är att ge nya insikter i progressiva konstruktioner i svenskan och därigenom öka förståelsen för progressiv aspekt i svenskan. Syftet kan vidare brytas ner i två delar: jag vill (1) analysera och beskriva konstruktioner som tidigare inte undersökts som progressiva konstruktioner, och (2) främst semantiskt analysera tidigare relativt välkända konstruktioner som brukar klassificeras som progressiva, framför allt konstruktioner med *hålla på* och pseudosamordningar med positionsverb i första samordningsledet. Min utgångspunkt är Smiths (1997) tvåkomponentsteori.

Vi återkommer till de progressiva konstruktionerna efter en genomgång av aspekt.

Aspekt

En allmänt hållen definition av aspekt brukar innefatta något om aktioners inre struktur. En sådan definition finner vi t.ex. i Comries (1976:3) frekvent citerade "aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation". På ett mindre generellt plan brukar dock definitionerna gå isär. En ganska vanlig beskrivning av aspekt antar tre aspektuella komponenter (Binnick 2006, men se även Sasse 1991 och Michaelis 1998): *situationstyp*, *synvinkel* och *fasala verb*. Jag utgår i denna avhandling som sagt främst från Smiths (1997) aspektmodell, innefattande situationstyp (i litteraturen, t.ex. i *Svenska Akademiens grammatik*, SAG, används t.ex. termen *aktionsart* för ett likartat begrepp) och synvinkel (svenska översättningar av *situation type* och *viewpoint*, jfr Christensen 1995:15). Fasala verb, t.ex. *börja*, *fortsätta* och *sluta*, utgör inte det primära undersökningsområdet i denna avhandling, och de förs till kategorin situationstyp, i linje med Smiths (1997) kategorisering (se även bl.a. Christensen 1995:80f., 85ff.).

Smiths (1997) aspektuella teori utgår från att satsens aspekt utgörs av kompositionen av de två oberoende men samverkande komponenterna situationstyp och synvinkel. Dessa kan beskrivas utifrån nedanstående exempel med verbfrasen *färdigställa rapporten*.

- (2) a. Jag färdigställde rapporten när hon kom hem.
b. Jag höll på att färdigställa rapporten när hon kom hem.

Meningen i (2a) har två huvudsakliga aspektuella tolkningar. Den föredragna torde vara ungefär 'Jag färdigställde (började färdigställa) rapporten när hon kom hem, och rapporten blev helt färdigställd', medan en annan möjlig tolkning lyder 'Jag var mitt uppe i en process av färdigställande av rapporten när hon kom hem'. Den förra betydelsen skulle på t.ex. engelska kunna översättas med enkel verbform av matrissatsens verb (*finished the report*), medan den andra betydelsen skulle motsvaras av progressiv form (*was finishing the report*). Meningen i (2b), som innehåller den progressiva konstruktionen *hålla på att*, motsvarande engelskans progressiva form, har i huvudsak bara den senare betydelsen, 'Jag var mitt uppe i färdigställandet av rapporten när hon kom hem'.

Med aspektuell terminologi kan vi säga att meningen i (2a) antingen har perfektiv tolkning av färdigställandeaktionen 'Jag färdigställde (började färdigställa) rapporten när hon kom hem, och rapporten blev färdigställd', eller imperfektiv/progressiv tolkning, 'Jag var mitt uppe i en process av färdigställande av rapporten när hon kom hem'. I (2b), däremot, är en perfektiv tolkning knappast möjlig, utan den framträdande betydelsen är imperfektiv/progressiv eftersom vi har markerat en viss aspektuell synvinkel med *hålla på att*: 'Jag var mitt uppe i en process av färdigställande av rapporten när hon kom hem'.

Vi antar alltså här att en mening kan anta en av två aspekter: perfektiv eller imperfektiv/progressiv. Perfektiv aspekt anger ungefär att en aktion inträffar i sin helhet inom en viss tidsrymd eller vid ett visst tillfälle, som den ena tolkningen i (2a) med enkel verbform, 'Jag färdigställde (började färdigställa) rapporten när hon kom hem, och rapporten blev färdigställd'. Meningar med imperfektiv aspekt betecknar istället aktioner utan hänsyn till eventuella ändpunkter (initiala såväl som finala). En speciell typ av imperfektiv aspekt är den progressiva aspekten, som, utöver att inte inkludera ändpunkter, anger att en dynamisk process (ungefär: aktion med flera. delmoment) pågår, som i tolkningen 'Jag var mitt uppe i en process av färdigställande av rapporten när hon kom hem'.

Notera att en annan typ av verbfras, t.ex. *vingla omkring i trädgården*, ger ett något annorlunda resultat.

- (3) Han vinglade omkring i trädgården när hon kom hem.

Till skillnad från i meningen med enkelt preteritum i (2a) ovan, är det i (3) ganska svårt att komma i besittning av en perfektiv tolkning av det beskrivna omkringvinglandet (en perfektiv tolkning skulle vara ung. 'Han började vingla omkring, och vinglade omkring tills han slutade vingla omkring, när hon kom

hem'), trots att markering av en viss aspektuell synvinkel saknas. En anledning till detta är, i dessa exempel, att situationstypen varierar: i (2) har vi att göra med situationstypen avgränsad process, och i (3) har vi att göra med situationstypen oavgränsad process.

Vid sidan av synvinkeln, som t.ex. kan vara markerad med den progressiva konstruktionen *hålla på att*, är kategoriseringen av aktioner i situationstyper en central komponent i aspektkompositionen. Smith (1997) använder fem situationstyper (svenska termer för situationstyp hämtade från SAG 4:323–358): *tillstånd (states)*, *oavgränsade processer (activities)*, *avgränsade processer (accomplishments)*, *resultativa punkthändelser (achievements)*, som ofta (t.ex. i studie II i denna avhandling) helt enkelt omtalas som *punkthändelser*, och *icke-resultativa punkthändelser (semelfactives)*, som ibland även går under beteckningen *semelfaktiver*.

Situationstyperna kan delas upp med hjälp av binära semantiska särdrag, i detta fall [dynamisk/statisk], [durativ/punktuell] och [telisk/atelisk]. Dynamiska aktioner består av delmoment som infaller efter varandra, medan statiska aktioner inte innehåller några delmoment. Durativa aktioner har en relevant tidsutsträckning medan punktuella aktioner inträffar mer eller mindre omedelbart. Teliska aktioner, slutligen, har en inneboende slutpunkt vid vilken aktionen är slutförd och ett nytt tillstånd inträder, medan ateliska aktioner inte har någon inneboende slutpunkt. Situationstypen tillstånd karakteriseras av att den saknar särdrag för telicitet, eftersom den aldrig antas ha relevanta slutpunkter. Nedan ges en uppställning av särdrag för de olika situationstyperna, tillsammans med verbfrasexempel för varje typ.

(4)	Särdrag	Situationstyp	VP-exempel
	statisk, durativ	tillstånd	innehålla vatten
	dynamisk, durativ, atelisk	oavgränsad process	sjunga sånger
	dynamisk, durativ, telisk	avgränsad process	gå till affären
	dynamisk, punktuell, atelisk	icke-resultativ punkthändelse (alternativt semelfaktiv)	knacka
	dynamisk, punktuell, telisk	resultativ punkthändelse (alternativt punkthändelse)	vinna loppet

Notera att det normalt inte uteslutande är isolerade verb som kategoriseras som tillhörande olika situationstyper. I tillämpliga fall används i litteraturen verb plus verbbestämningar som exempel, som i (4) ovan. Detta beror på att verbets bestämningar ofta influerar situationstypen: exempelvis kan verb utan objekt (som *dricka*) och verb med objekt som betecknar obegränsad mängd (t.ex. *dricka vatten*) beteckna oavgränsade processer, eftersom de betecknar dynamiska situationer med tidsutsträckning men utan inneboende slutpunkt. I andra fall kan ett objekt som betecknar begränsad mängd (som i *dricka ett glas*

vatten) eller adverbial för målriktning (som i *gå till affären*) göra oavgränsade processer avgränsade. I princip inkluderas även subjektet i situationstypen; exempelvis anför Smith att situationstyp är ”conveyed by the verb constellation, which I define as a main verb and its arguments, including subject” (Smith 1997:2). Detta har sin grund i att även den mängd som subjektet betecknar kan påverka situationstypen. Jfr t.ex. skillnaden mellan den avgränsade process som utgör en aspektuell komponent i meningen *En hund sprang förbi mitt hus* med den oavgränsade process som blir resultatet av ett subjekt för obegränsad mängd, *En massa hundar sprang förbi mitt hus*. Av praktiska skäl bortser jag normalt från subjektet vid exemplifiering av situationstypskomponenten i denna avhandling, och mitt intryck är att detta är i linje med hur situationstyp brukar hanteras i litteraturen, inklusive hos Smith (1997).

De undersökta konstruktionerna

I likhet med strukturer som klassificeras som progressiva i många språk, är de progressiva konstruktioner som undersöks i denna avhandling perifrastiska. De består av en sekvens av två verbala element som antingen saknar länkande element (t.ex. konjunktion, subjunktion eller infinitivmärke) eller inkluderar ett länkande element. Det förra fallet representeras här av progressiva participkonstruktioner, medan det senare fallet representeras av bl.a. konstruktion med *hålla på* och pseudosamordning.

Som nämnts, antas progressiva konstruktioner uttrycka bl.a. progressiv aspekt, dvs. exkluderar ändpunkter och anger att en dynamisk process pågår. En snarlik betydelse, som undersöks närmare i studie V i avhandlingen, är den prospektiva ’vara nära att’-betydelsen, som anger att en ändpunkt (ofta initial, men i förekommande fall även final) är nära att realiseras. Av de konstruktioner som är i fokus i denna avhandling, är det bara *hålla på att* som kommer i fråga för markering av prospektivitet. Ett exempel med verbet *spy*, som uttrycker (resultativ) punkthändelse, är *Jag höll på att spy*, som typiskt betyder ungefär ’Jag var nära att spy’.

Progressiva participkonstruktioner

Låt oss börja genomgången av de undersökta konstruktionerna med dem som jag benämner progressiva participkonstruktioner (de har inte haft någon enhetlig benämning tidigare). De består av sekvensen <VERB + VERBALT PRESENTPARTICIP>, t.ex. *springa flåsande*, och behandlas i studie I, ”*Springa flåsande*

och andra progressiva participkonstruktioner i svenskan”. Studien visar att vi kan urskilja tre typer av progressiva participkonstruktioner utifrån ett konstruktionsgrammatiskt perspektiv (Goldberg 2006), där utgångspunkten är att varje typ av progressiv participkonstruktion karakteriseras av en kombination av en viss form och en viss betydelse.

Den ena typen benämns riktningbetecknande, och den innehåller det intransitiva verbet *komma* i någon form plus ett presensparticip som matchar *komma*:s semantik, t.ex. *komma gående*. Konstruktionens betydelse byggs upp av verbets tunna betydelse av riktning (ofta riktning mot talaren) och presensparticipets betydelse av förflyttning som kan företas i samma riktning som den som är angiven av verbet. Konstruktionen betyder ungefär ’pågående förflyttning som karakteriseras av presensparticipets betydelse, i en riktning’. Den andra typen kallas befintlighetsbetecknande och består av det intransitiva befintlighetsangivande verbet *bli* i någon form plus ett presensparticip med, som jag kallar det, durativ positionsbetydelse, vilket i praktiken innebär positionsangivande particip som *sittande*, *stående*, *liggande* och *hängande*. Ett exempel är *bli liggande*. I likhet med egenbetydelsen hos *komma*, är *bli*:s egenbetydelse tunn: *bli* anger någon sorts (övergång till) befintlighet. Presensparticipet anger därtill en aktion som är en sorts specificering av befintligheten. Med tanke på *bli*:s dubbla betydelser av ’inträda i ett annat tillstånd’ och ’förbli’, blir konstruktionens betydelse ’[börja/fortsätta] uppehålla sig i ett sittande tillstånd’. Det progressiva draget är inte lika framträdande som i de övriga participkonstruktionerna, eftersom båda leden i konstruktionen kan beteckna en sorts tillstånd (även om just den aktion som anges med positionsbetecknande particip, t.ex. *sittande*, gränsar till oavgränsade processer).

Den tredje typen av progressiva participkonstruktioner är den additiva, som är den mest schematiska av de tre och som dessutom betecknar två mer självständiga aktioner. Den består framför allt av verb som anger rörelse (t.ex. *springa*), position (t.ex. *sitta*) eller kommunikation (t.ex. *skratta*) plus till synes nästan vilken typ av presensparticip som helst, undantaget bl.a. vissa beskrivningar av tillstånd, t.ex. *ägande*. Ett exempel på typen finns i studiens titel: *springa flåsande*, och som synes är det inte självklart att den aktion som betecknas med participet specificerar den aktion som betecknas med verbet; ett flåsande är t.ex. inte (nödvändigtvis) en typ av springande. Ett drag som förenar verb plus particip är dock att de i förening tilldelas ett progressivt drag av konstruktionen.

Konstruktioner med *hålla på*

Återstående studier i denna avhandling ställer den semantiska sidan av några progressiva konstruktioner mer i centrum. De konstruktioner som här undersöks är, till skillnad från progressiva participkonstruktioner, tidigare välbeskrivna som progressiva konstruktioner, men deras aspektuella bidrag har inte undersökts i detalj utifrån autentiska data. Detta gäller bl.a. konstruktioner med *hålla på*.

Konstruktioner med *hålla på* har ägnats utrymme i litteraturen, framför allt de två varianterna *hålla på att* plus VP med infinitivverb och *hålla på och* plus VP med (förutsatt att *hålla på* är tempusböjt) tempusböjt verb (se 1b ovan). I studie II, "En pluraktionell progressivmarkör? *Hålla på att* jämförd med *hålla på och*", undersöks i huvudsak dessa varianterers distribution och betydelser. I litteraturen framhävs ofta två drag som anses skilja varianterna åt: Det ena är att bara *hålla på att* kan ange prospektiv ('vara nära att-') betydelse med punkt-händelser – *hålla på och* anger istället iterativ betydelse där så är möjligt (t.ex. *Hon höll på {att nysal och nös}*). Det andra draget att *hålla på och* anses mindre formell än *hålla på att*. I övrigt betraktas konstruktionerna som i huvudsak utbytbara (vilket också ofta är fallet, som i 1b ovan).

Studien visar dock att varianterna skiljer sig åt på fler sätt om man undersöker distributionen mer i detalj. Båda förefaller visserligen ge samma progressiva tolkning med oavgränsade processer (t.ex. *Hon höll på {att springa omkring} och sprang omkring} när de kom hem*) och med vissa avgränsade processer, ofta i presens (t.ex. *Hon håller på {att skriva en låt} och skriver en låt} om sitt liv*), men de båda varianternas distribution är på ett generellt plan differentierad. En korpusundersökning visar t.ex. att *hålla på att* främst kombineras med teliska verbfraser, ofta punkthändelser som i *hålla på att smälla av*. Varianten *hålla på och* kombineras dock vanligen med ateliska verbfraser, typiskt oavgränsade processer som i *hålla på och fixa med bilen*.

Ett centralt resultat, som ansluter till de båda varianternas statistiskt olikartade distribution med avseende på vilka situationstyper de kombineras med, är att bara *hålla på att* fungerar som en progressiv-imperfektiv markör, dvs. den står i satser som är orienterade mot aktioners ändpunkter, och den kan undertrycka dessa ändpunkter. Dess syskon *hålla på och* påminner snarast om en s.k. pluraktionell konstruktion (Newman 2012) i att den fokuserar pluraliteten av aktioners delmoment snarare än deras progression mot ändpunkter. Medan *hålla på att* alltså kan fokusera förhållandet till en ändpunkt, som i *Jag höll på att köra av vägen*, tenderar *hålla på och* att fokusera aktionens delmoment, som i *Hon håller på och springer runt* 'Hon springer runt och runt och runt'.

I studie IV följs studie II (och i viss mån studie III, se nedan) upp. Studie IV, "A syntactic reflex of event structure. Two variants of the Swedish aspectual

periphrasis *hålla på* 'hold on', fokuserar aktionens struktur hos *hålla på*-konstruktionerna, framför allt i kombination med avgränsade processer, och ger en mer detaljerad genomgång av *hålla på och*-konstruktionens pluraktionaltitet. En intressant möjlig följd av pluraktionaltetsdraget hos *hålla på och* är att konstruktionen är mer restriktiv än systerkonstruktionen *hålla på att* i fråga om vilka situationstyper den kan kombineras med. Bl.a. kan *hålla på att* kombineras med flera olika typer av avgränsade processer och ge progressiv tolkning (undantaget bl.a. vissa aktioner med målriktning som anges av bl.a. prepositionsfrasadverbial med *till* som huvudord). Detta gäller inte i samma utsträckning för *hålla på och*; bl.a. pluraliseras en internt homogen aktion (som inkluderar likartade delmoment) i sin helhet, t.ex. 'gå över gatan' i *Han höll på och gick över gatan* (som alltså snarast betecknar iteration av hela övergången). Konstruktionen *hålla på att* erhåller progressiv eller prospektiv tolkning: *Han höll på att gå över gatan* 'Han var mitt i en process av att gå över gatan, Han var nära att ta första steget på väg över gatan'. Det visas att kategorin avgränsade processer utifrån undersökningsresultatet kan delas upp i internt homogena (som inte gärna kombineras med *hålla på och* utan att aktionen upprepas i sin helhet, t.ex. 'gå över gatan') och internt heterogena (som kan kombineras med *hålla på och*, t.ex. 'bygga ett hus').

Pseudosamordningar med positionsverb för kroppsställning

Vid sidan av konstruktion med *hålla på*, torde pseudosamordningar med positionsverb tillhöra de mer välkända progressiva konstruktionerna i svenskan. Positionsverbet i första samordningsledet betecknar i denna konstruktion kroppsställning (t.ex. *sitta*, *stå* och *ligga*), och det följs av *och* samt ett verb som kan tempusböjas. Pseudosamordningar med positionsverb är sedan tidigare relativt välstuderade, även i andra skandinaviska språk, framför allt då de skiljer sig en del syntaktiskt från ordinära samordningar (samordningsleden kan t.ex. inte byta plats eller parafraseras med samordnade sats; se t.ex. SAG 4:903). De aktuella pseudosamordningarna är dock inte lika välundersökta från ett semantiskt perspektiv. Litteraturen på området tar, grovt sett, upp att positionsverbet är lexikalt bleknat, även om det i huvudsak behåller sin betydelse av kroppsställning, och att konstruktionen i sin helhet markerar progressiv aspekt av framför allt den aktion som uttrycks i det andra samordningsledet. Däremot har det mig veterligt inte tidigare utretts på vilket sätt de aktuella pseudosamordningarna är progressiva. Detta görs i studie III, "Maintaining contact with pseudoprogressive pseudocoordinations. Swedish verbal coordinations with 'sit', 'stand', and 'lie' from a spatial perspective".

I likhet med *hålla på och*, kan pseudosamordning med positionsverb ta två tempusböjda verb. De uppvisar också vissa aspektuella likheter i att de inte orienterar de teliska situationstyper de betecknar mot ändpunkter. Pseudosamordningar med positionsverb bär förvisso inte på något tydligt pluraktionellt drag, men väl ett lokativt: subjektreferenten har kontakt med en viss plats. Det ”progressiva” med progressiva pseudosamordningar med positionsverb visar sig vara inskränkt till angivelse av episodisk aktion i vissa fall; en jämförelse mellan den aktuella konstruktionen och en progressiv *hålla på att*-konstruktion ger en indikation om skillnaden:

- (5) a. Lina satt och somnade på mötet!
b. Lina höll på att somna på mötet!

Vi noterar att Lina troligen faktiskt somnade på mötet (kanske flera gånger) trots tillägget av pseudosamordning, medan hon troligtvis bara var nära att somna med den imperfektiverande *hålla på att*-konstruktionen i (5b). Positionsverbets funktion i (5a) förefaller snarast vara att t.ex. ange talarens indignation över det inträffade, samtidigt som det indikerar att subjektet befann sig på en viss plats vid tillfället. Men det är i huvudsak verbet i det andra samordningledet som styr den aspektuella tolkningen av satsen i (5a).

Det episodiska drag som i vissa fall tillkommer pseudosamordningar med positionsverb kan delvis förklaras av att verb som *sitta*, *stå* och *ligga* sticker ut genom att de inte inkluderar en initial ändpunkt (detta gör istället deras inceptiva motsvarigheter *sätta*, *ställa* och *lägga*). En ordinär atelisk aktion inkluderar annars ofta föreställningen om en initial ändpunkt, vilket visar sig vid framtidsreferens med oavgränsad process, t.ex. *Vi diskuterar detta i morgon* (inkluderar att vi börjar diskutera), medan positionsverben betecknar ’mitt uppe i’-aktioner, t.ex. *Jag ligger i sängen i morgon* (väcker ingen föreställning om att jag även lägger mig).

Betydelsen av bl.a. finithet

I den femte studien, ”(Ir)realis in finite and infinitive verbal complement structures in Swedish”, tas åter ett grepp om bl.a. växlingen mellan *hålla på att* gentemot *hålla på och*, men diskussionen innefattar även andra multiverbala konstruktioner av typ <VERB + LÄNKNINGSELEMENT (å) + VERBFRAS> som växlar mellan att ta infinitivverb och finita (här tempusböjda) verb. I denna studie väljs som synes å i stället för *att/och/ol/å* osv. för att täcka in uttalet, samtidigt som det centrala har visats vara finitheten hos verbet i den följande verbfrasen snarare än valet av länkningselement.

Studien innefattar flera faktorer. Förutom aspektuella drag hos konstruktionerna och de ingående verbfraserna, inkluderas även forskning om finhet och implikativa verb (Karttunen 1971, 2012). Studien visar att aspektuell betydelse hos progressiva konstruktioner som *hålla på*, men även vissa fasala verb, är relaterad till realis (dvs. om en aktion betecknas som faktiskt inträdande eller inte) och att realis är relaterat till finheten, men också situationstypen, hos det verb i de verbfraser som kombineras med *hålla på*.

Att gå vidare med

Avhandlingen visar att konstruktioner som betecknas som progressiva i svenskan i en del fall är ganska tveksamma som progressiva konstruktioner, men den visar också att dessa är mångfasetterade på andra områden. Studierna har pekat ut ett antal intressanta områden för vidare undersökning, vilka diskuteras nedan.

Eftersom det visat sig att det funktionella bidraget från de konstruktioner som brukar klassificeras som progressiva i litteraturen är mer mångfasetterat än vad som framkommit tidigare, skulle vidare studier rörande delkomponenter av progressiv betydelse vara välkomna. Ett område att undersöka skulle kunna vara episodiskhet (som ju även är ett av dragen hos progressiva-imperfektiva konstruktioner som *hålla på att*): I vilka kontexter, med vilka situationstyper osv. framträder kontrasten mellan t.ex. habitualitet, som är en möjlig tolkning av aktionen i den isolerade meningen i (6a), och episodisk tolkning, vilken kan vara fallet i (6b)?

- (6) a. Lina röker. [I betydelsen 'Lina är rökare']
b. Lina står och röker. [I betydelsen 'Lina röker vid ett specifikt tillfälle']

Notera också att de betydelser som ges i (6) är mina föredragna tolkningar utifrån en tänkt kontext. Omvänd tolkning är också möjlig: meningen i (6a) kan betyda 'Lina röker här och nu' (t.ex. om jag inte känner till hennes kroppsställning), medan meningen i (6b) i utbyggd form kan betyda att Lina har för vana att stå på en viss plats och röka (alternativt att hon, med emfatisk betoning på positions verbet, har just en stående kroppsställning vid rökandet). Vilka tolkningar som är mest konventionaliserade återstår att undersöka.

Ett annat undersökningsområde är relationen mellan telicitet och perfektivitet i svenskan. Det har visats i denna avhandling att det inte nödvändigtvis finns ett samband mellan dessa två aspektuella kategorier, utan detta samband styrs bl.a. av vilken typ av telisk aktion vi har att göra med. För vissa typer av aktioner för målriktning, t.ex. *gå till jobbet*, synes perfektiv tolkning ligga

närmare till hands än för vissa andra teliska aktioner, t.ex. *tömma brunnen*. En annan faktor att ta hänsyn till är när och hur aktionen utvärderas. Det torde vara fullt möjligt att tänka sig en situation av typ (7a), som kan få progressiv tolkning med enkelt verb och avgränsad process (som dagens studentritual kan beskrivas som). Om en aktion förlagd till förfluten tid istället relateras till ett senare tillfälle, t.ex. talögonblicket, tenderar tolkningen att bli perfektiv, som i (7b).

- (7) a. Hon tog studenten när du ringde, så hon kunde inte svara.
b. Hon tog studenten igår.

Slutligen kan pluraktionalitet lyftas fram som ett intressant område att undersöka vidare. I likhet med episodiskhet, kan pluraktionalitet sägas utgöra en delbetydelse av imperfektivitet-progressivitet. I (8a), med progressivt *hålla på att*, måste t.ex. tolkningen av den icke-resultativa punkthändelsen vara likartad den i (8b), med *hålla på och*, för att kunna betraktas som progressiv. Tolkningen inkluderar alltså en pluralitet av fullt realiserade delaktioner, i detta fall nysningar.

- (8) a. Han höll på att nysa när han fick besök.
Prospektiv: 'Han var nära att nysa.'
Progressiv: 'Han nös om och om igen.'
b. Han höll på och nös när han fick besök.
Progressiv: 'Han nös om och om igen.'

En av flera intressanta konstruktioner att undersöka vidare är i detta sammanhang den s.k. konativa konstruktionen, som består av verb plus objektsliknande adverbial (prepositionsobjekt), t.ex. *skriva på en avhandling*. I likhet med pluraktionalitet i andra språk (se t.ex. Hofherr & Laca 2012), beskriver satser med konativa konstruktioner i svenskan ofta teliska aktioner som kan tolkas som försök att nå en slutpunkt eller som aktioner som genomförs steg för steg (eller här och där), utan uppenbar orientering mot en slutpunkt. Jfr (9a), som snarast tolkas perfektivt, med den konativa varianten (9b).

- (9) a. Hon skrev en sammanfattning igår.
b. Hon skrev på en sammanfattning igår.

Som synes väcker satsen i (9b) ingen föreställning om att en sammanfattning är på väg att slutföras, utan fokus ligger på skrivandets processtruktur: det genomfördes en pluralitet av skrivareaktioner. Min gissning är att den konstruktion som exemplifieras i (9b) är ganska frekvent i svenskan vid återgivanden av oavslutade aktioner, vid sidan av de progressiva konstruktioner som redovisas i denna avhandling. Detta återstår dock att undersöka.

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Appendix

Abbreviations in examples

Linguistic categories and morphological structures are marked where I find this information relevant.

DEF	‘definite noun’
INFM	‘infinitive marker’
INF	‘infinitive’
PRS	‘present-tense form’
PAST	‘past-tense form’
PRT	‘particle’
REFL	‘reflexive pronoun’
PASS	‘passive verb’
SUP	‘supine verb’

I

Springa flåsande och andra progressiva
participkonstruktioner i svenskan

Springa flåsande och andra progressiva participkonstruktioner i svenskan

Av KRISTIAN BLENSENIUS

Abstract

Blensenius, Kristian, kristian.b@mail.com, MA, Dept. of Swedish, University of Gothenburg, Sweden: “*Springa flåsande* and other progressive participial constructions in Swedish”. *Språk och stil* 19, 2009, pp. 172–201.

The article focuses on progressive participial constructions, viz. structures with the form verb + verbal present participle. To date, such constructions have received little attention in grammatical descriptions of Swedish.

On the basis of empirical data, the study provides a characterization of progressive participial constructions within the framework of Construction Grammar. The constructions are split up into three categories: directive participial constructions, e.g. *komma gående* ‘come walking’, locative participial constructions, e.g. *bli sittande* ‘be(come) sitting’, and additive participial constructions, e.g. *springa gråtande* ‘run crying’.

The findings suggest that the three types of progressive participial constructions comprise a network of rather systematic markers of progressive aspect in Swedish. In line with the constructional perspective, analysis of the data suggests that the encoding of progressive meaning is a constructional rather than a lexical property.

Keywords: progressive aspect, Construction Grammar, verbs, participles, Swedish.

1. Inledning

Studier av engelsk grammatik i svensk skolmiljö går ofta ut på att svenskan kontrasteras mot engelskan. Något de flesta lär sig i grammatikundervisningen torde vara att engelskan har en morfologiskt markerad progressiv aspekt, vanligen omnämnd som »den progressiva formen», som anger att en aktion pågår vid en viss tidpunkt. Svenskan sägs nämligen sakna ett liknande uttryckssätt. Progressivitet kan i svenskan visserligen uttryckas med bl.a. pseudosamordningar, t.ex. *sitta och läsa*, och med *hålla på*-konstruktioner, t.ex. *hålla på att köra* (dessa berörs i avsnitt 4 och 5), men någon mer morfologiskt markerad form liknande engelskans *be + V-ing*, som i *She is running*, har knappast uppmärksammats.

Denna artikel är en bearbetad version av en D-uppsats. Jag vill tacka deltagarna i uppsatsseminariet, Lars-Gunnar Andersson, Benjamin Lyngfelt och de tre anonyma referenterna för värdefulla synpunkter på uppsatsen.

Jag kommer i denna artikel att beskriva ett antal konstruktioner i svenskan som formellt sett påminner om engelskans progressiva form, av vilka ett antal trots allt visar sig utgöra ganska systematiska sätt att uttrycka progressiv aspekt. Dessa progressiva participkonstruktioner, som jag valt att benämna dem, består av verb + presensparticip och kan representeras av t.ex. *komma gående* och *sitta frysande*.

1.1 Bakgrund

Goldberg (2006) tar i sin bok *Constructions at work. The nature of generalization in language* upp tre typer av syntaktiska strukturer med predikatsverb följt av infinit verbform. En typ har infinitiv som infinit verbform, medan de andra har presensparticip. Det är de senare typerna, illustrerade i (1) nedan, som utgör inspirationskällan till denna artikel.¹

- (1) a. The toddler **went screaming** down the street. (Goldberg 2006 s. 50)
b. You shouldn't **go reading** the newspaper all day. (Goldberg 2006 s. 52)

Meningarna i (1) innehåller alltså ett verb som följs av ett presensparticip som i sin tur följs av olika bestämningar. Både verb och presensparticip har som synes verbal betydelse. Goldberg noterar att de illustrerade strukturerna uppvisar distributionella skillnader sinsemellan och drar av detta slutsatsen att de, trots strukturella likheter, inte är exempel på samma konstruktion utan snarare utgör en familj av konstruktioner, närmare bestämt verbseriekonstruktioner (för information om verbserier, se t.ex. Aikhenvald 2006).

Endast konstruktionen i (1a) har en direkt motsvarighet i svenskan. Jämför (2).

- (2) a. Knatten **gick skrikande** nedför gatan. (Motsvarande 1a)
b. *Du borde inte **gå läsande** tidningen hela dagen. (Motsvarande 1b)
(Mina översättningar)

Jag har inte för avsikt att förklara skillnaderna i grammatikalitet mellan (1b) och (2b), utan konstaterar bara att distributionella skillnader mellan engelskan och svenskan föreligger här. Det centrala är att Goldberg funnit att strukturer som helt enkelt skulle kunna kategoriseras som »verb + presensparticip» kan vara ganska olika, såväl pragmatiskt och semantiskt som syntaktiskt. Ett av

¹ Fet stil i exempel är, om inte annat anges, tillagd av mig i syfte att framhäva led.

flera exempel på detta är att verbet i (1a) kan vara tempusbärande, men inte i (1b), där det endast kan vara ett naket *go*.

Goldberg betraktar syntaktiska strukturer som syntaktiska mönster – konstruktioner² – i vilka lexem fogas in. Varje konstruktion har, på samma sätt som lexem, idiosynkratiska drag, dvs. konstruktionens drag kan inte nödvändigtvis förutses utifrån sina delar. Detta förhållningssätt är centralt inom konstruktionsgrammatiken (CxG), som är det teoretiska ramverk jag huvudsakligen använder i den här undersökningen. Jag återkommer till teorin som sådan och till Goldbergs verbseriekonstruktioner i avsnitt 2.

Jag vill nu med hjälp av konstruktionsgrammatikens verktyg studera en familj av konstruktioner i svenskan liknande den som Goldberg beskriver och som exemplifieras i (2a) ovan. Jag avgränsar undersökningen grovt sett till de konstruktioner där ett verb följs av ett verbalt presensparticip (fortsättningsvis även omtalat som particip). För en mer detaljerad redovisning och avgränsning av de strukturer med verb + presensparticip som jag undersöker, se avsnitt 3.

1.2 Syfte och uppläggning

Progressiva participkonstruktioner är knappast identifierade som kategori i svensk grammatisk litteratur, än mindre från ett CxG-perspektiv, och det samma verkar gälla motsvarande konstruktioner i andra språk. Eftersom konstruktionerna allmänt sett är otillfredsställande beskrivna, saknas följaktligen även prövningar av beskrivningar mot mer omfattande korpusmaterial. För att bidra till att fylla dessa luckor i kunskapsmassan har jag ett ganska vittomfattade syfte: att påvisa att svenskan har en uppsättning av progressiva participkonstruktioner och beskriva dessa, genom att tillämpa konstruktionsgrammatikens analysinstrument på ett större korpusmaterial.

I det följande ges i avsnitt 2 en kort presentation av undersökningens teoretiska ramverk samt för arbetet relevanta grammatiska beskrivningar. Avsnitt 3 redogör för det material och de metoder som används vid undersökningen. Utifrån det underlag jag får fram, genomför jag i avsnitt 4 en analys av konstruktionerna. Avsnitt 5 innehåller en slutdiskussion av arbetet.

² Uttrycket *konstruktion* används fortsättningsvis om konstruktioner i konstruktionsgrammatisk bemärkelse. Observera att *konstruktion* här används om såväl den teoretiska beskrivningen av språkliga byggstenar (motsvarande *construction* i Fried & Östman 2004 s. 18) som de faktiska språkliga uttrycken (motsvarande *construct* i Fried & Östman 2004 s. 18).

2. Teoretisk inriktning och forskningsöversikt

I detta avsnitt ges först, i avsnitt 2.1, en summarisk introduktion till det teoretiska ramverk som undersökningen i huvudsak vilar på. Därefter, i avsnitt 2.2, redogör jag för hur Goldberg (2006) analyserar de engelska konstruktionstyper som utgör fröet till min undersökning och redovisar vad som sägs om dessa konstruktionstyper i några grammatiska beskrivningar av engelskan. I avsnitt 2.3 går jag slutligen igenom vad som skrivits om progressiva participkonstruktioner i svensk, och norsk, grammatisk litteratur.

2.1 Konstruktionsgrammatik

När jag talar om *participkonstruktioner* avser jag, som tidigare nämnts, inte konstruktioner i den vanliga traditionella grammatiska betydelsen, dvs. som bara motsvarande syntaktiska strukturer. En konstruktion i CxG är i stället en konventionaliserad kombination av form och funktion, som alltså integrerar form, t.ex. syntaktiska, morfologiska och prosodiska mönster, och funktion, t.ex. semantik, pragmatik och informationsstruktur, i konventionaliserade och icke-kompositionella form-betydelsepar.

Till skillnad från (chomskyanskt) generativa ramverk utgår CxG från endast en analysnivå, dvs. antar inte ett antal underliggande strukturer. CxG skiljer sig även från traditionell grammatik, kanske tydligast i att den inte drar någon skarp gräns mellan »lexikon» och »grammatik», utan antar att båda dessa komponenter består av konstruktioner. Den antar vidare att en syntaktisk konstruktion inte nödvändigtvis definieras av sina delar, utan också att konstruktionen *i sig* är betydelsebärande.

Från ett CxG-perspektiv är perifera konstruktioner lika intressanta som frekventare mönster. De inledande CxG-arbetena, såsom Fillmore, Kay & O'Connor 1988, undersöker också ofta perifera konstruktioner, ofta i form av olika sorters idiom, som uppvisar såväl generella drag, som kan beskrivas i en grammatik, som specifika drag, som snarast hör hemma i ett lexikon. Gemensamt för konstruktionerna är att varken traditionella grammatikor eller lexikon lämpar sig särskilt väl för att ge fullödiga beskrivningar av dem.

Uppfattningen att en konstruktion för att kunna räknas som CxG-konstruktion inte får vara förutsägbar utifrån sina ingående delar, t.ex. lexemen i en syntaktisk konstruktion, var vanlig tidigare inom CxG (se t.ex. Goldberg 1995 s. 4). Denna uppfattning har dock senare reviderats och mildrats (Goldberg 2006

s. 5) på så sätt att även generella mönster betraktas som CxG-konstruktioner, förutsatt att de är tillräckligt etablerade (ett huvudsakligen frekvensrelaterat krav). Det är den senare konstruktionsdefinitionen som jag inledningsvis tar fasta på i denna artikel. Valet av just CxG är annars inte givet i fråga om de konstruktioner som beskrivs här – det kan t.ex. vid en första anblick tyckas svårt att betrakta deras argumentstruktur som alltför oförutsägbar eller specifik för att kunna beskrivas med något annat grammatiskt ramverk. CxG är dock tilltalande på flera sätt, i synnerhet i fråga om progressiva participkonstruktioner, dels eftersom det kommer att framgå att de flesta verb inte redovisas med particip i sina valensramar, dels eftersom det i några fall ska visa sig vara oklart vilket konstruktionens huvudord är, något som förutsätts av flertalet grammatiska ramverk. I dessa fall är det praktiskt, för att inte säga nödvändigt, att kunna överföra argumentstrukturen på konstruktionen.

2.2 VVingPP och GoVPing

Goldberg (2006 s. 50) menar att »Language learning must involve memories of individual examples because the end state of grammar is only partially general». Detta kan t.ex. illustreras med ett engelskt adjektiv, *mere*, som kan stå attributivt (*a mere child*) men, till skillnad från de flesta andra adjektiv, inte predikativt (**that child seems mere*). Detta är inte förutsägbart utifrån vår kunskap om adjektiv och därför, menar Goldberg, måste språkbrukaren inte bara lära sig distributiva beskafter hos enskilda lexem utan även hos enskilda syntaktiska konstruktioner. Som ytterligare exempel på denna sorts konstruktioner som delvis är generella och delvis idiosynkratiska, ger Goldberg ett antal konstruktioner som består av två på varandra följande verb. Dessa, VVingPP, som består av predikatsverb + *ing*-verb/presensparticip + riktningangivande prepositionsfras, och GoVPing, som utgörs av verbet *go* + *ing*-verb/presensparticip, illustreras i (1a) respektive (1b) ovan. De ger vid en ytlig betraktelse intryck av att vara nästintill identiska – i båda fallen följs ju ett verb av ett particip – men de skiljer sig i ett antal avseenden.

Goldberg (2006 s. 50) beskriver VVingPP och GoVPing som »quite understudied», vilket förefaller stämma vid en sondering av arbeten på området. Inte heller i grammatiska referensverk för engelskan, såsom den traditionella *A comprehensive grammar of the English language* (Quirk m.fl. 1985), den uttalat korpusbaserade *Longman grammar of spoken and written English* (Biber m.fl. 1999) eller den relativt nyutkomna *The Cambridge grammar of the Eng-*

lish language (Huddleston & Pullum 2002), definieras VVingPP och GoVPing som egna konstruktioner. För att komma över exempel på konstruktionerna i de nämnda verken får man utgå från »-ing participles» (Quirk m.fl. 1985), »ing-clauses» (Biber m.fl. 1999) eller »gerund-participials» (Huddleston & Pullum 2002), och därefter kombinera dem med de verb som de redovisas tillsammans med. Föga förvånande tar inte heller engelska grammatikor för svenska inlärare upp konstruktionerna. Ljung & Ohlander (1992 s. 134 f.) talar t.ex. inte över huvud taget om den sorts konstruktioner som Goldberg (2006) omnämner, och det utförligare standardverket på området, Svartvik & Sager 1996, går tillväga på samma sätt: verbala particip vid verb (dvs. andra verb än det progressiva hjälp verbet *be*) berörs bara flyktigt, och i inget fall diskuteras den syntaktiska konstruktionen som sådan.

Åter till Goldbergs redovisning av de aktuella konstruktionerna. Goldberg skriver att den ena verb + particip-konstruktionen, VVingPP, innehåller ett rörelseverb som följs av particip och bestämning i form av en prepositionsfras, som i exempel (1a) ovan, repeterat som (3).

- (3) The toddler went screaming down the street.

Goldberg anger flera restriktioner hos VVingPP. Den adverbiala prepositionsfrasen anger t.ex. endast riktning, och dessutom är [Ving + PP] inte en konstituent i den överordnade aktiva strukturen [S [VVingPP]], vilket åskådliggörs med exempel som det i (4) nedan.

- (4) a. **Down the hill** Bill went screaming.
b. ??**Screaming down the hill** Bill went.
(Goldberg 2006 s. 52)

Som synes kan PP spetsställas i isolering (4a), men inte tillsammans med participet (4b). Detta, menar Goldberg (2006 s. 51 f.), tyder på att [Ving + PP] inte är en konstituent och att PP är en bestämning till verbet, inte till participet. Goldberg anför ytterligare argument för detta genom en jämförelse mellan konstruktionen i (5a) och VVingPP-konstruktionen i (5b). Det är, som synes i (5a), verbet som tar adverbiala *down the street* som argument, inte participet, vilket visas i VVingPP-konstruktionen i (5b).

- (5) a. Bill went down the street whistling a tune.
b. *Bill went whistling a tune down the street.
(Goldberg 2006 s. 51)

Vidare noteras att verbet i den aktuella konstruktionen måste vara ett intransitivt rörelseverb med generell betydelse: *come*, *go*, *run* och *take off* (någon gång även de transitiva *take* och *bring*) förekommer. Particippet kan dock väljas mer eller mindre fritt. I (6a) illustreras hur tillåtande konstruktionen kan vara i fråga om valet av particip, medan (6b) visar hur granntyckt den är i fråga om valet av verb. Som synes accepteras bara en form av *go*, inte t.ex. det synonyma och specifika *walk*.

- (6) a. Bill went singing/grinning/waving/laughing down the street.
 b. *Bill walked whistling down the street.
 (Goldberg 2006 s. 51)

Goldberg menar vidare att VVingPP har progressiv betydelse, vilket illustreras med ett exempel där ett verb som beskriver en punkthändelse, t.ex. *jump* i (7a), får iterativ tolkning som particip i VVingPP (7b).

- (7) a. Bill jumped off the bridge. ≠
 b. Bill went jumping off the bridge.
 (Goldberg 2006 s. 51)

Goldbergs representation av VVingPP-konstruktionen återges i schema 1.

Schema 1. VVingPP (Goldberg 2006 s. 52).

Semantics:	Move	in a manner	along a path
Syntax:	V _ε {go, come, run, take off}	Ving	(Oblique) ³

Som framgår av schemat representeras konstruktionen som ett form–betydelsepar med betydelsen 'Move in a manner along a path' och formen verb (specificerat som *go*, *come*, *run* eller *take off*) + *ing*-verb (presensparticip) + PP.

Den andra konstruktionen, som ytstrukturellt är identisk med VVingPP och följaktligen borde uppvisa liknande drag, är *GoVPing*, som exemplifieras i (1b) ovan och repeteras som (8).

- (8) You shouldn't **go reading the newspaper all day**.

³ *Oblique* betecknar normalt adverbiala prepositionsfraser. Parentes anger att ledet är optionellt. Se även Goldberg 1995 s. 53.

I denna konstruktion har dock verbet inte rörelsebetydelse, och konstruktionen tar heller ingen riktningssgivande bestämning. Ett iögonfallande drag hos *GoVPing* är att participet tar bestämning, till och med en nominal sådan, som framgår i (8) ovan där *reading* tar objektet *the newspaper* (eftersom participets bestämning är manifest betecknas konstruktionen *GoVPing*, inte *GoVing*). Andra drag är att verbet, som i denna konstruktion inte kan sägas beteckna rörelse, måste vara just *go*, dvs. i grundform, föregått av hjälpverb, och att tolkningen inte med nödvändighet är progressiv, utan även kan vara punktuell (jämför t.ex. *Don't go spilling your drink!*). En pragmatisk restriktion tilläggs: händelsen som beskrivs av konstruktionen uppfattas som negativ. Konstruktionen används slutligen i vardaglig stil, till skillnad från den stilistiskt neutralare *VVingPP*. En representation ges i schema 2.

Schema 2. *GoVPing* (Goldberg 2006 s. 53).

Pragmatics:	The action designated by VP is construed negatively by speaker	
Semantics:		Action type
Syntax:	<i>go</i>	[Ving ...] _{VP}

Schema 2 representerar *GoVPing* som ett form–betydelsepar. *Ing*-verbet bidrar med betydelsen »Action type» (vad *go* bidrar med framgår som synes inte av Goldbergs representation), och konstruktionens form är verb (specificerat som *go*) + *ing*-verb som bildar en verbfras (punkterna vid *Ving* anger att bestämning till participet är utelämnad i representationen).

Som framgår ovan, är ingen av de två verb + particip-konstruktionerna helt generell; ett exempel på detta är att de inte kan förutses utifrån vår kunskap om verbet *go* i isolering.

2.3 Progressiva participkonstruktioner i bl.a. svenskan

Svenska konstruktioner med verb följt av verbalt presensparticip exemplifieras vanligen med typerna *komma gående* och *bli sittande*, men det ska visa sig att betydligt fler lexikala kombinationer förekommer i svenskan, vilka dock i stort sett saknar beskrivningar i litteraturen.

I valensbeskrivningar tas dylika strukturer normalt endast upp med två verb: *komma* och *bli*. I *Norstedts svenska ordbok* (1999) finner man *komma springande* och *bli stående*. I konstruktionsordboken *Svenskt språkbruk* (2003) ges

»komma gående/springande etc.» som möjliga ordfogningar med *komma* + particip, och för *bli* ges »bli liggande/stående/sittande». I *Nationalencyklopedins ordbok* (NEO) anges att *komma* kan konstrueras med bl.a. optionellt adverbial, och ett exempel ges med particip: *komma springande*. I fråga om *bli* anges att verbet tar obligatoriskt predikativ som bestämning, och det ges även ett exempel: *han blev stående i dörröppningen*.

Det är tydligtvis bara de mest etablerade mönstren som tas upp i valensbeskrivningar som de ovannämnda, och det är därför inte möjligt att endast utgå från denna typ av källor vid en bredare genomgång av progressiva participkonstruktioner, eftersom det alltså ska visa sig att betydligt fler particip uppträder med *komma* och *bli*, bland flera andra verb, i progressiva participkonstruktioner i autentiskt språk.

I koncentrerade grammatiska beskrivningar av svenskan berörs particip bara i korthet tillsammans med predikatsverb. Thorell (1973 s. 156) ger under rubriken »Hjälpverb + presens particip» exempel med *komma körande* och *bli liggande*. Det noteras vid *komma körande* att *körande* anger rörelse och *komma* riktning. Vid *bli liggande* anges att *bli* förstärker *liggande*:s betydelse av varaktigt tillstånd. Jørgensen & Svensson (1986 s. 72) berör konstruktionerna mer summariskt. Här förs verb + particip i exemplet *Olle kom springande* till kategorin »Finit verb plus ett eller flera infinita verb» utan vidare kommentar. Hultman (2003 s. 155 f.) exemplifierar endast particip som bundet predikativ i konstruktion med *komma*. En något utförligare svensk grammatik för engelskspråkiga inlärare, Holmes & Hinchliffe (2003 s. 255), nämner helt kort att svenskt particip förekommer »As a verb» efter *komma*, *gå*, *bli* och *ha*.⁴

Inte heller det utförliga referensverket *Svenska Akademiens grammatik*, SAG, berör progressiva participkonstruktioner i någon större utsträckning. I kapitlet »Verb» finner jag inte något omtalande av dem. I kapitlet »Particip», däremot, berörs strukturer med de vid det här laget bekanta verben *komma* och *bli*. Det noteras att particip vid *komma* är avledda av intransitiva rörelseverb som anger oavgränsad aktion, medan de vid *bli* är avledda av intransitiva befintlighetsangivande verb som anger oavgränsad aktion. Det tilläggs: »Konstruktionen med *bli* anger att ett visst tillstånd inträder och att detta tillstånd därefter pågår.»⁵ (SAG 2 s. 619.) I kapitlet »Verbfraser: predikativ» kan man

⁴ Troligtvis åsyftas konstruktionen *ha NP V-ande*, t.ex. *ha några böcker liggande*, som inte tillhör den konstruktionstyp jag undersöker här.

⁵ Påståendet att tillståndet inträder är inte alltid riktigt; det kan även ha inträtt innan *bli* + particip uttrycks: jämför *Nu sätter sig den fullt påklädde i närmaste lediga korgstol och blir sittande* (Parole, se avsnitt 3 för information om denna korpus).

skönja mer eller mindre medvetna ansatser till ett CxG-perspektiv i omnämmandet av »verbförbindelser av typen *komma springande(s)*» (SAG 3 s. 330), men det som ges här är i stället en hänvisning tillbaka till kapitlet »Particip». I kapitlet »Participfraser» anförs slutligen att particip efter *komma* och *bli* är bundna subjektspredikativ (SAG 3 s. 632).

En blick i det norska systemverket *Norsk referansegrammatikk* ger inte mycket mer information, även om konstruktionen som sådan fokuseras något tydligare. Progressiva participkonstruktioner diskuteras i avsnittet »Konstruksjoner med kontinuativt aspekt», där exempel med *bli* + particip⁶ redovisas tillsammans med upplysningen »Ved disse konstruksjonene fokuseres det på fortsettelsen av en handling som er (eller har vært) i gang» (Faarlund m.fl. 1997 s. 653).

En äldre genomgång av användningen av presensparticip i svenskan i ett antal dokument under den fornsvenska perioden ges i Ahlberg 1942. Participet beskrivs som regel i isolering, men någon gång, vilket möjligen är intressant för den föreliggande undersökningen, särskiljs den numera bekanta konstruktionen »komma + pres.part. av annat rörelseverb» (s. 48). Att just denna typ ges särskild uppmärksamhet motiveras inte uttryckligen, men den omtalas bl.a. som »riktigt företrädd» och »talrikt representerad» (s. 66, 159). Ahlbergs genomgång är nu främst en kartläggning av vilka syntaktiska funktioner fornsvenska presensparticip förekommer i och hur de är distribuerade i olika texttyper samt i vilken utsträckning framför allt latinets påverkat funktion och distribution, och den för min undersökning intressantare grammatiska analysen träder i bakgrunden.

En i förhållande till ovannämnda undersökning modernare genomgång av verbfrasens struktur från ett transformationsgrammatiskt perspektiv ges i Andersson 1977. Här återfinns fylliga beskrivningar av verb med ett flertal typer av bestämmingar, men progressiva participkonstruktioner eller, för den delen, presensparticip är inte beskrivna i någon större utsträckning.

Ovanstående mer eller mindre historiska översikt över vad som skrivits om progressiva particip i svenskan och norskan visar att kunskapsmassan på området är ytterligt begränsad, och det är uppenbarligen oklart vilka progressiva particip som förekommer och hur dessa skulle kunna kategoriseras. Det är vidare nästan uteslutande verben *komma* och *bli* som beskrivs med presensparticip, sannolikt för att dessa typer tillhör de mest frekventa. Inte i något fall hanteras de dock som konstruktioner i CxG-bemärkelse; i samtliga fall verkar det

⁶ *Bli* står även vid rörelseparticipet *gående* i norskan (Faarlund m.fl. 1997 s. 654).

vara lexikala drag hos verbet som utgör analysgrund, vilket gör att beskrivningarna missar de drag som kan tillskrivas konstruktionen som sådan.

3. Korpusmaterial och sökmetoder

Analysen i den här artikeln bygger på exempel som hämtats från skriftspråskorpusen Parole, vilken är morfosyntaktiskt taggad och omfattar ca 20 miljoner löpord.⁷ I några fall har jag kompletterat redovisningen med exempelmeningar från Google. Parole-korpusen är absolut nödvändig i undersökningen, eftersom progressiva particip är syntaktiskt specificerade på lexemnivå men som nämnts i stort sett inte tidigare beskrivna med specifika lexem andra än *komma* och *bli* (se avsnitt 2.3 ovan).

En nackdel med Parole är att resultaten inte slumpas fram, vilket bl.a. innebär att ett visst romanmaterial utgör en lång följd av träffar inledningsvis i konkordansen. För att undvika att träffarna snedfördelas stilistiskt har jag därför, efter en sökning efter <verb + presensparticip>, gått igenom samtliga träffar med verb + presensparticip. Eftersom jag inte på förhand vetat hur den ifrågasvarande strukturen uppträder, har jag inte använt några raffinerade avgränsande söksträngar utan i stället manuellt sorterat bort irrelevanta träffar.

Allt som allt har jag gått igenom omkring 10 000 strukturer med aktivt verb + presensparticip, oavsett funktion. Merparten av träffarna är irrelevanta för undersökningen, så jag har manuellt sorterat ut de typer som kunnat klassificeras som progressiva participkonstruktioner, dvs. konstruktioner som utgörs av ett predikatsverb som följs av ett verbalt presensparticip. Sällningen har givit 875 progressiva participkonstruktioner som resultat.

Vissa konstruktioner med verb + presensparticip som vid en första anblick kan synas vara progressiva participkonstruktioner, t.ex. *segra övertygande*, är i själva verket inte det enligt min definition, och därmed har mer detaljerade avgränsningar fått göras. Dessa lämpar sig emellertid inte bäst att redovisa i detta avsnitt, eftersom jag tror att det tydligast framkommer vilka konstruktioner som inte är progressiva participkonstruktioner om man först redovisar vilka konstruktioner som *är* progressiva participkonstruktioner. Därför ges vidare avgränsningar i avsnitt 4.4 nedan, där jag går igenom några »falska» progressiva participkonstruktioner.

⁷ Tillgänglig på <http://spraakbanken.gu.se/parole/>.

4. Analys

Jag urskiljar tre sorters progressiva participkonstruktioner i materialet: riktning-betecknande, t.ex. *komma gående*, befintlighetsbetecknande, t.ex. *bli sittande*, och additiva, t.ex. *gå skrikande*. Dessa analyseras i avsnitt 4.1–4.3, där även kategoribeteckningarna får sina förklaringar. För varje konstruktion undersöks bl.a. verbets och participets argumentstruktur, verbets, participets och konstruktionens betydelse samt eventuella pragmatiska särdrag. I avsnitt 4.4 går jag även igenom några konstruktioner som vid en första anblick är förvillande lika de i 4.1–4.3 redovisade konstruktionerna men i själva verket tillhör andra typer. Slutligen, i avsnitt 4.5, summeras undersökningen.

4.1 Riktning-betecknande participkonstruktioner

Jag inleder redovisningen med den ena av de två progressiva participkonstruktioner som delvis tangeras i valensbeskrivningar av svenskan: riktning-betecknande participkonstruktioner, i vilka verbplatsen upptas av *komma*. En statistisk genomgång av de ingående orden i de undersökta konstruktionerna ger en förklaring till varför valensbeskrivningar fokuserar på just dessa participkonstruktioner: inte mindre än 470 av de 875 progressiva participkonstruktionerna är riktning-betecknande. Att just dessa är ofta förekommande kan till viss del förklaras med att konstruktionens enda tillåtna verb är frekvent i svenskan generellt sett: presensformen *kommer* placerar sig exempelvis på 46:e plats på Språkbankens tusen-i-topp-lista över de vanligaste orden i tidningsmaterialet Press 97.⁸ Verbet i riktning-betecknande participkonstruktioner uppträder med många olika particip i mitt material, men de oftast påträffade kombinationerna är *komma springande* och *komma gående*, med drygt 50 belägg vardera.

Riktning-betecknande participkonstruktioner anger, som kategoribeteckningen antyder, rörelse i en riktning och tar alltså det intransitiva rörelseverbet *komma* och ett particip med durativ betydelse av rörelse. Exempel ges i (9).⁹

- (9) a. En kille **kommer springande** ur en affär. (P)
 b. En man **kommer gående** med en jättelik machete. (P)
 c. Ändå träffades en person i huvudet av en flaska som **kom flygande**. (P)

⁸ Tillgänglig på <http://spraakbanken.gu.se/>.

⁹ Exempel som är hämtade ur mitt korpusmaterial markeras genom att jag anger den källa varur exemplet hämtats (P = Parole, G = Google). Konstruerade exempel markeras inte.

Komma anger normalt någon sorts förflyttning i en riktning (i grundbetydelsen är riktningen mot talaren, men denna betydelse kan vara vag i riktningsbetecknande participkonstruktioner), och denna förflyttning preciseras av participet: *komma gående*, exempelvis, betyder alltså 'förflytta sig medelst gång'.

En representation av konstruktionstypen ges i schema 3.

Schema 3. Riktningbetecknande participkonstruktioner.

Semantik:	Rörelse: riktning	Rörelse: specificering
Syntax:	<i>komma</i>	Presensparticip

Riktningbetecknande participkonstruktioner ställer rätt detaljerade krav på textstrukturen: förutom att det på verbet följande participet ska beskriva samma rörelse som verbet, måste det dessutom tillföra specificerande information om rörelsens art. Bland annat av denna anledning säger man t.ex. *komma gående* i just den ordningen, inte *gå kommande*, eftersom participet då inte skulle tillföra någon information om hur rörelsen ser ut (det tillför förvisso en annan sorts information, rörelsens riktning, men mer om detta nedan).

Riktningbetecknande participkonstruktioner är mycket konventionaliserade; verbet har faktiskt så tunn betydelse att participet kan sägas bära upp det verbala kärninnehållet självt. Att participet mer eller mindre beskriver aktionen direkt kan illustreras med att participets motsvarande verb så gott som alltid kan ersätta *komma* + particip utan någon nämnvärd förskjutning av satsens kärnbetydelse. Betrakta t.ex. (10) nedan.

- (10) a. Johan **kom gående** längs en dikeskant. (P)
b. Johan **gick** längs en dikeskant.

Ett annat test av konventionaliseringsgraden hos konstruktionen är insättning av ett strukturomvandlande *där* eller *här*, dvs. ett korrelatlöst inskott som skiljer verbet och det efterföljande ledet åt och medför att verbet återfår mer av sin grundbetydelse (se Bolander 1980 s. 43). I vanliga fall återfinns elementet i sats av typen *Hon satt där orörlig*, där verbet, *satt*, och dess bestämning, *orörlig*, knappast kan sägas vara särskilt förenade betydelsemässigt. I de konventionaliserade riktningbetecknande participkonstruktionerna kan *där/här* dock svårligen infogas. Jämför (11).

- (11) ?En kille kommer **där** springande ur en affär.

Graden av konventionalisering kan även prövas genom att en bestämning till konstruktionen tillfogas. Betrakta t.ex. (12).

(12) [...] Lenny Clarhäll [...] kom bilande **förbi platsen**. (P)

Om bestämningen hör till verbet, till participet eller om den bör hänföras till den riktningbetecknande participkonstruktionen som helhet är oklart. Man kan söka pröva detta genom att applicera topikalisering av particip + bestämning på samma sätt som Goldberg (2006) gör i sin undersökning av verbkonstruktioner. Particip + bestämning är inte en topikaliserbar konstituent, vilket illustreras i (13) nedan, och detta skulle tala för att bestämningen åtminstone inte hör till participet.

(13) ??**Bilande förbi platsen** kom Lenny Clarhäll.

Å andra sidan verkar topikalisering vara ett trubbigt verktyg för diagnostisering av vilken konstituent bestämningen hör till i den riktningbetecknande participkonstruktionen, eftersom knappast heller verb + bestämning (14a) eller verb + particip + bestämning (14b) utan vidare kan topikaliseras.

(14) a. ***Kom förbi platsen** gjorde Lenny Clarhäll bilande.
b. ??**Kom bilande förbi platsen** gjorde Lenny Clarhäll.

Man har heller inte möjlighet att avgöra vilket element som tar bestämning i riktningbetecknande participkonstruktioner genom att utelämna verb eller particip, eftersom verb och particip (i form av motsvarande verb) var för sig i stort sett har samma syntaktiska valens som verbförbindelsen som helhet:

(15) a. Lenny Clarhäll **kom bilande** förbi platsen.
b. Lenny Clarhäll **kom** förbi platsen.
c. Lenny Clarhäll **bilade** förbi platsen.

Det förefaller intuitivt vara verbet och participet i förening som tar bestämning, men det är som synes inte alldeles lätt att visa syntaktiskt.

Vilka karakteristika som riktningbetecknande participkonstruktioner uppvisar framgår av schema 4. Som schemat visar är verbet restriktivare än participet i fråga om rörelsens riktning. Riktningen hos den rörelse som participet beskriver, t.ex. ett gående, är specificerad, vilket här innebär att rörelsen kan företas i alla riktningar. Riktningen hos den rörelse som uttrycks med verbet är emellertid mer eller mindre specificerad.

Schema 4. Riktningbetecknande participkonstruktioner.

Uttryck	Riktning	Rörelse	Aspekt
<i>komma</i>	specificerad	–	–
Particip	–	specificerad	–
Riktningbetecknande participkonstruktion	specificerad	specificerad	progressiv

Observera att participet i de flesta kontexter inte kan beteckna vilken rörelse som helst, utan bara en förflyttning som kan företas i samma riktning som den verbet betecknar. Jämför (16), som illustrerar particip med betydelse av rörelse som försiggår i en med verbet mer eller mindre oförenlig riktning.

(16) Johan kom {gående/*duckande} längs en dikeskant.

Participets roll i riktningbetecknande participkonstruktioner är att specificera verbets rörelse, vilket i schema 4 indikeras i »Rörelse»-kolumnen på den nedersta nivån, som representerar hela konstruktionen. Även verbet utövar dock inflytande: det inverkar på participet på så sätt att det inskränker dess rörelseriktning, vilket indikeras i representationen i schema 4, där konstruktionen antar detta drag. När verb och particip kombineras läggs alltså participets rörelsespecificering ihop med verbets riktningsspecificering. Dessa drag utökas även med konstruktionens progressiva drag.

4.2 Befintlighetsbetecknande participkonstruktioner

Befintlighetsbetecknande participkonstruktioner tar det befintlighetsangivande intransitiva verbet *bli*¹⁰ och ett particip med durativ positionsbetydelse.¹¹ Participplatsen rymmer till skillnad från riktningbetecknande participkonstruktioner bara ett fåtal particip, vanligen *stående* eller *sittande*, men även *liggande* och *hängande*. Exempel ges i (17) nedan.

¹⁰ Jag har inte inkluderat verbet *förbli* i undersökningen. Detta verb är mycket sällsynt i mitt material, med knappt tio träffar i denna konstruktionstyp. Såvitt jag kan bedöma uppträder det dock i allt väsentligt på samma sätt som *bli*.

¹¹ SAG (3 s. 353) klassificerar *bli* som kopula. Jag menar dock att *bli* i progressiva participkonstruktioner har starkare egenbetydelse än andra kopulor i och med att *bli* dessutom har tydliga aspektuella och lokativa drag. Jämför t.ex. den progressiva participkonstruktionen i *De blev 'förblev' sittande* med en ordinär kopulakonstruktion, där verbet nästan enbart förbinder subjektet med predikativet och specificerar tempus, t.ex. i *De blev sjuksköterskor*. För information om kopulabetydelser, se t.ex. SAG 3 s. 361 ff.

- (17) a. Han **blev stående**. (P)
b. Då skulle jag väl **bli sittande** där halva natten, tänkte hon. (P)
c. Resultat [sic] blev dock att fyra fotgängare på trottoaren mejades ned och **blev liggande**. (P)
d. Pilen [...] **blev hängande** ett ögonblick och föll. (P)

267 av de totalt 875 progressiva participkonstruktionerna i mitt material är befintlighetsbetecknande. Den klart vanligaste befintlighetsbetecknande participkonstruktionen är *bli stående*, med drygt 100 belägg. Av de andra kombinationerna har *bli liggande* ca 70 belägg, medan *bli sittande* och *bli hängande* har ca 50 vardera.

De befintlighetsbetecknande participkonstruktionerna har det gemensamt med de riktningbetecknande att verbet har tunn egenbetydelse: det anger i det närmaste bara befintlighetsduration, förutom finithetsdragen tempus och modus i förekommande fall. Dessutom måste participet beskriva samma aktion som verbet. Liksom de riktningbetecknande konstruktionerna, är de befintlighetsbetecknande konstruktionerna så konventionaliserade, med så tunn betydelse hos verbet att participet mer eller mindre beskriver aktionen direkt. Detta gör att verb + particip alltid kan bytas ut mot participets motsvarande verb. Betrakta (18).

- (18) a. Bilen **blev liggande** på taket. (Thorell 1973 s. 156)
b. Bilen **låg** på taket.

Ett strukturuomvandlande *där* eller *här* kan knappast heller infogas, vilket ytterligare förstärker bilden av en konventionaliserad konstruktion. Jämför (19).

- (19) ?Bilen blev **där** liggande på taket.

Jämför även konstruktionens karakteristika när bestämning tillfogas. Som framgår i (20) nedan, kan participet inte topikaliseras tillsammans med bestämning. Notera dock att liksom i de riktningbetecknande konstruktionerna ovan knappast heller verb + bestämning (20c) eller verb + particip + bestämning (20d) kan topikaliseras i de befintlighetsbetecknande konstruktionerna, därtill i än mindre utsträckning än i de riktningbetecknande.¹²

- (20) a. Lennart blev sittande **med ostmackan i handen**. (P)
b. ?**Sittande med ostmackan i handen** blev Lennart.

¹² Ersättnings verbet *göra* förutsätter vanligen agentivt predikatsverb (se även t.ex. SAG 2 s. 539 f.). *Bli* kan inte sägas vara ett sådant, vilket torde bidra till ogrammatikaliteten i (20c–d).

- c. *Blev med ostmackan i handen gjorde Lennart sittande.
 d. *Blev sittande med ostmackan i handen gjorde Lennart.

De befintlighetsbetecknande konstruktionerna skiljer sig dock från de riktningsbetecknande i att verbet inte har samma syntaktiska valens som verbförbindelsen. Jämför (21a), där verbet, åtminstone enligt mitt språköra, inte tar bestämning. Participet, i form av ett verb, tar däremot samma bestämning som konstruktionen i (20a) ovan; jämför (21b).

- (21) a. *Lennart blev med ostmackan i handen.
 b. Lennart satt med ostmackan i handen.

Det förefaller alltså inte vara verbet som tar bestämning, men man kan för den skull inte dra slutsatsen att participet tar bestämningen utifrån ett test där participet transkriberas med motsvarande verb. Det verkar troligast att det är verbet och participet i förening som tar bestämning i de befintlighetsbetecknande participkonstruktionerna, på samma sätt som i de riktningsbetecknande.

En representation av den aktuella konstruktionstypen ges i schema 5.

Schema 5. Befintlighetsbetecknande participkonstruktioner.

Semantik:	Befintlighet	Position: specificering av befintlighet
Syntax:	<i>bli</i>	Presensparticip _e {stående, sittande, liggande, hängande}

Till verbet fogas alltså participets specificering av befintligheten (*bli sittande* betyder alltså ung. '[börja/fortsätta att] uppehålla sig i ett sittande tillstånd'). Konstruktionen antar denna befintlighetsspecificering och lägger till ett progressivt drag. I representationen i schema 6 nedan markeras med parentes-tecken runt »inkoativ» att *bli*:s inkoativa aspektuella betydelse i en del kontexter verkar kunna domineras av konstruktionens progressiva drag, som i *Nu sätter sig den fullt påklädde i närmaste lediga korgstol och blir sittande* (se not 5).

Schema 6. Befintlighetsbetecknande participkonstruktioner.

Uttryck	Befintlighet	Aspekt
<i>bli</i>	–	inkoativ
Particip	specificerad	–
Befintlighetsbetecknande participkonstruktion	specificerad	(inkoativ +) progressiv

4.3 Additiva participkonstruktioner

138 av de 875 progressiva participkonstruktionerna är av den additiva typen, som hittills förbisetts i litteraturen. I dessa konstruktioner prediceras två distinkta aktioner om predikationsbasen, till skillnad från i de riktningbetecknande och befintlighetsbetecknande konstruktionerna i vilka participets aktion specificerar verbets snarare än uttrycker en egen. I (22) nedan ges tre exempel på additiva participkonstruktioner.

- (22) a. Konstaplarna [...] **skrattar fingerpekande**. (P)
 b. Mammor i tunna kappor – liksom hon själv – **satt frysande** [...]. (P)
 c. De **stod flåsande** på scenen och höll varandra i handen. (P)

De verb som jag funnit beskrivna med presensparticip i såväl lexikala som grammatiska beskrivningar är, som nämns i avsnitt 2, nästan uteslutande *komma* och *bli*. Betydligt fler verb än dessa förkommer dock. I den additiva participkonstruktionen tillhör verben flera betydelseklasser, och deras betydelseinnehåll kan som framgår i (22) vara ganska specifikt, till skillnad från i de riktning- och befintlighetsbetecknande konstruktionerna.

De flesta sorters verb tycks faktiskt kunna fogas in i de additiva participkonstruktionerna, även transitiva, men de har i första hand rörelse- (t.ex. *springa*), positions- (t.ex. *sitta*) och kommunikationsbetydelse (t.ex. *skratta*). Verb som anger permanentare tillstånd, t.ex. abstrakta verb såsom *innehålla*, är svåra att tänka sig i konstruktionen. Vad det gäller valet av particip, kan detta vid betraktande av (22) ovan förefalla vara praktiskt taget restriktionslöst (ytterligare exempel från Parole är *gråtande*, *skrattande*, *tjutande* och *sjungande*, och även particip med bestämmingar förekommer; se nedan), men det rör sig som framgår främst om particip med dynamisk betydelse, ofta med någon sorts rörelsebetydelse, t.ex. *släpande*, eller vanligen kommunikationsbetydelse, t.ex. *skrikande*. Statiska particip med betydelse av t.ex. innehav är knappast möjliga (jämför t.ex. **Han stod ägande ett hus*). Restriktionerna hos verb och particip följer måhända den additiva participkonstruktionens betydelse: den är progressiv och bör därför rimligen användas för att expandera mer eller mindre temporära skeenden (t.ex. uttryckta med *springa[nde]*, *sitta[nde]* och *skrika[nde]*) i tiden, och därför finns det föga anledning att använda den med verb och particip som redan anger mer eller mindre permanenta tillstånd (t.ex. *innehålla[nde]*, *äga[nde]*, *smaka[nde]*).¹³

¹³ Progressiv form kan dock användas med vissa statiska verb i språk med mer grammatikaliserade uttryck för aspekt, och då oftast med särskild betydelse. Jämför t.ex. den enkla formen i den eng-

Additiva participkonstruktioner kan grovt sett representeras som i schema 7.

Schema 7. Additiva participkonstruktioner.

Semantik:	Aktion 1 (rörelse, position, kommunikation)	Aktion 2 (rörelse, kommunikation)
Syntax:	Verb	Presensparticip

Participets aktion specificerar inte, utan är bara marginellt inverkan på verbets aktion: kopplingen mellan skrattandet och fingerpekandet i (22a) ovan kan t.ex. inte sägas vara lika tydlig som den mellan kommandet och gåendet i det riktningbetecknande *komma gående*. Relationen mellan subjektet och participet i additiva participkonstruktioner påminner närmast om den mellan subjekt och predikat, med den uppenbaraste skillnaden att subjekt + particip till skillnad från subjekt + verb inte bildar en finit sats.

Verbet och participet i additiva participkonstruktioner beskriver alltså två aktioner som synes vara mer oberoende av varandra än aktionerna i de riktning- och befintlighetsbetecknande konstruktionerna. Att additiva participkonstruktioner, till skillnad från de två andra konstruktionstyperna, innehåller två rätt distinkta aktioner kan illustreras av att verb + particip i regel inte kan parafraseras med participets motsvarande verb utan förskjutning av kärnbetydelsen. Jämför (23).

- (23) a. De **försvann skrikande** bort till sina egna kåkar. (P)
 b. *De **skrek** bort till sina egna kåkar.

Ytterligare evidens ges dock inte av additiva participkonstruktioner som tillfogats bestämningskonstruktioner av den typ som illustreras i (24) nedan. Trots att aktionerna är distinkta är det, liksom i de ovan redovisade participkonstruktionerna, oacceptabelt att flytta fram particip + bestämning.

- (24) a. Hon [...] gick skrikande **fram till fotoagraferna** [...]. (G)
 a'. ***Skrikande fram till fotoagraferna** gick hon.
 b. De båda kvinnorna stannade lyssnande **vid vattenbrynet**. (P)
 b'. ***Lyssnande vid vattenbrynet** stannade de båda kvinnorna.
 c. Pojken föll blödande **omkull** [...]. (P)

eliska meningen *He is a very cautious player* med den progressiva formen i *He is being very cautious today*, där det senare exemplet uttrycker en mer avsiktlig försiktighet (Svartvik & Sager 1996 s. 91).

- c'. ***Blödande omkull** föll pojken.
- d. Han stack visslande **benen** ur sängen [...]. (P)
- d'. ***Visslande benen ur sängen** stack han.
- e. [...] Günzel beskriver suckande **hur obehagligt det kan vara** [...]. (P)
- e'. ***Suckande hur obehagligt det kan vara** beskriver Günzel.

Exempelmeningarna i (24) ovan visar nu inte att verb + particip beskriver en och samma aktion på samma sätt som i de riktnings- och befintlighetsbetecknande participkonstruktionerna; i stället antyder de att det är verbet och inte participet som tar bestämningen. Detta stöds även av att participet, men inte verbet, kan utelämnas när bestämning fogas till konstruktionen, som visas i (25).

- (25) a. Hon **gick skrikande** fram till fotoagraferna.
- b. Hon **gick** fram till fotoagraferna.
- c. *Hon **skrek** fram till fotoagraferna.

Participets självständighet i förhållande till verbet indikeras även av att det kan topikaliseras utan bestämningar i additiva participkonstruktioner. Betrakta (26).

- (26) **Skrikande** gick hon fram till fotoagraferna.

Att verb och particip är mer oberoende av varandra än i riktnings- och befintlighetsbetecknande participkonstruktioner visas därtill av att particip med bestämningar förekommer. Vanliga participbestämningar exemplifieras i (27).

- (27) a. [...] ett par män kom **bärande på var sitt lösryckt handfat**. (P)
- b. Han gick **sjungande på psalmversen** [...]. (G)
- c. De stod **stirrande på henne**. (G)

Exemplet illustrerar det typiska sättet att »transitivra» participet i additiva participkonstruktioner, nämligen att låta det ta objektliknande adverbial, som ju i många fall även kan specificera aktionen som progressiv (jämför t.ex. *bära ett handfat*, som helt enkelt kan betyda 'hålla ett handfat', med *bära på ett handfat*, som har den progressiva betydelsen 'bära omkring på ett handfat'), vilket är kompatibelt med konstruktionens progressiva drag. Även *med*-fraser förekommer som bestämningar, som i den negativt anstrukna *komma dragande med NP*. Ett exempel ges i (28).

- (28) Sverige kan inte **komma dragande med egna order och krav på undantag**.
(P)

Participet kan tyckas stå i en ganska tydlig semantisk relation till sin bestämning: man kan ju parafrasera participet med motsvarande verbform och säga *ett par män bar (på) var sitt lösryckt handfat, han sjöng (på) psalmversen och de stirrade på varandra*. Trots detta kan particip + bestämning inte topikaliseras, som framgår i (29).

- (29) a. ***Bärande på var sitt lösryckt handfat** kom ett par män.
b. ***Sjungande på psalmversen** gick han.
c. ***Stirrande på henne** stod de.

Att döma av vad som hittills framkommit, verkar topikaliseringar inte vara riktigt tillförlitliga för att avgöra konstituentstatus i progressiva participkonstruktioner. Topikalisering är förvisso inte det enda konstituenttestet; exempelvis kan enbart konstituenten samordnas (se t.ex. Aarts 2001 s. 223). Jämför (30), som utgår från exempelmeningarna i (29) ovan.

- (30) a. ??Ett par män kom **bärande på var sitt lösryckt handfat och sjungande på psalmversen**.
b. ?Han gick **sjungande på psalmversen och bärande på handfatet**.
c. ??De stod **stirrande på henne och stampande på cigarettfimparna**.

Detta konstituenttest ger visserligen ett annorlunda resultat, men det kan knappast sägas indikera att particip och bestämning utgör en konstituent. Andra faktorer inverkar troligtvis: vad det gäller topikalisering, noterar Andersson (1977 s. 162 ff.) bl.a. att det topikaliserade ledets tyngd inverkar, vilket sannolikt är en viktig faktor när det gäller progressiva participkonstruktioner, och att en begränsning hos topikaliseringen, förstås, är dess påverkan på informationsstrukturen.

Relationen mellan verb och particip i additiva participkonstruktioner är sammanfattningsvis inte adverbial utan snarare (konjunktionellt) additiv, därav kategoribeteckningen. De tolkas alltså som 'V-a och samtidigt V-ande', dvs. som beskrivande två närmast likvärdiga aktioner. Den additiva participkonstruktionen *Hunden sprang skällande* skiljer sig alltså från verb-adverb-relationer av typen 'V-a på ett visst sätt', som i *Hunden sprang snabbt*, och från verb-predikativ-relationer av typen 'V-a i ett visst tillstånd', t.ex. *Hunden sprang lös*.

Additiva participkonstruktioner har de karakteristika som utvisas av schema 8.

Schema 8. Additiva participkonstruktioner.

Uttryck	Aktion	Aspekt
Verb	Aktion 1	–
Particip	Aktion 2	–
Additiv participkonstruktion	Aktion 1 + Aktion 2	progressiv

Uppställningen i schemat visar att verb och particip var för sig, grovt sett, är ospecificerade med avseende på aspekt men att de i förening tilldelas ett progressivt drag av konstruktionen. Verbet tolkas t.ex. inte nödvändigtvis som beskrivande en utdragen aktion i isolering: betrakta exemplet *skutta svansviftande* (P), där verbet i isolering kan tolkas punktuellt men tolkas iterativt när konstruktionen tilldelar lexemen sitt progressiva drag.

4.4 »Falska» progressiva participkonstruktioner

Det finns, som nämns i avsnitt 3.2 ovan, ytterligare konstruktioner som består av ett verb följt av ett presensparticip som vid ett första påseende kan tyckas vara progressiva participkonstruktioner. Till skillnad från de hittills redovisade konstruktionerna, betecknar dock participet i dessa skenbara progressiva participkonstruktioner inte direkt någon verbaktion utan fungerar adverbialt eller predikativt. Inte minst viktigt är att de »falska» progressiva participkonstruktionerna inte är progressiva.

4.4.1 Typen *blinka menande*

Participet i denna konstruktion fungerar som ett typiskt sättsadverbial, dvs. det anger en egenskap hos verbets aktion (se t.ex. SAG 3 s. 496). Konstruktionen är endast kompatibel med particip med försvagad verbal betydelse, till den grad att dess motsvarande verb inte ensamt fungerar som predikatsverb. Om det är verbet och participet i förening som betecknar aktion i riktning- och befintlighetsbetecknande participkonstruktioner och verbet och participet var för sig i additiva participkonstruktioner, betecknas aktionen i denna konstruktion så gott som uteslutande av verbet. Jämför (31).

- (31) a. De **går dröjande**, sakta, som om de vill få själva tiden att rätta sig efter stegen.
(P)
b. Mamma **ler triumferande** [...]. (P)

Konstruktionen har som nämnts inte progressiv tolkning, vilket till en del har att göra med att participet inte fungerar verbalt utan som ett typiskt adverbial. Jämför t.ex. konstruktionen i (32a) med den i (32b), där ett verb följs av ett typiskt adverb. Som synes är det ingen större skillnad mellan exempelmeningarna, vare sig i fråga om den semantiska relationen mellan verb och efterföljande led eller i fråga om aspekt.

- (32) a. Anna **såg forskande** på honom. (P)
b. Anna **såg upprört** på honom.

4.4.2 Typen *komma levande från prövningen*

Den här konstruktionen karakteriseras främst av att dess verb alltid har betydelse av rörelse (oftast i form av *komma*, *gå* och *slippa*) och att participet är typiskt predikativt. Ett exempel ges i (33).

- (33) Men om hon än **slipper levande** därifrån, har hon för alltid döden inpräglad i sin själ. (P)

Particippositionen i konstruktionen är restriktiv: *levande* är det enda particip som kan klassificeras som tydligt predikativt i materialet. Jämför participet i (34a) med ett adjektiv som predikativ (34b).

- (34) a. Han kom **levande** från mötet med en brunbjörn. (G)
b. Den svartsjuka drottningen [...] kom **belåten** ut från skeppet [...]. (G)

Konstruktionen är inte en syntaktiskt självständig enhet, utan måste kompletteras med riktningssgivande bestämning, vilket illustreras i (35).

- (35) a. Hon kom levande undan! (P)
b. *Hon kom levande!

Främst på grund av att participet inte kan sägas ha verbal tolkning, noteras att konstruktionen inte kan tolkas som progressiv.

4.4.3 Typen *vinna överraskande*

Det som skiljer konstruktionen i detta avsnitt från de andra är att dess particip fungerar som ett typiskt satsadverbial, dvs. det anger talarens värdering av ett sakförhållande. Ett exempel ges i (36a). Jämför med andra satsadverbial (36b).

- (36) a. Peter Lundgren vann **överraskande** mot Wimbledonmästaren [...]. (P)
b. Peter Lundgren vann {**dessbättre/som bekant**} mot Wimbledonmästaren.

I likhet med den konstruktionstyp som redovisas i avsnitt 4.2.2 ovan spelar bestämningen en viktig roll; utan denna mister participet sin talarattitydspecificering och kan därmed även tolkas som aktionsbeskrivande. Jämför med och utan verbbestämning i (37a) respektive (37b).

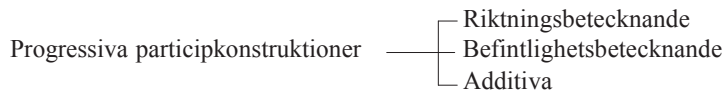
- (37) a. Peter Lundgren vann överraskande mot Wimbledonmästaren.
[= Talaren tycker att verbandet är överraskande.]
b. Peter Lundgren vann överraskande.
[= Subjektsreferenten verbar på ett överraskande sätt¹⁴ alt. Talaren tycker att verbandet är överraskande.]

Particip-/satsadverbialsplatsen är restriktiv: jag har i mitt material bara funnit *överraskande*, *glädjande nog* och *imponerande*.

Konstruktionen kan inte beskrivas som progressiv. Exempelvis beskriver *vinna överraskande* en punkthändelse: i det ögonblick vinnandet inträffar, blir talaren överraskad.

4.5 Summering

Progressiva participkonstruktioner är strukturellt likartade, men utgör för den skull inte en enda konstruktion utan bildar en konstruktionsfamilj med tre konstruktionstyper i enlighet med illustrationen i figur 1.



Figur 1. Schema över progressiva participkonstruktioner.

En skillnad mellan familjemedlemmarna är bl.a. deras olika grader av generalitet: de är mer eller mindre restriktiva vad gäller vilka verb som kan fogas in i konstruktionerna. De riktningbetecknande och de befintlighetsbetecknande är restriktiva – de omfattar bara *komma* respektive *bli* – medan de additiva är mer schematiska. Alla ingår de i ett konstruktionsnätverk där de är instansieringar av progressiva participkonstruktioner.

¹⁴ Meningen tolkas alltså här på samma sätt som t.ex. *Skottet kom överraskande*.

En jämförelse mellan de progressiva participkonstruktionerna och de övriga konstruktioner med verb + particip som redovisas i avsnitt 4.4 ger som resultat att progressiva participkonstruktioner uppvisar vissa gemensamma drag som inte delas av de övriga verb + particip-konstruktionerna. En specialitet hos de progressiva participkonstruktionerna rör möjligheten att ta particip med *s*-form. Det verkar ännu inte vara helt klarlagt när detta fenomen visar sig: SAG (2 s. 614) noterar t.ex. att *s*-formen, t.ex. i *komma gåendes*, huvudsakligen förekommer »dels när presensparticipet står som huvudord i fritt predikativ, dels när det är huvudord i bundet predikativ till *komma*». Thorell (1973 s. 155) anför helt kort att »*S*-form av presens particip förekommer i vissa stelnade uttryck och konstruktioner». Utifrån kategoriseringen i föreliggande undersökning, kan en skarpare avgränsning vara att *s*-form är acceptabel om konstruktionen är en progressiv participkonstruktion, åtminstone i de fall participet följer på verbet. Jämför t.ex. de progressiva participkonstruktionerna i (38) med de övriga verb + particip-konstruktioner som diskuteras i avsnitt 4.4 i (39).

- (38) a. En kille kommer {springande/springandes} ur en affär.
 b. Han blev {stående/ståendes}.
 c. De stod {flåsande/flåsandes} på scenen och höll varandra i handen.
- (39) a. Bob Dole segrade {övertygande/*övertygandes} i tisdagens samtliga åtta primärval.
 b. Hon kom {levande/*levandes} undan!
 c. Trafikkommunalrådet lämnar {överraskande/*överraskandes} trafiknämnden.

Verbets aktion tolkas som samtidig med participets i progressiva participkonstruktioner, men konstruktionerna skiljer sig åt i fråga om hur aktionerna förhåller sig till varandra. Jag talade ovan bl.a. om att verbet i de riktningbetecknande participkonstruktionerna specificerar participets rörelseriktning, medan participet specificerar verbets rörelsemedel. I de additiva participkonstruktionerna manifesteras två distinkta aktioner, vilket enkelt uttryckt innebär att aktionerna inte specificerar eller utövar nämnvärt inflytande på varandra. Den additiva konstruktionen *gå skrikande* predicerar exempelvis att någon dels går, dels skriker, utan att de aktioner som beskrivs med verb respektive particip inverkar på varandra (förvisso undantaget det faktum att de bildar en konstruktion som utövar inflytande på de ingående lexemen). Notera också att de konstruktioner jag redovisar i avsnitt 4.4, de skenbart progressiva konstruktionerna, skiljer sig från de progressiva i detta avseende eftersom de uteslutande manifesterar *en* aktion: den som uttrycks med verbet (participet är ju inte verbalt i dessa konstruktioner, till skillnad från participet i de progressiva konstruktionerna).

Vad som förenar samtliga progressiva participkonstruktioner är som framgår att de har progressiv tolkning, oavsett participets semantiska relation till verbet i övrigt. De tre typerna av progressiva participkonstruktioner skulle alltså kunna sägas utgöra en sorts progressiva former i svenskan. De är visserligen inte lika generella som exempelvis engelskans *be + V-ing* och helt visst inte obligatoriska i samma utsträckning som engelskans progressiva form (se även avsnitt 5), men det står klart att man i ett stort antal fall har möjlighet att på ett delvis likartat sätt markera aspektförändring i svenskan. Vill man t.ex. meddela att Lisa sprang nedför gatan kan man alltså välja mellan två former i svenskan, bl.a. beroende på om man vill understryka att springandet är progressivt eller ej: den enkla *Lisa sprang nedför gatan* och den progressiva *Lisa kom springande nedför gatan*. (Jag diskuterar andra sätt att ange progressivitet senare i detta avsnitt.)

Liksom i engelskan används progressiv participkonstruktion i svenskan ofta vid förlopp som pågår vid en speciell tidpunkt, som i (40a), och denna kontrasterar då, liksom i engelskan, mot den enkla formens möjliga betecknande av ett mer allmänt förhållande, t.ex. en vana (40b).

- (40) a. [...] de kommer sjungande med ljuskronor i mörkret. (G)
[Jämför eng. *They are singing.*]
b. De sjunger.
[Jämför eng. *They sing.*]

Jag noterar dock, alltså, att svenskans progressiva participkonstruktioner verkar vara belagda med fler restriktioner än engelskans progressivmarkör. Om Lisa skriker i talsituationen använder jag i engelskan progressiv form, som normalt är obligatorisk i dessa fall: *Lisa is screaming*. Detta kan man uttrycka oavsett om Lisa vid skriktilfället springer omkring eller sitter i barnvagnen. I svenskan måste man dock känna till Lisas fysiska verksamhet om man särskilt vill markera progressivitet. Man kan inte översätta ordagrant från engelska, **Lisa är skrikande*, men man kan mycket väl säga t.ex. *Lisa kommer skrikande*. För att man ska kunna anföra detta måste det emellertid kunna tolkas som att Lisa rör sig i en riktning.

Notera här till att progressiva participkonstruktioner uppvisar likheter med ett redan känt sätt att uttrycka progressiv aspekt i svenskan, nämligen pseudosamordning¹⁵ (mer om detta i avsnitt 5), som oftast används med positionsangivande verb som första samordningsled, t.ex. *sitta och läsa* (se Ekerot

¹⁵ Se även Croft (2001 s. 320–361), som efter en typologisk studie från ett CxG-perspektiv talar

1995 s. 130 f.). Det är ofta bara med svårighet som progressiv participkonstruktion här kan uppträda som ett idiomatiskt alternativ, men den verkar för den skull inte kunna räknas ut i svenskan. Jämför de additiva participkonstruktionerna i (41).¹⁶

- (41) a. Susanna **låg sovande** bredvid honom [...]. (P)
b. [...] hussarna och mattarna **står samtalande** bredvid. (P)
c. Potter [...] **satt kedjerökande** och berättade om sin cancer [...]. (P)

Vid rörelseaktioner är progressiva participkonstruktioner som de riktningstecknande att föredra, och dessa har normalt, åtminstone i fråga om de riktningstecknande, inga motsvarigheter med samordning: jämför t.ex. *komma gående mot henne* med **komma och gå mot henne*.

På samma sätt som verben i pseudosamordningar måste komma i en viss ordning och vara av vissa bestämda typer (ofta verb med betydelse av position, som *sitta* eller *ligga*, först), måste även verbet och participet i progressiva participkonstruktioner vara av vissa typer och normalt komma i en viss ordning (detta berörs i avsnitt 4.1–4.3 ovan). På samma sätt som man t.ex. säger *sitta och läsa* och inte *läsa och sitta*, heter det alltså *komma gående*, inte *gå kommande*.

5. Slutdiskussion

Det har alltså visat sig att svenskan har tre sorters progressiva participkonstruktioner: en riktningstecknande, en befintlighetsbetecknande och en additiv, där den senare är mer schematisk än de två första och dessutom beskriver två distinkta aktioner. Det har också visat sig att det ofta är vanskligt att avgöra den syntaktiska valensen hos elementen i verbfrasen, vilket manifesteras vid tillägg av bestämningar till konstruktionerna. Det är i många fall perifera konstruktioner som vi har att göra med, varför språkkänslan inte alltid är behjälplig vid konstituenttester.

Svenskan verkar i de progressiva participkonstruktionerna ha ett närmast morfologiskt markerat progressivuttryck. Detta har knappast uppmärksammats

om samordning och adverbial underordning (det ligger väl nära till hands inom traditionella ramverk att se progressiva participkonstruktioner som ett exempel på det senare) som ett kontinuum snarare än en dikotomi, eftersom de två konstruktionerna uttrycker ungefär samma typer av semantiska relationer (Croft 2001 s. 328).

¹⁶ Det är svårt att veta om exemplen representerar original- eller översättningssvenska eftersom det inte finns några källuppgifter knutna till enskilda konkordansrader i Parole.

tidigare, vilket delvis kan vara en följd av att aspekt generellt sett tillhör de mindre beforskade fenomenen i svenskan. Detta blir också uppenbart i en del djärvare utlåtanden i litteraturen: Pettersson (1976 s. 144) menar t.ex. i en diskussion om tempusspråk och aspektspråk att »Svenska och tyska är utpräglade tempusspråk, där aspekten bara framgår av sammanhanget». Att just den progressiva aspekten hamnat i skymundan har naturligtvis att göra med vad som sägs ovan, men det kan också ha att göra med att det är en rätt undanskymd aspekt generellt. Ebert (2000 s. 605) framhåller t.ex. att »Progressive markers have never been treated systematically in any grammar of a Germanic language other than English».

Det är också talande att det grammatiska standardverket för svenskan, SAG, behandlar progressivitet summariskt och fragmentariskt (se t.ex. SAG 1 s. 213; 4 s. 334–336), och även i andra grammatiska beskrivningar skulle resonemanget om progressivitet kunna utvidgas. I en artikel om progressiv aspekt noterar t.ex. Johansson (1987 s. 46) förvisso korrekt att svenskan markerar progressiv aspekt språkligt, men anför även att »handlingar/händelser, inte tillstånd, kan markeras som pågående», vilket kan diskuteras utifrån den befintlighetsangivande konstruktion som behandlas i föreliggande artikel.

Att svenskan kan markera progressivitet är som nämnts känt sedan tidigare. Två relativt systematiska sätt att uttrycka progressiv aspekt i svenskan återkommer i litteraturen: *hålla på* {att/och} + V¹⁷ och progressiv pseudosamordning, t.ex. {sitta/stå/ligga} och äta (se t.ex. Johansson 1987, Pihlström 1988 och Ebert 2000 för genomgångar av dessa båda former; se även Andersson 1979 för en genomgång av bl.a. progressiva pseudosamordningar). Att svenskan även verkar ha en morfologiskt markerad progressiv form är alltså förbiset i litteraturen, inte minst i läroböckerna: Johansson m.fl. noterar t.ex. i *Engelsk grammatik* (1993 s. 102) att en av de viktigaste skillnaderna mellan engelskan och svenskan är att »engelskan har en speciell form, den progressiva formen, som uttrycker att handlingen pågår». I *Att förstå grammatik* (Kruckenberg 1986 s. 92) talas det i avsnittet om aspekt bl.a. om engelskans progressiva form, och följande noteras: »Svenskan saknar alldeles denna specialform.» Lika djärvt uttrycker sig inte *Modern engelsk grammatik* (Svartvik & Sager 2000 s. 155), som anför: »Ing-formen används med *be* för att bilda *pågående form*. Svenskan har enkel form eller omskrivning med 'hålla på att' eller liknande.»

Genom att beskriva ett antal progressiva participkonstruktioner har den här artikeln lämnat ytterligare ett bidrag till förståelsen av hur svenskan ger uttryck

¹⁷ Någon gång nämns även varianter av typen *vara i färd med att* + V.

åt progressiv aspekt. Det återstår dock frågor att fundera på, och en handlar om hur progressiva participkonstruktioner förhåller sig till framför allt satsförkortningar. En anonym referent har bl.a. noterat att de mer eller mindre ogrammatiska topikaliseringsexemplen med additiva participkonstruktioner i avsnitt 4.3 kan göras acceptablare genom utbyggnad med tyngre verbbestämningar. Jämför t.ex. meningen i (29c) ovan, **Stirrande på henne stod de*, med den utbyggda *Stirrande på henne stod de kvar när tåget började röra på sig*. I den senare exempelmeningen verkar *stirrande på henne* ha ett friare, mer satsförkortningslikt, förhållande till det finita verbet än i (29c). Detta leder in på en annan fråga, eftersom iakttagelserna möjligen kan kopplas till att det finita verbet i den additiva participkonstruktionen verkar vara betydelsarikare än i de två andra participkonstruktionerna. Det kan vara relevant med en diskussion av detta i termer av grammatikalisering.

Progressiv aspekt i allmänhet i svenskan kan också behöva undersökas mer. Exempelvis skulle en klarare bild av distributionen av progressiva participkonstruktioner kunna ges i studier av hur progressiva participkonstruktioner används i förhållande till progressiva uttryck i andra språk, men även i förhållande till andra progressiva uttryck i svenskan, främst då *hålla på* {att/och} och pseudosamordning.

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II

En pluraktionell progressivmarkör?

En pluraktionell progressivmarkör?

Hålla på att jämförd med hålla på och

Av KRISTIAN BLENSENIUS

Abstract

Blensenius, Kristian, kristian.blensenius@gu.se, Ph.D student, Dept. of Swedish, University of Gothenburg, Sweden: "A pluractional progressive marker? *Hålla på att* compared with *hålla på och*". *Språk och stil* 23, 2013, pp. 175–204.

The article concentrates on two Swedish verbal constructions: *hålla på att* + infinite verb and *hålla på och* + finite verb. Both are considered progressive markers in the literature, and the difference between them is considered primarily stylistic (the former is neutral whereas the latter is judged as informal).

The aim of the article is to argue that there is more to the difference. It is claimed that sentences with *hålla på och* constructions often have pluractional meaning, i.e., express some sort of iteration of the (sub)events. This makes the status of *hålla på och* as a "genuine" progressive marker questionable.

Moreover, the article discusses some implications of tense on telicity and event structure.

Keywords: aspect, pluractionality, semantics, event structure, verbs, Swedish

1. Introduktion

Sammanfallet mellan infinitivmärket *att* och konjunktionen *och* (hädanefter kort och gott *att* respektive *och*) i vissa konstruktioner i modern svenska är förhållandevis väl känt. Bruket varierar bl.a. efter vissa hjälpverbsliknande verb och verbförbindelser, t.ex. *hålla på*, *fortsätta* och *lägga av*. Jfr nedanstående exempel.

- (1) a. Jag håller på att bygga ett nytt hus.
b. Grannen håller på och bygger om därhemma.

I denna artikel undersöks den konstruktionstyp som illustreras i exemplet, *hålla på* {*att/och*} + V (benämns fortsättningsvis äv. *hålla på*-konstruktion) med av-

Tack till seminariedeltagare och tre anonyma granskare, och särskilt tack till Lars-Gunnar Andersson och Benjamin Lyngfelt, för mycket värdefulla synpunkter.

seende på växlingen mellan *att* och *och*, främst för att denna växling i just denna konstruktion kan antas få aspektuella konsekvenser. Syftet är att redogöra för de aspektuella skillnaderna mellan de båda varianterna och argumentera för att *hålla på och*, till skillnad från *hålla på att*, inte är en genuin progressivmarkör.

Först, i avsnitt 1.1, ger jag en kort och allmänt hållen introduktion till aspekt och i 1.2–1.4 en kronologiskt ordnad återblick på vad som sagts om växlingen *att–och* i allmänhet och om *hålla på*-konstruktion i synnerhet. Avsnitt 2 redovisar resultaten från två korpusundersökningar, och i avsnitt 3 analyseras ett antal typexempel med de båda varianterna. I avsnitt 4 sammanfattas undersökningen.

1.1 Aspekt och därtill relaterade kategorier

Tempus och aspekt ger oss information om en sats temporala betydelse. Medan tempus deiktiskt placerar satsens aktion på en tidslinje i förhållande till en referens-tid, ger aspekt information om aktionens interna temporala struktur. Aspekten delas huvudsakligen in i perfektiv och imperfektiv. I t.ex. engelska sammanfaller ofta enkelt preteritum (*past*) med perfektiv aspekt (2a), medan imperfektiv aspekt ganska systematiskt markeras morfosyntaktiskt med konstruktionen *be + V-ing* (2b).

- (2) a. They closed the shop when they saw the robbers.
b. They were closing the shop when the robbers stormed in.

Även i svenskan kan preteritum, med vissa typer av verbfraser, sammanfalla med perfektiv aspekt (3a). Imperfektiv aspekt specificeras dock optionellt på olika sätt, framför allt med pseudosamordningar som *sitta/stå/ligga och + V* och konstruktion med *hålla på* (3b).

- (3) a. De stängde affären när de såg rånarna.
b. De höll på att stänga affären när rånarna stormade in.

I såväl (2) som i (3) anger preteritumtempus att satsernas aktioner är placerade före talögonblicket. Utöver detta anger matrissatserna i a-meningarna att affären stängdes efter det att rånarna upptäckts (perfektiv aspekt), medan matrissatserna i b-meningarna anger att stängningen av affären pågick under tiden rånarna stormade in (imperfektiv aspekt, i detta fall även progressiv; se t.ex. Smith 2010).

Aspektanalyser utgår ofta från en tvåkomponentsteori, och som termen antyder bygger denna teori i stort på antagandet att aspektuell betydelse kan delas upp i två samverkande men sinsemellan oberoende temporala komponenter.¹ Exempelvis delar Smith 1997 upp den aspektuella betydelsen i de två komponenterna *situation type* och *viewpoint* (jfr likartade benämningar som *aktionsart* respektive *aspekt*, t.ex. Andersson 1977, *lexikal* respektive *grammatisk aspekt*, t.ex. Olsen 1997, eller *inre* och *yttre aspekt*, t.ex. MacDonald 2006). Fortsättningsvis använder jag *situationstyp* respektive *aspekt* för dessa begrepp.

Den ena komponenten, *situationstyp*, omfattar i Smiths arbete fem sorters (idealiserade) aktioner: *accomplishments* (avgränsade processer, t.ex. *bygga om huset*), *achievements* (punkthändelser, t.ex. *vinna*), *semelfactives* (icke-resultativa punkthändelser, t.ex. *nysa*), *activities* (oavgränsade processer, t.ex. *springa*) och *states* (tillstånd, t.ex. *inhålla*). Fortsättningsvis används de svenska beteckningarna.

Ovannämnda kategorier är semantiska begrepp som åtskiljs av tre komponentdikotomier: *statisk–dynamisk*, *telisk–atelisk* och *durativ–momentan* (sammansfattning i 4 nedan). Avgränsade processer består av ett eller flera interna delmoment och är således *dynamiska*, och dessutom medför delmomenten i avgränsade processer en förändring² av något slag (att bygga om huset innebär t.ex. att varje steg i processen resulterar i ett mer – eller mindre – husligt hus). Avgränsade processer har vidare en inherent slutpunkt efter vilken ett nytt tillstånd inträder (t.ex. det att ett ombyggt hus föreligger), och aktionen kan inte fortsätta efter det att den fullbordats (dvs. utan att ett annat hus byggs om). Således är aktionen också *telisk*. Slutligen kan konstateras att avgränsade processer normalt har viss utsträckning i tid och därför kan klassificeras som *durativa*.

På motsvarande sätt är punkthändelser dynamiska (de består av ett enda [del]moment) och teliska, men de har ingen relevant tidsutsträckning, och är således momentana. Icke-resultativa punkthändelser är dynamiska och mo-

¹ En »enkomponentsmodell» används av bl.a. Moens 1987, i vilken skillnaden mellan avgränsad och oavgränsad aktion grovt sett kan sägas samvariera semantiskt med perfektiv och imperfektiv aspekt. För att en aktion ska få en annan aspektuell betydelse än den »primära», krävs att aktionen genom *coercion* byter aspektuell klass. Exempelvis krävs för progressiv betydelse som input en aktion som från början är, eller transformeras till att bli, en (oavgränsad) process. Om aktionen från början är en avgränsad process av typ *äta upp osten*, måste dess finala ändpunkt »plockas bort» innan man kan tolka satsen *Musen höll på att äta upp osten*. Med Smiths tvåkomponentsteori behöver man inte transformera t.ex. en avgränsad process till en oavgränsad, utan man kan låta aktionens ändpunkter vara semantiskt synliga och i stället låta *viewpoint*-, eller aspektkomponenten, fokusera relevant del av aktionen.

² Jfr avgränsade processer som *läsa ut boken*, där varje delmoment inte är en »läsa ut boken»-aktion, med oavgränsade processer som *springa*, där varje delmoment också är ett »springa»-aktion (jfr *subinterval property*, Bennett & Partee 1978).

mentana, men till skillnad från de sistnämnda är de ateliska eftersom de inte antas leda till att något nytt tillstånd inträder. Oavgränsade processer är dynamiska och durativa men har, i princip, inte inherent slutpunkter (i praktiken har de däremot inte sällan *arbiträra* slutpunkter; ett springande pågår t.ex. vanligen inte i all oändlighet). Följaktligen är oavgränsade processer också ateliska. Tillstånd, slutligen, är i likhet med oavgränsade processer durativa, men de innebär ingen förändring och de saknar interna delmoment och är alltså statiska. De tar heller ingen tid i egentlig mening (Smith 2010 s. 63), varför telicitet inte antas vara en relevant komponent här.

Situationstyperna sammanfattas nedan:

- (4) a. Avgränsade processer (*accomplishments*): dynamiska, teliska, durativa (t.ex. *bygga om huset*)
 b. Punkthändelser (*achievements*): dynamiska, teliska, momentana (t.ex. *vinna*)
 c. Icke-resultativa punkthändelser (*semelfactives*): dynamiska, ateliska, momentana (t.ex. *nysa*)
 d. Oavgränsade processer (*activities*): dynamiska, ateliska, durativa (t.ex. *springa*)
 e. Tillstånd (*states*): statiska, durativa (t.ex. *innehålla*)

Som synes bestäms en situation inte nödvändigtvis enbart av verbet, utan också av verbets (ofta bundna) bestämmingar. Konstruktion med resultatangivande partikel och kvantitativt begränsat objekt, som *bygga om huset*, betecknar t.ex. avgränsad process, medan konstruktion utan objekt eller med objekt som uttrycker obegränsad kvantitet, t.ex. *bygga (en massa) hus*, kan beteckna oavgränsad process.³ Även vissa adverbial, t.ex. *på/i en timme*, spelar en liknande roll. Se SAG (4 s. 326–337) för fler exempel.

Situationstyp samverkar med den andra komponenten, *aspekt*, som styr hur stor del av en viss situationstyp som fokuseras, eller »zoomas in». För det fall hela situationen, eller aktionen, blottläggs talar man om perfektiv aspekt (*perfective viewpoint*). Om aktionen presenteras på så sätt att den inte inbegriper aktionens initiala och/eller finala ändpunkter, talar man om imperfektiv aspekt (*imperfective viewpoint*).⁴

³ Det är således vanskligt att ange en aktionsart för t.ex. verbet *bygga (om)* i isolering, då dess bestämmingar i hög grad verkar styra teliciteten. Jfr Garey (1957 s. 109), som anför: »in a construction with an atelic verb, the complement has priority over the verb in determining the aspect of the construction; in a construction with a telic verb, the verb has priority over the complement in determining the aspect of the construction». Ett exempel på ett inherent teliskt verb skulle kunna vara *förblöda*.

⁴ Smith 1997 antar även en tredje *viewpoint*, eller aspektkategori: *neutral viewpoint*. Denna uppträder i de satser som inte har *viewpoint*-markering i språk som inte markerar *viewpoint* morfologiskt. Denna kategori bortses från här.

Perfektiv aspekt sammanfaller som sagt i engelskan ofta med *past tense* (Smith 2010), och något likartat kan sägas om svenskan för de fall situationstypen är telisk.

- (5) De byggde om huset till hotell förra året. [Snarast: Huset är ett hotell vid tal-ögonblicket.]

I exemplet ovan fokuseras inte nödvändigtvis någon särskild del av husombygget, utan aktionen presenteras som en enhetlig helhet.

Det ska nu understrykas att en och samma situationstyp i enkelt tempus i svenskan inte självklart alltid associeras med en och samma aspekt; i preteritum tenderar teliska aktioner att sammanfalla med perfektiv aspekt, men den specifika kontexten måste alltid tas hänsyn till. Jfr:

(6) **Greps när de byggde om huset**

De två männen var i färd med att bygga om ett hus. Då kom polisen och grep dem för stöld. (G = Google.se, nyhetsartikel, rubrik i fetstil)

I rubriken i (6) används enkelt preteritum med avgränsad process, vilket kan tyckas borde betyda att subjekten greps efter det att ombyggnationen var fullbordad. Denna tolkningsmöjlighet är dock inte alltid dominant i svenskan, som nog hellre skulle använda pluskvamperfekt i denna kontext. I den efterföljande texten preciseras också att det är den imperfektiva aspekten som åsyftas: huset var i färd med att byggas om, men det var knappast (färdig-)ombyggt, vid den tidpunkt då männen greps.⁵

I detta arbete är den imperfektiva aspekten i fokus, så vi inriktar oss på den framöver. Liksom i t.ex. engelskan, är det främst icke-statiska aktioner som står i satser med imperfektiv aspekt. Jfr med statisk aktion i (7):

- (7) a. Burken innehåller sylt.
b. *Burken håller på {att innehålla/och innehåller} sylt.

Imperfektiv aspekt med dynamiska aktioner, där fokus är på aktionsinterna delar, benämns vanligen *progressiv* aspekt. För att illustrera hur aspekt samverkar med situationstyp, antar vi att avgränsade processer har den temporala struktur som illustreras i (8) nedan tillsammans med ett tempuslöst exempel. »I» står för

⁵ Likartade perspektivskiftet förekommer i bl.a. engelska, vilket illustrerar hur en och samma aktion kan presenteras på olika sätt och att aspektbruk alltså inte nödvändigtvis är något objektivt. Jfr *John read that book yesterday; while he was reading it, the postman came.* (Comrie 1976 s. 4)

initial ändpunkt, »F» står för final ändpunkt och punkterna däremellan representerar aktionens (i detta fall interna) delmoment.⁶

(8) I F bygga om huset till hotell

Progressiv aspekt, realiserad med t.ex. *hålla på*-konstruktion, läggs nu på situationstypen så att ett eller flera interna delmoment i aktionen fokuseras (markerat med snedstreck).

(9) I . . // // . . F De höll på att bygga om huset till hotell.

Jfr även med perfektiv tolkning av samma ombyggnadsaktion, men nu med hela aktionen, inklusive I och F, i fokus:

(10) I // // // // // F De byggde om huset till hotell (förra året).

Notera att Smiths analysmodell inte bara tillåter imperfektiv aspekt att fokusera på interna intervaller, som i fallet ovan, utan även på intervaller såväl före I som efter F, s.k. markerade imperfektiver. I det senare fallet talar man om *resultativ* imperfektiv, som presenterar ett tillstånd som följer på en telisk aktion. Denna associeras bl.a. med vissa tillstånd i engelskan, t.ex. *Your socks were lying on the bed* (Smith 1997 s. 76).⁷ Här antas fokus vara på det tillstånd som följer på den bakomliggande teliska aktion som resulterat i att strumporna ligger på sängen.

I det förra fallet, dvs. där det fokuserade intervallet är lokaliserat före I, talar man om *prospektiv* imperfektiv,⁸ vilken har ’vara nära att’-tolkning och typiskt förekommer med punkthändelser (indikerat med E nedan, som står för *single-stage event*; Smith 1997 s. 29 f.). I engelskan kan t.ex. punkthändelse med progressiv form, som i *”Bright Star” is winning the race*, ha prospektiv tolkning (Smith 1997 s. 82), i likhet med svenska meningar som den i (11):

(11) // // // . E Krukan höll på att spricka. [’Krukan var nära att spricka.’]

⁶ Representationerna med I och F är inspirerade av dem som används i Smith 1997.

⁷ Tillstånd som uttrycks med *lie* (liksom med bl.a. *sit* och *stand*), förs till den statiska verbklassen *stance* i Quirk et al. (1985 s. 205). Denna klass innehåller verb som kan stå både med och utan progressiv form och uttrycka temporära respektive permanenta tillstånd.

⁸ Denna betydelse förekommer även vid oavgränsad process, när dess interna struktur inte är i fokus utan betraktas närmast som en punkthändelse, t.ex. *Jag höll på att ropa »Hjälp», men bet mig i tungan*.

Efter denna genomgång av aspekt ska vi nu återgå till artikelns undersökningsobjekt: växlingen *hålla på att–hålla på och*. Först dock något om vad som sagts beträffande växlingen *att–och* i allmänhet.

1.2 att–och

Sammanblandningen av *att* och *och* i skrift går tillbaka till åtminstone 1500-talet (se t.ex. SAOB). Bland de första, mig veterligt, att uppmärksamma den i svenskan är Adolf Noreen, som i inledningen till Samuel Columbus *En svensk ordeskötsel* noterar att *att* och *och* båda uttalas som *å*, vilket framgår bl.a. »af obildade personers stafning» av *försöka att göra* som *försöka och göra*. För danskans del noterar litteraturvetaren Vilhelm Andersen (1894 s. 279) i sin språkliga betraktelse *Sammenfald og berøring* att da. *og* ofta sammanfaller med *at*, som i *Værsgo og sid ned!*, och hans förklaring till detta är i linje med Noreens: *og* och *at* uttalas i båda fallen som da. *aa*.⁹

Samma år gör Mikkelsen (1894 s. 412 f.) i *Dansk sproglære* en observation av fenomenet och konstaterar att sammanblandningen får syntaktiska konsekvenser: talaren sammanblandar sido- och underordnade uttryck. Den formellt parataktiska och »rent meningslösa» konstruktionen *Hun glemte og leverede Brevet* motsvaras innehållsmässigt av hypotaktisk konstruktion.

Otto Jespersen avvisar i artikeln *En sproglig værdiforskydning* (1895, se äv. Jespersen 1932 s. 159–211) Mikkelsens tanke om renodlad syntaktisk sammanblandning och implicit Andersens tanke om renodlad ljudligt sammanblandning. Han räknar i stället med tre faktorer (där den första, ljudligt sammanfall, är konstant) som genom att kombineras med varandra på fyra olika sätt bildar olika konstruktionsgrupper (s. 155):

⁹ Även mer språkhistoriskt inriktade arbeten som Falk & Torp (1900 s. 194) talar i förbigående om en ljudlig sammanblandning av *at* och *og* i danska och norska texter, och Ottelin (1900 s. 145 ff.) antar en sammanblandning av (bl.a.) *ok* och *at* i fornsvenska texter, vilket antas bero på antingen ett ljudligt sammanfall i uttalet *å* redan under denna tid eller ett skrivfel (*a*-typen i *at* bildas i vissa fall av en ögla som liknar *o*-typen i *ok*). Östergren (1901 s. 86) försöker sig på en precisare datering och finner att *ok* synes ha utvecklats en ljudlagsenlig biform, *å*, på 1300-talet.

Också i de mer samtidsorienterade arbetena är ljudligt sammanfall huvudlinjen, t.ex. Cederschiöld (1911 s. 186), Hulthén (1944 s. 244), Palmér (1967 s. 94) och den moderna *Språkriktighetsboken* (2005 s. 187–191). Endresen 1995 tar dock ett annat grepp om ämnet i sin artikel om talad norska: i stället för att det skulle finnas två homofona [o] motsvarande skriftspråkets infinitivmärke och konjunktion, argumenterar han för att talad norska har ett polysemt ord [o] som antas ha sitt ursprung i ett äldre *ok* som fått utvidgad betydelse. Det äldre infinitivmärket *at* antas i stället ha försvunnit ur talspråket.

- 1) ljudligt sammanfall av *at* och *og*
- 2) betydelsemässigt sammanfall av under- och samordning, beroende på första-verbets form
- 3) formellt sammanfall av under- och samordning, beroende på andraverbets form.

Ett antal senare arbeten trycker på sammanblandningens syntaktiska natur. Beckman (1916 s. 132) menar t.ex. att *gå ut och gå* nog från början alltid hetat *gå ut att gå*, ett antagande som Persson (1918 s. 445) ifrågasätter; den senare menar i stället att det koordinerade uttrycket är det ursprungliga. Han menar vidare att vissa konstruktioner som logiskt kan uppfattas som underordnade (läs: pseudosamordningar) naturligast skrivs med *och* i vardagsspråket, som »i allmänhet älskar att samordna i st.f. att underordna». Uppfattningen anammas av bl.a. Sundén (1931 s. 272), Wellander (1939, 1968, 1973) och i någon mån av Thorell (1973 s. 190, 1977 s. 190).¹⁰ SAG (2 s. 745) anger helt kort att infinitivmärket i ledigt språk uttalas med å-ljud, men tillägger också att å-uttalet möjligen är vikande till förmån för det stavningstrogn uttalet (några belägg för detta ges emellertid inte).

Nedan ges så en historisk genomgång av vad som sagts om växlingen *hålla på att-hålla på och* från början av 1900-talet fram till i dag.

1.3 hålla på att-hålla på och

Ett tidigt omnämnande av *hålla på*-konstruktion står att finna hos Cederschiöld (1911 s. 186). Som nämnts i not 9 förklarar Cederschiöld växlingen *att-och* med ljudlig sammanblandning och menar att man, när man hör uttalet med *å* som i *Gå å titta efter!*, normalt tolkar in ett *och*. Han nämner emellertid ett besvärligare exempel, där *att*-tolkning synes vara den föredragna: *Han höll på å föll* (som han för övrigt enbart tolkar som 'Han var nära att falla'). Exemplet passar inte »några av våra vanliga, på skriftsvenskans språkbruk byggda, grammatiska regler». Förklaringen till att infinitiven i exemplet *Han höll på å föll* fått finit form efter *å* är dess semantiska tyngd: »det, som framför allt skulle sägas, det till innehållet viktigaste, låg uti infinitiven, medan däremot det föregående predikats verbet innebar en blomständighet och nästan tjänstgjorde som hjälpverb» (s. 187).

¹⁰ I en omfattande artikelserie om infinitivmärket i nusvenskan av Lundin (1919, 1920) behandlas framförallt infinitivmärkets optionalitet. Sammanfallet *att-och* får bara en kortare behandling i en not (s. 157n), där det kort och gott noteras att man ofta finner *och* där *att* kunde tyckas passa bättre.

Framdeles gäller att *hålla på*-konstruktionen tar *att* och inte *och*, åtminstone i högre stilarter, ofta utan vidare kommentar (t.ex. Hulthén 1944 s. 244). Hos Wessén 1968 kan man emellertid skönja en utsagd betydelseskilnad mellan *hålla på att* och *hålla på och*. Här ges *Han håller på och klär sig* som exempel på durativ aktionsart, dvs. motsvarande ungefär det som benämns progressiv aspekt i föreliggande arbete (Wessén 1968 s. 99), medan meningarna *Pojken höll på att drunkna* och *Han höll på att sjunka ihop* ges som exempel på betydelsen 'vara nära att', dvs. motsvarande prospektiv betydelse (s. 105). Konstruktionerna med *att* och *och* redovisas på spridda ställen i boken, och de ställs heller inte mot varandra. Den mig veterligt förste att göra detta, dvs. ställa *hålla på att* och *hålla på och* mot varandra med avseende på betydelse, är Collinder (1974 s. 73). Det anförs här att *hålla på*-konstruktionen i *Jag höll på och botade* betyder 'vara sysselsatt', dvs. motsvarande progressiv aspekt, medan den i *Jag höll på att kvävas* betyder 'vara nära att'.

Ett försök till utredning av skillnaden mellan *hålla på att* och *hålla på och* ges i två artiklar i *Språkvård* 1988. Pihlström 1988 ställer sig i den första artikeln frågan om det ska heta *Eleverna håller på och övar Lucia-sånger* eller *Eleverna håller på att öva Lucia-sånger*. Med hänvisning till bl.a. Östergren 1901 och SAOB argumenterar Pihlström bl.a. för att *hålla på att* är den ursprungliga formen, medan *hålla på och* i betydelsen 'vara sysselsatt med' troligen bildats i analogi med uttryck som *sitta och* + V. I betydelsen 'vara nära att' har dock, menar Pihlström, *hålla på att* måst bibehållas. Bland annat ges den oriktiga meningen *Jag håller på och förstår vad du säger* (se dock Törnudd-Jalovaaras kommentar nedan) som illustration av detta. Det påpekas slutligen att *hålla på och* inte ännu, dvs. 1988, »vunnit burskap i det officiella språket».

Törnudd-Jalovaara 1988 menar i den andra artikeln i ämnet, utformad som ett svar till Pihlström, att funktionerna hos *hålla på att* och *hålla på och* inte är riktigt så strikt uppdelade som Pihlström menar. Törnudd-Jalovaara hävdar istället att det är huvud verbet (dvs. det andra samordningsledet) snarare än valet av *att* eller *och* som styr tolkningen: med durativt huvudverb blir tolkningen durativ oavsett konstruktion, t.ex. *Eleverna håller på och övar/att öva Lucia-sånger*. Till skillnad från Pihlström, som menar att *hålla på att*-konstruktionen i betydelsen 'vara sysselsatt med' förmodligen uppfattas som stel och ibland rent av onaturlig av de flesta svenskar, menar Törnudd-Jalovaara att *hålla på och* och *hålla på att* är lika acceptabla i betydelsen 'vara sysselsatt med'. Pihlströms oacceptabla exempelmening *Jag håller på och förstår vad du säger* förklarar Törnudd-Jalovaara med att huvud verbet vid personsubjekt måste be-

teckna »avsiktlig och planmässig verksamhet», vilket vissa kognitiva verb som *förstå* inte gör. Författaren anför vidare att det viktiga för att *hålla på*-konstruktionen ska få 'vara nära att'-betydelse är att huvud verbet har momentan och oavsiktlig betydelse, t.ex. *Pojken höll på att drunkna*. Här, menar författaren, är endast *hålla på att* gångbar.

Den grundligaste beskrivningen av *hålla på*-konstruktionens drag, som i stort sammanfattar vad som tidigare sagts, ges i SAG (4 s. 334 f.). Här görs en lexikal åtskillnad mellan progressivt *hålla på*, som »avser en process som pågår» och tendentiellt (dvs. prospektivt) *hålla på*, som »anger att en aktion är nära att inträffa» (SAG 2 s. 511). Perspektivet är kompositionellt: det progressiva *hålla på* i kombination med verbfras som betecknar oavgränsad eller avgränsad process anger att aktionen pågår. Det tendentiella *hålla på* kan kombineras med punkthändelse, och dessutom med avgränsad, och i något fall oavgränsad, process (SAG 4 s. 336).

SAG berör närmast uteslutande konstruktionen *hålla på att*, men i en not (SAG 4 s. 336) meddelas för det första att det i vissa språkvarieteter eller hos vissa språkbrukare finns en uppdelning mellan användandet av *hålla på att* och *hålla på och*, där den förra konstruktionen alltid har prospektiv betydelse och den senare alltid har progressiv betydelse.¹¹ För det andra noteras att vissa språkbrukare föredrar *hålla på och* med animat subjekt och agentiv aktion. Värt att notera är att SAG (4 s. 906, 908 i not) anger att samordningen *hålla på och* tillhör talspråket och att *hålla på och* inte så gärna används i betydelsen 'vara nära att'.

Efterföljande litteratur redovisar delar av vad som redan tagits upp. Hultmans (2003 s. 146) *Svenska Akademiens språklära* nämner *hålla på att* med kommentaren att talaren med denna typ av modalt [sic] hjälpverb uttrycker sin syn på aktionen i satsen. Konstruktionsordboken *Svenskt språkbruk* (2003) tar under *hålla på* upp tre typer: i den första betydelsen, 'vara sysselsatt', finner man *hålla på med ngt*, *hålla på att göra ngt* och *hålla på och göra ngt*. Efter tillägget »äv.» ges också *hålla på med att göra ngt*. Den andra betydelsen, 'vara nära att', inkluderar endast *hålla på att*. I *Språkriktighetsboken* (2005 s. 187–191) konstateras en betydelseskilnad mellan *hålla på att* 'vara nära att' och *hålla på och* 'vara sysselsatt', och i språkriktighetslexikonet *Hur ska det heta?* ger Åberg (2005 s. 101) en intressant rekommendation, nämligen att låta *hålla på och* ha betydelsen 'vara sysselsatt med' och att låta *hålla på att* stå för 'vara nära att'. Intressant är också

¹¹ Även om detta påstående kan tyckas väl kategoriskt formulerat, får det visst stöd av Hagren (2008 s. 258), som finner uppdelad användning av *hålla på att* vid prospektiv betydelse och *hålla på och* vid progressiv betydelse i flera dialektala språkprov.

att *Svensk ordbok* 2009 endast tar upp typen *hålla på att*, som uppbär både betydelsen 'vara sysselsatt' och betydelsen 'vara nära att'.

1.4 Sammanfattning

Genomgången i 1.2 och 1.3 ger följande vid handen: Den tidiga litteraturen, som främst behandlar växlingen *att–och* i allmänhet och inte sällan är språkhistoriskt inriktad, söker bl.a. svaret på, eller bara redovisar, när och varför *att* och *och* sammanblandas/sammanfaller. Förutsättningen för resonemanget i flertalet arbeten är att konstruktion med infinitiv är den ursprungliga och logiska.

I fråga om *hålla på*-konstruktion är den uttryckliga utgångspunkten i tidiga verk att infinitivkonstruktion är den korrekta, eller enda, typen. Runt 1970 börjar en betydelseskilnad mellan konstruktion med *hålla på att* och konstruktion med *hålla på och* noteras. Därefter diskuteras vilka skillnaderna är mellan dessa konstruktioner: en del (t.ex. Pihlström 1988) hävdar att betydelsen, dvs. 'vara i färd med' eller 'vara nära att', ligger i valet av *att* eller *och*, medan andra (t.ex. Törnudd-Jalovaara 1988) menar att andraverbets betydelse är mer avgörande. Även om normuppfattningen förändras något under åren, står det klart att *hålla på att* än i dag är standarduttrycket, medan *hålla på och* betraktas som en regionalt färgad eller ledigare variant.¹²

Hittills har uttalanden om *hålla på*-konstruktion till synes ofta utgått från konstruerade exempel; någon mer detaljerad undersökning av autentiskt material verkar inte ha gjorts. Det är därför en given startpunkt i detta arbete att undersöka vilka *hålla på*-konstruktioner som faktiskt används, och med vilka betydelse, i skriven text, bl.a. eftersom det främst är i skriften som valet mellan *att*- och *och*-varianten blir synligt. Detta görs i avsnitt 2 och 3.

2. Preliminära undersökningar

Vi ska först betrakta några tendenser i användningen av *hålla på att* och *hålla på och* i skriftspråket. I den korpusundersökning av ett språkligt mer normerat

¹² Konstruktionen *hålla på att* synes fortfarande vara betydligt vanligare i mer skriftspråklig text än *hålla på och*. I tidningskorpuser GP 2011 i konkordansverktyget Korp <spraakbanken.gu.se/korp> ger t.ex. *håller på att* och *höll på att* 33,8 resp. 11,8 träffar per miljon token medan *håller på och* och *höll på och* ger 2,1 resp. 0,2. I korpuser Bloggmix (augusti 2012) är *håller på och* och *höll på och* mer frekvent med 7,6 resp. 1,3 träffar per miljon token, men även här är *håller på att* och *höll på att* dominerande med 46,4 resp. 26,4 träffar per miljon token.

material som redovisas i 2.1 undersöks vilka situationstyper som förekommer med de båda varianterna och vilka konsekvenser detta får för aktionernas betydelse. I 2.2 redovisas en uppföljande undersökning av vilka situationstyper som förekommer oftast i ett material med ledigare språkbruk.

2.1 Korpusundersökning 1

Utifrån det som sagts i avsnitt 1 kan vi för det första förvänta oss att *hålla på*-konstruktion förekommer med två aspektuella betydelser: progressiv och prospektiv. För det andra kan vi förvänta oss att det andra verbledets situationstyp spelar en roll för den aspektuella tolkningen. För det tredje kan vi utgå från att prospektiv betydelse är begränsad till *hålla på*-konstruktion med infinitivmärket *att*.¹³

Låt oss nu begränsa oss till att undersöka *hålla på*-konstruktioner med imperfektiv och progressiv betydelse, som ju både konstruktion med *hålla på* *att* och konstruktion med *hålla på* *och* kan uppvisa. Inför föreliggande artikel genomfördes en pilotstudie av samtliga konstruktioner av typ *hålla på* {*att/och*} i något av tempusen presens och preteritum med alla situationstyper som andraled utom resultativa punkthändelser (då dessa alltså normalt ger prospektiv betydelse).

Undersökningen utfördes i korpusen Parole i det äldre gränssnittet <spraakbanken.gu.se/parole>, eftersom detta gränssnitt tillåter utökad kontextvisning. Parole är en morfosyntaktiskt taggad korpus om ca 19 400 000 löpord¹⁴ från åren 1976–1997, uppdelade på 4 400 000 löpord romanmaterial, 13 600 000 löpord dagstidningsmaterial, 400 000 löpord tidskriftsmaterial och 1 000 000 löpord s.k. övrigt material (bl.a. webbtexter). Det finns inga källuppgifter knutna till enskilda konkordansrader, men i de flesta fall går det att utröna vilken texttyp en konkordansrad hämtats från efter granskning av kontexten (för varje konkordansrad finns i det äldre gränssnittet möjlighet att inhämta utökad kontext om mellan 200 och 300 ord).

¹³ Det kan dock som kuriosum vara värt att poängtera att fr.a. det mer talspråksnära skriftspråket i form av inlägg i bloggar och discussionsforum visar prov på en del konstruktioner med *och* (alt. *å*, *o* eller *ê*) där det förväntade valet är *att*, som i *Jag höll på och tappa hakan*, och det förekommer också konstruktioner med utelämnat formord, som i *Vi håller på bygger om*. Dessa satser, som förvisso är relativt sett få, kan utan större bekymmer tolkas aspektuellt, så valet av infinitivmärke eller konjunktion kan som enskilt fenomen inte betraktas som utslagsgivande för tolkningen. (För övrigt är inte heller andraverbets form – infinitiv efter infinitivmärke och tempusböjd form efter konjunktion – nödvändigtvis utslagsgivande; jfr t.ex. typen med supinum i andraledet som i *Lycka till, höll jag på å sagt*).

¹⁴ Termen *löpord* avser just ord, till skillnad från t.ex. *token*, som även inkluderar bl.a. skiljetecken.

Totalt har 640 belägg på *hålla på*-konstruktioner samlats in, och av dessa är 590 av *hålla på att*-typ och 50 av *hålla på och*-typ.¹⁵ Av de 590 *hålla på att*-konstruktionerna står 398 (67,5 %) med teliskt andraled (t.ex. *Japans ekonomiska självtillit [...] höll på att vittra sönder*), medan det omvända gäller för den andra kategorin: endast 14 av de 50 *hålla på och*-konstruktionerna (28 %) står med teliskt andraled; de flesta är i stället ateliska (t.ex. *Mamma frågade vem jag höll på och skrev till [...]*), vilket är ett signifikant samband mellan form och avgränsning ($\chi^2 = 31, p < 0,001$). Att *hålla på och* vanligen står med telisk aktion i andraledet i detta material är anmärkningsvärt om man betraktar även *och*-varianten som en progressiv form. Det kan intuitivt tyckas rimligare att främst teliska aktioner står med progressiv form när det är viktigt att ange att aktionen inte nått sitt slut. Resultatet är i alla händelser i linje med dem som redovisas av Ebert (2000 s. 620), som i en genomgång av pseudosamordningar (inkl. *hålla på att*-konstruktion) finner att samtliga pseudosamordningar tar ateliska andraled medan *hålla på att* tar teliska såväl som ateliska andraled. För norskans del finner också Tonne (2001 s. 98 f.) förvisso blott sex exempel på *holde på og* i sin korpus, men fem av dessa har ateliskt andraled (den vanligare infinitivkonstruktionen *holde på å* tenderar att stå med teliskt andraled).

Ett annat resultat från undersökningen antyder också att de två här diskuterade konstruktionerna tenderar att stå i satser som ger uttryck för olika aspekтуella betydelser. Satser med *hålla på att* uttrycker oftast klart progressiv betydelse, medan satser med *hålla på och* inte lika ofta gör det. Endast 3 av de 590 *hålla på att*-satserna (0,5 %) står i satser som uttrycker något annat än progressiv betydelse (t.ex. den habituella *Jag höll på att brottas sex sju år*), medan satser med *hålla på och* har icke-progressiv betydelse i 14 av 50 (28 %) fall (t.ex. den habituella *spelare [...] som håller på och harvar i laget*). Samtliga icke-progressiva satser med *hålla på {att/och}* har därtill ateliska andraled.

Utifrån det funna kan vi dra slutsatsen att valet mellan *att* och *och* tenderar att samvariera med typ av andraled: satser med *hålla på och* tenderar, i högre utsträckning än satser med *hålla på att*, att stå med ateliska andraled och ha icke-progressiv betydelse. I avsnitt 3 ska skillnaden undersökas närmare.

¹⁵ Siffran 640 avser samtliga förekomster med *hålla på* (exkl. dem med resultativa punkthändelser i andraledet). Typen *hålla på {att/och} bygga* + kvantitativt begränsat objekt står t.ex. för 15 av träffarna.

2.2 Korpusundersökning 2

Parole-korpusen innehåller förvisso främst tidningstext och litterär text. Efter som *hålla på och* anses vara stilistiskt mindre neutralt än *hålla på att*, är det därför inte omöjligt att *hålla på och* i viss utsträckning normerats bort i Parole. Innan vi går igenom exempel med *hålla på att* och *hålla på och* mer i detalj, ska vi därför också helt kort undersöka om distributionen av de båda undersökta konstruktionerna även speglas i ett medium som i genomsnitt kan antas innehålla text med ett ledigare stilläge. Vi väljer bloggtext och fokuserar på den vanligaste typen av andraled.

En sökning i den drygt 344 miljoner token stora korpusen Bloggmix (augusti 2012) efter ordsträngen <håller/höll + på + att/och + V + valfritt ord (token)¹⁶> i konkordansverktyget Korp <spraakbanken.gu.se/korp> visar att den klart mest frekventa ordsträngen med *håller på att* + V + valfritt ord/token är konstruktionen *håller på att bli sjuk*, dvs. med andraled som betecknar övergång till nytt tillstånd, vilket medför telisk aktion. Näst vanligast är den likaledes prospektiva *håller på att ta slut*, och på tredje plats dyker ytterligare en konstruktion med teliskt andraled upp: *håller på att bli galen*. Även fjärde och femte plats besätts av teliska andraled.

Med *håller på och* är det i stället, i linje med resultaten från föregående korpusundersökning, ateliska andraled som dominerar i Bloggmix: här är *håller på och fixar med* (ngt) i stället den mest frekventa konstruktionen. På andra plats kommer *lagar mat*, dvs. med kvantitativt obegränsat objekt vilket medför atelicitet, och på tredje plats kommer *tvättar och*, vilket tyder på att *tvättar* är intransitivt och därmed ateliskt. Det kan noteras att fjärdeplatsen innehas av *gör mig* (i samtliga fall med bestämningen *iordning*), vilket kan betraktas som ett teliskt skeende. På femte plats kommer *bygger om*, både intransitivt (ofta ateliskt; se avsnitt 1.1) och med kvantifierat objekt (ofta teliskt).

Konstruktion i preteritum, *höll på att*, uppvisar likartade resultat som i presens: teliska andraled dominerar, med *höll på att dö* (följt av *av*-adverbial eller punkt) som frekvent sträng. Varianten *höll på och* tar å andra sidan främst ateliska andraled som *höll på och lekte med* (ngt) och reduplikationen *höll på och höll på*. På femte plats hamnar den till synes teliska *höll på och hängde upp*, som emellertid uteslutande står med pluralt objekt som uttrycker obegränsad kvantitet (t.ex. *höll på och hängde upp kläder*), vilket även gör aktionen obegränsad/atelisk (t.ex. SAG 4 s. 328). I tabell 1 redovisas förekomsterna.¹⁷

¹⁶ Jag lägger till en sökruta efter V för att i Korp:s statistikredovisning få uppgifter om t.ex. bestämmningar som kan ha betydelse för den aspektuella tolkningen av satsen.

¹⁷ Med *höll på och* påträffas *höll på och dö* + punkt/kommatecken och *höll på och dö av*, samt *höll på och skratta ihjäl (mig)*, på fem-i-topp-listan. Som synes har dessa infinita andraled, vilket kan

Tabell 1. Betydelse hos *hålla på att/och* i presens och preteritum i korpusen Bloggmix (augusti 2012): fem i topp. Relativ frekvens (förekomst per miljon token) och absolut frekvens inom parentes.

	Frekvens	Andraled		Frekvens	Andraled
håller på att			håller på och		
<i>bli sjuk</i>	1,6 (538)	teliskt	<i>fixar med</i>	0,1 (42)	ateliskt
<i>ta slut</i>	0,5 (180)	teliskt	<i>lagar mat</i>	0,1 (25)	ateliskt
<i>bli galen</i>	0,4 (149)	teliskt	<i>tvättar och</i>	0,1 (19)	ateliskt
<i>bli tokig</i>	0,3 (111)	teliskt	<i>gör mig</i>	0,1 (19)	teliskt
<i>bli en (+NP)</i>	0,3 (110)	teliskt	<i>bygger om</i>	0,0 (17)	(a)teliskt
höll på att			höll på och		
<i>dö av</i>	0,7 (229)	teliskt	<i>lekte med</i>	0,0 (5)	ateliskt
<i>skratta ihjäl</i>	0,5 (186)	teliskt	<i>höll på</i>	0,0 (4)	ateliskt
<i>frysa ihjäl</i>	0,4 (153)	teliskt	<i>fixade med</i>	0,0 (3)	ateliskt
<i>dö</i>	0,4 (122)	teliskt	<i>tjatade om</i>	0,0 (3)	ateliskt
<i>smälla av</i>	0,3 (94)	teliskt	<i>hängde upp</i>	0,0 (3)	ateliskt (obest. plur. obj.)

Med denna information i bakhuvudet ska vi i avsnitt 3 undersöka några typexempel närmare.

3. Genomgång

I detta avsnitt redovisas i 3.1 vad som utmärker *hålla på att* i förhållande till *hålla på och* i fråga om prospektiv betydelse. I 3.2 går jag igenom hur vissa processuella aktioner framställs beroende på valet av *hålla på att* eller *hålla på och*. Slutligen, i avsnitt 3.3, visar jag att *hålla på och* uppvisar likheter med verbal reduplikation, bl.a. i fråga om försvagad betydelse av målinriktning.

3.1 Punkthändelser och prospektivitet

En utmärkande skillnad mellan *hålla på att* och *hålla på och* är *hålla på att*:s möjlighet att fokusera (resultativa och icke-resultativa) punkthändelsers preliminära fas före aktionens kulmen, utan att aktionen inträffar (12a). Med *hålla*

motivera bildandet av en ny och intressant kategori med syntaktiskt blandade konstruktioner. I detta arbete väljer jag dock av praktiska skäl att utgå från den i litteraturen etablerade beskrivningen av *att-* och *och-*varianterna som *hålla på att* + infinitiv och *hålla på och* + finit form, vilket gör att jag räknar de aktuella konstruktionerna med infinitiv i andraledet som felskrivningar av *hålla på att*.

på och (12b) tenderar aktionen i stället att kulminera och därtill itereras eller möjligen habitualiseras,¹⁸ men den kan aldrig få prospektiv betydelse.

- (12) a. Jag **höll på att nysa** men jag ville inte höras så mycket så jag förhindrade min nysning.
(G, blogg) [Jag nös inte.]¹⁹
b. Hur hade hon tänkt sig att jag skulle få vila om hon **höll på och nös** och snöt sig hela tiden?
(G, blogg) [Hon nös.]

I de fall aktionen knappast kan upprepas på samma objekt, vilket inte sällan är fallet med resultativa punkthändelser, blir satsen mindre acceptabel med *hålla på och*:

- (13) Mannen höll på {att förblöda/?och förblödde} men upptäcktes av två förbipasserande som larmade ambulans. [Mannen förblödde inte.]

I ovanstående fall är verbfrasen *hålla på att* inte bara synonym med *vara nära att*, utan också med *vara på vippen att*, dvs. 'vara (mycket) nära att tippa över i ett annat tillstånd', och det kan kompletteras med adverbial som anger icke uppnått resultat, t.ex. *nästan*.

Vi kan alltså konstatera att *hålla på* + (resultativ) punkthändelse kan ange att aktionen inte fullbordas, och i dessa fall har vi att göra med prospektiv betydelse. Frågan är nu hur vi ska hantera prospektiv betydelse vid andra typer av aktioner. SAG (4 s. 335) ger exempel med *hålla på att* kombinerat med avgränsad process som i (14a–b) nedan, där betydelsen anges vara att aktionen är nära att *fullbordas* (dvs. befinner sig före F-punkten, ung. i likhet med progressiv aspekt), och till dessa exempel kan även fogas aktion med *sluta* + adverbial som beskriver det potentiella resultatet av aktionen, som i (14c).

- (14) a. Jag skulle rita en cirkel, men jag **höll på att rita en ellips**. [Snarast: Jag ritade kanske, men jag övergick inte till att rita någon ellips.]
b. Mona **höll på att berätta för mycket** om hemligheten. [Snarast: Mona berättade saker, men hon övergick inte till att berätta för mycket.]

¹⁸ Jag följer Bybee m.fl. (1994 s. 127) och utgår från att iterativ aktion repeteras vid *ett* tillfälle (t.ex. *Jag nös under hela föreställningen*), medan habituell aktion repeteras vid flera olika tillfällen (t.ex. *Jag nös varje gång jag var på teatern*). Observera att habituella aktioner inte ska förväxlas med *generiska* aktioner, som uttrycker icke tidsbegränsade egenskaper som *Vatten kokar vid 100 °C*. Se t.ex. Vikner 2004 och Bertinetto m.fl. (2012 s. 860), som redovisar en habitualitets–genericitetsskala enligt följande: *habitual* > *attitudinal* > *potential* > *individual-level predicate* > *generic*.

¹⁹ Min fetstil i exempel av tydlighetsskal.

- c. Premiärturen **höll på att sluta i katastrof**. [Snarast: Premiärturen slutade, men den övergick inte i katastrof.]

I samtliga fall är processuella aktioner förvisso pågående: 'rita' i (14a), 'berätta' i (14b) och 'sluta' i (14c). Det är dock knappast just dessa som är i fokus, utan de resulterande 'övergå till att forma en ellips', 'övergå till att berätta för mycket' respektive 'övergå till att vara en katastrof'. Även i dessa fall skulle man kunna säga att *hålla på att* lägger fokus på att aktionen är nära sin kulmen.²⁰

En annan faktor som har anförts som samvarierande med prospektiv betydelse vid *hålla på att* är att subjektet är icke-agentivt (här: saknar kontroll och avsiktlighet) och att andraledet betecknar något som skulle resultera i t.ex. en olycka om det fullbordades, vilket har föreslagits av bl.a. Törnudd-Jalovaara 1988 (se ovan). Detta är nog delvis sant, men troligen är subjektets agentivitet inte avgörande. Vid jämförelse med en aktion vars potentiella utfall inte är att beteckna som en olycka och som är klart agentiv men inte påtagligt utdragen i tid och kan sägas bestå av endast ett delmoment visar sig nämligen en likartad restriktion:

- (15) När jag höll på {att dra igen/?och drog igen} ytterdörren utbrast han "Vi ses imorgon!".

Om vi antar att dörren i (15) inte är en ovanligt trög dörr, vilket skulle kunna göra "igendragningen" av den mer utsträckt i tid och kräva fler delmoment (dvs. flera igendragningar), verkar det inte orimligt att anta att *hålla på och* inte är särskilt gångbar vid prospektiv tolkning av aktioner som innehåller endast ett delmoment (Caudal 1999 föreslår termen *atomära aktioner*). För processuella aktioner föreligger dock något större valfrihet, vilket ska visas nedan.

3.2 Processer och progressivitet

Hur är det då med avgränsade, dvs. teliska, processer som har initierats och faktiskt pågår? Valfriheten är som sagt större, men inte fullständig. Betrakta nedanstående exempel, där ett sjungande pågår och avbryts av en (oväntad) händelse.

²⁰ Notera att t.ex. *rita en ellips* (14a) inte nödvändigtvis måste betyda 'vara mycket nära att rita en ellips' i andra kontexter. Det kan även ha mer fokus på ritprocessen, som i *Jag håller på att rita en ellips i koordinatsystemet* (här är det också möjligt att använda *hålla på och*). Exakt vilka faktorer som styr betydelsen i detta fall återstår att undersöka.

- (16) a. Lady Gaga höll på att sjunga låten ”Edge of Glory” när hon helt plötsligt böjde sig framåt för att kräkas. (G, nyhetsartikel)
 b. ?Lady Gaga höll på och sjöng låten ”Edge of Glory” när hon helt plötsligt böjde sig framåt för att kräkas.

Utifrån (16) kan man misstänka att det är aktionens inherenta gräns (dvs. den punkt vid vilken låten är sjungen) som, åtminstone i mitt tycke, gör användning av *hålla på att* mer acceptabel än användning av *hålla på och*, på samma sätt som punkthändelse vid prospektiv betydelse gör det. Men inte alla aktioner som brukar betecknas som avgränsade har problem att godta *hålla på och*. Jfr:

- (17) Jag höll på och läste boken ganska länge [...]. (G, blogg)

Man kan nu fråga sig vad det är för skillnad i fråga om avgränsning mellan att sjunga en låt och att läsa en bok: båda klassificeras som avgränsade processer. Ett förslag på förklaring är att vissa verb tillåter både telisk och atelisk tolkning med objekt med begränsad kvantitet. Lundquist (2012 s. 45, 66 not) ger exempel med enkelt verb från norska (18a, från Tonne 2007) och svenska (18b), och Bohnemeyer & Swift (2004 s. 269) ger exempel från tyska (18c). (Se även SAG 4 s. 328.)

- (18) a. Barna leste en bok da jeg kom inn. [‘The children read/were reading a book ...’]
 b. Johanna **skrev ett brev** när vi kom till hennes lägenhet. [‘wrote/was writing’]
 c. Als ich Marys Büro betrat, **schrieb** sie **einen Brief**. Überrascht blickte sie auf, legte den Stift zur Seite, und lächelte mich an. [‘När jag kom in på Marys kontor {skrev hon/var hon i färd med att skriva} ett brev. Överraskad tittade hon upp, lade pennan åt sidan och log mot mig.’]

Det verkar alltså som om *läsa/skriva* + DET N, givet rätt kontext, är tvetydigt mellan telisk och atelisk tolkning. Till denna kategori kan vi i så fall även föra predikat som *bygga* + DET N (och sannolikt fler).²¹ Som en följd är det, i rätt kontext, möjligt att använda enkel verbform och *hålla på och* med *bygga* + DET N:

- (19) Träffade en lärare på FU i Stockholm som höll på och byggde ett tvåvåningshus i lera när jag gick där. (G, bloggkommentar)

²¹ *Bygga* tillhör annars de verb som brukar användas som typexempel på resultativa avgränsade aktioner:

- (i) ?Han byggde ett hus, men fick det aldrig färdigt. (Andersson 1977 s. 98)

Om vi accepterar att det finns vissa aktioner med objekt för begränsad kvantitet som är tvetydiga mellan telisk och atelisk tolkning, är resultatet rätt tydligt så här långt: *hålla på att* används vid teliska och ateliska predikat, medan *hålla på och* ofta är begränsat till ateliska predikat. I detta påminner distributionen av *hålla på och* om distributionen av enkel verbform i svenskan (*hålla på och* är ju t.ex. intransitivt och därmed antagligen även semantiskt lösare knutet till det andra verbledet, till skillnad från *hålla på att*). Låt oss därför se vad som har sagts om just svenskans enkla verbform.

I Lundquists (2012) undersökning föreslås att svenskan är telicitetskänslig: ateliska (20a) men inte teliska (20b) aktioner med enkel verbform kan få progressiv tolkning (Lundquist använder *episodisk*, men för enkelhets skull används *progressiv* här; Lundquist 2012 s. 34 f.).²²

- (20) a. Storken flög ovanför mitt hus när den blev skjuten. (atelisk: samtidiga aktioner)
 b. #Storken flög till mitt hus när den blev skjuten. (telisk: successiva aktioner)

Telicitetskänsligheten antas av Lundquist bero på att aspekten (eller AST-T, *assertion time*, som Lundquist använder)²³ inte kan fokusera delar av teliska aktioner. Detta eftersom enskilda intervall, som aspekten antas fokusera i svenskan, inte kan vara sanna om den teliska aktionen i sin helhet. I svenskan kan således bara tillstånd och oavgränsade processer få progressiv tolkning med enkelt verb. Avgränsade processer och resultatativa punkthändelser kan dock inte få det.

Det har kanske noterats att exemplen i detta avsnitt stått i preteritum, vilket inte är alldeles ovanligt i aspektundersökningar; Comrie (1976 s. 71) konstaterar t.ex.: »It appears that the tense that most often evinces aspectual distinctions is the past tense» (det är t.ex. av naturliga skäl svårt att utvärdera perfekтива aktioner i presens). Frågan är om ovannämnda antaganden står sig i presens.²⁴

Smith (2006 s. 1) lägger både ett pragmatiskt och semantiskt perspektiv på presens (fr.a. i engelskan):

In taking the temporal perspective of the Present, speakers are limited by a tacit convention that communication is instantaneous. The perspective of the present

²² Tilläggas kan att ett likartat resonemang förs i fråga om likartade språk. Exempelvis illustrerar Bohnemeyer m.fl. 2004 prefererad aspektuell markering av teliska och ateliska aktioner i bl.a. tyska. Typiskt uttrycker ateliska predikat i tyskan imperfektiv aspekt, medan teliska predikat uttrycker perfektiv aspekt.

²³ Beteckningarna AST-T, EV-T m.fl. används av bl.a. Demirdache m.fl. 2000.

²⁴ Jag kommer främst att uttala mig om presens i förhållande till ett faktiskt talögonblick (inte, som är fallet i t.ex. historisk presens, ett fiktivt talögonblick).

time is incompatible with a bounded event, because the bounds would go beyond that perspective.

Standardmässigt förläggs således avgränsade aktioner till dåtid (eller framtid). Detta leder Smith till att formulera sin Bounded Event Constraint, som helt enkelt lyder:

Bounded situations may not be located in the Present.²⁵

I svenskan ger det ovan nämnda utslag för vissa teliska aktioner med *hålla på*-konstruktion. Jfr (21).

- (21) a. (Herregud!) Jag höll på {att öppna/?och öppnade} julklappen! [Snarast: 'var på vippen', vilket svårligen kan uttryckas med *och*-varianten]
 b. Stör mig inte! Ser du inte att jag håller på {att öppna/och öppnar} julklappen! [Snarast: 'är mitt uppe i öppnandet']

En ledtråd till svårigheten att använda *hålla på och* i preteritum (21a) och möjligheten att använda den i presens (21b) kan fås genom att byta ut *hålla på*-konstruktionen mot enkel verbform: i (21a) blir aspekten då perfektiv (*jag öppnade julklappen*), men i (21b) synes det aspektuella värdet bli detsamma som för *hålla på*-konstruktion. Detta hänger möjligen samman med egenskapen hos presens att radera aktionens ändpunkter vid nutidsrapportering. Detta gäller inte bara för avgränsade processer, utan kan även gälla för t.ex. punkthändelser:

- (22) Idag, precis nu **lyfter** flygplanet som ska ta min son till Paris. (G, blogg)

Som en följd av det ovanstående utökas *hålla på och*:s repertoar i presens. Avgränsade aktioner som i preteritum är tveksamt acceptabla är nu mer gångbara:

- (23) a. Högskolan håller på och tillsätter en ny informationschef. (G, protokoll)
 b. Håller på och väljer ut en ny outfit till kvällens kalas.

Utifrån vad som sagts hittills, verkar det rimligt att anta att *hålla på och* framför allt står med atelisk aktion i preteritum, men att konstruktionen kan vara gångbar med telisk aktion framför allt i presens. Om vi t.ex. återgår till *hålla på att sjunga låten* i (16) ovan, kan vi alltså göra om objektet till ett objektsliknande adverbial (prepositionsobjekt) och därmed erhålla atelisk aktion, vilket gör användning av *hålla på och* något mer acceptabel:

²⁵ Undantagna är bl.a. performativer, som inte antas vara utsagor om aktioner utan aktioner förlagda till talögonblicket.

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- (24) Lady Gaga höll på och sjöng **på** låten ”Edge of Glory” när hon helt plötsligt böjde sig framåt för att kråkas. (G, nyhetsartikel)

Observera dock att aktionen nu inte bara gjorts atelisk utan också iterativ: den betyder nu ung. ’sjöng låtpartier flera gånger’. Detta kan vara en ledtråd till varför valet av *att/och* faktiskt inte alltid bestäms av aktionens telicitet; det är nämligen också av betydelse om aktionen beskriver en (gradvis) förändring utan uppenbara delmoment, t.ex.:

- (25) a. Gården höll på {att förfalla/?och förföll}.
b. På hemvägen höll vi på {att nyktra till/?och nyktrade till}.

Både *förfalla* och *nyktra till* betecknar visserligen en förändring, men den saknar inherent slutpunkt: det kan inte fastställas när något har »förfallit färdigt», och även om man kan säga att någon är *nykter* efter tillnyktringen, är det svårt att säga när någon »nyktrat till färdigt». De objekt som förfaller eller nyktrar till varierar dock över tid och delmoment, gränserna mellan delmomenten är alltså ottydliga p.g.a. att det saknas tydliga luckor mellan dem. Detta till skillnad från t.ex. låtpartier som sjungs flera gånger.²⁶

Utifrån vad som hittills sagts i avsnitt 3, verkar det alltså som om *hålla på och*, liksom *hålla på att* i progressiv betydelse, lägger fokus mellan initial- och finalpunkten i en aktion, men i *hålla på och*:s fall adderas en komponent: konstruktionen itererar/fokuserar flera (del)aktioner av likartade (men inte nödvändigtvis identiska) slag med tydliga delmoment.

3.3 Pluraktionalitet och verbal reduplikation

Som ett resultat av att det är de upprepade delmomenten/aktionerna i den större aktionen som framhävs med *hålla på och*, kan aktionen inte sägas ha någon tydlig målinriktning. Således kan *hålla på och* t.ex. stå med utelämnat objekt som, om det varit utsatt, angivit aktionens resultat. Jfr (26).

- (26) a. Barnen håller på och bygger. (SAG 3 s. 297)
b. ??Barnen håller på att bygga.

Denna upprepning av samma delmoment av en aktion, eller *event-intern pluraktionalitet* (Cusic 1981), som (26a) betecknar, kan förklara varför konstruk-

²⁶ Som en anynym granskare påpekar, gäller det som sägs om *förfalla* och *nyktra till* i vissa fall även om inkoativa verb (enligt definition i SAG 4 s. 357 f.), t.ex. *svartna* och *svullna*.

tion med *hålla på och* av vissa kan uppfattas som antydande att subjektet på något sätt »slarvar» (utöver att *och*-varianten är stilistiskt låg). Intressant nog har liknande implikaturer tidigare noterats även för *verbala reduplikationer* (Lindström 1999 s. 187), och det har då bl.a. framförts att det slarviga intrycket skulle vara ett resultat av att reduplikationens subjekt ofta har bristande kontroll över aktionen (t.ex. *Jag sprang och sprang men kom aldrig fram*). Något liknande skulle möjligen kunna sägas om *hålla på och*, som inte kombineras med det normalt agenssignalerande *med* (jfr SAG 4 s. 336 not):

- (27) Departementet håller på med {att ta fram/*och tar fram} direktiv för utredningen.

Men den bristande subjektskontrollen skulle även kunna attribueras konstruktionens itererande effekt: subjektet genomför helt enkelt upprepade aktioner utan att orientera dem mot ett resultat. Jfr:

- (28) Dom höll på å gjorde finurliga taxonomier som inte ledde till så mycket.²⁷

Verbal reduplikation påminner en del om *hålla på och* semantiskt. I likhet med verbal reduplikation är *hålla på och* ikonisk i att samordningen av verbleden signalerar någon sorts repetition av den betecknade aktionen. Partikelverbet *hålla på* kan t.ex. redupliceras, liksom andraledet i konstruktionen, till skillnad från konstruktion med *hålla på att* (även om reduplikation av andraledet med *och* är relativt acceptabelt):

- (29) a. Man håller på och håller på och håller på... (G, blogg)
 a'. ??Man håller på att hålla på att hålla på...
 b. Förr eller senare måste man ju ändå fråga sig själv varför man **håller på och skriver och skriver** på en typ okänd blogg. (G, blogg)
 b'. Jag håller på att skriva {*att skriva/?och skriva/*och skriver} på min blogg.

Vidare kan *hålla på och*, i likhet med reduplikationer, inte gärna stå med resultativa punkthändelser vilkas resultat inte kan upprepas på samma objekt eller subjekt (åtminstone inte i preteritum):

- (30) a. Krukan höll på att spricka. [’vara nära att’]
 b. ??Krukan höll på och sprack.
 c. *Krukan sprack och sprack. (Lindström 1999 s. 181)

²⁷ Exemplet, som jag p.g.a. det tempusböjda andraverbet alltså klassificerar som ett exempel med *hålla på och* (jfr not 17), producerades muntligt (därav talspråksnära stavning *å*) vid ett seminarium av en seminariedeltagare som redogjorde för sina intryck från ett föredrag.

Det har tidigare noterats om andra språk med reduplikation (t.ex. Bybee m.fl. 1994 s. 166 ff.) att teliska aktioner, särskilt resultativa punkthändelser, tenderar att repeteras i sin helhet (vilket enligt Bybee m.fl. 1994 s.169 skulle vara urtypen av reduplikation), medan ateliska aktioner tenderar att generaliseras från urbetydelsen till att i stället öka durationen (eftersom de svårligen itereras i sin helhet). Till detta adderar Lindström (1999 s. 190), som ett resultat av den temporala utsträckningen, bibetydelsen (besvärlig) monotoni. Jfr:

- (31) Han mumlade i sin bön med en sjungande röst, som *malde och malde*.
(Lindström 1999 s. 190, kursiv i original)

Andra exempel på möjlig monotoni som resulterar i känslomässig laddning med *hålla på och* illustreras av exemplen nedan.²⁸

- (32) a. Fan vad du håller på och tramsar dig!
b. Och du bara håller på och käftar emot hela tiden, vad fan! (G, blogg)
[Jfr även: *Du bara käftar emot och käftar emot.*]²⁹
c. Herregud vad den här människan håller på och förstör sin så kallade image. (G, blogg)

Ett annat exempel på monotoni, med den alls inte ovanliga konstruktionen *hålla på och ba(ra)* + direkt anföring, ges i (33a) nedan. Även om konstruktionen är speciell i att den har en sats i det andra ledet, torde *att*-varianten kunna avfärdas (33b), åtminstone i de skrivna genrer där konstruktionen normalt förekommer, t.ex. i bloggtext:

- (33) a. Men jag tycker bara att det är töntigt när smala människor håller på **och** ba: Åh jag måste sluta äta så mycket onyttigt. (G, blogg)
b. ?Men jag tycker bara att det är töntigt när smala människor håller på **att** ba: Åh jag måste sluta äta så mycket onyttigt.

Exempel (33) är även speciellt i att vi har att göra med pluralt subjekt för obestämd kvantitet och dessutom ett objekt vars kvantitet ganska lätt kan avgöras: det tar inte särskilt lång tid att uttala anföringssatsen, varför den enda rimliga tolkningen måste vara att anföringar av den typ som exemplifieras uttalas om och om igen.

²⁸ Tillägg av adverbial som anger frekvent upprepning av typ *titt som tätt/hit och dit/om ditten och datten/om än det ena, än det andra* och tillägg av verbfraser som *och ha sig* är inte ovanliga i dessa fall.

²⁹ Jämför även med omvänd följd i *Du bara käftar emot och håller på*, som har likartad betydelse men även antyder att subjektet genomför fler aktioner än den som betecknas med förstaverbet. *Håller på* får här alltså ett mer lexikalt innehåll: 'gör (andra) (dumma) saker'.

Detta var en genomgång av ett antal typexempel. Låt oss nu i avsnitt 4 sammanfatta vad vi har kommit fram till.

4. Sammanfattning och diskussion

I artikeln har i huvudsak två temporala egenskaper observerats:

1. I presenstempus står konstruktion med *hålla på och* (liksom enkel verbform) med teliska aktioner i högre grad än preteritum. Detta kan höra samman med att svenskans presens i allmänhet kan »zooma in» oavgränsade intervaller även i teliska aktioner, i enlighet med principer av typ Bounded Event Constraint. En följd av denna inzoomning verkar vara att aktionens delmoment blir tydligare och möjligen mer likartade.
2. *Hålla på och* tenderar att, förvisso beroende på situationstyp, stå i satser där aktionens delmoment eller aktionen i sin helhet itereras.

I fråga om punkt 1 kan noteras att svenskt presens verkar sakna den begränsning som antas finnas för engelskans enkla verbform, dvs. att hela aktionen (om den inte är ett tillstånd) måste rymmas inom talögonblicket (jfr t.ex. principen Very Short Duration i Wyngaerd 2005). Till detta kommer att svenskan inte uppvisar samma telicitetskänslighet i alla tempus, då enkelt verb i presens, liksom *hålla på och*, verkar kunna beteckna delmoment i telisk aktion utan hjälp av markörer som adverbial som anger atelicitet. Detta är ett område som berör betydligt fler fenomen än *hålla på*-konstruktion och som därför kräver vidare undersökning.

Vad det gäller punkt 2 är det som nämnts viktigt att komma ihåg att *hålla på att* är transitiv medan *hålla på och* är, åtminstone syntaktiskt, intransitiv och således ofta kan bytas ut mot enkel verbform med i huvudsak bibehållen betydelse. *Hålla på och*:s funktion är snarast att framhäva en betydelsekomponent i framför allt processuella aktioner: pluraktionalitet.

I tablå 1 presenteras de betydelser jag funnit i Korp:s Bloggmix med *hålla på att* och *hålla på och* i presens och preteritum med de fem situationstyper som redovisas i avsnitt 1.1. Med *prospektiv* avses betydelsen '(bedöms) vara (mycket) nära att', med *iterativ* menas att aktionen upprepas i sin helhet vid ett tillfälle och med *habituell* menas att aktionen upprepas i sin helhet vid flera tillfällen (se äv. not 17). *Progressiv*, slutligen, innebär att fokus förläggs mitt i aktionen. I fråga om *hålla på och* har jag valt att sätta citattecken runt *progressiv*

på grund av att fokus förvisso är mitt i aktionen, men också, till skillnad från med *hålla på att*, på aktionens delmoment. Parenteser runt betydelsen anger att jag inte funnit några korpusbelägg, utan lagt till den betydelse jag tror är rimligast.

Tablå 1. Temporal/aspektuell betydelse med *hålla på* {att/och} i olika tempus.

	hålla på att		hålla på och	
	presens	preteritum	presens	preteritum
Result. punkth. t.ex. <i>spricka</i>	prospektiv	prospektiv	(iterativ)	(iterativ)
Icke-res. punkth. t.ex. <i>nysa</i>	prospektiv	prospektiv	iterativ	iterativ
	iterativ	iterativ		
Avgränsad process	progressiv	progressiv	»progressiv»	(»progressiv»)
t.ex. <i>tömma brunnen</i>	prospektiv	prospektiv		
Oavgränsad process	progressiv	progressiv	»progressiv»	»progressiv»
t.ex. <i>bråka</i>	habituell	habituell	habituell	habituell
		iterativ	iterativ	iterativ
Tillstånd t.ex. <i>tro</i>	prospektiv	prospektiv	iterativ	iterativ
		progressiv		habituell

Resultatuppställningen speglar vad som hittills sagts, möjligen med undantag för *hålla på* med oavgränsade processer och tillstånd, som inte hittills omtalats men som betar sig ungefär som de andra typerna. Progressiv form med tillstånd används ganska restriktivt och ger progressiv eller prospektiv (34a) betydelse med *hålla på att*. Med *hålla på och* tenderar aktionen, inte oväntat, istället att itereras eller habitualiseras (34b):

- (34) a. Det [ung. att en annan blogggläsare har sansade kommentarer] lugnar en som nästan **håller på att tro** att alla svenskar har blivit spritt sprängande galna. (G, bloggkommentar)
- b. Jag drar bara dom över en kam som **håller på och tror** dom är [ashäftiga] med att sladda runt med sin 740 [...]. (G, diskussionsforum)

Hur ska då betydelsen hos *hålla på att* och *hålla på och* beskrivas? Den typiska progressiva formen har av många nämligen uppfattats som en stativerande operator (vilken, som sagt, relaterar aktionstiden till en del av aktionen, referenstiden), av framför allt två skäl. Det ena är att det finns historisk evidens för att progressiv form i många språk kan härledas från statisk lokativ konstruktion, för t.ex. engelskan *be + on + V-ing* (Smutterberg 2002 s. 40).³⁰ Detsamma verkar gälla för svenskans *hålla på*: Hesse (2009 s. 109) konstaterar t.ex. att *hålla*,

³⁰ Det ska dock sägas att detta inte är den enda härledning som föreslagits för engelskans progressiva form, vilket Smutterberg (2002 s. 39 ff.) också nämner.

liksom förstaverbet i pseudosamordningar som *sitta/stå/ligga och V*, har sitt ursprung i ett lokativt koncept, i *hålla på*:s fall med tilläggsbetydelsen 'fixera ett objekt'. Betydelsen hos *hålla på*-konstruktionen skulle då vara en metaforisk utökning till det mer abstrakta 'hålla fast vid en situation'.³¹ Det andra skälet till att progressiver antas vara stativerare är att det visar sig att satser med progressiv form syntaktisk-semantiskt distribueras som satser med inherent statiska predikat, åtminstone i engelska (t.ex. Vlach 1981, Michaelis 2011).

Även Lundquist 2012 utgår från att progressiv betydelse är statisk, men noterar också (s. 39) att eng. *We are playing football* inte riktigt betyder samma sak som sv. *Vi spelar fotboll* (eller varför inte *håller på och spelar fotboll*) trots att båda antas ha progressiv betydelse i exemplet (han antar som sagt att även enkel verbform i svenska, till skillnad från i engelska, kan ha progressiv betydelse). *We are playing football* antas beteckna ett pågående tillstånd, medan *Vi spelar fotboll* uppfattas som mer dynamisk i att den beskriver ett eller flera *minimal stages*, eller delmoment, av fotbollsspelet. Detta verkar utan tvivel tala emot att även svenskans motsvarighet skulle vara statisk, men det faller utanför Lundquists studie att reda ut hur det fokuserade intervallet i progressiv betydelse i svenskan ser ut i detalj.

Antagandet om progressiver som stativerare utifrån distributionella tester har förvisso inte passerat okritiserat (t.ex. Glasbey 1998 s. 106). Ett allvarigare problem är emellertid att den pluraktionella specifikationen hos *hålla på och* inte fångas med ovanstående hypoteser (och för den delen inte heller med t.ex. Smiths modell, där den imperfektiva aspekten förvisso inte betraktas som en stativerare utan som en »inzoomare»). Problemet uppmärksammades på 1980-talet när Newman 1980 började tala om »verbal pluralitet». Cusic 1981 genomförde därefter en större undersökning, där bl.a. nedanstående exempel presenterades för att illustrera event-intern och event-extern pluralitet.

- (35) a. The mouse nibbled the cheese. (Event-intern pluralitet)
 b. The mouse nibbled the cheese again and again. (Event-extern pluralitet)

Om vi tänker oss *gnaga/knapra* som översättning till *nibble* kan vi, även om vi inte har någon semantisk åtkomst till den inre strukturen, anta att varje delmoment i (35a) knappast är ett *gnag* eller **knap* utan snarare en *tugga*, medan varje delmoment i (35b) är en komplett *gnaga*-aktion.

³¹ Hesse (2009 s. 115) tänker sig en utveckling i norskan från infinit till finit konstruktion: *holde på med NP/å INF > holde på å INF > holde på og FIN*. Det noteras dock (jfr Tonne 2001) att norskan inte kommit lika långt i denna utveckling som svenskan, där samordningskonstruktionen är »fullt etablerad» (s. 113).

Därefter, i mitten av 1990-talet, har pluraktionelitet formaliserats (Lasersohn 1995), och utifrån denna formalisering har flera arbeten utvecklats. Bl.a. har van Geenhoven (2004 s. 169 f.) analyserat hur aktionens pluralitet samvarierar med nominala arguments pluralitet eller möjlighet att itereras tillsammans med *for*-adverbial. Vidare har Laca (2005) redogjort för skillnader mellan den i spanskan genuint progressiva *estar* + gerundivum och de mer pluraktionella *andar/ir* + gerundivum.

Dessa arbeten kan vara till hjälp vid karakteriseringen av å ena sidan den mer genuina progressiven *hålla på att* (dvs. som i exempel 9 i avsnitt 1.1), som (fortfarande) kan karakteriseras som i (36a) nedan, och å andra sidan den mer pluraktionella *hålla på och*, som i mitt tycke snarast borde beskrivas som i (36b), dvs. med mer tydliggjorda delmoment.

- (36) a. I . . . / / / . . . F *Han höll på att välja en röd outfit till kvällen.*
 b. I . . . / . / . / . . . F *Han höll på och valde en röd outfit till kvällen.*

Hur pluraktioneliteten sedan ska formaliseras för svenskans del återstår att undersöka, men det verkar krävas fler verktyg än enbart traditionella aspektuella formalismer för att fånga den. Det verkar också, till skillnad från vad som ofta framförts tidigare (avsnitt 1.2 och 1.3), vara klart att valet mellan *hålla på att* och *hålla på och* är mer än bara ett val av stilistisk valör.

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III

Maintaining contact with pseudoprogressive pseudocoordinations. Swedish verbal coordinations with 'sit', 'stand', and 'lie' from a spatial perspective

Maintaining contact with pseudoprogressive pseudocoordinations. Swedish verbal coordinations with ‘sit’, ‘stand’, and ‘lie’ from a spatial perspective

1. Introduction

There is a striking agreement in much of the literature that Swedish posture-verb pseudocoordinations constitute an independent category marking aspect, in particular progressive aspect (see references in section 3).¹ This would make them analogous to other progressive constructions in Swedish, primarily *hålla på att* + V_{INF} (lit. *hold on to* + *INF*) and to progressive constructions in other languages, primarily the English progressive *be* + *V-ing* (see references in section 3).² The aspectual function of pseudocoordinations is particularly interesting in that it provides strong evidence that the posture verb is de-semanticized into an auxiliary-like element (e.g. Bybee et al. 1994, Newman 2002).

On the other hand, we know that posture-verb pseudocoordinations are usually optional (e.g. Dahl 1985:23); they may contribute to disambiguating

1 Swedish posture-verb pseudocoordinations have analogues in Norwegian and Danish (e.g. Tonne 2001, Bjerre & Bjerre 2007, respectively) and (infrequently) in Icelandic (Jóhannsdóttir 2007, 2011). Pseudocoordinative constructions are also found in Faroese (Heycock & Petersen 2012), in Low German (Ebert 2000:633), and in the Frisian Wiidinghiird dialect (Ebert 2000:608). The pseudocoordinative structure seems to be absent in modern standard Dutch (*liggen/zitten/staan+te+V-INF* ‘sit/lie/stand to V-INF’ is used instead), but it is found in Afrikaans (de Vos 2005:3). We also find pseudocoordination constructions in English with posture verbs in the first conjunct (de Vos 2004). Even the Slavic language Bulgarian, which has a systematic morphologically marked perfectivity–imperfectivity distinction, makes use of posture-verb coordinations (Kuteva 1999).

2 Viberg (2013:143) also mentions V_{POSTURAL} + *V-ing*, e.g. *sit talking*, as a “relatively frequent” translational equivalent.

imperfective aspect, but, as will be shown, they do not seem to be able to change the aspect of a sentence compared to one with a simple verb form. Moreover, as will also be shown, posture-verb pseudocoordinations often retain literal physical meaning of posture and, importantly, location. Therefore, the goal of this article is to examine the canonical, primarily aspect-based, semantic categorization of posture-verb pseudocoordinations, and argue that they are instead primarily locative with aspectual side-effects in the right contexts.

Posture-verb pseudocoordinations are presumably the most well-studied pseudo-coordinations in Swedish. They have the structure VP1 + och ‘and’ + VP2 and co-referential subject (marked only once). The first conjunct, VP1, consists of one of the posture verbs *sitta* ‘sit’, *stå* ‘stand’, or *ligga* ‘lie’ (*hänga* ‘hang’ is a possible candidate as well) and possibly modifiers (e.g. *sitta i bilen* ‘sit in the car’), and the second conjunct, VP2, hosts various types of verb phrases.

In the literature, posture-verb coordinations are often exemplified with activity and, infrequently, with accomplishment predicates in VP2 (see section 4.1), like in (1a). In these cases, the progressive *hålla på att* + infinitive (lit. *hold on to* + INF) can be considered a synonymous (although not necessarily identical) alternative (1b), and the English progressive construction is an adequate translational equivalent (see translations).

- (1) a. Han {sitter /står/ ligger} och läser.
 he sits stands lies and reads
 ‘He is {sitting/standing/lying} reading.’
 b. Han håller på att läsa.
 he holds on to read-INF
 ‘He is reading.’

Note that the article is limited to posture-verb coordinations, because they are often mentioned as examples of Swedish pseudocoordinations with aspectual relevance (e.g. Johansson 1987, Dahl 1995, Christensen 1995:84, Kvist Darnell 2008) and partly because posture-verb pseudocoordinations exhibit interesting properties which I think can be attributed to the posture verb, which will be shown in the study. The study will, for example, not consider the absentive/distal *vara och* + VP (lit. *be and* + VP) pseudocoordination (see Andersson 1979, Ekberg 1983, de Groot 2000, Wiklund 2007:95). Other non-examined constructions include the motion-verb pseudocoordination *gå och* + VP, which has an “imperfective” reading with atelic VP2s, e.g. *gå och oroa sig* (*walk and worry* REFL, ‘be worrying’), but inceptive reading otherwise, e.g. *gå och lägga sig* (*walk and lay* REFL, ‘go to bed’). Finally, the ingressive *ta och* + VP (lit. *take and* VP) construction, e.g. *Ta och lugna ner dig!* ‘Just cool it!’ is not considered. This construction has a highly de-semanticized first conjunct (for example, transitive *ta* is in absolute position in front of the conjunct, i.e. no

object is present), indicating the subject's decision or intention (cf. Vannebo 2003, Wiklund 2009).

1.1 Aim

The article gives a semantic description of pseudocoordinations with *stå*, *sitta*, and *ligga* in VP1 (henceforth also dubbed *SSL coordinations*). The main aim is to show that, although e.g. English progressives seem to be aspectually similar to SSL coordinations in some ways, for example in (1) above, there are a number of distributional differences between the constructions. These differences suggest that

- SSL coordinations do not independently specify progressive aspect, but they may highlight episodicity in an already episodic context (with certain predicates in VP2).
- Although SSL coordinations have, in many cases, lost lexical posture content, they retain lexical locative meaning.

The article is structured as follows: section 2 is a survey of some fundamental aspectual concepts. In section 3, previous accounts of SSL coordinations are presented. In the light of sections 2 and 3, SSL coordinations are examined from an aspectual perspective in section 4, hinting at some spatial features. Section 5 contains an analysis of posture verbs and SSL coordinations from a spatial perspective. A concluding discussion is provided in section 6.

2. Some aspectual concepts

I assume a two-dimensional view of aspect (Smith 1997), because this allows the inherent situation type of the predicate to be unchanged and yet receive progressive interpretation (cf. one-dimensional approaches such as Moens 1987). The endpoints of the situation are instead semantically visible and an independent aspect layer is, under a vision-based analogy, used as a metaphorical camera lens zooming in on the relevant part of the event.

2.1 Situation type and viewpoint aspect

Smith (1997) makes use of the distinction between *situation type* and *viewpoint aspect*. The former concept, which refers to inherent aspectual features, has alternatively been labelled *lexical aspect* or *aktionsart*, whereas the latter concept, which refers to a more subjective category, has traditionally been referred to as *grammatical aspect* or, simply, *aspect* (e.g. Klein 2008).

Smith's (1997) classification of situations types draws on work by e.g. Vendler (1957), who classifies verbs into *states*, *activities*, *accomplishments*, and *achievements*. These are characterized in a number of ways, not only from the point of view of the verb, but as a function of other sentence constituents. A five-way distinction, as proposed by Smith (1997), is an augmentation by the class of *semelfactives* (which are treated as an atelic subclass of achievements by e.g. Dowty 1979, also cf. Comrie 1976:43). Semelfactives are usually related to iteration.

The situation types are exemplified below:

- State: know the answer
- Activity: walk
- Accomplishment: build a house
- Achievement: break the vase
- Semelfactive: knock on the door

The situation types differ in durativity, dynamism, and telicity. We may represent them using three binary features: [\pm dynamic], [\pm durative], and [\pm telic] (cf. Smith 1997:20):

TABLE 1 *Semantic features of situation types*

Situations	dynamic	durative	telic
State	[-]	[+]	[-/irrelevant]
Activity	[+]	[+]	[-]
Accomplishment	[+]	[+]	[+]
Achievement	[+]	[-]	[+]
Semelfactive	[+]	[-]	[-]

The [\pm dynamic] feature refers to the static – dynamic distinction. States consist of a “single, undifferentiated period” (Smith 1997:21) and do not have any distinct temporal boundaries, whereas dynamic events have arbitrary or inherent temporal boundaries and consist of stages occurring at different moments. The [\pm durative] feature is possibly the most idealized feature of the

three, referring to the notion of extension in time. An instantaneous (punctual) event takes short time, whereas a durative event takes longer time. The notion of telicity, i.e. the feature [\pm telic], is a distinction between telic events, which have intrinsic bounds, i.e. change of state (or outcome/goal), and atelic events, which may stop at any time without there being a change of state occurring. It may be noted that telicity relates to boundedness in the sense that telic events involve a boundary of the type change of state, whereas temporally bounded events simply have an arbitrary boundary. An example of a temporally bound event is *I walked for 3 hours* (note, however, that *I walked to school in 3 hours* is telic due to the change of state of having reached the time limit). As for telicity in English (and in Swedish), the nature of the complement plays a crucial role (e.g. Verkuyl 1993, Rothstein 2004); for example, a nominal complement denoting specified cardinality may act as an incremental theme delimiting the time it takes for an action to culminate, e.g. *I ate {an/the/three} apples*. If the complement is non-quantized, the situation is normally atelic, as in *I ate apples*.

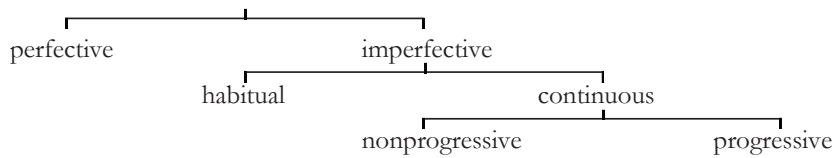
Viewpoint aspect signifies the basic aspectual opposition between perfective and imperfective aspect. In English, the contrast is evident in minimal pairs like the perfective sentence *John built a house* and the imperfective sentence *John was building a house*. In the former case, we are committed to John's finishing the house; in the latter case, we are not.

Let us focus on imperfective viewpoint aspect. Smith (1997:3) represents the temporal schema of the imperfective sentence with an accomplishment situation type, *Mary was walking to school*, as

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------------|------------------|------------------------|
| (2) | a. I F | (Accomplishment) | Mary walk to school |
| | b. ... | (Imperfective) | be+ing |
| | c. I . . // . . F | (Composite) | Mary walking to school |

The I and the F in (2) represent initial and final endpoints of the situation, and the dots represent internal stages. The imperfective viewpoint marking in (2b) also consists of internal stages, and the composite of the schemas (2c) represents the viewpoint aspect of the sentence. The slashes represent the presented (or asserted) interval of the situation; "The slashed period represents an interval of Mary's walking to school, an interval that includes neither the initial nor the final endpoint" (Smith 1997:4).

We are now ready to consider Comrie's (1976:25) hierarchical classification of aspectual categories:



As seen in the figure, the imperfective, i.e. “explicit reference to the internal temporal structure of a situation, viewing a situation from within”³ (Comrie 1976:25), is opposed to the perfective, i.e. a presentation of a situation “as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up that situation” (ibid:16). Habituals, regarded as a subdivision of imperfectives, describe situations which are characteristic of an “extended” period of time, and they often involve repetition of events over a multitude of occasions.⁴ Note that Comrie makes a distinction between progressive and (the superordinate category) continuous. For Comrie, progressives are not only continuous but also non-stative. In English, the progressive – nonprogressive distinction is obligatory, i.e. the two forms are usually not interchangeable. Even though both progressives and habituals are imperfective, the two forms are distinct; a habitual sentence need not be progressive, and a progressive is normally not habitual. When combined, as in *John used to be writing poems*, “each individual occurrence of the situation is presented as being progressive, and the sum total of all these occurrences is presented as being habitual” (Comrie 1976:33).

There seems to be agreement upon the function of imperfectives and progressives as suppressing endpoints of events. Pustet et al. (2006:180) defines progressive as presenting a situation “in such a way that the points of incipience and termination are out of focus”. Hatcher (1951:258) puts it as the progressive “presents an activity as in the midst of happening: as having already begun but not yet ended”. Moens (1987) states that the progressive of an accomplishment involves “stripping off” the culmination point. Aspectual categories have linguistic properties that can be tested in a number of ways, and I present some of the tests below.

3 This criterion is of course hard to apply to a situation without endpoints, e.g. the atelic *She was singing*, because it is difficult to claim that the situation also takes place outside of the focused viewpoint. One may, in fact, pay attention to a “complete” event of singing using the progressive.

4 Examples like *The statue used to stand in the city center* do not involve repetition, however.

2.1.1 Testing progressivity: ongoingness (at a reference time and at speech time)

Total or partial temporal overlap between an “ongoing” situation and a more or less punctual event can be tested with so-called backgrounding, which is defined by Glasbey (1998:107) as describing the relation between two sentences (or clauses), where the event in the second sentence (or clause) overlaps the event in the first one.

As Smith (1997:64f.) notes, the progressive is suitable for backgrounding, since it frames the time at which something else occurred. This “something else” may be represented by a temporal *when*-clause:

- (3) a. Bill was leaving when the bell rang.
b. Bill left when the bell rang.

In (3a) the events are overlapping due to endpoint exclusion of the imperfective event, whereas the perfective events in (3b) are successive.

This test is also a stativity test, which is one of the foundations of the widespread claim that the progressive is a stativizer (e.g. Vlach 1981, Dowty 1986, Sandström 1993, de Swart 1998, Michaelis 2011:1336). Vlach (1981), who was one of the pioneers of this view, uses the following sentences to illustrate:

- (4) a. Max was here when I arrived.
b. Max was running when I arrived.

Because both the stative *was here* in (4a) and the running in (4b) convey discourse overlap, the running in (4b) is considered stative. This is also argued to be the reason why progressives (i.e. states) do combine with other progressives (cf. **Max is being running*, Vlach 1981:274).

The backgrounding test relates the progressive event to another time, but this time may of course also be the speech-time. The question “What is X doing right now?” was for example asked by Ebert (2000) in an attempt to find out what kinds of progressive construction consultants use (cf. also Johansson 1987). In English, only the progressive is used when reporting on events going on at speech-time (excluding the sports-reporter sense):

- (5) Right now, Mary {is walking/#walks} to school.

The reason why the simple present *walks* is odd in this sentence is that it has a habitual reading which is incompatible with (a here-and-now reading of) the adverbial *right now*. In sum, this is a test for “ongoingness” at speech-time.

2.1.2 Testing progressivity with telic events: entailment and final-boundary tests

Primarily as a means of illustrating the difference between activities and accomplishments, Dowty (1979:133; cf. also de Swart 1998:349) provides an entailment test from a sentence with a progressive form to a corresponding sentence with a non-progressive form (the simple verb in English), assuming that there is an imperfective paradox. This is due to the fact that a progressive, according to Dowty, ought to be analyzed in terms of the non-progressive. With activities, the progressive sentence entails the simple: *John was pushing a cart* entails *John pushed a cart*. With accomplishment predicates in English, however, the simple-verb sentence does not entail the progressive: *John was drawing a circle* does not entail *John drew a circle*. Even though this is a test for situation type, it should be able to indicate progressivity. For example, using an ordinary activity and an ordinary accomplishment with a progressive marker, the difference should be analogous to the English counterparts.

Another test, which is related to the entailment test in that it tests suppression of the final endpoint of telic events, is conjoining sentences with clauses asserting non-completion or continuation. cf. Smith's (1997:63) examples:

- (6) a. Mary was walking to school {but she didn't actually get there/and she's still walking}.
- b. #Mary walked to school {but she didn't actually get there/and she's still walking}.

If sentences like (6a) are reasonable (i.e. if the two conjuncts are compatible), as is the case in (6a) but not in the perfective (6b), the progressive part of the sentence does not present a complete event. Note that we can infer that a part of the event is visible, which indicates that it is only the final endpoint that is suppressed.

3. Previous research: aspectual properties of pseudocoordinations with 'sit', 'stand', and 'lie'

As mentioned, SSL coordinations are commonly assumed to either yield progressive reading, or correspond to e.g. the Swedish *hålla på att* construction or to the English progressive (examples exhibiting these judgements include

Vannebo 1969,⁵ Schneider 1977 [who uses the term *cursive*, but states that it is similar to *progressive*], Johansson 1987, Josefsson 1991, Bertinetto et al. 2000, Ebert 2000, Henriksson 2006, Wiklund 2007, Holmes & Hinchliffe 2008:125, Hesse 2009 [uses *progressive/imperfective*], Hilpert & Koops 2009, Bylin 2013, Viberg 2013).

Interestingly, some authors do not seem to be entirely convinced that SSL coordinations are examples of “the” progressive. Although they are considered progressive in the sense that they express that the event is taking place at a reference time (which is different from the moment of utterance), Platzack (1979:57) declares that a construction without a posture verb can express progressive meaning as well, and/so it “might not be equivalent to true aspectual markers, like English *be-ing*”. Dahl (1995) also hints that the progressive status is questionable: “Aspectual distinctions are marked only in a rather scanty way in Swedish, like in the other Scandinavian languages. There are a couple of progressive or perhaps *pseudo-progressive* constructions” (Dahl 1995:65, my italics). He mentions the *hålla på* construction and the SSL coordination as examples, but he does not elaborate the issue, cf. also Lødrup (2014).

An essential feature of SSL coordinations is that they are often claimed to denote *one* event, namely that of VP2, despite the fact that they consist of two coordinated VPs. For example, *The Swedish Academy grammar* (SAG) states that the main semantic function of the posture verb is to emphasize that the VP2 has durative interpretation (i.e., the posture verb primarily has a grammatical function). Durativity, as mentioned, specifies the temporal extension of a situation (according to SAG as well): durative situations (activities, accomplishments, and states) take time, and the duration may be specified by an *i-PP* ‘for-PP’, e.g. *Hon satt och läste i två timmar* (lit. *she sat and read in two hours*) ‘She was reading for two hours’. The only durative syntactic construction taken up by SAG, apart from SSL coordination, is the “iterative-durative” reduplicative construction, e.g. *Vi vann och vann* (lit. *we won and won*) (SAG 4:901, 904).

The unitary-event reading of SSL coordinations and, as a consequence, the similarities with hypotactic constructions are claimed to be more or less evident in syntax (cf. also Kvist Darnell 2008:2). SAG (4:903) provides a number of diagnostic tests to distinguish verbal pseudocoordination from ordinary verbal coordination. If the criteria are all true, the coordination is a typical pseudocoordination.

5 Vannebo (1969) employs the term *durative aktionsart*.

1. The first verb (i.e. the posture verb) is unstressed.
2. The construction cannot be paraphrased with coordinated clauses: *Mona satt i det blå rummet och {Ø/?hon} sydde.* (lit. *Mona sat in DEF blue room-DEF and {Ø/she} sewed*)
3. The conjuncts cannot change places: *Mona {satt och syddel*sydde och satt} i det blå rummet.* (lit. *Mona {sat and sewed/sewed and sat} in DEF blue room-DEF*)
4. *Både* ‘both’ cannot be inserted: *Mona {Ø/*både} satt och sydde i det blå rummet.* (lit. *Mona {Ø/both} sat and sewed in DEF blue room-DEF*)
5. Sentence adverbials must be placed after the first verb: *Mona {satt inte och syddel*satt och sydde inte} i det blå rummet.* (lit. *Mona {sat not and sewed/sat and sewed not} in DEF blue room-DEF*)
6. A complement of the second verb can be topicalized: *Den där artikeln har hon suttit och skrivit på hela dagen.* (lit. *this DEF article-DEF has she sat and written on whole day-DEF*)

SAG adopts a one-dimensional approach to aspect, primarily using Vendlerian situation-type terminology. For example, the definition of *aspect* is ‘aktionsart’, the definition of *imperfective* is ‘unbounded’, and the definition of *progressive* is ‘verb with durative and processual (i.e. dynamic) Aktionsart’ (SAG 1:155, 181, 213). Interestingly, it is only the phrasal verb *hålla på* (in isolation) that is explicitly claimed to be progressive (SAG 3:511). On the other hand, *pågående* ‘ongoing’ is defined as a ‘situation’ (Sw. *aktion*) that is sometimes synonymous with *progressive* (SAG 1:215), so there seems to be room for progressive events as well. Also, it is noted (SAG 4:325) that the terms *imperfective*, *ongoing*, and *durative* have been used instead of *unbounded*. The SSL coordination is said to primarily combine with VP2s with ‘unbounded’ interpretation, and the construction then (also) denotes unbounded aktionsart (SAG 4:335, also cf. Christensen 1995:84). From these definitions, one can arrive at the conclusion that SSL coordinations are considered ongoing/progressive by SAG.

Let us turn to another account of pseudocoordination in general, Kvist Darnell (2008), which is also the most comprehensive account of modern-Swedish SSL coordination to my mind (especially her “Study 2”, pp. 187ff.). Kvist Darnell’s study is not primarily concerned with aspect and temporal relations, but instead examines e.g. what kind of semantic classes of verbs there are in VP2 when VP1 contains the posture verbs *sitta*, *stå*, and *ligga*, respectively. The semantic categories are not aspect-motivated, but constitute more general categories of e.g. EMOTION, COGNITION, and COMMUNICATION (based on Levin 1993 and Viberg 2006).

Kvist Darnell (2008:43ff.) concludes, after a thorough historical survey of pseudocoordination accounts,⁶ that the main semantic features of SSL coordinations are 1) having unitary-event reading, 2) having semantically bleached VP1, and 3) specifying aspect. However, she notes that a unitary-event reading of coordinations is sometimes hard to establish (p. 78), especially when there are modifiers⁷ between the conjuncts (she uses examples of set expressions like *sitta i ett parti och V* (lit. *sit in a party* ‘be a member of a party’ *and* + *V*). However, Kvist Darnell does not find any hard-and-fast semantic or functional criteria for pseudocoordination, so she examines structural criteria instead, mostly the ones given in SAG. Despite the problems with semantic criteria, Kvist Darnell uses a kind of unitary-event reading as the main criterion for singling out SSL coordinations from ordinary coordinations.⁸ She does not explicitly claim that SSL coordinations are progressive, but she seems to agree with previous research in that they are.

Wiklund (2007) investigates SSL coordinations together with various hypotactic constructions (e.g. participle copying or “double supine”) from a primarily syntactic perspective, arguing that the VP2 is an underlying infinitival with semantically vacuous copied tense morphology from the verb in VP1. Even though Wiklund notes (p. 8) that the pseudocoordination does not alternate with infinitival construction (**sitta att läsa*, lit. *sit to read-INF*), the conjunction *och* is analyzed not as an ordinary conjunction but as a homophonous complementizer. Wiklund (2007:95ff.) distinguishes three distinctive attributes of pseudocoordinations in general, and the first one is semantic: pseudocoordinations have aspectual properties, and the SSL coordinations specifically have progressive meaning (the other two attributes are more syntactic: shared inflectional morphology and constraints on adverbs quantifying over times). More specifically, Wiklund (p. 126) states that “the event denoted

6 Kvist Darnell (2008:241) concludes that the SSL pseudocoordinations seem to originate from grammaticalization of ordinary coordinations. As for the historical development of SSL pseudocoordinations, it may be noted that Hilpert & Koops (2009:251) find what seems to be present-day-like SSL pseudocoordinations as far back as the 14th century (Old Swedish).

7 SAG (4:903) states that the pseudo-nature of the coordination becomes weaker the more modifiers are inserted after the first verb, and an example with eight words in between the verbs is provided. However, nothing is said about whether this example is a pseudocoordination or not. It could be noted that Tonne (2001:76) restricts the number of intervening elements to about two phrases.

8 Kvist Darnell (2008) identifies the semantic “V-relation” of *BAKGRUND* ‘background’ as a case of unitary event and thus pseudocoordination. This relation is also identified and means that VP1 denotes background information for the (simultaneous) event in VP2. (She also identifies the type *MÅLRIKTNING* ‘goal-direction’ as a pseudocoordinative relation, but this relation is not relevant for SSL pseudocoordinations.)

by the embedded predicate is interpreted as being in progress at a certain point in time”.

There are few other more comprehensive investigations of Swedish pseudo-coordinations. However, Tonne (2001) gives a thorough investigation of SSL-coordination counterparts in Norwegian. As the title of her thesis (*Progressives in Norwegian ...*) suggests, they are considered progressive, defined as “eventuality in progress” (p. 69). Cf. also Nielsen (2011:119f.) for progressive SSL-coordination counterparts in Danish. For an overview of a large number of different pseudocoordinations in Danish, including counterparts of SSL coordinations (which are considered to provide e.g. durative meaning; “progressive” is not used), see Hansen & Heltoft (2011:979ff.).

4. Pseudocoordinations with ‘sit’, ‘stand’, and ‘lie’ revisited

What is evident from previous studies is that Swedish and related languages often make use of posture verbs when depicting ongoing situations, i.e. situations which are “in progress” at speech time. In the present section we will first, in section 4.1, examine the “in progress type”, called the “typical” SSL coordination for reasons that will become evident in the section. In 4.2, we will put the typical SSL coordination to the test, first comparing it to the *hålla på att* construction and then testing both for imperfectivity. We will also discuss telicity. In 4.2.3, we will briefly discuss whether the proposed syntactic tests for pseudocoordination have semantic consequences.

4.1 The typical SSL coordinations

The degree of semantic bleaching of the posture verb in SSL coordinations is rather unclear: it cannot be very bleached since its lexical semantics must generally be respected and the posture must normally correspond to the activity of the subject (Ekberg 1983:3, Josefsson 1991:136). Tonne (2001:157) thus describes the pseudocoordination as having two predicates: Q for the posture verb and P for the VP2. Hence, the eventuality s denoted by the pseudocoordination must be both a Q (e.g. a sitting) and a P (e.g. a reading):

$$(7) \quad \text{pseudo}^* = \lambda P \lambda Q_{\{\text{sitte, stå, ligge} \dots\}} \lambda s [Q(s) \wedge P(s)] \text{ (P is imperfective)}$$

In a similar vein, Lødrup (2002:127) notes for Norwegian:⁹

There is an interesting mismatch between syntax and semantics in pseudocoordinations with positional [i.e. posture] verbs. The first verb expresses progressive aspect, and its lexical semantics is in a sense defocused. On the other hand, the truth conditional semantics of pseudocoordinations is the semantics of coordinations. *Han sitter og skriver dikt* ‘he sits and writes poems’ is true iff he sits and he writes poems.

It should be remarked that the subject referent does not necessarily need to sit while performing the event in VP2 for the sentence to be true; sometimes, the sitting can refer to an expected, typical, posture in a certain situation (see section 5 below as well). For example, the sentence *Jag sitter och jobbar med ett nytt projekt* (lit. *I sit and work with a new project*) can be true even if I am not always sitting while working. But still, let us linger on Lødrup’s statement about the truth conditional semantics of pseudocoordinations. Perhaps we could represent the aspect of SSL coordinations, in a rather unorthodox way, as consisting of two situations: a state¹⁰, namely that denoted by ‘sit’, ‘stand’, or ‘lie’ in VP1, and another situation: the denotation of VP2. Following, and radically modifying, Smith’s (1997) situation-type notation, we get for the “progressive” pseudocoordination something like (8), which has an activity-VP2 and thus arbitrary rather than inherent final endpoint. The representation covers the SSL-coordination in e.g. (1) in section 1 above: *Han* [[*sitter*]_{VP1} och [*läser*]_{VP2}]:

- (8) VP1: (I) _____ (F)
 VP2: I _____ F_(ARB)
 VIEWPOINT: ///
 Example: Han sitter och läser.
 he sits and reads
 ‘He is (sitting and) reading.’

The sitting and the reading situations are parallel and the assertion time covers an interval, somewhere between the endpoints, of the “composition” of the events in VP1 and VP2, which we can assume to begin (I) and end (F) more

9 The posture verb (but this varies between the verbs, of course) does not seem to have grammaticalized very much; it is for example located somewhere between the A and the B stages on Heine’s (1993:58ff.) A-to-G-grammaticalization chain. Cf. also Lødrup (2014:46).

10 Michaelis (1998:18) proposes that verbs like *sit* are homogenous activities, but we will choose to represent the situation denoted by VP1 as a state since this seems to be the customary classification.

or less simultaneously (although we cannot truthfully assert this outside VIEW-POINT); as long as the subject maintains sitting at a location, it is true that he is reading.

Examples like the one in (1) and (8) are representative for accounts of SSL coordinations in Swedish. I have looked up all examples of SSL coordinations used in the standard reference grammar of Swedish, *The Swedish Academy grammar* (SAG), and in the most recent comprehensive account of present-day Swedish SSL coordinations, Kvist Darnell (2008). I have searched for <*sitta stå/ligga + och*> in the present and in the past tense (consequently, XVS clauses etc. are ignored). I have included all free-standing examples and examples in the meta-text. Manipulated sentences illustrating unacceptability, non-pseudocoordinative structures (e.g. the idiomatic expression *stå och falla*, lit. *stand and fall* ‘be dependent on’) and verbal reduplicative structures like *läsa och läsa* (‘read and read’) are excluded.¹¹ As seen in the appendix, the vast majority of the VP2 predicates in this small study are classified as atelic, *sitta och läsa* (lit. *sit and read* ‘be/sit reading’) being the most frequent type by far. There are only a few cases of telic VP2s: *läsa/skriva* ‘read/write’ + indefinite NP, e.g. *Han sitter och läser någonting* (lit. *he sits and reads something* ‘He is reading something’) (SAG 4:976), *läsa/plita ner* ‘read/write (away)’ + definite singular/plural NP, e.g. *Jan sitter och läser böckerna* (lit. *Jan sits and reads books-DEF* ‘Jan is reading the books’) (Kvist Darnell 2008:49), and one example of *räkna ut* ‘calculate’ + clause, *Lars satt och räknade ut vad kalaset skulle kosta* (lit. *Lars sat and calculated out what get.together-DEF would cost* ‘Lars was calculating what the get-together would cost’) (SAG 4:904).

I will not discuss the examples in the appendix further, but I will discuss some telic VP2 examples in section 4.3.

4.2 SSL coordination vs. *hålla på att*

Accounts of imperfective aspect in Swedish sometimes treat SSL coordinations on par with the construction *hålla på att* (e.g. Johansson 1987, Pihlström 1988). As seen in section 1, conflating the two types is understandable; they behave alike, at least with activity VP2 predicates:

11 The search was conducted using a pdf reader. Kvist Darnell (2008) is available online, and by virtue of an agreement with The Swedish Academy, I have had access to an electronic version of *The Swedish Academy grammar*.

- (9) När jag kom in i köket,
when I came in in kitchen-DEF
 {stod han och diskade /höll han på att diska}
stood he and washed.up held he on to wash-INF.up
 ‘When I entered the kitchen, he was washing up.’

However, a number of characteristic features of the two types of construction indicate that they should be kept apart: Ebert (2000:621), for example, notes that *Vattnet står och kokar*, lit. *water-DEF stands and boils*, is different from *Vattnet håller på att koka*, lit. *water-DEF holds on to boil-INF*, where the latter has only an imminential ‘be about to’ reading. Even though this claim is not quite correct (the forms may actually be aspectually synonymous), it illustrates a tendency of *hålla på att* to receive near-culmination reading.

Johansson (1987:48) notes that *hålla på att* has a “wider lexical time span” (my translation) than the SSL coordination and illustrates his point with the following examples:

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

The phenomenon is also taken up by Platzack (1979:66), who remarks that the SSL coordination is sensitive to events that cannot be performed at one stretch. I would now like to augment these claims and suggest that *hålla på att*, like the English progressive but unlike SSL coordination, is not restricted to a certain location. Studying for an exam is associated with maintaining contact with a seating device (11a), but the pseudocoordination is less acceptable with habitual reading (11b), possibly due to the habitual non-specification of contact zone. However, note that the *hålla på att* construction is perfectly acceptable (11c):

- (11) a. Jag satt och pluggade till provet hela kvällen.
I sat and studied to test-DEF whole evening-DEF
 ‘I was (sitting and) studying for the test all evening.’
- b. #Jag sitter och pluggar till läkare. [Habitual]
I sit-PRS and study-PRS to physician
- c. Jag håller på att plugga till läkare. [Habitual]
I hold-PRS on to study-INF to physician
 ‘I am studying to become a physician.’

A similar effect is seen with activities that do not take place at the location associated with the predicate at speech time:

- (12) a. #Kim står och renoverar köket, men nu är han på jobbet.
Kim stands and renovates kitchen-DEF but now is he at work-DEF
- b. Kim håller på att renovera köket, men nu är han på jobbet.
Kim holds on to renovate-INF kitchen-DEF but now is he at work-DEF
 ‘Kim renovates/is renovating the kitchen, but now he is at work.’

SSL coordinations in Swedish are restricted compared to the *hålla på att* construction in that they (of course)¹² do not combine with VP2s of motion along a path¹³, e.g. *Han {håller på att gå/*sitter och går} till jobbet nu (he holds on to walk/*sits and walks to work-DEF now)*.¹⁴ On the other hand, *hålla på att* is, like the English progressive, restricted in that it cannot be combined with some states, e.g.:

12 This is not a universal restriction with posture markers, however. In Boumaa Fijian, for example, it is according to Lichtenberk (2002:291) possible to say: *Bau 'ada va'atotolo noo*, lit. MODIF run quickly lie ‘Try and run quicker (to win)’. Here, the posture marker *noo* carries the aspectual meaning of ‘bringing something to a (successful) conclusion’.

Lemmens (2005:185) also shows that a posture verb in Dutch may be combined with a (literally) incompatible activity, e.g. *Wat zit ik hier toch rond te lopen?* (lit. what sit I here (toch) around to walk?), ‘Why on earth am I walking (around) here?’.

13 Admittedly, a hamster can for example stand and run in its hamster wheel, but only as long as it is located inside that wheel.

14 A nominal construction if often used with motion verbs instead in Germanic languages in general (Ebert 2000:631), e.g. *Han är på väg till jobbet*, lit. he is on way to work-DEF. This phenomenon needs further investigation, however.

- (13) a. Jane Hellen schampo [...] står och pryder min badrumshylla.¹⁵
Jane Hellen shampoo stands and embellishes my bathroom.shelf
 b. #Jane Hellen schampo håller på att pryda min badrumshylla.
Jane Hellen shampoo holds on to embellish-INF my bathroom.shelf
 ‘Jane Hellen shampoo is embellishing my bathroom shelf.’

We will return to some other characteristics of SSL coordinations in section 5. First, let us test the imperfectivity of the typical SSL coordination described in 4.1.

4.2.1 Ongoingness and boundary suppression

As noted, both the SSL coordination and the *hålla på att* construction can denote ongoingness at a reference time in the past (14a), or at speech time (14b). This is also true for the simple verb:

- (14) a. När jag kom in i köket,
when I came in in kitchen-DEF
 {stod han och diskade /höll han på att diska /diskade han}.
stood he and washed.up held he on to wash.up washed.up he
 ‘When I came into the kitchen, he was washing up.’
 b. Just nu {står han och diskar /håller han på att diska
right now stands he and washes.up holds he on to wash.up
 /diskar han}.
washes.up he
 ‘Right now, he is washing up.’

It thus seems that SSL coordinations occur in a progressive context, at least as far as ongoingness in terms of overlap with another time is concerned and as far as the VP2 predicate is atelic. On the other hand: so does the simple verb.¹⁶

Another function of the progressive is, as noted, that when a progressive is true at a time *t*, the relevant situation does not continue beyond *t* (Ogihara 2005:405), or, in Moen’s (1987:79) terms, the culmination point is “stripped off”. For example, (parts of) Dowty’s (1979) interval-semantic approach state

15 <<http://www.mama.nu/Aktuellt/29-sjuka-grejer-fran-din-barndom-som-dina-barn-aldrig-kommer-fa-uppleva>>

16 There are only a few location-specific events that require support by a posture verb, e.g.:

(i) Han {stod och /?Ø} glodde i trädgården. (SAG 4:904)
 he stood and glared in garden-DEF ‘He was glaring in the garden.’
 (ii) Där sitter hon och småler! /??Där småler hon!
 there sits she and smiles there smiles she ‘She is sitting there smiling!’

the truth-conditions for the progressive informally as: the progressive is true at an interval I iff for some interval I' such that I' includes I and I is not a final subinterval of I' (ignoring the modal inertia-world component, cf. Dowty 1979:148). Note that what is stated may be true for accomplishment predicates such as *John was building a house when he was struck by lightning*. With achievements, there may not be any interval surrounding the progressive interval. Henriksson (2006:143) notes that the SSL coordination may combine with achievements, yielding progressive reading in *Han låg och dog (när jag fick syn på honom)*, lit. *he lay and died (when I got sight on him)*, translated as german. 'Er lag im Sterben (als ich ihn sah)', possibly 'He was (in the state of) dying'. This optional marking of ongoingness at a reference time suggests that the SSL coordination is indeed progressive (or, rather, is able to co-occur with progressive reading) at least in the 'ongoingness' sense. But what about endpoint suppression? Adding an adversative clause, thereby denying the final event boundary, suggests that we are not dealing with a progressive marker. As seen in (15b) below, *hålla på att* puts focus on the preliminary stages of the achievement predicate, thus suppressing its endpoint and yielding the same reading as the English progressive in (15a). However, the simple verb and the SSL coordination in (15b) behave alike in not being able to do this (at least not outside metaphorical language and video-gaming contexts).

- (15) a. John was dying but miraculously recovered. (de Vos 2005:109n)
 b. John {höll på att dö /#dog /#låg och dog}, men klarade sig mirakulöst.
John held on to die died lay and died but recovered miraculously

Wiklund (2007:116) provides a possible counterexample: *Han sitter och somnar* (lit. *he sits and falls.asleep*) which, according to Wiklund, has a pre-inceptive reading: 'He is about to fall asleep (nodding off)'. This interpretation may be possible in the present tense, as situations are not generally perfective at speech time. It is marginally possible to add an adversative clause here, because it can only describe a hypothetical counterfactual event in the future (16a). In the past tense (16b), however, the imperfective reading requires a very special context without a frequentative adverbial:

- (16) a. ?Han sitter och somnar, men håller sig nog vaken.
he sits and falls.asleep but holds REFL probably awake
 'He is falling asleep, but probably keeps awake.'
 b. Han (satt och) somnade (#Ø /flera gånger), men höll sig vaken.
he sat and fell.asleep many times but held REFL awake
 'He was falling asleep, but kept awake.'

This suggests that *sitta och somna* has pluractional/iterative reading ‘He fell asleep several times’.

With accomplishment predicates in the past tense, adding an adversative *men-* ‘but-’ clause without specification with the progressive marker *hålla på att* is generally odd:

- (17) a. #Han {skrev /satt och skrev} färdigt uppsatsen, men blev aldrig
he wrote sat and wrote to.finish essay-DEF but became never
klar.
done
- b. Han höll på att skriva färdigt uppsatsen, men blev aldrig
he held on to write to.finish essay-DEF but became never
klar.
done
‘He was finishing the essay, but never made it.’

In sum: the *men*-clause, denying that the event boundary is reached, is not compatible with SSL coordinations and simple verbs. Because of this, SSL coordinations (and the simple verb) do not behave quite like imperfective markers. The SSL coordination specifies temporal information that is already intrinsic to the simple verb; we cannot exclude the possibility that the endpoint was reached. With *hålla på att*, we can.

I suggest that *hålla på att* is an aspect changing and quite systematic marker of imperfectivity (in the sense of non-culmination and boundary suppression), making it more of a core TMA category than the SSL coordination (cf. Dahl 1985:23). The *hålla på att* (and variants of it, e.g. *vara nära att* ‘be close to’/*vara på väg att* ‘be on one’s way to’) seems to be especially useful with telic events in the past tense, which tend to become perfectivized.

4.2.2 (A)telicity and (im)perfectivity

But, one may ask, how can telic predicates be combined with SSL coordination, yielding progressive reading, if the construction is not properly imperfectivizing? The answer is that the Swedish simple verb can *also* be used to report on a telic event, at least an event ongoing at a reference time. For example, the achievement verb *stänga* ‘close’ can in certain contexts have an accomplishment-like process reading, which makes “progressive” (ongoing at a reference time) reading possible with the simple verb as well:

- (18) Var på en nattclub ikväll, när de stängde så rörde jag mig
was on a night.club tonight when they closed so moved I REFL
 ut ur lokalen.¹⁷
out out.of room-DEF
 ‘(I) was at a night club tonight. When they closed I moved outside.’

Other VPs include the paramount accomplishment *bygga* + quantized NP:¹⁸

- (19) När jag byggde huset tappade jag en kartongbit ner i
when I built-PRT house-DEF dropped I a piece.of.carton down in
 grunden [...].¹⁹
foundation-DEF
 ‘When I was building the house, I dropped a piece of carton in the foundation.’

Simple-verb accomplishments, e.g. *äta ett äpple* ‘eat an apple’,²⁰ *dricka en öl* ‘drink a beer’, *sticka en mössa* ‘knit a cap’, and *läsa en bok* ‘read a book’, may also combine with ‘when-something-else-happened’ clauses, and this is not surprising assuming that accomplishments consist of at least two parts: an activity + an inception of a new state. The obligatory activity component in e.g. the accomplishment of house-building is illustrated in the following example (Tonne 2001:186), which says that one cannot build a house without going through the process of building it:

- (20) Gud skapte et hus i et lysglimt. ?Han bygget det av murstein. [Norw.]
 ‘God created a house in a flash. ?He built it out of brick.’

This underlines the importance of keeping telicity (potential terminal point) and perfectiveness (actually achieved end point) apart (cf. e.g. Dahl 1981). Perfectiveness entails telicity, but telicity does not entail perfectiveness, if a process part can be inferred.

These assumptions do not quite agree with accounts for related languages like German, where telicity tends to correlate with perfectivity and atelicity tends to correlate with imperfectivity with predicates that are not overtly marked for viewpoint aspect (Bohnenmeyer & Swift 2004). Accomplishments

17 <<https://www.flashback.org/p44394136>>

18 Cf. also: – *Hade din far något att göra på lediga stunder?* ‘Did your father have anything to do when he had a moment off?’ – *Han byggde en sommarstuga* (lit. he built a summer.house) ‘He was building a summer house’ (Andersson 1977:98).

19 <<http://solenergins.eggetforum.se/krypgrundsavfuktare-t60.html>>

20 Cf. also Andersson (1977:99), who gives the example *Jag åt en morot* (perfective) vs. *Jag åt en morot, när du kom in och skrek att elden var lös* (imperfective) as an example of imperfective interpretation of a telic event.

are particularly interesting in Swedish since they seem to be ambiguous. This has also been observed in Norwegian, leading Tonne (2001:61) to propose the following aspectual interpretations for simple verbs with different situation types (in the past tense):

TABEL 2 *Aspectual interpretations of simple verbs (Tonne 2001:61)*

Achievement	Accomplishment	Activity	State
perfective	neutral	neutral	imperfective

Aspectually neutral situation-type sentences are context dependent, whereas achievements and states more or less always receive perfective and imperfective interpretations, respectively. But even achievements in Swedish are highly context-dependent; they may in some cases be conceived as having proper subparts, e.g. *Demenssjuk dog – medan personalen fikade*²¹ ‘Demented person died while the staff was having coffee’. In the example, the patient’s dying includes a process (in this case having a heart-attack). Consequently, an SSL coordination would also be possible here.

Now, what is stated above is true for the ‘ongoingness’ interpretations. When it comes to boundary suppression, Swedish verbs behave like their Norwegian counterparts, exposing telicity-sensitivity: for example, the sentence *Demenssjuk dog men klarade sig*, ‘Demented person died but survived’, is odd. Consequently, the SSL coordination is not possible here either; only a progressive construction such as *hålla på att* would be able to mark imperfectivity here.

Telicity is difficult to identify in Swedish, because it is expressed by other elements than just e.g. objects. We can use the standard telicity test (e.g. Jackendoff 1996:306, Smith 1997:115) to establish this: telicity-denoting completive (*in-*) adverbials and atelicity-denoting (*för-*) adverbials. In (21a), we have a standard, intransitive use of *läsa* ‘read’, which is atelic. In (21b), there is an object and a conative construction denoting piece-by-piece consumption of the object and as a consequence, unambiguous atelicity is described. In the sentence in (21c), however, there is just a quantized object that “should” denote telicity (e.g. Verkuyl 1993), but it does not (cf. also Larsson & Lyngfelt 2011:66); instead, we have to use a resultative particle, e.g. *ut* ‘out’, to specify the endpoint (21d).²²

21 <www.svt.se/nyheter/regionalt/.../demenssjuk-dog-medan-personalen-fikade>

22 But note that (21d) may still denote ‘ongoingness’ at a reference time: *När jag läste ut boken så skrev jag ned lite stödanteckningar [...]* ‘When I finished the book, I took some notes.’

- (21) a. Jag läste {i /?på} sju timmar. [atelic]
I read-PRT in on seven hours
 'I read for/in seven hours.'
- b. Jag läste i {en bok /boken} {i /??på} sju timmar. [atelic]
I read-PRT in a book book-DEF in on seven hours
 'I read in a book/the book for/in seven hours.'
- c. Jag läste {en bok /boken} {i /på} sju timmar. [telic?]
I read-PRT a book book-DEF in on seven hours
 'I read a book/the book for/in seven hours.'
- d. Jag läste ut boken {?i /på} sju timmar. [telic]
I read-PRT out book-DEF in on seven hours
 'I finished reading the book for/in seven hours.'

The often-used *almost/nearly* test, which normally yields ambiguous reading with accomplishments, either targeting the starting point or the end point (e.g. Smith 1997:43, Tenny 2000:313, Winter 2006), is not always applicable either. In English, it behaves as expected:

- (22) John nearly built his house.
 a. 'John nearly set about building his house, but for some reason had to abandon his house-building plans.'
 b. 'The house was nearly completely built when John was forced to stop for some reason.'

In Swedish, however, there is not clear ambiguity as to which endpoint is targeted. Activities behave as expected, having a single reading targeting the initial boundary (23a–b), but accomplishments seem to behave like activities (23c) without a resultative particle, with which there is no ambiguity either (23d):

- (23) a. Han läste nästan.
he read-PRT almost
 'He almost started reading.'
- b. Han läste nästan i {en bok /boken}.
he read-PRT almost in a book book-DEF
 'He almost started reading in the book.'
- c. ?Han läste nästan {en bok /boken}.
he read-PRT almost a book book-DEF
 'He almost started reading a/the book.'
- d. Han läste nästan ut {en bok /boken}.
he read-PRT almost out a book book-DEF
 'He almost finished reading a/the book.'

is fine. <<http://enboktokstankar.blogspot.se/2008/12/isprinsessan-av-camilla-lckberg.html>>. However, *Jag läste ut boken, men jag orkade inte läsa ut den* 'I finished the book, but I could not finish it' is odd.

Comparing the discussion in this section with that in 4.2.1 above, we find that simple verb forms and SSL coordinations are aspectually alike in relation to boundaries. The *hålla på att* construction is obligatory and provides aspectual content to sentences. This suggests that the function of the SSL coordination is not aspectual. Dowty's past-progressive-to-past-simple entailment test for accomplishments may serve as an example. As seen, *hålla på att* (24b) is similar to the English progressive (24a), whereas the entailments for the simple verb (24c) and the SSL coordination (24d) are unknown:

- | | | | |
|------|------------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (24) | a. John was drawing a circle | does not entail | John drew a circle. |
| | b. John höll på att rita en cirkel | does not entail | John ritade en (hel) cirkel. |
| | | | <i>John held on to draw a circle</i> |
| | | | <i>John drew a whole circle</i> |
| | c. John ritade en cirkel | entails? | John ritade en (hel) cirkel. |
| | | | <i>John drew a circle</i> |
| | | | <i>John drew a whole circle</i> |
| | d. John satt och ritade en cirkel | entails? | John ritade en (hel) cirkel. |
| | | | <i>John sat and drew a circle</i> |
| | | | <i>John drew a whole circle</i> |

I leave telicity here, noting that it ought to be further investigated.

4.2.3 Syntactic quirks of SSL coordinations and aspectual relevance

I will not apply all structural tests for pseudocoordination presented in section 3 above. Although the atypical syntactic characteristics of pseudocoordinations have been treated as an indication of function-word development and consequently the treatment of SSL coordinations as progressive markers, van Pottelberge (2007:118) correctly points out that the syntactic tests are applicable to the whole class of pseudocoordinations (see section 1 above for examples), not just the ones that are standardly considered progressive. Specifically, the tests illustrate the fact that the first conjunct often requires location or manner specification when used outside a pseudocoordination:²³

- (25) Hon sitter /ligger {still /där /och läser /#Ø}.
she sits lies still there and reads

23 There are some uses without locative elaboration, e.g. *Han satt en stund igen* (Hilpert & Koops 2009:247). One may also find expressives like *Du bara står/sitter/ligger, du!* 'You are only sitting/standing/lying!' *Titta, hon står!* 'Look, she is standing/she can stand up!'. Here, focus is on the posture.

This is in line with Hesse's (2009:51) suggested four stages of grammaticalization of pseudocoordinations, based on the placement of a locative modifier. The starting point is an ordinary coordination with a modifier attached to the posture verb (my glossing):

- (26) I. Lisa sitter på sofaen og strikker.
Lisa sits on sofa-DEF and knits
 II. På sofaen sitter Lisa og strikker.
on sofa-DEF sits Lisa and knits
 III. Lisa sitter og strikker på sofaen.
Lisa sits and knits on sofa-DEF
 IV. Lisa sitter og strikker.
Lisa sits and knits

Note that all stages are represented in present-day Swedish as well. The type I construction is still frequent, perhaps even more frequent than the stage III type: ignoring irrelevant hits, a search in Korp [2014-02-03] for <*sitta/stå/ligga* in both tenses + PREPOSITION + NOUN + VERB> gives 32,104 hits, whereas <*sitta/stå/ligga* in both tenses + VERB + PREPOSITION + NOUN>, i.e. the type (III) construction, gives fewer hits (20,141).

Intervening words in pseudocoordinations, usually modifiers of the first verb,²⁴ have posed a problem for researchers in the aspect-syntactic field: How many words should be allowed before the first conjunct loses its aspectual function and becomes too lexically heavy?²⁵ Perhaps the problem is more syntactic than semantic; pseudocoordinations are syntactically atypical, but aspectually, it is the posture verb that does the job. Consider e.g. the aspectually synonymous examples in (27a) and (27b) below (my underlining).

- (27) a. Vi satt och pratade på en parkbänk utanför Konsum hela kvällen, iklädda mörka trikåer med påsydda tyglappar från Buttericks på Korsgatan.
we sat and talked on a park.bench outside Konsum whole evening, dressed.in dark tights with sewn.on patches from Buttericks on Korsgatan

24 The semantic relation between the posture verb and the modifier may sometimes be very weak. For example, in the sentence *Jag sitter febrilt och besvarar mejl* (lit. 'I sit frantically and answer emails, 'I am answering emails frantically'), the adverb *frantically* modifies the VP2 rather than the posture verb.

25 Kortteinen (2005:126) uses as an operational criterion a maximum of three intervening constituents. Kvist Darnell (2008:78, 85f.) opposes this quantitative measure and instead tries to use a criterion based on types of intervening elements (cf. Hilpert & Koops 2009). Nevertheless, she does not find the intervening-modifier criterion useful.

- b. Vi satt på en parkbänk utanför Konsum hela kvällen, iklädda
we sat on a park.benchoutside Konsum whole evening dressed.in
 mörka trikåer med påsydda tyglappar från Buttericks på
dark tights with sewn.on patches from Buttericks on
 Korsgatan, och pratade
Korsgatan and talked
 ‘We were talking (sitting) on a park bench outside Konsum all evening,
 dressed in dark tights with sewn-on patches from Buttericks on Korsgatan.’

We can even use a two-sentence structure, thereby explicating the subject of the second conjunct, and still keep the aspectual information of non-movement of narrative time (e.g. Sandström 1993):

- (28) Vi satt på en parkbänk utanför Konsum hela kvällen, iklädda
we sat on a park.bench outside Konsum whole evening dressed.in
 mörka trikåer med påsydda tyglappar från Buttericks.
dark tights with sewn.on patches from Buttericks
 Oj, vad vi pratade!
wow what we talked
 ‘We were sitting on a park bench outside Konsum all evening, dressed in dark
 tights with sewn-on patches from Buttericks on Korsgatan. We were talking a
 lot!’

Tonne (2001:75) states that in Norwegian, “The more material there is between the verb of posture and the coordination [i.e. conjunction], the more the sentence resembles a normal coordination and less a special aspectual form”. In Swedish, however, there seems to be no such restriction, as long as the speaker and the hearer remember the denotation of the posture verb as a background for the event reference of the second VP. This is connected to a more general phenomenon of movement of narrative time; accomplishments and achievements tend to move narrative time forward and thus update reference time, whereas states and activities tend to halt progression (e.g. Sandström 1993:15). Sequences of accomplishments thus move narrative time forward (29), but not state-like verbs such as *sit* (cf. above).

- (29) Han gick in i baren och beställde en öl.
 ‘He walked into the bar and (then) ordered a beer.’

As Josefsson (1991:135) and van Pottelberge (2007:120) point out, loss of semantic content and the tendency to express ongoing meaning is not restricted to pseudocoordinations. We can elaborate on this claim and assert that there are also other verbal coordinations with atelic first conjuncts that are semantically “less important”. This is in line with the general phenomenon of

motion of narrative time: posture verbs and a number of other atelic verbs do not move narrative time, so there is no narrative progression:

- (30) a. Jag läser och försöker att förstå innebörden av
I read-PRS and try-PRS to understand content-DEF of
texterna.
texts-DEF
b. Jag tittar och njuter.
I watch-PRS and enjoy-PRS

4.2.4 Summary

Pseudocoordinations and related structures optionally disambiguate – at least in out-of-context sentences – from habitual (and future) readings, but not from perfective readings. As for a number of telic events, however, progressive marking with *hålla på att* seems to be semantically obligatory in order to imperfectivize an event. Therefore, it seems that Platzack's (1979:55) claim that "Swedish lacks a realized aspectual opposition progressive/non-progressive" (he claims that the Swedish aspectual opposition is perfect/non-perfect) primarily concerns SSL pseudocoordinations.

Now, let us move on to a number of SSL coordinations which are unexpected under the view that the SSL coordination primarily has a progressive effect.

4.3 Aspectually counter-expectational SSL coordinations

It may be argued that a prerequisite for dubbing a construction *SSL coordination* is that it denotes progressive aspect, and the constructions presented below do not necessarily do this. On the other hand, if SSL coordinations are aspectual markers, they should be able to disambiguate aspect, and preferably also change it. This is, as far as I can see, not done by the constructions presented below.

4.3.1 VP2 states

Apart from typically combining with activities and accomplishments, as mentioned above, SSL coordinations also seem to rather freely combine with a number of states, including stage-level predicates (Kratzer 1995) like 'sit' and 'sleep' (also labelled homogeneous activities, Michaelis 1998) as well as indi-

vidual-level predicates (Kratzer 1995) like ‘be sick’ and ‘contain’ (also labelled state phases, Michaelis 1998):

- (31) a. Ullavihuset [...] står och inrymmer tre lägenheter.²⁶
Ullavi.building-DEF stands and contains three apartments
 b. [...] jag och maken bara sitter och finns till²⁷
I and husband-DEF just sit and exist PRT
 c. Jag satt och visste precis hur hon hade det.²⁸
I sat and knew exactly how she had it

This is quite unexpected for a progressive marker (e.g. Vendler 1957:148, Dahl 1985:93, Henriksson 2006:147). Inability to combine with the progressive has even been used as a stativity test in English (e.g. Sandström 1993:21). The unexpectedness is sometimes explained by the prominent idea that the progressive is in fact a stativizing operator (partly because it, like statives, conveys discourse overlap/non-movement of narrative time), and therefore it should not apply to already stative sentences (e.g. Vlach 1981, Parsons 1989, Michaelis 2005)²⁹. The temporal schema is similar to that of the typical SSL coordinations with VP2 activities and accomplishments, apart from the fact that both VPs denote states of some sort:

- (32) VP1: (I) _____ (F)
 VP2: (I) _____ (F)
 VIEWPOINT: ///
 Example: Huset står och inrymmer tre lägenheter.
building-DEF stands and contains three apartments

4.3.2 Habitual SSL coordinations

In many accounts, the main semantic difference between the simple verb form and the SSL coordination is that the latter disambiguates episodic reading from habitual or generic (e.g. Andersson 1979). The simple verb form is, however, often as “ongoing” as the SSL coordination in an episodic context. A frequent comment from someone in the audience at a seminar is for example

26 <<http://na.se/bostad/1.450693-janagarden-rivs-och-byggs-upp>>

27 <<http://engelsson.blogg.se>>

28 <<http://marisaan.blogg.se/category/allmant.html>>

29 Considering SSL pseudocoordinations, e.g. *sitta och äta ett äpple* (lit. sit and eat an apple), to be stative is intuitively and structurally problematic. They include successive stages of, in this case, apple-eating, and they are “continually subject to a new input of energy”, as Comrie (1976:49) puts it.

introduced by the sentence *Jag sitter här och funderar på x* (lit. *I sit-PRS here and think-PRS about x*). One may at first glance assume that the pseudocoordination is used in order to avoid the reading ‘I think about x now and then’. However, *sitta och tänka på x* may also be habitual (e.g. ‘In my spare time, I sit thinking about x’). It seems that the SSL coordination has another function here, which we will discuss in section 5.

Unexpectedly, under the assumption that they are progressivizers, SSL coordinations occur rather freely with habitual readings, which are often considered to be derived states (e.g. Moens 1987, Smith 1997). In all cases (where applicable)³⁰, both the VP1 posture and the VP2 event are iterated, and the construction as a whole carries connotations of ‘being unable to move’:

- (33) a. En femtedel av oss sitter alltså och betalar 30 procent för mycket för
one fifth of us sit thus and pay 30 per.cent too much for
 vår el [...].³¹
our electricity
 ‘One fifth of us are stuck with paying 30 per cent too much for our electricity.’
- b. Som vinexpert sitter man ju inte och dricker hela
as wine.expert sit one of.course not and drink whole
 dan.
day-DEF
 ‘As a wine expert, one does not (sit and) drink all day.’
- c. Sitter och är arbetslös och börjar tröttna på att dega
sit and am unemployed and start grow.tired on to do.nothing
 hemma.³²
at.home
 ‘(I) am unemployed and I start to grow tired of doing nothing at home.’

A ‘being unable to move’ connotation is also prominent in the minimal-pair exchange below:

- (34) A: En riktig karl sitter inte och kör mopedbil.
a real man sit not and drive quadricycle
 ‘A real man does not drive (is not stuck with driving) a quadricycle.’
- B: #Jag håller med; en riktig karl sitter och kör långtradare.
I agree PRT a real man sits and drives trailer.truck
 ‘I agree; a real man drives a trailer truck.’

30 Sentences with VP2 states are hardly iterated at all, e.g. *Statyn står och är vacker* ‘The statue stands and is beautiful’.

31 <<http://www.compricer.se/nyheter/artikel/har-ditt-bundna-elavtal-lopt-ut-da-betalar-du-kanske-30--for-mycket>>

32 <<https://www.flashback.org/t1727726>>

Assuming that everybody wants to be a real man (in the intended sense), someone who does not fulfil the criterion may feel stuck when performing the unmanly activity, but someone who does fulfil the criterion for being a real man, i.e. drives a trailer truck, presumably does not feel stuck during the fulfilment of the criterion.

4.3.3 Non-ongoing VP2 achievements

Non-ongoing VP2 achievements have been noted in the literature, although they have not been discussed properly. SAG (4:905) considers (35) below “bounded” (presumably the same as perfective here), which is quite contrary to what is expected.

- (35) Står han inte och somnar på sitt pass! Ofattbart! (SAG 4:905)
stands he not and falls.asleep on REFL duty unbelievable
 ‘He falls asleep on his duty! Unbelievable!’

Other examples include:

- (36) a. Du sitter alltså och säger att du har spelat bort våra pengar?
you sit-PRS thus and say-PRS that you have gambled away our money
 ‘So, you say that you gambled away our money?’
 b. En stod och ramlade bakl[ä]nges och spydde [...].³³
one stood and fell backwards and puked
 ‘One person fell backwards and puked.’

This type of pseudocoordination is first of all rather uncommon with *ligga* ‘lie’ in VP1, and it is often used in condemnation utterances; the sentence *Du sitter och säger att du älskar mig?* (*you sit-PRS and say-PRS that you love-PRS me?*) is for example not expected, if not uttered in a contradictory or adversative context, e.g. continuing ... *trots att du nyss skällde ut mig?* (‘... despite that you just scolded me?’).

This SSL coordination stands out in the sense that first, the events in VP1 and VP2 are not parallel (the VP2 is more or less punctual) and second, the VP2 cannot coincide with the asserted VIEWPOINT. Therefore, it is not possible to speak of it as a marker of “ongoingness”. Consider e.g. (36a) above: if someone says *Jag har spelat bort våra pengar* ‘I have gambled away our money’, the VP2 utterance must be completed before the hearer utters (36a) – otherwise,

33 <<http://hustleandflow.blogg.se>>

she will not perceive the whole utterance. The contribution of the SSL coordination here is that the sitting posture is truth-conditionally obligatory at the asserted VIEWPOINT; the person sitting saying something must be sitting while pronouncing the utterance.

The somewhat awkward temporal schema is presented below. The achievement is represented by E_R , i.e. as an instantaneous event that results in a change of state, and the following dots represent the resulting “effect” of the VP2 which is highlighted by VIEWPOINT:

- (37) VP1: (I) _____ (F)
 VP2: E_R
 VIEWPOINT: ///////////////
 Example: Vad är det du sitter och säger?
what is it you sit-PRS and say-PRS

The attitudinal marking may be explained by a conversational implicature in the sense of Grice (1975): if the pseudocoordination does not add expected(?) aspectual meaning, you would expect there to be some other reading (e.g. pejorative) present; there may be a pragmatic clash between doing something unexpected and provocative while being in a rather comfortable posture (you would perhaps instead expect the subject to be running around screaming).³⁴ The fact that this type of coordination with *say* is usually used with a subject other than the speaker illustrates that there is a tint of disapproval (speaker A would not likely condemn that he *announced* that he gambled away money):

- (38) A: Jag har spelat bort våra pengar.
 ‘I gambled away our money.’
 B: Vad sitter du och säger?
what sit-PRS you and say-PRS
 ‘What are you saying?’
 A: #Jo, jag sitter och säger att jag har spelat bort våra pengar.
oh I sit-PRS and say-PRS that I have gambled away our money
 Intended: ‘Oh, I am saying that I have gambled away our money.’

4.3.4 Inchoative and futurate readings

There are quite a few other SSL coordinations that do not straightforwardly lend themselves to ordinary temporal analysis, making it difficult to figure out

34 However, the question is normally acceptable with *sitta* and *stå*; *Vad är det du ligger och säger?* ‘What are you lying and saying?’ is not common with attitudinal marking (possibly for prototypicality reasons).

the semantic connection between the different constructions. One type can focus the preliminary stages of an achievement event:

- (39) Jag stod och tänkte hoppa från bron.
I stood and planned jump-INF from bridge-DEF
 ‘I was planning to jump from the bridge.’

(39) can be temporally represented as below. Note that *tänkte hoppa* ‘planned to jump’ also has a modal reading, which is why E_R is bracketed:

- (40) VP1: (I)_____ (F)
 VP2: _____ (E_R)
 VIEWPOINT: ////////////////?
 Example: Jag stod och tänkte hoppa från bron.
I stood and planned jump-INF from bridge-DEF

There may be other situation types in VP2, such as accomplishments:

- (41) Sitter och ska strax printa ut in[b]judningskorten [...].³⁵
sit-PRS and will shortly print out invitation.cards-DEF
 ‘(I) will shortly print the invitation cards.’

These would have the following temporal representation:

- (42) VP1: (I)_____ (F?)
 VP2:I_____ F_(ARB)
 VIEWPOINT: ////////////////
 Example: Sitter och ska strax printa ut in[b]judningskorten.
sit-PRS and will shortly print out invitation.cards-DEF

Dowty (1986:54) states that “the possibility of an inceptive interpretation is extremely remote with progressives”. On the other hand, the construction indeed resembles the English futurate progressive (e.g. *We are leaving tomorrow*), which has been analyzed by e.g. Dowty (1977) as an extension of the regular imperfective. We may perhaps also think of it as a variant of the Swedish near-future, i.e. prospective, imperfective with *hålla på att* (as in *Jag höll på att trilla av stolen*, ‘I was about to fall off the chair’). However, the Swedish future periphrases, especially with the *ska* auxiliary, carry connotations of modality that are not present in the English futurate progressive.

35 <<http://www.brollopstorget.se/Forum-15-26/m2255545.html>>

4.3.5 Egressive readings

Another unexpected feature of SSL coordinations is that they combine with egressive readings of accomplishments. There is no indication that the culmination will not occur.

- (43) a. Satt och läste ut hela min engelska bok idag.³⁶
sat and read-PAST to.end whole my English book today
 ‘(I) was finishing my English book today.’
 b. [...] hans hustru satt och drack upp den sista klunken kaffe [...].³⁷
his wife sat and drank to.end the last gulp coffee
 ‘His wife drank up the last gulp of coffee.’

The construction may be temporally represented as below:

- (44) VP1: (I)_____ (F?)
 VP2: I.....F
 VIEWPOINT: // // // //
 Example: Satt och läste ut boken.
sat and read-PAST to.end book-DEF

4.3.6 Sequential/resultative readings

The sentence below is a comment on a video clip from a bungee jump gone wrong.

- (45) Jag stod och hoppade från den bron, för något år sedan.³⁸
I stood and jumped from that bridge for some year ago
 ‘I jumped from that bridge some year ago.’

It is not crystal clear what the sentence actually means, but considering the fact that the bungee-jump took place from a very high bridge (which is evident on the web page), the sentence likely refers to the subject’s standing and sequential jumping once. However, had it been a pluractional/iterative event (‘several jumps’), where the standing and jumping took place simultaneously, the pseu-

36 <<http://llolos.blogg.se/2011/may/glass-med-lakrits.html>>

37 <<http://www.kapitel1.se/staffan-ekeberg/terro/svanberg-hade-redan-satt-sig-i-bilen-for-att-kora-till-jobbet-nar-mobiltelefonen-ringde-#1>>

38 <<http://sannies.se/2012/january/-repet-gick-av-bungy-jump.html>>

docoordination would not be less interesting: in that case, the standing would be a more or less purely locative marker, and ‘stand and jump’ would mean that the subject ‘was at a location jumping several times’.

The representation of the first, most likely, reading may look like this:

- (46) VP1: (I)_____ (F)
 VP2: _____ E_R.....
 VIEWPOINT: /////
 Example: Jag stod och hoppade från den bron
I stood and jumped from that bridge

Let us now move over to two counter-expectational *syntactic* features of SSL coordinations.

4.3.7 Syntactic surprise 1: non-identical inflection

An essential feature of verbal pseudocoordinations is that the two conjuncts have the same inflectional morphology (e.g. de Vos 2004, Wiklund 2007). This is sometimes referred to as a copying phenomenon (roughly, that the verb in the second conjunct copies the inflectional form of the first conjunct, even though the construction, according to some accounts, is hypotactic, cf. Wiklund 2007). On the other hand, it is a fact that otherwise pseudocoordinative structures sometimes do not display shared inflectional morphology between the conjuncts (also noted by Lødrup 2014:51f.). For example, SSL coordinations with VP2s in the perfect tense are not uncommon, and they seem to be examples of resultative readings; temporally speaking, they focus the resultant state of a completed telic event:

- (47) Jag stod och hade just betalat [...].³⁹
I stood and had just paid
 ‘I (was standing and) had just paid.’

In (47), one could of course claim that there is indeed shared inflectional morphology between the posture verb *stod* and the auxiliary *hade*, but there are more intriguing examples as well. In (48), it is denoted that during the posture event, the subject experiences the effects of past actions (temporally speaking, the referent is in the resultant state of a foregoing situation):

³⁹ <<http://simkaka.blogg.se/2011/december>>

- (48) Sitter och blev sugen att beställa lite löshår.
sit-PRS and was peckish to order-INF some hairpiece
 ‘(I am sitting and) felt like ordering some hair-piece units.’

It does not stop here, however. Although I find the example below ungrammatical, there are numerous⁴⁰ Google hits for the search string *suttit* (i.e. SUPINE form of *sitta*) + *kollar* (*kolla-PRS*) cannot be rejected as misspellings:

- (49) Har suttit och kollar på tatueringar på Google nu igen [...].⁴¹
have sit-SUP and check-PRS on tattoos on Google now again
 ‘(I) (have been sitting and I) am checking out tattoos on Google again.’

The construction is not restricted to the verb *kolla* (though this verb is one of the most frequent [15 out of a total of 120] in this construction according to Korp 2014-01-15 in a search in all corpora). Other verbs include VP2s like *titta* ‘look at’ and *jämföra* ‘compare’ (search string 2014-01-15 in Korp: <*suttit/stått/legat + och + PRESENT ACTIVE VERB*>).

I will not attempt to illustrate the associated temporal representation, because it is difficult to determine whether the sitting event is still present at assertion time, and it is impossible to determine the starting point of the event in VP2.

4.3.8 Syntactic surprise 2: serial progressives?

A hallmark of progressives, related to their assumed inherent stativity, is that they do not combine with other progressives (e.g. **I am being eating*; **Jag höll på att hålla på att diska* ‘I was being washing up’; cf. also Moens 1987:75). This is, however, possible when SSL coordinations are used, suggesting that SSL coordinations are not progressive:

- (50) Jag sitter och håller på att fylla i en ansökan om
I sit-PRS and hold on to fill-INF in an application about
graviditetspenning.⁴²
pregnancy.benefit
 ‘I am filling in an application form for pregnancy benefits.’

40 According to Google, there were more than 3 million hits for this search string. This number should of course be treated with caution.

41 <<http://olivialindqvist.webblogg.se/2009/march>>

42 <<https://sv-se.facebook.com/foralder/posts/412365982177934>>

In this case, we would likewise need to represent the construction as consisting of two temporally parallel states. I will not attempt that here.

4.3.9 Summary

The survey of more or less unexpected SSL coordinations indicate that there is more to the SSL coordination than progressivity/imperfectivity, if the SSL coordination can be said to be primarily progressive at all. In section 5, I argue that the construction is not primarily progressive; the fact that SSL coordinations do not refer systematically to an event in progress suggests that the progressive reading is a side-effect of performing something while being located somewhere.

5. Spatial orientation

In this chapter, it is argued that the primary function of SSL coordinations is to locate events in space. In section 5.1, we analyze relevant posture verbs as such, and in 5.2 we use the insights in connection with SSL coordinations. In section 5.3, we try to relate locative meaning to “ongoingness”.

5.1 The posture verbs ‘sit’, ‘stand’, and ‘lie’

It seems safe to propose that much (human) activity comes about in postures. Even though they are not all coded in language (for example, Swedish has no direct correlate to the English *squat*, but instead treats it as a variant of sitting), they are usually implicitly or explicitly present.

Posture verbs are among the most frequent verbs in Swedish (Jakobsson 1996:3, Kvist Darnell 2008:206). Their frequency relative to other frequent verbs in Swedish and in other languages has led some researchers to assert that they are part of the Swedish “lexical profile” (e.g. Jakobsson 1996:3). In Viberg’s (2013) study on translations of posture verbs, Swedish (and German) stands out in preferring posture verbs over more general copula verbs. Finnish almost exclusively uses the latter type, whereas there is more balance between the two types in e.g. English, albeit copulas, or paraphrases, are strongly preferred with inanimate subjects (Viberg 2013:149, also cf. Kuteva 1999:2000).

Viberg’s findings are supported by a search in Korp (2013-12-30) for <PRESENT VERB + *i* ‘in’ + the randomly chosen nouns *bilen/duschen/sängen* ‘the

car/the shower/the bed’> and concentrating on the verbs *vara* ‘be’ and *sitta/stå/ligga* ‘sit/stand/lie’. The search resulted in the following absolute values:

<PRESENT VERB + *i* + *bilen*> (total: 3,015): *sitter i bilen*: 2,075; *är i bilen*: 103

<PRESENT VERB + *i* + *duschen*> (total: 1,037): *står i duschen*: 461; *är i duschen*: 136

<PRESENT VERB + *i* + *sängen*> (total: 7,358): *ligger i sängen*: 5,249; *är i sängen*: 120

Considering the fact that the subject is not known (there may be a number of non-animate ones, which do not necessarily have typical human postures in the examples, e.g. *Nycklarna är/ligger i bilen* ‘the keys are/lie in the car’), this is quite an interesting result: the posture variant dominates over the existential in all of the exemplified constructions. As noted by Kuteva (1999), discussed in section 5.3 below, the dominance of posture verbs, as opposed to ‘be’ constructions in a language may be a partial explanation for why SSL coordinations are frequently used as well.

Not only people and other animals (at least sufficiently large quadrupeds) truthfully sit, stand and lie in Swedish: by analogy, objects fixed in a position generally sit, e.g. *Nyckeln sitter i låset* ‘The key is (sits) in the lock’, and vertically elongated objects (including those without leg-like parts), written information, etc. stand, as in *Boken står på hyllan* ‘The book is (stands) on the shelf’; *Detta står i boken* ‘This (piece of information) is (stands) in the book’ (the letters ‘stand’ on a line). Horizontally elongated objects generally lie, e.g. *Tröjan ligger på golvet* ‘The sweater is (lies) on the floor’, and this is often the case for localities as well, e.g. *Boston ligger i Massachusetts* ‘Boston is (lies) in Massachusetts’. There are also a number of set phrases and idioms with posture verbs, e.g. *sitta i fängelse* ‘be (sit) in jail’, *stå inför rätta* ‘be (stand) on trial’, and *ligga bra till* ‘be (lie) well situated’.

Jakobsson (1996:16f.), using a cognitively inspired approach, notes that Swedish posture verbs are used for entities that are located at a certain spot and exerts pressure against it. The relation is further specified by the posture information, but the posture is not primarily a specification of the shape of the object, but rather a specification of its relation to a base. Jakobsson (p. 22) also notes that *stå* ‘stand’ refers to bodies that are held vertical by force and are prepared for action (or not!)⁴³, whereas *ligga* is used for objects that are passively supported by a surface (cf. e.g. *ligga och dega*, lit. *lie and act.like.dow*, i.e.

43 All posture verbs may specify non-motion and ‘being stuck’: in Swedish, a clock that is not working is ‘standing’ (as in *Klockan står* ‘The clock stands’), and a metaphorical card that is put on a table and not possible to take back is ‘lying’ (e.g. *lagt kort ligger* ‘played card lies’). A screw that is stuck is ‘sitting’. Cf. Jakobsson (1996:34).

‘do nothing’). *Sitta* very often refers to fixation to a base. This is in line with phrases such as *sitta i fängelse* ‘sit (be stuck) in jail’ and sentences with inchoative ‘sit’ like *Vi får sätta oss (ner) och fundera på detta* ‘We will have to sit down (i.e. physically fixate ourselves) and really think about this’, which are used when something needs to be thoroughly analyzed under mental rather than physical concentration. Standing and sitting is associated with communication and work; by uttering e.g. *Lisa sitter i Paris*, lit. *Lisa sits in Paris*, we conclude that she is possibly not on vacation but doing work associated with a sitting posture (Jakobsson 1996:52). Lying, on the other hand, is associated with rest.

Newman (2002:1) acknowledges that posture verbs cross-linguistically, in the so-called spatio-temporal domain, denote “a strong sense of the extension of a state through time”; for example, Maori *noho* does not only mean ‘sit’, but also ‘stay, live’ (p. 12). In the force-dynamics domain, standing requires most sensorimotor control, whereas lying requires least control, sitting being the case in between. Newman (p. 3) also discusses the socio-cultural domain, in which sitting is a relatively comfortable position (ACTIVE REST in Lemmen’s 2005 terms) which “combines both the opportunity to work with the hands, to look ahead and around easily, to eat and drink normally, while at the same time not becoming tired through prolonged exercise of the leg muscles”. Standing in turn “allows a greater exercise of physical power, vision over a greater distance, and is a prerequisite for walking, running etc.”, whereas lying is associated with rest, sickness, death, etc. This is in line with Lakoff & Johnson’s (2003:15ff.,57) general remark that the spatial concept ‘up’ is generally good and conscious whereas ‘down’ is generally bad and unconscious. They assume that the positive attitude associated with erect positions (e.g. standing and sometimes sitting) are related to the gravitational field (i.e. you must exert energy to defy it).

Newman (2002:18f.) also discusses other extensions of postures: he mentions the “non-activity sit”, denoting that the entity sitting is “underutilized”, as in *The new car is sitting in the garage until it is registered*, and the “honorific sit, stand, lie”. The latter type is exemplified by Chitimacha (Amerindian), where *pe(h)* ‘lying’ applied to humans has derogatory connotations, whereas *či(h)* ‘standing’ has connotations of respect.

Lemmens (2002), analyzing Dutch posture verbs, notes that (like in Swedish, by the way) “The conventions of Dutch commit the speaker to use posture verbs rather than more general verbs such as *zijn* ‘to be’ [...]” (p. 133). He also notes that *zitten* ‘sit’ has connotations of being stuck/fixated/passive. However, Dutch seems to be even more exotic than Swedish in the extensional use of *zitten* in the ‘close containment’ sense, e.g. *Er zit water in de fles* ‘There sits water in the bottle’ (Swedish would here employ existential *varal finnas* ‘be’). Also, *zitten* may be used posture-neutrally: in *Hij ligt/zit in bed* ‘He lies/sits in bed’, both posture verbs can sometimes denote a person lying in

bed; *zitten* does not necessarily denote posture (it simply locates the subject in bed), while *liggen* ‘lie’ underlines the posture. *Zitten* in this case denotes ‘close contact with the ground’ (in the figure-ground sense), which leads Lemmens to propose the class CONTACT-*zitten* (the water-sitting-in-the-bottle sense is called CONTAINMENT-*zitten*). The CONTACT-*zitten* class includes metonymical shifts from the supporting ground to the enclosing container, as in the *sit in the car* type, where the actual contact zone, a seat, is implicit.

In sum, the lexical semantics of posture verbs does not only involve dimensions of verticality and horizontality associated with the subject referent. An important feature is that they are obligatorily used to denote that the subject, completely or partly, is *maintaining contact with a certain spot from which it does not move*.

5.2 Locative consequences for SSL coordinations

As seen in the *sitta i bilen*, *stå i duschen*, and *ligga i sängen* examples above, the posture is seldom in focus, because objects in the world (predominantly humans) almost always maintain them while acting, which is why they are often highly predictable and consequently “light” in terms of information structure.⁴⁴ When used outside SSL coordination, they are, like *vara* ‘be’, used for introducing a location: you sit/stand/lie SOMEWHERE. For example, a locative question with the (non-copula) verb *vara* ‘be’ may be answered with a sentence containing a posture verb and a locative adverbial (where only the locative adverbial is obligatory as an answer to the location question), but the posture verb cannot be used in absolute position (note, also, that the posture verb in itself is “progressive”):

- (51) A: Var är du?/Vad gör du?
 ‘Where are you?/What are you doing?’
 B: Jag står {i duschen /#Ø}.
 I stand-PRS in shower-DEF
 ‘I am standing in the shower./I am showering.’

From what is stated above, we can conclude that “semantic bleaching” is not necessarily connected only to “progressivity” in SSL coordinations.

44 This is true only if the object has the expected posture. In a sentence like *Mattan står på golvet* (Jakobsson 1996:29) ‘The carpet is standing (e.g. rolled up) on the floor’, the posture would likely be in focus.

Consequently, coordinations with other non-inceptive but lexically “enriched” posture verbs may be “progressive” as well:

- (52) a. Jag halvlåg och tittade på film [...].⁴⁵
I half-ly and watched on movie
'I was watching a movie (half-lying)./#I watched a movie.'
- b. Jag stod på knä och bad.
I stood on knee and prayed
'I was praying (on my knees)./#I prayed.'

Furthermore, we know from previous studies (e.g. Ekberg 1983, Josefsson 1991) that the posture in VP1 must often correspond with the posture of the subject performing the event in VP2. However, sometimes the posture is only assumed. The following passage is from a discussion forum, where the speaker can only assume that the contender is sitting in front of a computer device:

- (53) Varför sitter du och snackar om skit du inte vet någonting om?⁴⁶
why sit-PRS you and talk-PRS about shit you not know anything about
'Why are you talking shit about things you don't know anything about?'

In some cases, the subject is difficult to define. This is especially evident with semantically empty subjects:

- (54) [...] det står och regnar på husen i en vecka [...].⁴⁷
it stands and rains on houses-DEF in one week
'it rains on the houses (for a week)'

(54) is at first glance surprising in that the subject is expletive, but considering that it only seems to stand and rain in/on particular fixated objects, it is really not that remarkable. It is for example difficult to imagine a sentence like *I dag står det och regnar i södra USA* ('Today it stands and rains in southern US'), without referring to a particular location that is actually exposed to rain. Also, it is barely possible to stand and rain into/onto an object in motion. Example (55) would only work if there was a supernatural low-pressure weather system outside the train window moving at the same speed as the “berained” spot:

45 <<http://www.tacksomfan.se/hemma-i-verkligheten>>

46 <<http://www.sweclockers.com/forum/93-hobby-fritid-och-livsstil/753626-varegens-vara-eller-inte-vara/index2.html>>

47 <<http://www.byggahus.se/forum/hustillverkare/187355-vilka-hustillverkare-kommer-overleva-3.html>>

- (55) #Det stod och regnade in under hela tågresa.
it stood and rained in during whole train.trip-DEF
 Intended: ‘Rain was coming in during the whole train trip.’

To sum up, the examples provided in this section show that the posture verb is somewhat de-semanticized; it has indeed lost its concrete posture meaning in some cases. What seems to be important, however, is that it has not lost its lexical meaning of location, i.e. that the event is performed at a spatial location.⁴⁸ The spatial location of the posture may also have to be rather limited:

- (56) a. Här, i hörnet av trädgården, {byggde jag /stod jag och byggde}
here in corner-DEF of garden-DEF built I stood I and built
 mitt första lusthus.
my first summer.house
 ‘Here, in the corner of the garden, I built/was building my first summer house.’
- b. Här, i Sverige, {byggde jag /#stod jag och byggde} mitt första lusthus.
here in Sweden built I stood I and built my first summer.house.
 ‘Here, in Sweden, I built/was building my first summer house.’

5.3 The typical “ongoingness” reading revisited

Where does the “ongoingness” reading with SSL coordinations, as described in section 4.1 come from? The answer has already been hinted at, but based on the findings in the present article, it is tempting to employ a metaphorical perspective on SSL coordinations. Metaphorical mappings involve reinterpretation from the more concrete domain of space, which we have sensory information about, into the more abstract domain of time (e.g. Boroditsky 2000, Richardson et al. 2001).⁴⁹ Assuming a cognitivist Metaphorical Structuring View, Boroditsky (2000) and Casanto & Boroditsky (2008) describe and provide empirical evidence for conceptual relational similarities between space and time. For example, each moment in time happens only once, which has a spatial analogue in the fact that we can only be at one place at a time. Boroditsky (2000) divides temporal metaphors into the ego-moving metaphor

48 This is related to what Hesse (2009:80f.) refers to as the visualization effect of SSL coordinations.

49 The representations may of course differ slightly: for example, English speakers tend to represent time horizontally, whereas Mandarin speakers represent it both horizontally and vertically (Boroditsky 1999).

and the time-moving metaphor. The former represents the experiencer's (ego's) progress along the time-line from the past into the future, for example by moving along a path, whereas the latter represents time moving from the future into the past, frontally approaching (depending on culture) the fixed experiencer. Following these findings, we may draw a parallel between movement of narrative time and spatial (non-) movement of the experiencing subject. If the subject is still or in contact with a spot in space, as in the "typical" SSL coordinations, time and situations will be perceived as moving (progressing) past it. As a result, narrative time will not move.

On the other hand: ignoring the rich lexical meaning of Swedish posture verbs as shown in the sections above, we can simply conclude that they indeed carry distinct temporal features due to their stative-like semantics. They often express extended time, i.e. durativity, which seems to be related to the fact that posture verbs, unlike most other atelic verbs, describe situations in the world that are usually strictly unbounded. Like states (and progressives, e.g. Sandström 1993:119), they denote situations without any relevant initial or final endpoints. It is generally odd to add an inchoative auxiliary like *börja* 'begin' or an egressive auxiliary like *sluta* 'stop' to a posture verb. The sentence *Han satt på stolen* (lit. *he sat on chair-DEF*) can for example usually only mean 'He was in the middle of having buttocks-contact with the chair'; the inchoative meaning is taken care of by the reflexive variants *sätta/ställa/lägga* + REFL 'enter sitting/standing/lying'. To illustrate, we can compare posture verbs to other, likewise atelic, verbs such as *koka* 'boil'. This verb can have both a "progressive" reading in the present, e.g. *Potatisen kokar* (lit. *potatoes-DEF boil-PRES*, 'The potatoes are boiling'), and an inchoative reading as in *Potatisen kokade kl. 13.15, så den är färdig kl. 13.35* (lit. *potatoes-DEF boil-PAST 13:15, so they are done 13:35*, 'The potatoes started boiling at 1:15pm, so they will be ready at 1:35pm'; cf. Andersson 1977:100).

SSL coordinations are, as a consequence of the temporal characteristics of the posture verb, time-inclusive in the sense that they include other events in the running time of the situation denoted by the posture verb. On top of this, an ontological difference as compared to many other verbs, situations denoted by posture verbs allow the subject to perform events simultaneously to maintaining the posture (cf. also Newman 2002:4):

- (57) Jag {satt /#aktade mig /#köpte mjölk /#sov} och skrev en
I sat watched REFL bought milk slept and wrote a
 avhandling.
dissertation

But why use posture verbs at all? Kuteva (1999), analyzing ‘sit’/‘stand’/‘lie’+and+main verb (morphologically already marked for imperfectivity) constructions in Bulgarian, argues that languages generally preferring posture verbs over ‘be’ verbs also employ SSL coordinative structures in order to mark “continuative/durative/progressive”: “‘sit’/‘stand’/‘lie’+and+main verb structure is the ‘sedimentation’ (i.e. the grammaticalization) of the all-too-common usage of the three bodily posture verbs in the languages in which it appears” (p. 197). This all-too-common usage (in Swedish as well) is old, tracing back to ancient Indo-European languages.

Kuteva (1999:210) proposes a four-stage grammaticalization chain for SSL coordinations. At stage 1, the coordination is used with human subjects to specify posture. Stage 2 involves canonical encodings of spatial position and a simultaneous verb situation. Kuteva suggests that in stage 2, the notion of human posture is lost, which makes the inherent temporal unboundedness of the posture verb the focal feature. Stage 3 involves the unitary-event reading that is aspectual (continuative/durative/progressive). Finally, at stage 4, the coordination takes both animate and inanimate subjects. From a Swedish point of view, a problem with Kuteva’s analysis above is that posture verbs in Bulgarian seem to be much more “auxiliarized” than their Swedish counterparts: unlike in Swedish, it is for example possible to ‘sit and clean the house’ (Kuteva 1999:195), without connotations of bodily orientation or the single-base-contact associated with sitting. Another problem shared with many other studies on pseudocoordinations is that the use of aspectual terminology is not quite clear: one may for example wonder whether *continuative*, *durative*, and *progressive* refer to exactly the same aspectual concept. A third problem is that the type of verb phrase in VP2 is not discussed; it is usually only atelic ones that are in focus. A fourth problem is the coarse-grained grammaticalization chain that does not acknowledge a stage in between 1 and 2, which may be relevant for Swedish: if the human-posture meaning is lost, the next stage is not necessarily immediately aspectual; there may still be lexical information of location specification in focus. I think that the grammaticalization chain for posture verbs in some Oceanic languages, which have progressed in different ways along the grammaticalization chain (Lichtenberk 2002:310), is more adequate for Swedish, where posture verbs in some cases have reached stage 2, denoting location:

(58) posture > locative/existential > aspectual

6. Concluding discussion

It is argued that although posture verbs can often be semantically bleached, they retain spatial features. The article has shown that posture verbs are syntactically atypical, primarily in being able to have an absolute position in pseudo-coordinations (cf. section 5.2). Semantically, however, posture verbs are essentially ordinary verbs with quite rich spatial semantics. An auxiliary analysis of the posture verb in SSL coordinations is therefore questionable.

Although truly progressive markers tend to be derived from locative concepts, e.g. the English *be + V-ing* (cf. Bybee et al. 1994), it seems that the locative concept has more or less completely eroded: it "appears to be made up of a copula with no particular locative meaning and a gerund, again with no evidence of a locative meaning" (Bybee et al. 1994:132). Thus, the English progressive means 'be present doing something' rather than, like the Swedish SSL coordination, 'be located at a spot doing something'. As Lemmens (2002:133) points out, "A profile on existence is quite independent of location and/or position", noting the difference between 'Where is your car?' (e.g. if you did not come to a meeting by car), which denotes a relationship between 'you' and 'your car', while 'Where stands your car?' denotes a locative relation between 'where' and 'your car' (in other words, the figure is a part of the ground).

Albeit a posture-oriented language, Dutch SSL-"coordination" matrix verbs are even more auxiliarized than their Swedish counterparts, because they (like e.g. English progressives) occur with infinitival complements, in line with common assumptions about the nature of (semi-/quasi-) auxiliary constructions (e.g. Heine 1993:15). The Swedish SSL coordination, on the other hand, requires two finite verb elements, which may have other implications for its meaning. This needs to be further investigated.

Because another well-known Swedish progressive marker, *hålla på att*, has been treated on par with pseudocoordinations, it is commonly assumed that Swedish has optional progressive marking altogether. *Hålla på att*, however, is a rather systematic and semantically obligatory marker in combination with accomplishments and achievements (with prospective reading), where imperfective reading of non-completion is intended.

The Swedish *hålla på att* and the SSL coordination are not just formal variants; only the former behaves like a typical progressive marker, associated with events in progress as well as incomplete events, whereas the latter may be dubbed progressive-like or even pseudoprogressive. The SSL coordination, in its "progressive" function, is restricted to already incomplete and ongoing situations in VP2, the temporal semantics of which can be expressed by the simple verb as well (and it is thus not in opposition to perfective interpretation). Its primary function, I suggest, is instead to mark locative information.

Appendix

SSL-coordination VP2s in Kvist Darnell (2008) and SAG sorted by token frequency

Non-quantized plural and mass objects and complement adverbials (e.g. *med* + NP) are not shown in because they are assumed not to affect the aspectual interpretation. Subject information is given in cases where the type of subject may affect aspectual interpretation. Else, the subject is singular with telic interpretations.

Key to some abbreviations: A: atelic, T: telic, NP-SING-INDEF: singular indefinite NP (e.g. *läsa en bok*), NP-SING-DEF: singular definite NP (e.g. *tappa boken*), NP-PLUR-DEF: plural definite NP (eg. *läsa böckerna*), SUBCLAUSE: subordinate clause

VP2	Telicity	Kvist Darnell (2008)	SAG	Total
läsa	A.....	30	12.....	42
prata	A.....	8	4.....	12
vänta	A.....	6	1.....	7
kissa	A.....	6 .....	.....	6
röka	A.....	4	2.....	6
skriva	A.....	4	1.....	5
göra	A.....	4 .....	.....	4
sova	A.....	3	1.....	4
tänka	A.....	2	2.....	4
äta	A.....	4 .....	.....	4
läsa + NP-SING-INDEF	T.....	2	1.....	3
stampa	A.....	3 .....	.....	3
arbeta	A.....	.....	2.....	2
dö (mass subject)	A.....	.....	2.....	2
glo.....	A.....	.....	2.....	2
hänga	A.....	2 .....	.....	2
ryka.....	A.....	.....	2.....	2
skala.....	A.....	2 .....	.....	2
skriva + NP-SING-INDEF	T.....	1	1.....	2
snarka.....	A.....	.....	2.....	2
spegla + REFL	A.....	1	1.....	2
spela.....	A.....	.....	2.....	2
stinka	A.....	2 .....	.....	2
stirra.....	A.....	.....	2.....	2
sy	A.....	.....	2.....	2

tappa + NP-SING-DEF.....	T.....	1	1	2
vara	A.....	1	1	2
virka.....	A.....		2	2
blicka	A.....	1		1
busköra	A.....		1	1
dricka	A.....		1	1
drömma	A.....		1	1
fundera.....	A.....		1	1
gråta.....	A.....	1		1
heja på.....	A.....		1	1
hosta	A.....		1	1
klaga	A.....	1		1
känna på	A.....	1		1
känna sig.....	A.....	1		1
köra.....	A.....	1		1
lukta.....	A.....	1		1
lura	A.....	1		1
lyssna	A.....		1	1
låta bli + INFP	T?	1		1
(negated action)				
längta	A.....	1		1
läsa + NP-PLUR-DEF	T.....	1		1
läsa + NP-SING-DEF.....	T.....	1		1
mala	A.....	1		1
mobbas	A.....	1		1
percipiera	A.....	1		1
plita ner + NP-PLUR-DEF	T.....	1		1
puttra	A.....	1		1
pyra.....	A.....	1		1
raka + REFL	A.....		1	1
räkna ut + SUBCLAUSE	T.....		1	1
se.....	A.....		1	1
sjunga.....	A.....	1		1
skrapa.....	A.....		1	1
skråla.....	A.....	1		1
skräpa.....	A.....		1	1
släss	A.....		1	1
smaka	A.....	1		1
småniga.....	A.....		1	1
snurra.....	A.....		1	1
spy ut + NP-MASS	A.....	1		1

sticka.....	A.....	1.....	1
tala.....	A.....	1.....	1
tappa bort + REFL.....	T.....	1.....	1
tiga.....	A.....	1.....	1
titta	A.....	1	1
trycka (intransitive)	A.....	1	1
träta	A.....	1.....	1
tvätta + REFL.....	A.....	1	1
vaja	A.....	1.....	1
vändas	A.....	1.....	1
väga.....	A.....	1	1

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IV

A syntactic reflex of event structure.
Two variants of the Swedish aspectual periphrasis *hålla på* 'hold on'

A syntactic reflex of event structure. Two variants of the Swedish aspectual periphrasis *hålla på* ‘hold on’

1. Introduction

Progressive aspect has been accounted for in several ways. It is often perceived as an operator relating two times: the running time of an event and an asserted reference time, which is a temporal sector of the running time. A well-known example is found in Dowty (1979), building upon works by Montague (1968) and Bennett and Partee (1972), where the progressive operator denoting an interval must be contained in another interval. Smith (1997) assumes that the progressive is a relation between the two components situation type (roughly, aktionsart) and viewpoint, which together make up sentential aspect (roughly, grammatical aspect). On this view, the viewpoint focuses, or determines, the temporal structure of an interval of the whole situation. In a somewhat similar fashion, Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria (2004) analyze progressive aspect as ordering the assertion time (AST-T, i.e. the interval of visibility) within the event time (EV-T, i.e. the running time of the event).

The time-relational accounts are appealing in that they capture the meaning of aspect in a similar way as they capture the meaning of tense (e.g. Reichenbach 1947). However, they seldom put focus on the mereological event structure. For example, a plurality of events is commonly characterized as iterative and subsumed under the meanings of durative or imperfective (cf. Cusic 1981:57). While time-relational aspect is undoubtedly present in the clause, it is sometimes not fine-grained enough to capture differences in the internal event constituency. This is evident for two so-called progressive markers in Swedish, *hålla på att*, lit. *hold on to*, + infinitive verb and *hålla på och*, lit. *hold on and*, + possibly finite verb (the first verb, *hålla*, can be tensed in both constructions); they are considered stylistically different – the former being neutral and the latter being more colloquial – but aspectually more or less synonymous.

However, a closer look reveals some differences; consider for example the difference between examples (1a) and (1b).

- (1) a. Hon höll på att nysa.
she held on to sneeze-INF
‘She was sneezing./She was about to sneeze.’
b. Hon höll på och nös.
she held on and sneezed-PAST
‘She was sneezing./She sneezed again and again.’

In (1a), which contains the variant *hålla på att*, the reading is progressive or prospective, i.e. ‘was about to’ (Comrie 1976). Example (1b), with the *hålla på och* construction, is at first glance progressive as well, and can often be used in the same contexts as the *hålla på att* variant. But, it can only describe event plurality (e.g. the ‘again and again’ reading in 1b), which may be interpreted as ‘progressive’, and it cannot be used as a prospective marker. This suggests that it is not a proper progressive, but a pluractional marker. Pluractionality, which stands for ‘plurality of action’, is an analogue to nominal number in the verbal domain. An example of pluractionality in English is the plural-NP *She jumped three times*, which expresses a plurality of jumps, in this case three jumping-events. In English, pluractionality is often verbally unmarked, which sometimes makes it difficult to draw a line between pluractionality and related phenomena, e.g. iterativity and imperfectivity. Pluractionality is discussed further in section 3 below.

It could be mentioned that a similar aspectual pattern between two related constructions has been noticed in other languages, for example by Laca (2004, 2005) when investigating the Spanish periphrases *estar* + gerund and *andar* + gerund. Both are usually treated as progressive constructions, but Laca finds important differences: *estar* + gerund behaves like a genuine, i.e. time-relational, progressive, whereas *andar* + gerund is dubbed *pseudo-progressive* (Laca 2004): it has narrower semantics than the typical progressive, representing pluralized events, or pluractionality.

Note that the strings *hålla på att* and *hålla på och* are similar in speech, both being pronounced *hålla på* + [ɔ].¹ The important difference is that the former, here labeled *hålla på att*, takes an infinitive second verb, whereas the latter, *hålla på och*, has a second verb that is finite if *hålla på* is finite.

1 Therefore, both the infinitive marker *att* and the conjunction *och* in these constructions are sometimes spelled *å* (and occasionally *o* or *ö*) in informal writing.

1.1 Aim

The first aim of the article is to show that the Swedish *hålla på och* construction, unlike *hålla på att*, is not primarily a progressive but a pluractional construction, depending on the type of VP it combines with. The second aim is to assess some models for pluractionality with respect to Swedish, particularly with respect to the *hålla på och* construction. The construction combines with almost all Vendlerian (Vendler 1957) situation types, albeit only marginally with states, including certain types of accomplishment predicates. The focus of the second aim is to assess *hålla på och* with accomplishments in Swedish.

I primarily account for informal written language, because spoken language often blurs the distinction between the infinitive marker *att* and the conjunction *och*, and between finite and non-finite verbs.

In section 2, I briefly introduce the *hålla på* variants and show how they differ aspectually. In section 3, some accounts of pluractionality are presented. In section 4, some issues with accomplishments are discussed. Section 5 summarizes the article and suggests some future research.

2. *Hålla på att* and *hålla på och*

Swedish (like many other Germanic languages) differs from e.g. English in terms of imperfective aspectual marking: although progressive constructions are frequently used, they are usually not syntactically obligatory.² *Hålla på* constructions, and other imperfective constructions, are generally not obligatory with activity predicates, not even with some canonical accomplishments such as the counterpart of Eng. *build a house*.

- (2) I den skulle Kalle bo medan han byggde huset.³
in that should Kalle live while he built house-DEF
'Kalle planned to live there while he was building the house.'

The “most obligatory” construction is perhaps *hålla på att* with some other types of accomplishment predicates (e.g. *tömma brunnen* ‘empty the well’), es-

2 In English, the progressive is not obligatory either in appropriate contexts, e.g. with activities in the past tense such as *They played football all evening* (cf. *They were playing football all evening*).

3 <<http://blogg.op.se/gammaltochnytt/2013/12/29/forvisad-av-ohalsa/>> [2014-01-20]

pecially in the past tense with prospective meaning. *Hålla på att* can in this case indeed often correspond to the adverb *nästan* ‘almost’, or the periphrases *vara nära att* ‘be close to’ + infinitive verb and *vara i färd med att* ‘be on one’s way to’ + infinitive verb (with progressive meaning). The important thing, however, is that the prospective meaning, and in some cases the progressive meaning, must be marked.

2.1 Formal and functional resemblances and differences between *hålla på att* and *hålla på och*

The periphrases *hålla på att* + infinitive verb and *hålla på och* + finite verb are, as said, taken to be semantically more or less synonymous (see e.g. SAG⁴ 2:512), and both are taken to be semantically similar to imperfective constructions such as the English progressive *be* + *V-ing* (e.g. Johansson 1987; Ebert 2000). This is in part a historically motivated claim: it has been argued that pseudo-coordinations (e.g. *hålla på och*) in Scandinavian languages stem from infinite constructions. For example, Hesse (2009) states that *hålla på och* originates from a prepositional *hålla på med att* ‘hold on with to’ which later lost its preposition, giving *hålla på att*, and phonological conflation between the infinite marker *att* and the conjunction *och* resulted in *hålla på och*.

Also, the constructions are often interchangeable: both have temporally similar readings in the sense that they can be used in contexts where one time is related to another. For example, both variants can be used in (3) below:

- (3) a. Jag höll på att tvätta bilen när han ringde.
I held on to wash-INF car-DEF when he called
 b. Jag höll på och tvättade bilen när han ringde.
I held on and washed car-DEF when he called
 ‘I was washing the car when he called.’

However, the picture is complicated by the fact that the simple verb in Swedish has often a progressive reading too, especially if it expresses an activity event:

- (4) Jag tvättade bilen när han ringde.
I washed car-DEF when he called
 ‘I was washing the car when he called.’

4 SAG is an abbreviation for *Svenska Akademiens grammatik* (‘The Swedish Academy grammar’).

In fact, it seems that applicability of the simple verb often governs applicability of the *hålla på och* construction: if the simple verb could have been used to express progressive or pluractional meaning, the *hålla på och* can be used as well – but then only with the pluractional meaning.⁵ In other words, the *hålla på och* construction seems to take the inherent underdetermined aspect/pluractionality feature in the simple verb and specify it as output. An example: achievements, especially those which cannot be performed more than once on the same object, normally describe perfective aspect with the simple verb in the past tense, which means that the *hålla på och* construction will sound odd.

- (5) a. Jag slog sönder vasen.
I hit into.pieces vase-DEF
 ‘I broke the vase.’
 b. #Jag höll på och slog sönder vasen.⁶
I held on and hit into.pieces vase-DEF
 ‘I broke the vase (again and again).’

However, as mentioned above, even canonically telic predicates such as ‘build a house’ can be used in the simple form in Swedish and express imperfectivity (or multiplicity of subevents⁷ of building a house). In (6a) it is true that I spent several summers building a house – but I built only one house altogether (in one reading, at least). Here, *hålla på och* is fine (6b):

- (6) a. Jag byggde ett hus på somrarna.
I built a house on summers-DEF
 b. Jag höll på och byggde ett hus på somrarna.
I held on and built a house on summers-DEF
 ‘I was building (on) a house in the summers.’

A principle of *hålla på och* application could look like this: if the simple verb can express pluractionality, *hålla på och* is applicable. If not, adding *hålla på och* will seem odd.

5 One difference between *hålla på och* and the simple verb is that *hålla på och* is not compatible with future-time reference, e.g. *Jag {tvättar}??håller på och tvättar} bilen i morgon* ‘I am washing (will wash) the car tomorrow’.

6 Examples preceded by a hash sign are judged as syntactically well-formed but semantically and pragmatically implausible unless provided with a special context.

7 Note that the term *subevents* does not only refer to the coarse-grained event chain made up of parts identified by different objects (e.g., in the case of building a house: erecting a scaffolding, cutting wood, building walls and so on), but it can also refer to finer event units that we perceive as meaningful. In a study of event segmentation by Zacks et al. (2001), participants divided an event of making a bed (shown on video) into 6 coarse-grained subevents (putting on a sheet, putting on a blanket, etc.), and into no less than 32 fine-grained subevents.

2.1.1 (Non-) orientation toward culmination with telic predicates

The *hålla på att*-construction with telic predicates seems to be oriented towards the culmination of the action, but the culmination need not be reached: an achievement sentence such as *Han höll på att trilla av stolen* (lit. *he held on to fall off the chair*) does not entail ‘he fell off the chair’ but rather means ‘he was close to falling off the chair’, whereas *Han höll på och trillade av stolen* (lit. *he held on and fell off the chair*) entails (the often slightly odd) ‘he fell off the chair again and again’.

Apart from the entailment test above, the culmination/telos orientation can be diagnosed with a number of adverbial tests normally testing the telicity of predicates unmarked for sentential aspect. For example, Dowty (1979) and Hay et al. (1999) note that the adverb *almost*, expressing proximity to an event boundary, is ambiguous between an ‘almost completed’ reading and a ‘no-occurrence’ reading with telic predicates (e.g., *Lee almost read Eugene Onegin* ‘almost read the whole book’ or ‘did not start reading’), whereas atelic predicates only get the ‘no-occurrence’ reading (as in *Lee almost recited poetry*). Using the Swedish counterpart *nästan* for testing culmination gives the result that *hålla på att* is acceptable, but with *hålla på och*, *nästan* is not felicitous. Cf. the accomplishments below:

- (7) a. Jag höll nästan på att skriva rubriken på engelska istället.⁸
I held almost on to write headline-DEF on English instead
b. ?Jag höll nästan på och skrev rubriken på engelska istället.
I held almost on and wrote headline-DEF on English instead
Intended: ‘I was almost writing the headline in English instead.’

In (7a), the reading is ambiguous, but with *hålla på och* in (7b), the reading is not ‘almost completed’, as *hålla på och* describes actual events.

Other indications of the non-culmination orientation are the fact that *hålla på att* but not *hålla på och* can be used with a measuring-out *på*- (‘in’) adverbial (8) and the fact that *hålla på och* sounds odd when combined with an object with specified quantity like *varenda* (‘every’).

- (8) Han höll på {att läsa ut /??och läste ut} boken på en dag.
he held on {to read-INF out and read-PAST out} book-DEF on oneday
‘He almost finished reading the book in one day.’

8 <shass.blogg.se/2009/march/vad-varen-anda-ar-vacker.html> [2014-01-20]

Compare (9a) with its manipulated counterpart in (9b):

- (9) a. Jag fick hejda mina ungar, de höll på att äta upp varenda bit
I had.to stop my kids they held on to eat up every piece
melon.⁹
melon
- b. ?Jag fick hejda mina ungar, de höll på och åt upp varenda bit
I had.to stop my kids they held on and ate up every piece
melon.
melon
Intended: 'I had to stop my kids, they were about to eat up every piece of
melon.'

All of the above suggests that *hålla på att* aims at a culmination of the whole event which is not reached. With *hålla på och*, however, the whole event must actually occur; there is also a touch of intensity to the action, possibly due to iteration where possible. Even though the *hålla på och* variant is strange in (8) above, in a situation where the subject referent re-reads a certain book several times and each time within the time-span of a day, the sentence would be fine.

In sum, sentences with *hålla på och* seem to iterate events that are possible to iterate. This is in line with cross-linguistic (Swedish included) findings, saying that intensely performed events are often expressed by structures with seemingly iterated meaning like the reduplicated *tjata och tjata* (lit. *nag and nag*), 'nag intensely, nag again and again' (e.g. Bybee et al. 1994:159, Lindström 1999, Cabredo Hofherr & Laca 2012:12). Here, *hålla på och tjata* gives a synonymous reading of intense nagging.

2.1.2 Distinguished (sub)events

As seen above, illustrating the different distributive patterns of *hålla på att* and *hålla på och* is in part a matter of combining the constructions with telic events. Telic events are often expressed by transitive verbs with quantized internal arguments. Quantization has been shown to be closely related to definiteness (e.g. Krifka 1989, Verkuyl 1993). This can be diagnosed with 'for-/in'-adverbials (e.g. Vendler 1957); with quantized objects, 'telic' *på*- ('in'-) adverbials can be used (10a), but with bare plurals, 'atelic' *i*- ('for'-) adverbials are used (10b):

9 <<http://shetlandspunny.ifokus.se/discussions/4d716ebdb9cb46221d07e1e8-tack-tack-tack>> [2014-01-20]

- (10) a. Jag läste boken {på 30 minuter /??i 30 minuter}. [telic]
I read-PAST book-DEF {on 30 minutes in 30 minutes}
 ‘I read the book in 30 minutes/for 30 minutes.’
- b. Jag läste böcker {??på 30 minuter /i 30 minuter}. [atelic]
I read-PAST books {on 30 minutes in 30 minutes}
 ‘I read books in 30 minutes/for 30 minutes.’

Now, it has been observed that for some reason, definite arguments tend to have stronger effects on quantization than indefinite ones (e.g. Lundquist 2012:66). I think one of the reasons behind this is pluractionality: with definite objects the subevents are less likely to be pluralized because the object is often unique. Therefore, they are not likely combined with *hålla på och* (11a). However, with indefinite objects, both constructions are fine (11b):

- (11) a. Han höll på {att välja /??och valde} den klarröda fiskslipsen till
he held on {to choose and chose} the bright.red fish.tie to
balen.
prom-DEF
 ‘He was about to choose the bright red fish tie for the prom.’
- b. Han höll på {att välja /och valde} en slips till balen.
he held on {to choose and chose} a tie to prom-DEF
 ‘He was choosing a tie for the prom.’

In (11b), choosing *a* tie can be conceptualized as several tie-choosing subevents making up a complex event of choosing some tie, but choosing the bright red fish tie in (11a) is a non-complex event of choosing a particular tie. In this case, the choosing event does not seem to be perceived as being divided into subevents.

The event pluralization becomes even clearer with event-external pluractionality (i.e. plurality of whole events). For example, with the predicate *kasta bollen i hålet* ‘throw the ball into the hole’, the *hålla på att* construction often receives a ‘be about to’ reading (although the plural reading is possible as well). With *hålla på och*, however, only a multiple-event reading is possible:

- (12) a. Hon höll på att kasta bollen i hålet.
she held on to throw ball-DEF in hole-DEF
 ‘She was {about to throw/throwing} the ball into the hole.’
- b. Hon höll på och kastade bollen i hålet.
she held on and threw ball-DEF in hole-DEF
 Only: ‘She threw the ball into the hole again and again.’

Finally, *hålla på och* is not compatible with adverbials of the ‘in one sweep’ type, because they preclude event subdivision, although they are not punctual (Iordăchioaia & Soare 2011:98).

- (13) a. Han höll på att slita upp alla paket på en gång [...].¹⁰
he held on to rip up all parcels on one time
 b. ?Han höll på och slet upp alla paket på en gång.
he held on and ripped up all parcels on one time
 Intended: ‘He was ripping up all parcels open in one sweep.’

The discussion in section 2 indicates that *hålla på och* is a pluractional construction, at least when combined with certain VPs, i.e. a means of indicating multiplicity of (sub)events (e.g. Cabredo Hofherr & Laca 2012:1), on par with adverbs of iterativity/habituality (e.g. *ofta* ‘often’ and *en efter en* ‘one after another’). The *hålla på och* construction also resembles verbs that inherently decode repeated action like semelfactives (e.g. *fladdra* ‘flutter’ and *prassla* ‘rustle’, cf. Smith 1997).

3. Pluractionality

The notion of pluractionality is quite recent, at least from a general semantic point of view. Beginning with the typological work by Dressler (1968), Newman (1980) was probably the first to propose the term *pluractional* in his work on the African language group Chadic. The subject was taken up by Cusic (1981) in his typological work where he organized the varied manifestations of verbal plurality readings using different parameters.

What came to be known as pluractionality started out as a discovery of dedicated (morphological) markers of verbal plurality. However, the delimitation soon broadened; in many studies, the typical verb or predicate of interest now also includes categories like ‘inherently multiple’ verbs (Evans 1995:290) of the semelfactive type (in the sense of Smith 1997)¹¹ or of the achievement type (e.g. Cusic 1981, Lasersohn 1995), oft-cited example possibly being Cusic’s *nibble the cheese*. Importantly, Cusic first proposed a distinction between pluractionality *within* events (repetitive events, or event-internal

10 <<http://yohannailaspalmas.webblogg.se/2011/january/trettondagen.html>> [2014-01-20]

11 Examples include *knacka* ‘knock’, *skallra* ‘rattle’, *darra* ‘shiver’, and *skramla* ‘jangle’.

pluractionality, 14a) and pluractionality *of* events (repeated events, or event-external pluractionality, 14b).¹²

- (14) a. EVENT-INTERNAL: The mouse nibbled the cheese.
b. EVENT-EXTERNAL: The mouse bit the cheese again and again.
(Cusic 1981:61)

In (14a), each ‘nibbling’ is not a complete ‘bite’-event but a phase (Cusic’s term), or subevent, of it (*nibble* is only plural), while in (14b), each bite is a complete and iterated, ‘bite’-event.

While the general definition of pluractionality now includes different kinds of verbal plurality and any linguistic means of expressing multiplicity of events (e.g. Cabredo Hofherr & Laca 2012)¹³, activities are slightly understudied and accomplishments are more or less unaccounted for. I will therefore, after giving a brief introduction to pluractionality in section 3.1, put some focus on activities as expressed with *hålla på och* in section 3.2. Accomplishments are discussed in section 4.

3.1 Unified treatments of pluractionality

Beginning in the mid-1990s, pluractionality was given a more unified characterization. This was primarily done by Lasersohn (1995), who attempted to formalize verbal pluractional marking, including the difference between event-internal and event-external pluractionality, and to provide a unified analysis which could be integrated with that of plurality in the nominal domain (Link

12 Cusic (1981:122) suggests that the event-internal and event-external distinction in the nominal domain corresponds to mass nouns, in which the entities are homogenous and cannot be counted directly, and countable plural nouns, which are less homogenous, respectively. Cusic (p.78) defines event-internal pluractionality as events where ‘the units of action are conceived of as confined to a single occasion, and to a single event on that occasion’. Moreover, ‘in this type of plurality the index of repetitions is usually considered to be large or uncountable (i.e. mass-like)’. The question of whether event-internal pluractionality implies repetition of one subevent is rather unclear. For example, Lasersohn (1995:255) states that ‘the difference here seems to be that repeated [i.e., event-external] action involves multiple events of the type represented by the verb stem, while repetitive [i.e., event-internal] action involves multiple events of a potentially different sort’.

13 Cabredo Hofherr & Laca (2012) label pluractionality *verbal plurality*. Cf. also Lasersohn’s (1995:240) definition ‘pluractional markers attach to the verb to indicate a multiplicity of actions, whether involving multiple participants, times, or locations’.

1983);¹⁴. He states that marking of pluractionality is ‘an analog in the domain of events to the more familiar phenomenon of plurality in the domain of individuals’ (Lasersohn 1995:251).

Lasersohn (1995:244) states that ‘The fundamental difference between repetitive [i.e. event-internal] and repeated [i.e. event-external] action [...] is apparently that repeated action involves [...] multiple events of the type denoted by the verb, while repetitive action involves multiple events of a different type, but which sum up to form a single token of the event type corresponding to the verb.’ This leads him to stipulate that property $P = V$ for event-external plurality, where all of the repeated events are of the type represented by the verb stem (p. 257). With event-internal pluractionality, the repeated subevents, or phases, are instead lexically specified, highlighting the fact that the repeated subevents do not necessarily satisfy the denotation of the predicate.

- (15) Repeated: $P = V$
Repetitive: P is fixed lexically

Lasersohn’s distinction between event-external and event-internal pluractionality, in terms of the value of P , seems to account for many cases of pluractionality. However, the interaction between pluractional marking and the situation type of the verb to which it is applied is unaccounted for (generally, semelfactives are investigated, but not accomplishments), and the nature of P with event-internal pluractionality is rather unclear. Also, according to Cusic (1981:61) event-internal pluractionality does not require that the subevents be different from the whole event – they can therefore be identical.¹⁵

Subsequent research has related to and adapted Lasersohn’s analysis in different ways, and we will concentrate on two of them here: van Geenhoven (2004) and van Geenhoven (2005).

The starting point of van Geenhoven’s (2004) study is Dowty’s (1979) and Krifka’s (1992) treatments of *for*-adverbials. For example, Dowty (1979) notes that *for*-adverbials are appropriate for events with a sub-interval property (roughly, atelic predicates, e.g. Bennett & Partee 1972). This is then automatically true of activities and states (e.g. *She walked for an hour* and *She was in Sweden for a week*, respectively): if someone walked for an hour or was

¹⁴ The parallel between verbal and nominal plurals is debated; for example, many languages have dual nouns, but dual verbs are considerably less frequent (Newman 2012:202).

¹⁵ For example, Wood (2007:117) suggests that *knock* can be seen as an event-internal pluractional with ‘knock’ as subevents while the whole event can also be seen as a (complex) ‘knock’ event.

in Sweden for a week, the person walked and was in Sweden at each subinterval of the respective event. However, accomplishments and achievements (in English) do not have the subinterval property. Consider e.g. the accomplishment in (16a) and the achievement in (16b):

- (16) a. ?Mary ate a sandwich for an hour.
b. ?Mary discovered a flea on her dog for six weeks.
(van Geenhoven 2004:136)

However, Dowty notes that corresponding sentences with bare plural objects are fine:

- (17) a. Mary ate sandwiches for an hour.
b. Mary discovered fleas on her dog for six weeks.

van Geenhoven (2004) instead argues that the sandwich-eating and flea-finding predicates in (16) and (17) above are examples of more complex event structures that in the first place be treated as frequentatives (roughly, pluractionals). In order to do this, she proposes a semantic account of sentences with *for*-adverbials. Frequentative aspect, which generally arises with accomplishments or achievements, is treated as pluractionality parallel to nominal plurality.¹⁶ An example is given in (18) below, which can either be interpreted as a (strange) single continuative accomplishment (18a) or as a frequentative/pluractional event (18b):

- (18) John went by for an hour.
a. ?'John went (nonstop) for an hour to pass by once.'
b. 'John went by again and again for an hour.'

The basis of van Geenhoven's proposal is the observation that West Greenlandic has overt verb-level frequency affixes with atelic predicates, and her account is in part similar to Lasersohn's. A difference is that van Geenhoven does not adopt an event-based account, but assumes intervals as the basic entities.¹⁷

16 Van Geenhoven (2004:182ff.) also proposes overt pluractional markers, e.g. frequency adverbs such as *every x minutes* and *repeatedly*, and NPs expressing succession such as *one N after another*.

17 Van Geenhoven's point of departure is the semantics of aspect and adverbials, while e.g. Lasersohn (1995) wants to account for plurality in general, that is, including nominal plurality. Advantages and disadvantages with interval-based and event-based accounts are discussed in e.g. Parsons (1990).

The most reasonable interpretation of the accomplishment in (18) above, *John went by for an hour*, would be the reading in (18b), i.e. ‘John performed complete going-by events several times’ (event-external pluractionality), leading van Geenhoven to propose that English accomplishments combined with *for*-adverbials should be considered as containing a frequency operator operating over times, a so-called crystal star (\ast). *Went by* (to which the operator is assumed to be attached) first pluralizes the bounded event and gives an unbounded/atelic predicate and, second, distributes an unbounded plurality of subintervals over the overall event time in such a way that it brings in a gap, hiatus, between every two subevent times within the overall event time. The idea is formalized in the following way (van Geenhoven 2004:166).

- (19) $\text{went by} \Rightarrow \lambda t \lambda x (\ast^t \text{go.by}(x) \text{ at } t)$
 where $\ast^t \text{go.by}(x) \text{ at } t = 1$ iff
 $\exists t' (t' \subseteq t \wedge \text{go.by}(x) \text{ at } t' \wedge \text{number}(t') > 1 \wedge \forall t'' (t'' \subseteq t' \wedge \text{go.by}(x) \text{ at } t'' \rightarrow$
 $\exists t''' (t'' \subseteq t''' \wedge (t''' > t' \vee t''' < t') \wedge \text{go.by}(x) \text{ at } t'' \wedge$
 $\exists t'''' (t' < t'''' < t'' \vee t' > t'''' > t'' \wedge \neg \text{go.by}(x) \text{ at } t''''))$)

‘For every time t' that is part of t and at which there is a ‘went by’ event, there is a time t'' that is also part of t and at which there is a ‘went by’ event and $t'' > t'$ and there is a time t''' between t' and t'' at which nothing happens (i.e. there is a hiatus).’

As seen, the event time must include at least two subintervals, which are distributed over the event time in a non-overlapping way. However, the exact number of sub-events is (necessarily) unspecified. The hiatuses triggered by the frequency operator may vary in length depending on context.

Syntactically, the star operator corresponds to a *FREQ* (frequentative) morpheme adjoined to *V*, e.g. *went by*:

- (20) $[_V \text{ went by}] [\text{FREQ}]$ (van Geenhoven 2004:167)

The same type of reasoning holds for activity (and state) predicates. This leads to the proposition that the unboundedness expressed by the lexical content of e.g. an activity such as *sleep* has inherent pluractionality. This is obviously related to Dowty’s claim about atelicity and sub-interval property and is represented by another frequency operator: a pluractional continuity operator.

The crystal-star operator operates not only on the event time but also on the internal argument, which is claimed to explain why example (21), containing a bare plural, has only a frequentative reading that, according to van Geenhoven (the non-availability of the reading in 21a can be questioned), involves a different phone number for each dialing, whereas (22), containing an indefinite

singular, only allows a frequentative reading in which the same phone number is dialed.

- (21) Bill dialed phone numbers for an hour.
a. #‘Bill dialed some phone numbers and he dialed them again and again for an hour.’
b. ‘Bill dialed a phone number and he dialed another phone number and ... for an hour.’
- (22) Bill dialed a phone number for an hour.
a. ‘Bill dialed a phone number and he dialed it again and again for an hour.’
b. #‘Bill dialed a phone number and he dialed another phone number and ... for an hour.’

3.2 Pluractionality and *hålla på och* with activities

Iterative events repeated an indefinite number of times are often aspectually categorized as (derived) activities, which are atelic. A connection between atelicity and pluractionality is established in e.g. van Geenhoven (2004), and consequently, activities should be compatible with pluractionality as well. So they are in e.g. van Geenhoven (2005), who presents an augmented account of pluractionality, where the aim is to capture atelicity independently, i.e. without respect to telicity and/or nominal cumulativity. Atelicity, in van Geenhoven's view, also arises with continuous predicates (*keep dancing*), non-ending repetition (*dance regularly*), increase (*get sicker and sicker*) and the like. The proposition is that atelicity is defined in terms of unbounded pluractionality. For example, van Geenhoven (2005:117) proposes another operator (a black-star operator) for activity predicates like *sing*. Here, the difference compared to the other operators is that it is left unspecified whether hiatuses are present or not (probably because it may be hard to distinguish any clearly separated subevents of singing).¹⁸

In Swedish, most activities seem to accept *hålla på och*, which, under the assumption that *hålla på och* is a pluractional construction, suggests that they are pluractional:

18 van Geenhoven aims at extending her account to grammatical aspect as well, since she believes that the English progressive carries a pluractional component. For example, the accomplishment predicate in *John was eating a fish* is claimed to have the pluractional reading ‘John ate of a fish and ate of a [i.e. the same] fish and ...’, suggesting that the aspect marking triggers a partitive interpretation of the complement. However, this idea is not developed further.

- (23) Hon höll på och filmade mig på festen.
she held on and filmed me on party-DEF
 ‘She filmed me (several times) at the party.’

The difference between (23) and its counterparts with a simple verb or *hålla på att* construction is that (23) explicitly describes multiple events of some sort: ‘filmed several complete films’ or ‘filmed several video clips (which may have added up to a complete film)’. With the first reading, there are rather clear gaps between the events: the filming events are perhaps distributed over different occasions (as defined by Wood 2007), but the second reading of (23) may exhibit less clear subevent boundaries. Both can be said to be instances of event-external pluractionality: filming a multiplicity of film sequences. In this respect, activities are in general similar to semelfactives, which are obligatorily repeated with *hålla på och*. For example, *Hon knackade på dörren* (lit. *she knocked on door-DEF*) and *Hon höll på och knackade på dörren* (lit. *she held on and knocked on door-DEF*) are different in that the former can refer to a person performing, say, minimally two knock-subevents (assuming that a single knock-subevent does not usually constitute a knock-on-the-door event). Because of this nature of knock-on-the door events, the latter example does not refer to a person performing three knock subevents, but to a person performing at least two sequences of two knocks.

It should be underlined that plurality of events is not only required to be distributed (or, in other words, segmented) over different times, as in e.g. (23) above (although this is, perhaps, the most common distribution in Swedish). Events can also be distributed spatially or over several participants.

Temporal distribution and distribution over participants have already been illustrated above; another example of the former being van Geenhoven’s (2004) example *Nuka ullaap tungaa tamaat sanioquttarpoq* ‘Nuka went by [several times with temporal gaps in between] for the whole morning’. An example of the latter is van Geenhoven’s (2004) examples (21)–(22), *Bill dialed {phone numbers/a phone number} for an hour*. Spatial distribution is illustrated with Collins (2001:467) example from \neq Hoan (spoken in southeastern Botswana), where the event marked by the verbal *ki-V-qʌo* must occur in at least two different places. This restriction makes it incompatible with the adverbial ‘in one place’:

- (24) *Titi i ki- ‘am-qʌo ki ci mʊun
 Titi PAST ki[pl] eat-around PREP place one
 ‘Titi eats around (*in one place).’ [My translation]

Going back to the filming event in (23) above, the sentence has a subject and an object with specific reference, which makes it impossible to get a participant-based distributive reading. However, it is possible (albeit not obligatory in this case) to underline a reading of spatial distribution, i.e. ‘she filmed me here and she filmed me there’. The spatial distribution is often a possible reading with pluractionals in Swedish, and with motion verbs, it is possibly even a restriction:

- (25) Hon höll på och sprang förbi mitt fönster.
she held on and ran past my window
 ‘She passed my window running several times.’

The example in (25) says that the subject referent performed several running events at different times. This distinguishes it from its simple-verb counterpart, which can also express perfective, one-time, meaning, and from the *hålla på att* construction, which obscures the pluractional part of the meaning or gives prospective ‘be about to’ meaning. There is also a kind of spatial restriction to the example, which is in part imposed by the verb: the running event is multidirectional. This fact is taken up by Wood (2007:53), who singles out motion activities as a special type of events, saying that a possibility for motion verbs is that ‘the pluractional multiplies phases of motion, where phases are distinguished by change of direction rather than a gap in time or completion of some kind’.

The multiple distributivity of pluractionals is an important difference in relation to the notion of aspect; as noted by Cabredo Hofherr & Laca (2012:4, 12). It is in the temporal distribution of pluractionality that we find the primary overlap between aspect (and particularly the lexical aspect), denoting continuous and extended action, and pluractionality, denoting a multiplicity of events. Since there are other types of distribution patterns as well, the phenomenon of pluractionality should be considered a separate phenomenon rather than a special case of aspect. This is in line with the meaning of *hålla på* in absolute position. For example, the exclamation *Gud, vad du håller på!* (lit. *God, what you hold on*) means roughly ‘Heavens, you are performing a multiplicity of contextually specified actions!’. The meaning of actions is underspecified, but it often refers to events which are judged to be performed with relatively high intensity in the context. Parts of this contribution of *hålla på*, when used in absolute and coordinated position, is also evident with constructions consisting of *hålla på och* + auxiliary, usually *ska* ‘shall’ + VP, where *hålla på och* describes

an activity like ‘do preparatory things related to the action in the second VP’ rather than the progressive-aspectual *‘be shallng’^{19,20}.

- (26) Jag höll på o skulle börja dammsuga bilen [...].²¹
I held on o should start vacuum car-DEF
‘I was making multiple preparations for my near-future intention of starting vacuuming the car./*I was shouldng to start vacuuming the car.’

Pluractionality as evidenced by *hålla på och* + activities (and the other situation types exemplified earlier) can be extended to accomplishments as well, but only to certain subtypes. This is discussed in section 4.

4. Accomplishments and *hålla på och*

It is difficult to define event-internal pluractionality within activity predicates, since there is no clear boundary to these types of events: ‘There is no bounded whole singular event represented by the activity, but only a mass-like object which is not articulated’ (Cusic 1981:330). Also, some events which are usually classified as activities also exhibit clear similarities with semelfactives, e.g. *droppa* ‘drip’ and *fnittra* ‘giggle’. Cf. also Wood (2007:117) and Rothstein (2012:64, 80), the latter noting that activities are essentially unlimited iterations of regularities.

The boundaries of accomplishments are a little easier to recognize. According to e.g. Moens (1987) and Parsons (1990), accomplishments are distinguished from activities in having two main compounds, the first being a process extending in time (corresponding to the only part of activities) and the second being a culmination. This is e.g. shown by the fact that activities, but not ac-

19 Recall that the infinitive marker and the conjunction are sometimes spelled in the same way, e.g. as *å*. The important difference between the conjunctive and the infinitive variants shows up on the form of the second verb.

20 Note that there is a difference between *hålla på* in absolute position and *hålla på* as a first conjunct in that the latter requires that *hålla på* modifies, or, less strictly, has some semantic relation to the VP in the second conjunct (but this relation does not seem to be quite as strong as that between *hålla på* and an infinitive complement). One cannot for example say *Gud, vad du håller på och flyttar till Stockholm!* ‘Heavens, you are performing a multiplicity of moving-to-Stockholm events!’, unless in a very special context where this reading is allowed.

21 <<http://www.garaget.org/mypage/comments.php?user=ichibon&type=blog&p=39>> [2014-01-20]

complishments (in English), freely combine with *for*-adverbials. Moens accordingly dubs activities *processes* and accomplishments *culminated processes*. Processes are dynamic, and one of the characteristics of being dynamic is having subevents.

A difference between activities and accomplishments is claimed to be that the subevents of the process part in the latter type are heterogeneous and must be performed in a certain order (Rothstein 2001:152), or, as Cusic (1981:307) puts it: ‘accomplishments correspond to both singular bounded events and to internally plural events with non-isomorphic phases’, which is related to the fact that ‘identical (homogeneous) phases [i.e. subevents] cannot be found at any two instants of evaluation in an interval: one phase is always in a relation of ‘more-of-ness’ to the other’ (Cusic 1981:266). Contrary to this latter claim, I would like to propose that the process phase of a number of Swedish accomplishments occurring with *hålla på och* is in fact construed as at least partly consisting of iterated sequences of subevents which are homogenous down to short intervals.²²

Accomplishments with *hålla på och* are usually fine with non-quantized plural objects (27a below) because of the unbounded pluractional activity reading: the non-quantized number of object referents determines the non-quantized number of subevents. With singular objects and one-time reading, the acceptability depends on the complexity of the process part. In (27b), the relatively clumsy object, i.e. the big sleeping bag, which is to be put into the little school bag, creates a complex, or, in other words, heterogeneous, event in which the subject referent has to alternate between packing and unpacking and, on a more fine-grained level, perform sequences of pushing and squeezing etc. The example in (27c), on the other hand, would require a very special context to be acceptable. Here, the theme denoted by the object is conceived as relatively easy to act upon, leading to a simpler, homogeneous, process phase of gradually bringing the object referent to the inside of the bag. In this case, (27c), there seem to be no discernible subevents to target for *hålla på och*.

- (27) a. Han höll på och packade ner böcker i en låda.
 he held on and packed down books in a box
 ‘He packed several books in a box.’

22 Note that homogeneity here is not the same as *incremental homogeneity* as defined by e.g. Rothstein (2012), the latter referring to similarity between the onset of an event and the event denoted by the predicate. In this case, ‘walk to the store’ is not incrementally homogeneous because the onset of an event in this predicate is not in the denotation of ‘walk to the store’ but in the denotation of ‘walk’. In my view, homogeneity simply refers to similarity between subevents.

- b. Han höll på och packade ner en stor sovsäck i sin
he held on and packed down a big sleeping-bag in his
lilla skolväska
little school.bag
 ‘He performed multiple packing events on a big sleeping bag in order to place it in his little school bag.’
- c. #Han höll på och packade ner en tändsticksask i sin tomma
he held on and packed down a match-box in his empty
skolväska.
school.bag
 ‘He packed a match-box in his empty school bag.’

So, how should the internal event structure of accomplishments be described? Some suggestions have been proposed. Henderson’s (2012) analysis is that a pluractional morpheme in the Mayan language Kaqchikel coerces (cf. de Swart 1998) accomplishments into a point-like repetition with no culmination. Wood (2007:118, 129f.; see also Greenberg 2010:133) suggests, in a similar vein, that the phases of event-internal pluractionals, for example accomplishment predicates, are conative instances of the base verb: ‘the pluractional pluralises some process which would normally lead to a completion, without pluralising the completion’. If event-internally pluractional accomplishments indicate conation, giving a partitive reading, the problem could perhaps be solved, because conative constructions in Swedish, which also have conative readings (see 28 below), seem to be rather clear examples of pluractionality in yielding repetitive reading (also cf. Cusic’s definition 1981:83).

Apart from the fact that many accomplishment predicates in Swedish lack syntactically conative variants (e.g. *formulera* ‘formulate, draw up’ + NP and *reparera* ‘repair’ + NP), the conative²³ construction, where applicable, seems to yield partitive, bit-by-bit, reading. Also, no clear progress is made towards the accomplishment’s usual culmination (28).

- (28) Jag åt av kakan.
I ate of cookie-DEF
 ‘I was (repeatedly) eating pieces of the cookie (but did not necessarily finish it).’

Also, the *hålla på och* variant shares with the conative alternation the feature that some subevent must actually occur (Adams 2001). As mentioned, the *hålla*

23 I use Levin’s (1993) definition of conative as a construction where the object of a transitive verb is realized as the object of a prepositional phrase.

på att variant also has a prospective reading ('I was about to eat the cookie'), which infers that no event occurred.

Notice, however, that the *hålla på och* construction cannot felicitously replace the conative with this 'eat'-accomplishment (*hålla på att* would render a 'be about to' reading):²⁴

- (29) #Jag höll på och åt kakan.
I held on and ate cookie-def
Intended: 'I was eating the cookie.'

I propose that the reason for the marginal acceptability of (29) as opposed to the appropriateness in e.g. (27b) is that the category of accomplishments is rather heterogeneous (following e.g. Rappaport Hovav 2008, Rothstein 2012), Swedish accomplishments being no exception. In this case, the predicate *äta* 'eat' + quantized object, seems to differ from e.g. the more complex event of packing a sleeping bag (27b). Note also that there is a difference between the 'simple' eating of a cookie, as in (29), where the subject is performing actions on a single entity, and the eating of a more complex supper containing a multiplicity of consumable entities.

4.1 Bounded scalar readings: ingested objects and directed motion

As stated above, events involving a theme undergoing consumption of the ingestion type seem to put restrictions on the combination with *hålla på och* in Swedish. Consumption, e.g. 'eat', here refers to decomposition, which rules out information-consumption predicates like 'read a book', where the reading subject referent rather than the read object referent is affected (Rappaport Hovav 2008:25).²⁵ I propose that the restriction of *hålla på och* with consumption predicates with quantized objects like 'a cookie' is attributable to the sensitivity of *hålla på och* and homogeneous events. In the bounded eating-event case, the irreversibility of the homogeneous subevents involving ingestion restricts the event structure. First, eating a cookie primarily involves repetition of similar

24 I assume that an even more idiomatic construction would be e.g. *sitta och äta kakan* (lit. sit and eat cookie-DEF) or simply *äta kakan* (eat cookie-DEF), but I am not certain that this explains why *hålla på och* is so restricted.

25 If you, for example, want to check if a book is read, it would likely give a better indication to examine the psychological status of the reader rather than the physical appearance of the book.

(e.g. sequences of biting) subevents. Second, there is an obligatory progress of the event: when a piece of a cookie is ingested, it usually cannot be uneaten at a later point and then eaten again, and thus the object referent imposes a bounded and scalar reading of the event where the value of the scale (materialized as reduction of cookie-volume) must increase. Third, every subevent maps onto a proper part of the consumed object, which makes it impossible to identify subevents of the type denoted by the predicate: each sequence of, say, bites and swallows does not constitute an eat-the-cookie event, only an event of a completely ingested cookie does (the meaning of ‘a complete cookie’ may of course be context dependent). Therefore, *hålla på och* cannot apply event-internally because the construction only targets homogeneous subevents which are described by the predicate. By way of illustration, compare the informal representation of the atelic *äta* ‘eat’ (30a), the conative *äta av kakan* ‘eat of the cookie’ (30b), and *äta kakan* ‘eat the cookie’ (30c), respectively:

- (30) a. Hon höll på och åt.
she held on and ate
 Events: e_1 :eat (something), e_2 :eat (something else), e_3 :eat (something else) ...
- b. Hon höll på och åt av kakan.
she held on and ate of cookie-DEF
 Events: e_1 :eat a cookie part, e_2 :eat another cookie part, e_3 :eat one more cookie part ...
- c. #Hon höll på och åt kakan.
she held on and ate cookie-DEF
 Events: e_1 :eat the cookie, e_2 :eat the same cookie, e_3 :eat the same cookie ...

This contrasts with other incremental theme verbs, expressing events of production (which seemingly include a much larger amount of verbs than those of consumption), e.g. *baka* ‘bake’, *bygga* ‘build’, *måla* ‘paint’, *skriva* ‘write’, *sticka* ‘knit’ + quantized NP, which event-structurally seem to behave more like activities in Swedish, allowing heterogeneous subevents, as in (31).²⁶

- (31) Jag höll på och skrev ett inlägg igår.
I held on and wrote a contribution yesterday
 ‘I was writing a contribution yesterday.’

26 The exemplified Swedish accomplishments easily shift to activity readings. All are compatible with *for*-adverbials, for example. Cf. also Rothstein (2012) for some English counterparts.

In the example, the process of writing a document involves a variety of different distinguishable²⁷ subevents (e.g. writing some words, erasing some words, filling in text in a previous paragraph, moving paragraphs around, etc.).²⁸ Despite the fact that there is a quantized object representing a final bound of the event and even though there may be an idealized conception from a bird's eye view of producing a text as simply placing letters in a linear order until the document is finished, the internal event structure of writing something normally involves performing a multiplicity of rather heterogeneous events, which are not necessarily characterized as proper document-writing events (and, as seen, all subevents, e.g. erasing words, do not imply progress towards the culmination of finishing the document): answering the question *What are you doing at this very moment?*, one can answer both 'I am writing a contribution' and e.g. 'I am erasing text' and yet refer to document-writing. Compare this with cookie-eating: answering the question *What are you doing at this very moment?*, one can for example answer 'I am eating a cookie' or 'I am taking a bite of a cookie', but not very much more if the cookie-eating event is to be referred to.

A representation of e.g. (31) may look like the one below.

Jag höll på och skrev ett inlägg går.
I held on and wrote a contribution yesterday
 Events: e₁:write text, e₂:erase text, e₃:move text ...

An interesting phenomenon is that the heterogeneity of a single production event may be eliminated by specification of exact cardinality (the cardinality marked by the indefinite article is vague).²⁹ If the subject referent produces, say, exactly four object referents, the cardinality seems to impose a scalar reading:

(32) #Jag höll på och skrev fyra inlägg.
I held on and wrote four contributions
 Intended: 'I was writing four contributions.'

27 One feature which could make subevents more distinguishable is for example that the subject referent carries out the subevents on several object referents (e.g. Zacks et al. 2001). An example is 'build a house', where the subject referents act on the floor, on the walls, etc.

28 This is not to say that event-internally homogeneous events preclude associated actions that are not part of the denotation of the predicate (for example, while eating my cookie, I may of course be stamping, rocking the chair, nodding, etc.), but these events must be considered extraneous to the event of 'eating a cookie'.

29 This restriction on verbal plural markers is also noted by e.g. Cabredo Hofherr & Laca (2012:15).

The acceptability judgement here is based on a reading where each document is completely written in a linear order (the first document first, then the second, etc.).³⁰ In the event of writing the four documents at more or less the same time in a heterogeneous way (a ‘writing something here and something else there’ type of reading), the sentence would be more felicitous. (This scenario can in fact be expressed with a conative in Swedish, e.g. *Jag höll på och skrev på fyra inlägg*, lit. *I held on and wrote on four contributions*.)

Another kind of event-internal homogeneity is exhibited by directed motion events, where the delimitation which points out the direction is often expressed with a path phrase as in *gå till affären* ‘walk to the store’, or is lexically incorporated, e.g. *återvända* ‘return’. These are all felicitous with *hålla på att*, yielding progressive and prospective (‘be about to’) readings, e.g. *Hon höll på att gå över gatan när hon såg John* ‘She {was about to start crossing/was crossing} the street when she saw John’. With *hålla på och*, however, accomplishments of this kind are odd when a single walk-to-the-store event is intended:

- (33) #Hon höll på och gick till affären.
she held on and walked to store-DEF
 Intended: ‘She was walking to the store (once).’

Like events involving ingestion, directed motion does not allow a complex string of events to be performed; it only describes an iteration of a homogeneous sequence of, say, a pair of steps, which, taken together, must lead to a change in an attribute of moving towards something on a path (so, the path is in a way ‘heterogeneous’, but not the subevents).³¹ If we assume that the verb *walk* in isolation means ‘iterate a sequence of steps’ (cf. Rothstein 2012), the reading of (33) is, due to event-internal homogeneity, not

Events: e_1 : take a sequence of steps, e_2 : take a sequence of steps, e_3 : take a sequence of steps ...

30 The sentence is also acceptable with a habitual reading: ‘I wrote four contributions n times’, i.e. ‘I wrote at least eight contributions’.

31 I think, then, that each relevant minimal subevent is a sequence, e.g. a pair, of steps that is iterated. A more fine-grained analysis is provided by Rothstein (2012:69), who assumes a regular structure of ordered subevents within each sequence of steps: ‘lifting up one foot, putting it down some distance in front of its original position, transferring one’s weight to it, lifting up the other foot, putting it down in front of its original position and transferring weight to it’. She notes, however, that this level of granularity is irrelevant unless the person walking, due to e.g. an injury, has to consciously think about the atomic subevents of walking.

but rather the event-external pluractional

Events: e_1 : walk (the whole way) to the store, e_2 : walk (the whole way) to the store again, e_3 : walk (the whole way) to the store again ...

Consequently, the restriction in the use of *hålla på och* can be tied to the internal lexical semantics of displacement verbs not allowing subevent heterogeneity, because removing the constraint imposed by the specification of a terminal point by the PP opens up for event-external pluractionality. Cf. also (34):³²

- (34) Hon höll på och gick {runt huset /fram och tillbaka}.
she held on and walked {around house-DEF forward and back}
'She was walking {around the house/back and forth}.'

For each completed circular event of walking around the house, the subject will return to its starting point and repeat the sequence. A similar reasoning is valid for walking back and forth, where each event is a perceived movement from the starting point to the endpoint and back again.

Note that it is not primarily the specification of a final bound that is significant for us; the important thing is its side-effect of marking order and subevent homogeneity through direction. A path motion without a 'to'-PP specifying the terminal point behaves in the same way as a bounded one with *hålla på och* (cf. 33), as long as the motion is directed:

- (35) #Hon höll på och gick mot affären.
she held on and walked towards store-DEF
Intended: 'She was walking towards the store (once).'

Note, finally, that lexically scalar verbs (also labelled e.g. degree achievements, cf. Hay et al. 1999), describing prototypical ordered, homogeneous, change, e.g. *blekna* 'fade', *domna* 'go numb/go to sleep', and *kallna* 'cool', are rarely felicitous with *hålla på och* (unless event-externally iterated):³³

32 A similar phenomenon is noted in Yorok, where the pluractional form is frequently used especially with accomplishments involving spatially-bound motion (Wood 2007:179).

33 A similar case can also be found among the path-motion predicates. An event such as #*Hon höll på och gled nedför slänten* (lit. she held on and slid down hillside-DEF) is more or less scalar (there are no clearly distinguishable subevents) and thus infelicitous with *hålla på och* unless interpreted event-externally, i.e. iterative.

- (36) Byggnaden höll på {att förfalla /#och förföll}.
building-DEF held on {to deteriorate and deteriorated}
 ‘One and the same building was deteriorating (once).’

Scalar verbs do not have heterogeneous subevents, so I take (36) to support my general claim.

4.2 Accounting for internal subevents

In sum, the pluractional *hålla på och* construction seems to combine rather freely with predicates denoting events in which the internal subevents can be perceived as heterogeneous. If this is not the case, the event must be perceived as event-externally pluractional, i.e. repeated as a whole. This is particularly evident with semelfactives like ‘sneeze’ but also with activities like ‘run back and forth’. Here, each event can be either a subevent of a whole event (of e.g. sneezing or running), or an event in itself.

Event-internally homogeneous accomplishments, which are rarely felicitous with *hålla på och*, can be described using a scalar analysis like the one presented in Rappaport Hovav (2008). Here, verbs and VPs are divided into two basic categories based on their event denotations: scalar and non-scalar change. Scalar-change events require ‘an ordered set of changes in a particular direction of the values of a single attribute’, while non-scalar events do not. Some verbs have scalar properties in their lexical meaning. The first type, e.g. *warm*, has a scale which is a set of ordered values of the single, and, in the example, increased, attribute [warm]. This *property scale* is associated with degree-achievement verbs (Hay et al. 1999), which have both telic and atelic properties.

The second type of scale can be represented by predicates of directed motion, e.g. *go (to the store)* or verbs like *bestiga* ‘climb, ascend’, which express the position of a theme along a path. This type is labelled *path scale* and includes path-type accomplishments. The third type of scale is called *extent scale* and is associated with incremental-theme predicates of the accomplishment type in English (cf. also Dowty 1991). The aspect of incremental-theme predicates is a homomorphism, or mapping, from the physical extent of an argument (say, an apple) to the progress of the event described by the verb (say, eating). Put slightly more formally, ‘If x is part of y , then if a telic predicate maps y (as Theme) onto event e , it must map x onto an event e' which is part of e ’ (Dowty 1991:567).

The latter type, the extent-scale type, differs most from property scales in that the verbs in this group do not lexically specify a scale; this is solely provided by the object referent specifying the goal of the event. For example, the verb

bygga ‘build’, when not combined with a delimiting complement, is usually classified as an ordinary activity predicate (see section 3). Activity verbs, and other *non-scalar* predicates, can be characterized in the following way:

- they do not necessarily describe change in the value of a single attribute but allow a complex combination of changes
- they allow more event complexity, i.e. a combination of multiple changes.

The events discussed so far can be grouped in the following way. As seen, the event-structural distinctions differ from the traditional Vendler ones, the major difference showing in the accomplishment class, which is split up into the non-scalar group, which also includes e.g. activities, and the scalar group:³⁴

Typically fine with *hålla på och* (cf. section 3 above)

- Non-scalar, e.g. *skriva ett brev* ‘write a letter’, *sjunga* ‘sing’, *hosta* ‘cough’,

Only marginally acceptable with *hålla på och*

- Property scalar, e.g. *förfalla* ‘deteriorate’
- Path scalar, e.g. *gå till affären* ‘walk to the store’
- Extent scalar, specifically bounded-ingestion type, e.g. *äta en kaka* ‘eat a cookie’

A scale is ‘a set of points totally ordered along some dimension’ (Hay et al. 1999:130), which, tentatively translated into subevents, would mean that each subevent must be conceived as being homogeneous to the other subevents so that there is a total order and equal step between each subevent (i.e. each ‘value’ on the scale) on the path toward the endpoint of the whole event. So, instead of requiring that any two subevents of a scalar-change event add up to a change in a particular direction of some attribute, we may assume that *scale* here means event-internal homogeneity in the process part and a terminal point acting as a director of the subevents.

³⁴ All scalar types presented are multi-point scales, meaning that there are many values of the attribute denoted (often labelled *durative* in the literature). There are also inherently bounded two-point scales, represented by achievements like ‘reach the summit’, which only have the two properties. In the example, the properties are ‘not being at the summit’ and ‘being at the summit’. This class is, as said, usually not compatible with *hålla på och* and is therefore not discussed here.

We can employ three binary features:

- event-external vs. event-internal
- homogeneous vs. heterogeneous subevents
- $P=V$ (subevents can be described by the predicate) vs. $P\neq V$ (subevents cannot be described by the predicate), see section 3.1.

Predicates compatible with *hålla på och*

In this class, the events are, roughly speaking, prototypically pluractional, i.e. repeated event-externally (or perhaps internally, depending on how one identifies a singular whole event; I do not take a stand on the issue here), receiving an ‘again and again’ reading. If two subevents of, say, ‘drip’ are ‘drip’ events, then the sum of them is also a ‘drip’ event.

Event-external/internal, homogeneous, $P=V$

- Semelfactives, e.g. *hicka* ‘hiccup’, *hosta* ‘cough’, *nysa* ‘sneeze’
- Homogeneous activities, e.g. *andas* ‘breathe’, *droppa* ‘drip’, *fnittra* ‘giggle’

However, we also find non-prototypical pluractionality (if it is to be labelled pluractionality at all): multiplicity, but not necessarily iteration, of heterogeneous subevents. Here, each subevent is not itself an event of the type denoted by the predicate.

Event-internal, heterogeneous, $P\neq V$

- Heterogeneous activities, e.g. *gymnastisera* ‘exercise’ (includes e.g. moving in different directions, using different equipment, etc.), *spela fotboll* ‘play football’ (includes e.g. heading, kicking, shooting, etc.), *städa* ‘clean’ (includes e.g. dusting, vacuuming, etc.)
- Heterogeneous accomplishments (or complex accomplishments, Rothstein 2012:88), e.g. *bygga ett hus* (includes e.g. hammering nails, raising walls, cutting wood, etc.), *klippa gräset* (includes e.g. starting the mower, mowing in one direction, mowing in another direction, circling around trees, etc.), *tömma båten* ‘empty the boat’ (includes e.g. bringing a scoop in different directions, bailing in the stern, bailing in the bow, etc.)

Predicates incompatible with *hålla på och*

In this class, the predicate describes the event as a whole but not the homogeneous subevents of that event (if I eat a subpart of a cookie, this event is not in itself an event of eating the cookie; also cf. Dowty 1991:568). The class contains one type of feature setting:

Event-internal, homogeneous, $P \neq V$

- Homogeneous accomplishments, e.g. *gå över gatan* ‘cross the street’ (the subevents, e.g. taking two steps, taking another two steps, etc., are more or less identical and must be concatenated in order for the whole event to occur: if I walk halfway across the street, this event is not an event of crossing the street)

5. Conclusions and discussion

What, then, could be the reason behind the incompatibility of *hålla på och* with event-internally homogeneous predicates in which each subevent is not an instance of the predicate VP? If *hålla på och* behaves like a pluractional marker in iterating punctual events, should it not be able to combine with iterated event-internal event sequences? As seen, the compatibility is not dependent on telicity, since some accomplishments are felicitous with *hålla på och* whereas others are not. A possible explanation is that *hålla på och* requires presence of distinguishable events, and the boundaries of event-internally homogeneous events are unclear. This may in turn be a result of a general cognitive process of grouping³⁵ event-internal pluractionals, as discussed by Wood (2007), where event-internal pluractionals are predicates of groups, creating plural sums of subevents. I am not confident that this applies to all kinds of event-internal pluractionals, but I think this grouping effect is likely to be stronger if the subevents are homogeneous (cf. also Rothstein’s 2004 S(ingular)-sum operation which applies to subevents e_1 and e_2 if the endpoint of e_1 overlaps the initial point of e_2). For example, Wood (2007:98) notes that ‘[Physical] Objects which are similar are grouped together more readily than objects which are dissimilar’ (cf. mass-nouns). In the domain of events, Wood (2007:105) mentions perceptual continuity, e.g. consistency of participants and the effects of different actions, and whether events share a common goal, as features of grouped events.

It is difficult to classify the event-internal heterogeneous events discussed in this paper as pluractionals. First, they cannot be repeated unless the event described by the predicate is iterated as a whole, because they are not homogeneous. Second, as shown above, they are not proper instances of conative readings in the sense that the culmination of the accomplishment type (e.g. ‘build a house’) is minimized or ‘removed’ via some kind of coercion (which is a prerequisite for pluractionality with accomplishments according to e.g. Wood

35 This is an extension of the collective vs. distributive NP distinctions (Landman 1996).

2007 and Henderson 2012). There is no implication of ‘aimlessness’ or falling short of producing a desired result with *hålla på och* with accomplishment predicates, for example (cf. Cusic 1981).

What we have, then, is a situation where a predicate VP includes heterogeneous subevents, i.e. the same thing is not going on at all subintervals of the whole event (note that both heterogeneous activities and accomplishments are compatible with *hålla på och*). One way of thinking about the requirements imposed by *hålla på och* when it comes to event-internal pluractionality is to represent it in a type-theoretical account (e.g. Cooper 2010) and assume that (sub)events are strings of structured semantic objects like frames in a movie. Each frame is a record of an attribute value matrix, where each field consists of a parameter with a label and a type. Assuming that a is the individual denoted by the subject referent and E is the bigger event denoted by the VP, $E(a)$ can represent the whole event of, say, ‘She is building a house’. The nature of the subevents of this event could be represented by concatenated (represented by the concatenation symbol \frown) string types:

- (37) $e : \text{bygga_ett_hus}(a)$ if
 $e : \text{lay_foundation}(a) \frown \text{put_up_walls}(a) \frown \text{make_roof}(a) \frown \dots \frown \text{finish_house}(a)$

Of course, this is not the complete string of subevents; these are determined contextually and by checking that a type (or a number of types) in the string is close enough to an expected prototype subevent of building a house (cf. Rothstein 2012).

In the build-a-house representation above, there seems to be a temporal order between the concatenated types (one cannot usually put on a roof if the walls are not built, for example), so a $<$ symbol could be used. But how, then, should we account for the heterogeneous activity described by *spela fotboll* ‘play football’, where the order between each subevent cannot be determined? Cf.:

- (38) $e : \text{spela_fotboll}(a,b)$ iff
 $e : (\text{head}(a,b) \frown \text{kick}(a,b) \frown \text{shoot}(a,b) \frown \dots)$

Again, we have to rely on a prototype of football-playing activity: seeing someone kicking a ball and scoring a goal may be enough to predict that there is a football event going on.

5.1 Final notes

It is, in sum, suggested that *hålla på och*, when combined with semelfactives and activities, is a pluractional specifier (sections 2 and 3) which, surprisingly, does not combine with event-internally homogeneous subevents of bounded events (section 4), leading to the conclusion that *hålla på och* primarily targets discernible events while *hålla på att* does not have this restriction. This lends support for event accounts that depart from the Vendler-based classification in favor for more fine-grained event-structural accounts.

A final observation in need to be explored further is that the (here ignored) parameter of tense plays a crucial role. The present tense seemingly allows for (what in the past tense is categorized as) certain scalar changes to combine with *hålla på och*.³⁶

- (39) a. Hon {#höll på och åt /håller på och äter} en kaka.
she held on and ate holds on and eats a cookie
'She was/is eating a cookie.'
- b. Temperaturen { #höll på och sjönk /håller på och sjunker}.³⁷
temperature-DEF {held on and fell holds on and falls}
'The temperature was/is falling.'

One may assume that the present tense 'blurs' the direction of the event because of the seemingly universal phenomenon that events in the present tense must be open and unbounded (Smith 2006). If no bound or goal is visible, it can be assumed that a conative reading, which lacks direction, is available.

36 Directed-path motion seems to be equally bad in both tenses, e.g. #*Han höll på {att gå/och gick} över gatan (en gång)*, lit. he held on {to cross/and crossed} the street (once).

37 Cf. Törnudd-Jalovaara (1988:28) for this example in the present tense.

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V

(Ir)realis in finite and infinitive
verbal complement structures in Swedish

(Ir)realis in finite and infinitive verbal complement structures in Swedish

1. Introduction

The use of the infinitive marker *att* ‘to’ and the conjunction *och* ‘and’ in certain V (å) VP constructions¹ in present-day Swedish is often described as a primarily stylistically distinctive variation. It can be considered a semantically vacuous conflation owing to frequent phonological merging of the infinitive marker and the conjunction as /ɔ/ in speech, roughly corresponding to the pronunciation of the Swedish orthographic *å*. Examples of the conflation notably include aspectual constructions like the *hålla på* ‘hold on-PRT’ + *å* + VP, but also sequences like *försöka (å) öppna* ‘try (to/and) open’.² The V is standardly followed by the infinitive marker *att* ‘to’ and a VP with an infinitive verb as head. Contrastively, the V is often followed by the conjunction *och* ‘and’ and a VP with a head with the same tense inflection as V in less formal writing. Consider the standard use with the semantically particularly interesting *hålla på* as V in (1a) and the less standard variant in (1b):

- (1) a. Han höll på att äta.
 he held on to eat-INF
 b. Han höll på och åt.
 he held on and ate
 ‘He was eating.’

Semantically, the most decisive difference is not the type of linking element (here referring to the element that links the verbs). The conjunction and the in-

1 The construction consists of a single verb, or verb + particle, followed by an optional element pronounced /ɔ/, here rendered as *å*, and a verb with optional internal arguments, hence the dubbing *VP*.

2 Abbreviations in examples include: DEF ‘definite noun’, INF ‘infinitive’, PAST ‘past-tense form’, PRS ‘present-tense form’, PRT ‘particle’, REFL ‘reflexive pronoun’.

finitive marker are, partly due to the phonological merging mentioned above,³ both often mixed up in writing; there is at times a conjunction where an infinitive marker is expected and (albeit not as often) vice versa. Sometimes, in informal language, both the conjunction and the infinitive marker are spelled in non-standard ways, e.g. as *å* or *o*, without change in meaning. Therefore, I render it as *å* in constructed examples.

Of more importance seems to be presence or absence of finite marking on the head of the VP, which is, in this article, the same as past/present tense morphology (see section 2). The importance of finiteness marking is particularly manifest with *hålla på* as V and achievement predicates in VP; cf. the difference between (2a) and (2b) below:

- (2) a. Jag höll på å falla av stolen.
I held on å fall-INF off chair-DEF
 ‘I was about to fall off the chair.’
 b. Jag höll på å föll av stolen.
I held on å fell off chair-DEF
 ‘I was falling off the chair.’

While (1) above includes an activity predicate ‘eat’, which, as seen, does not render any significant semantic difference between infinitive and finite forms of the VP head, example (2) exhibits a semantic difference in relation to VP finiteness. The reading of (2a) is that the subject referent was close to the culmination of falling off the chair, but it is inferred that s/he eventually did not fall off. The example in (2b), on the other hand, most likely means that the subject did completely fall off the chair and, also, that s/he fell off again and again during a period of time due to e.g. sleepiness.

The constructions under investigation here have one prominent semantic feature in common: the content of V modifies the content of VP, e.g. temporally or aspectually, as in (1) and (2). In other words, there is an auxiliary-like meaning of V (and, like auxiliaries, the type of V verb seems to be restricted), and the meaning of V and the meaning of VP make up parts of a single, more or less complex, event.

3 This is not the whole truth, because some speakers occasionally pronounce the function word /ok/ (which is the literal pronunciation of the conjunction *och* ‘and’) even when the following verb is in the infinitive form. Example: *Jag har försökt /ok/ lösa uppgiften*, lit. I have tried /ok/ solve-INF task-DEF.

There are four more formal properties of V (å) VP constructions:

First, they have a characteristic intonation contour shared by other complement structures: V is unstressed. There is no significant prosodic difference between a V (å) VP construction with an infinitive VP head and a V (å) VP construction with a finite VP head: V is unstressed in both constructions, except for contrastive stress (see e.g. Josefsson 1991).

Second, V and VP share subject, but there is only one overt subject, namely that licensed by V. An overt subject of an infinitive VP is ungrammatical (3a). With finite VPs, we are thus interested in the “pseudocoordinative” type in (3b) but not the ordinary VP coordination in (3c). Only the former (3b) describes a complex single event of eating (i.e. he was performing a process of eating), whereas the latter (3c) describes two more or less independent events (i.e. he both *höll på* ‘was doing different, contextually specified, things’ and was eating).

- (3) a. *Han höll på å han äta.
he held on å he eat-INF
 b. Han höll på å åt.
he held on å ate
 ‘He was eating.’
 c. Han höll på å han åt.
he held on å he ate
 ‘He was doing things and he was eating.’

Third, the VP head alternates between an infinitive form (independent of the form of V) and a finite form (identical to the finite form of V), thus violating the so-called One finite element constraint, stating that a “syntactically complex verb form can contain several infinite forms but maximally one finite form” (Klein 2006:250). Having two finite verbs, V and the VP head as in (2b), and having a linking element between them (standardly the coordination conjunction *och* in writing), is (also) a feature of ordinary VP coordinations. However, the semantic peculiarities mentioned above, paired with certain syntactic idiosyncrasies, has rendered the labeling *pseudocoordination* (e.g. *Svenska Akademiens grammatik* / *The Swedish Academy grammar*, abbr. SAG, Teleman et al. 1999).

Fourth, the parentheses around å in V (å) VP constructions indicate that the linking element is sometimes optional, but only if the VP head is infinitive (it is obligatory with a finite VP head), e.g. *Jag fortsatte (å) läsa* (lit. *I continued (å) read-INF*). This restriction excludes most canonical modal-auxiliary constructions, which do not accept linking elements (4).

- (4) Hon skulle (*å) åka till Paris.
she should å go-INF to Paris
'She should go to Paris.'

1.1 Aim

The difference between V (å) VP constructions with infinitive and finite VP heads is understudied. There is one major exception to my knowledge, Wiklund (2007), in which it is held that tense inflection in the VP does not affect the interpretation of the VP event. VP-head tense morphology is instead argued to be semantically vacuous copying of tense inflection of V. The primary aim of the present article is to nuance the latter claim and show that there is indeed a meaning difference between constructions with finite and non-finite VP heads that is more or less subtle and can be attributed to the semantics of finiteness vs. non-finiteness of the VP head. The meaning difference is argued to be one of realis vs. irrealis respectively (see section 2 below). However, it is not suggested that finiteness as such makes up a grammatical category marking realis; the meaning of realis is restricted and also depends on the meaning of V, i.e. the verb associated with finiteness in declarative main clauses.

The secondary aim is to show that finiteness is not the only factor governing the realis meaning of the clause. The implicative meaning of V (see section 3) plays a crucial role as well, as it must match the meaning of (non)finiteness of the VP head (Karttunen 1971, 2012). The aspectual meaning of the VP also matters in combination with certain Vs. Here, I employ Vendler's (1957) well-known situation-type categories of states, activities, accomplishments and achievements. The aspectual meaning of the VP is particularly evident with *hålla på* constructions, which is why these are given extra focus in this article. To my knowledge, correlating implicative semantics, finiteness, and aspect in complex verb constructions has not been done before, certainly not for Swedish.

First, I review some accounts of finiteness in section 2. In section 3, Karttunen's works on implicative verbs are accounted for, and in section 4, some Swedish V (å) VP constructions are analyzed according to Karttunen's model. This is the foundation of the analysis in section 5, in which extra focus is put on aspecto-temporal constructions, particularly the imperfectivizing *hålla på* construction. Section 6 concludes the article.

2. Finiteness

While there is at least one rather clear functional difference between verbs with different tense inflections (the positioning of an event on a timeline), the concept of finiteness is rather obscure: “the notion of finiteness is used by everybody and understood by nobody”, as Klein (2006:245) puts it. Therefore, something should be said about finiteness, particularly its function.

Finiteness is traditionally associated with morphology, as it is often signaled by an inflectional form of the verb expressing the two categories agreement (person/number) and tense. While finite verbs have rich inflectional agreement/tense morphology, non-finite verbs have reduced morphology. The morphological finiteness features go hand in hand with syntactic features, the most well-known being that finite verbs appear in syntactically independent clauses whereas non-finite verbs are found in syntactically dependent clauses in declarative sentences (Nikolaeva 2007:3ff.).⁴ In addition, in V2 languages like Swedish, finiteness is also associated with the second position of the finite verb in declarative main clauses (Heinat 2012).

However, the morphological and syntactic criteria are not universal, as they only apply to languages with inflectional verb morphology (Chinese is excluded, for example) and to languages which indicate subordination with non-finiteness. In generative syntax, the form of the verb is therefore deemphasized, and defining features of finiteness are instead tense/agreement features and the ability of the verb to occupy certain positions in the clausal structure (e.g. ability of the finite verb to become a clausal head), together with co-occurrence of finiteness with licensing of referentially independent subjects in the nominative case (e.g. Nikolaeva 2007:4).

In sum, finiteness is cross-linguistically (in particular outside the Germanic language area) difficult to define, especially with morphology as the starting point; there seems to be no universal gram-type for finiteness (Bybee 1998). As mentioned in section 1, we primarily investigate finite verbs (present and past

⁴ Though not tensed, the imperative mood is canonically considered a finiteness marker (in Swedish as well; cf. e.g. SAG vol. 2:502, 543), partly because it can constitute the main predication in syntactically independent clauses. In line with e.g. Platzack & Rosengren (1998) and Han (1998), I think that the functional content of imperatives is non-finite rather than finite, at least in V (å) VP constructions. Both infinitive and imperative VP heads are fine in irrealis statements such as *Låt bli å {smällal smäll} med locket!* (lit. *refrain.from å slam-INF/IMP lid-DEF*) ‘Do not slam the lid!’, i.e. ‘Do not exercise the idea of slamming the lid’ (cf. Wellander 1939:41). However, a past-tense VP is contradictory in a single-event reading, because the past-tense form of ‘slam’ requires that the slamming of the lid be realized: *#Hon låt bli å smällde med locket* (lit. *she refrained.from å slam-PAST lid-DEF*), intended: ‘She refrained from slamming the lid’.

tense forms) vs. infinitives, hence adopting the narrow conception that infinitives are exemplary non-finite markers (Anderson 2007:18). This is also in line with *The Swedish Academy grammar* (SAG).

The semantic/functional content of finiteness, which is the primary focus in this article, has not been nearly as well-studied as the syntactic properties. The literature provides a rather general definition: an iconic correlation has been sketched between the typical syntactic downgrading of non-finite clauses and dependent denotation of non-finite events, which then have to be interpreted as integrated components in finite events (e.g. Givón 1990:853, Anderson 2007, Gretsche & Perdue 2007, Nikolaeva 2007:7). The missing information in the non-finite clause (tense, for example) is provided by the selecting predicate in the main clause. A cognitive variant is provided by Langacker's (1987) observation that subordinate processes (consisting of a sequence of subevents, like frames in a movie) are not "cognitively profiled", but depend on, and are interpreted from, the perspective of another event.

Langacker (1987) specifically notes that a subordinate event is perceived as a non-processual unitary whole like nominals, which, like infinitive phrases, can occur as objects, which are parts of the profiled event in the main VP. So, while finite predicates allow for "sequential scanning" of subevents (i.e. as events occurring through time), events denoted by non-finite predicates such as the infinitive suspend the sequential scanning of the verb stem, which leads to them being perceived "summarily" as unitary things dependent on, and interconnected with, the finite processes (also cf. Cristofaro 2007:100ff.).

A possibly more widespread way of defining finiteness is that it locates an event in a temporal interval (e.g. Hoekstra & Hyams 1998), a concept often labelled (temporal and/or spatial) anchoring, i.e. the mapping of a sentence content onto the utterance context (e.g. Bianchi 2003, Gretsche & Perdue 2007), or, in other words, the encoding of a relation, or coindexation, between event time and speech time (Cowper 1998, Bianchi 2003). The descriptive content is "asserted to be true at the moment of temporal anchorage" (Gretsche & Perdue 2007:433), which has an analogue in generative syntactic literature like Platzack & Rosengren (1998:191), where it is suggested that the finiteness projection "anchors the event in time and space, by identifying a point on the time line with the speaker's here and now". The here-and-now concept has been related to modal concepts; here-and-now is a relation between a proposition and the speaker's world, whereas *not* here-and-now refers to a possible world (Hoekstra & Jordens 1994:128, Hoekstra & Hyams 1998).

Barron (2000:38) notes that temporally anchored events are canonically, as a consequence, real events, i.e. they must exist in the speaker's world. Since "the prototypical finite is positive and declarative (and realis)" (Anderson 2007:2f.), the non-finite is also canonically considered an indicator of irrealis

(e.g. Givón 1990:854, Han 1998) – which is not to be confused with subjunctives or certain finite-verb constructions like conditionals, which can be expressed by subordinate clauses (these are obviously not investigated in this article). Irrealis expresses volition/intention, hypothetical possibility, and the like, in other words, the opposite of a finite realized state of affairs. These semantic properties have been attested in several types of non-finite clauses, for example in exclamative Mad Magazine sentences. These express evaluation, surprise, commands, etc. like the rejected event expressed by *Jag dansa?*, lit. *I dance-INF* ‘Me dance?’ (cf. Jespersen 1992[1924]:129f., Hyams 2005:297, Evans 2007:404f.). Note that this type of sentence does not describe realized events in the speaker’s world, but only ideas. There are no truth-values, which is related to the fact that this type of sentence does not identify a point in time at which a proposition is true (Nikolaeva 2013:113).

3. Implicatives

As an analogue to the concept of factive verbs (Kiparsky & Kiparsky 1970), in which matrix verbs presuppose the truth of their complement clauses, Karttunen (1971) coined the term *implicative* verbs, referring to verbs that entail their infinitive complements.⁵ Implicative verbs represent a necessary and sufficient condition for the event in the complement (i.e. VP) to take place, for example ‘showing enough skill’ in the case of a verb like *manage* .

As mentioned, an example of an implicative verb is *manage*. Like factive verbs, the assertion in (5a) implies (5b):

- (5) a. John managed to solve the problem.
b. John solved the problem.

A non-implicative verb such as *hope* exhibits neutrality with respect to implications. For example, (6a) is compatible with both (6b) and (6c).⁶

- (6) a. John hoped to solve the problem.
b. John solved the problem.
c. John did not solve the problem.

5 Implicative verbs entail their complements since the truth of the complement does not persist under negation of the matrix verb, contrary to presuppositions (which presuppose their complements). Cf. Karttunen (2012).

6 Other examples include e.g. *agree, decide, hope, intend, plan, promise, try, and want*.

We can also deny the statement in (6a): *John hoped to solve the problem, but he did not solve it*, which would be odd in (5a) above: #*John managed to solve the problem, but he did not solve it*.

Although negation of an implicative verb seems to imply negation of the complement as well (7a vs. 8), negation of a non-implicative verb does not affect the truth of the complement; (7b) does not imply (8).

- (7) a. John did not manage to solve the problem.
b. John did not hope to solve the problem.

- (8) John did not solve the problem.

Adding an adversative tag to (7a), #*John did not manage to solve the problem, but he solved it*, is odd, while the counterpart of (7b), *John did not hope to solve the problem, but he solved it*, is fine. Furthermore, the answer to a yes/no question with an implicative verb, e.g. *Did John manage to solve the problem?*, is roughly the same as the answer to *Did John solve the problem?*. However, the answer to *Did John hope to solve the problem?* only targets the matrix-verb event of hoping and is consequently not the same as the answer to *Did John solve the problem?*.

Karttunen (1971) concludes that the implicative verb and the infinitive complement describe one and the same event: for example, managing to do something is the same as doing it. The construction means that “there is some necessary and sufficient condition, expressed by the main verb, which alone determines whether the event described in the complement took place” (Karttunen 1971:352). A non-implicative verb and an infinitive complement, on the other hand, describe two separate situations: hoping to do something is for example separate from doing it.

Karttunen mentions yet another class of verbs: negative implicative verbs, e.g. *forget*. Here, an affirmative sentence like *John forgot to lock his door* implies the negative *John did not lock his door*, which makes this type similar to implicative verbs but with shifted polarity: there is some necessary and sufficient condition, expressed by the main verb, which alone determines whether the event described in the complement did *not* take place.

Karttunen (2012) presents a notation with polarity markers, which captures more fine-grained implicative types. Starting with (positive) implicative verbs, a verb such as *remember* (cf. Karttunen 1971) is represented as + + | – – implicative. This is a so-called two-way implicatives, which means that it yields implications in positive as well as in negative contexts. The first notational part, + +, marks that in affirmative contexts (e.g. *I remembered to + INF*), there is positive entailment (which is, then, the same as implication here). The – – part marks that in negative contexts (e.g. *I did not remember to + INF*), there is negative entailment.

Aside of two-way implicatives, yielding definite entailments in both affirmative and negative contexts, Karttunen (2012) identifies a class that only yields definite entailment in either affirmative or negative contexts, i.e. one-way implicatives. A one-way (positive) implicative is e.g. the + + implicative *force NP to*, which only yields entailment in affirmative contexts: *Lisa forced him to leave*, entailing that he left. The negative *Lisa did not force him to leave*, on the other hand, is compatible with both him leaving and him not leaving. In a similar line of reasoning, Karttunen identifies – + implicatives like *hesitate*, as in *She did not hesitate to leave*, which implies that she left.

Negative implicatives can be + – | – +, stating that in affirmative contexts, there is negative entailment and in negative contexts, there is positive entailment. The phrasal verb *forget to* (cf. Karttunen 1971) is an example of this type of implicative.⁷ Karttunen also identifies one-way + – implicatives such as *refuse* and – – implicatives such as *make an effort*.

In the following sections, we use applicable parts of Karttunen's (1971) more general implicative categories (non-implicative, implicative, and negative implicative) in order to find out if and how the implicative type of V matters for the semantics of the V (å) VP construction.

4. V (å) VP constructions

In this section, I examine a number of Swedish V (å) VP constructions using the examination of finiteness in section 2 and the model of implicative verbs in section 3, testing their characteristics with infinitive VPs and with finite VPs. Classifying all verbs would be an onerous task, and I therefore restrict the investigation to a number of Vs taken up by Karttunen (1971, 2012), which I translate into Swedish. I start with non-implicatives in section 4.1, and move on to implicatives (positive and negative) in section 4.2. In section 5, I combine the insights when characterizing a number of aspecto-temporal constructions, in particular the *hålla på* construction taken up in section 1.

⁷ As Karttunen (2012:125n) notes, it is also possible, under “metalinguistic negation”, to focus the negation of *forget*, e.g. *She didn't forget, she never intended to call you*.

4.1 Non-implicative (neutral) Vs in V (å) VP constructions

As mentioned, Karttunen (1971) notes that non-implicative verbs differ from (positively) implicative verbs in that the former describe two spatio-temporally separate situations (e.g. *intending* to do something and possibly doing something after the intention), whereas the latter describe two inseparable situations (e.g. *managing* to do something, which is truth-conditionally the same as doing that thing). The non-implicative class includes Swedish verbs such as *hoppas* ‘hope’, *lova* ‘promise’, and *planera* ‘plan’.

The spatio-temporal separation imposed by non-implicatives, or “future-time gap” (Givón 1973:906), can be demonstrated by adding a futurate temporal adverbial to a past-tense V. This operation is fine with many non-implicative verbs, because there is usually a temporal gap between the V event and the VP event:

- (9) Hon hoppades /lovade /planerade (å) ta en bild imorgon.
she hoped promised planned å take-INF a picture tomorrow
‘She hoped/promised/planned to take a picture tomorrow.’

However, it should be noted that temporal gapping cannot be the only defining feature of non-implicatives. Notably, the equally non-implicative *försöka* ‘try’ does not combine with a futurate adverbial:

- (10) *Hon försökte (å) ta en bild imorgon.
she tried å take-INF a picture tomorrow
Intended: ‘She tried to take a picture tomorrow.’

A reason for the incompatibility in (10) could be that *försöka* ‘try’ describes some initial part of the event denoted by VP: to try something is to actually begin doing that something, albeit not necessarily reaching its culmination. ‘Trying to take a picture’ could then describe a single event of, say, fiddling around with a camera looking for the shutter button, which could be described as a single complex event of taking a picture (without necessarily reaching the culmination of clicking the shutter).⁸ The V and VP events are, then, partially overlapping with the non-implicative *försöka* (which is also noted by Endresen 1995:206).

⁸ In addition, ‘trying’ may also presuppose that the event to be carried out involves an active attempt, is somewhat difficult to achieve, etc.

The spatio-temporal separation could be a reason behind the fact that non-implicative Vs in general do not accept finite VP heads in Swedish, unless there is a reading in which the two events are perceived as clearly independent from each other (cf. independent-event reading, Wiklund 2007) and the VP event is realized. An instance of V (å) VP with *försöka* as V, in which there is no relevant temporal gap, can in casual writing (albeit only marginally) yield a single-event reading with a finite VP head:

- (11) På kvällen kollade vi på sista Hollywoodfruar och försökte o la
on evening-DEF looked we on last Hollywood.wives and tried å la
 oss tidigt.⁹
REFL early
 ‘In the evening, we watched the last episode of “Hollywood wives” and tried
 to go to bed early.’

Cf. other types of non-implicatives, in which the intended reading is the one yielded by an infinitive VP head, i.e. a single-event reading:

- (12) #Hon hoppades /lovade /planerade (å) tog en bild.
she hoped promised planned å took a picture
 Intended: ‘She hoped/promised/planned to take a picture.’

If a finite VP is to be acceptable in (12), the reading must be the two-clause, independent-event reading ‘She hoped/promised/planned/tried (something) and/so she actually took a picture’. This reading also permits two overt subjects, and it is therefore not a V (å) VP construction as defined in section 1 above.

4.2 Implicative Vs in V (å) VP constructions

In this section we analyze different positive and negative implicatives, showing how they correlate with infinitive and finite VPs.

4.2.1 Positive implicatives

We conclude that positive implicatives work well with finite VPs in affirmative contexts in informal Swedish (below is an example with + + | – – implicatives).

9 <<http://livetivillavillekulla.blogg.se/2009/october/13e-oktober.html>> [2014-11-01]

- (13) Jag kom ihåg å /lyckades (å) /såg till å {ta /tog} mig ut.
I remembered å succeeded å made sure å take-INF took REFL out
 Intended: ‘I remembered to get/succeeded in getting/made sure to get out
 (e.g. out of my home to get some regular exercise, socialize, etc.).’

As said, *remembering/managing/making sure to do something* is similar to actually doing that thing (i.e. realizing it), and there is no obvious difference between an infinitive and a finite VP here.

Note that implicatives like *lyckas* ‘succeed’ denote punctual action specifically targeting a boundary of a telic event that may be iterated only in special contexts. Compare the non-implicative *försöka* ‘try’ in (14a), which does not imply a (final) boundary, with the implicative *lyckas* ‘succeed’ in (14b), noting that VP denotes a punctual and usually not completely iterable event.

- (14) a. Hela kvällen försökte jag (å) låsa dörren.
whole evening-DEF tried I å lock-INF door-DEF
 ‘I tried to lock the door the whole evening.’
 b. #Hela kvällen lyckades jag (å) låsa dörren.
whole evening-DEF succeeded I å lock-INF door-DEF
 Intended: ‘I succeeded in locking the door the whole evening.’

As mentioned in section 4.1, non-implicative ‘trying’ can be extended in time as in (14a) above, as it is neutral with respect to implication (which would be the same as ‘reaching the culmination of the event’), whereas implicative ‘succeeding’, in the context of (14b), is not iterated unless the context and the VP event permits it. Note that the acceptability of (14a) is only valid for the infinitive VP; a finite VP would lead to the punctual locking event being realized as well, and as such becoming extended (iterated, since it is punctual), which is odd outside a very special context.

Here, we can note an important difference between non-implicatives and (positive) implicatives, which is not evident in (14) above. With an accomplishment VP instead, we find that the non-implicative V ‘try’ is not dichotomous in the sense that it either implies ‘action’ or ‘no action’. In (15a) below, part of the accomplishment event indeed took place (i.e. there was some reading going on), but its final end-point, the culmination, was not reached. In (15b) with an implicative verb, the culmination must be reached, i.e. the whole event must be performed, in order for the verb to work.

- (15) a. Jag försökte (å) läsa ut boken men kom bara halvvägs.
I tried å read-INF out book-DEF but got only half.Way
 ‘I tried to finish the book, but only got half way.’

- b. Jag lyckades (å) läsa ut boken (#men kom bara halvvägs).
I succeeded å read-INF out book-DEF but got only half.way
 Intended: 'I managed to finish the book, but only got half way.'

It should be noted, finally, that creating negative context by adding a negation seems to force independent-event reading. Cf. e.g. the positive – + implicative *inte tveka* ('not hesitate'), which readily accepts both infinitive (16a) and finite (16b) VPs:

- (16) a. Domaren tvekade inte å ta fram det röda kortet.
referee-DEF hesitated not å take out the red card-DEF
 'The referee did not hesitate to take out the red card.'
 b. Domaren tvekade inte och tog fram det röda kortet.¹⁰
referee-DEF hesitated not å took out the red card-DEF
 #'The referee did not hesitate to take out the red card.'

We note that (16b) does not yield a single-complex event reading like in (16a) but an independent-event reading: besides not hesitating (to do something), the referee also took out the red card.

4.2.2 Negative implicatives

Contrary to positive implicatives, and certain non-implicatives, negative implicatives do not seem to accept finite VP heads unless there is a clear independent-event reading. For example, the + – implicative *vägra* 'refuse' with finite VP head actually seems to yield positive entailment as opposed to an infinitive VP head (17a), and the meaning collision with V yields an independent-event reading. A similar effect is seen with a + – | – + implicative like *glömma* 'forget' (17b). The reason for this is possibly that a finite VP is a realis VP.¹¹

- (17) a. Hon vägrade (å) {ge /#gav} upp.
she refused å give gave up
 Intended: 'She refused to give up.'
 b. Hon glömde (å) {ta /#tog} med tandborsten.
she forgot å take-INF took with toothbrush-DEF
 Intended: 'She forgot to bring the toothbrush.'

10 <<http://mobil.svenskafans.com/europa/341247.aspx#.U8fl5rE3Dy0>> [2014-06-05]

11 Interestingly, a + – | – + implicative in a negative context does not yield single-event reading either, e.g. #*Hon glömde inte å tog med tandborsten* (lit. she forgot not å took with toothbrush-DEF). The reason for this is perhaps that the negation makes the event denoted by V more independent than without negation. Further research is needed here.

As seen, a finite VP advances the narrative in a way that is not the case with an infinitive VP head.

4.3 Intermediate summary

We have seen that negative implicative verbs generally do not accept finite VPs under single-event reading. Temporal separation between the events in V and VP seems to play a role when it comes to non-implicatives (and perhaps also Vs situation type), while the contradictory relation between a negative implicative V and a finite, and hence realis, VP, makes this combination unacceptable under a single-event reading. Positive implicatives, on the other hand, generally accept finite alternation in VP, and in addition, finite VP heads can alter the aspectual meaning.

5. Aspecto-temporal constructions

Although tense and aspect is often expressed with periphrastic VP structures in English, Karttunen's studies of implicative verbs does not touch upon Vs in aspecto-temporal constructions. However, some verbs of phasic aspect,¹² or implicative so-called time-axis verbs, are taken up in a follow-up study by Givón (1973). These are discussed in 5.1 below. In 5.2, I analyze some imperfectivizing constructions, particularly constructions with *hålla på*.

5.1 Phasic constructions

Givón (1973) notes that both 'begin' and 'continue' are (positively) implicative, which can be translated as + + | - - using Karttunen's (2012) notation. Perhaps somewhat counterintuitively, Givón classifies 'finish' as negatively implicative (+ - | - +), despite the fact that e.g. *I finished running* entails *I ran*. The reason is that the entailments (albeit \supset means 'imply', Givón 1973:892) of the complements of so-called time-axis verbs relate to a time *following* the time described by the matrix verb. Examples from Givón (1973:896):

12 I employ Binnick's (2006) distinction between viewpoint aspect, e.g. the progressive, and phasic aspect, e.g. the ingressive ('begin'), continuative ('continue'), and egressive ('finish').

- (18) a. At 2 p.m. John began to work \supset
 At a time DIRECTLY AFTER 2 p.m. John was working.
 b. It was 2 p.m. and John continued to sleep \supset
 At a time DIRECTLY AFTER 2 p.m. John was asleep.
 c. At 2 p.m. John stopped working \supset
 At a time DIRECTLY AFTER 2 p.m. John was not working.

The implicative pattern above correlates with the combinatorial possibilities with finite VPs in Swedish. Both *börja* ‘begin’ (19a) and *fortsätta* ‘continue’ (19b) combine with finite VPs and yield a single-complex event reading, while *sluta* ‘stop’ usually does not (19c).

- (19) a. Hon började (å) {skriva /skrev} sagor.
 she started å write-INF wrote fairy.tales
 ‘She started writing fairy tales.’
 b. Hon fortsatte (å) {skriva /skrev} sagor.
 she continued å write-INF wrote fairy.tales
 ‘She continued writing fairy tales.’
 c. Hon slutade (å) {skriva /#skrev} sagor.
 she stopped å write-INF wrote fairy.tales
 Intended: ‘She stopped writing fairy tales.’

The oddness of *sluta* + finite VP is probably a result of what Givón (1973) assumes: the time of evaluation is directly *after* the (end of the) V event. At this time, the VP event is not realized anymore and thus cannot be finite and consequently realis.

Note that the events in V and in VP must be perceived as simultaneous and parallel if a finite VP is to be used with the V *börja*, which is the case with activity VPs in (19) above. A punctual event in VP, as in (20) below (and other telic events, cf. Sandström 1993:15), yields only independent-event reading, ‘She started doing something and (then) she got a headache’:

- (20) Hon började (å) {få /#fick} huvudvärk.
 she started å get-INF got headache
 Intended: ‘She started getting a headache.’

As is also evident in (20), the V in the infinitive-VP reading does not denote a full-blown headache, whereas the finite variant does, thereby forcing independent-event reading. This provides further support that the infinitive verb only denotes an idea of an event, whereas the finite verb targets a realized, and possibly complete, event. While ‘beginning to get a headache’ and ‘getting a complete headache’ do not match, as is the case with the finite VP in (20) above, *fortsätta* ‘continue’ combines with both an infinitive VP denoting mi-

nimally a partial event and a finite VP denoting a realized event of completely crossing the bridge:

- (21) Han fortsatte (å) {gå /gick} över bron.
he continued å walk-INF walked across bridge-DEF
 ‘He resumed his bridge-crossing.’

5.2 Imperfectivizing constructions, particularly *hålla på*

There are two constructions in Swedish that are often considered imperfectivizing or correspond to imperfective, specifically progressive, constructions in other languages, both consisting of a verb followed by *å* and a VP: pseudo-coordinations with posture verbs (*sitta/stå/ligga* ‘sit/stand/lie’ + *å* + VP)¹³ and, as mentioned, *hålla på* ‘hold on-PRT’ + *å* + VP constructions (e.g. Johansson 1987, Pihlström 1988, Ebert 2000). We focus on the latter type, because pseudo-coordinations generally do not alternate between finite and infinitive VP heads (cf. also Wiklund 2007:8):

- (22) Jag {satt /stod /låg} å {skrev /*skriva}.¹⁴
I sat stood lay å wrote write-INF
 Intended: ‘I was simultaneously sitting/standing/lying and writing.’

5.2.1 *Hålla på* as imperfectivizer

The phrasal-verb construction *hålla på* (*hold on-PRT*) primarily has an aspectual function, denoting imperfectivity when combined with a linking element *å* and a VP.¹⁵ The *hålla på* construction can be divided into two imperfective subtypes, a progressive, i.e. a ‘in the midst of’ sense, and a prospective¹⁶ ‘be

13 There are more verbs possible as first conjuncts, but I restrict my analysis to posture verbs.

14 The ungrammaticality with an infinitive VP head may be a result of the assumption that this type of pseudocoordination does not originate from a hypotactic structure but from grammaticalization of ordinary coordinations. This is supported by Hilpert & Koops (2009:251), who find present-day-like pseudocoordinations as far back as the 14th century (Old Swedish).

15 We will concentrate on *hålla på*, but it could be noted that there are several more or less synonymous constructions, e.g. *vara nära å* (lit. be close å), *vara i färd med å* (lit. be in trip with å), and *vara på väg å* (lit. be on way å), all of which are primarily followed by infinitive verbs.

16 This term is used by e.g. Comrie (1976) and Croft (2012). Other terms include *preliminary* (Smith 1997) and *proximative* (Heine 2002).

about to’ sense, as illustrated in (1) and (2) above (repeated as 23a and 23b, respectively).

- (23) a. Han höll på att äta.
he held on to eat-INF
 ‘He was eating.’
 b. Jag höll på å falla av stolen.
I held on å fall-INF off chair-DEF
 ‘I was about to fall off the chair.’

The division between progressive and prospective *hålla på* is for example done in the Swedish reference grammar SAG (Teleman et al. 1999), separating the prospective *hålla på*, denoting an action that is “close to happening” (SAG vol. 3:511) from the progressive *hålla på*. Further, the Swedish reference dictionary *Svensk ordbok utgiven av Svenska Akademien* (2009) lists a prospective and a ‘be busy doing’ (i.e. ‘progressive’) sense for *hålla på*. I will discuss the relevance of this distinction in relation to implication.¹⁷

5.2.2 *Hålla på* and durative predicates

The *hålla på* construction is often considered progressive (like e.g. 23a above) when combined with durative predicates such as activity VPs like *gråta* ‘cry’ and accomplishment VPs like *skriva ett kärleksbrev* ‘write a love letter’, whereas the prospective *hålla på* is canonically combined with punctual predicates such as the achievement *falla av stolen* ‘fall off the chair’ in (23b) above (e.g. Törnudd-Jalovaara 1988). However, considering the durative VPs in (24) and (25) respectively, we find that there can often be two aspectual readings, a progressive and a prospective:

- (24) Han höll på å gråta.
He held on å cry-INF
 a. ‘He was crying.’ [progressive]
 b. ‘He was about to cry (i.e. start crying).’ [prospective]
- (25) Hon höll på å skriva ett kärleksbrev.
She held on å write-INF a love.letter
 a. ‘She was writing a love letter.’ [progressive]
 b. ‘She was about to (start/complete) writing a love letter.’ [prospective]

17 Note that the binary distinction makes *hålla på* similar to the English progressive *be + V-ing* and possibly other progressive constructions with non-finite VPs in Swedish and in other languages, being ambiguous between ‘in the midst of’ (e.g. ‘She was building a house’) and ‘be about to’ readings (e.g. ‘He was reaching the top’).

Note that the progressive (24a) can be said to entail the content in VP; the subject did cry, which is what the VP describes, and this is due to the subinterval property stating that activity predicates are true at an interval if they are true at all moments of that interval (Dowty 1979:139). In this particular case, then, *hålla på* looks like a positive implicative. The aspectual meaning of the progressive (25a) looks similar to that of the progressive in (24a), but as for implication, the event described by (25a) cannot be said to occur since the event denoted by the VP ('write a love letter') is not finished at the time of utterance. Put differently, (24a), 'He was crying', entails 'He cried', whereas (25a), 'She was writing a love letter', does not necessarily entail 'She wrote a love letter' – a love letter may or may not come into existence at a later time. In sum: under progressive reading, *hålla på* looks like a positive implicative with activity VPs, but seems non-implicative with accomplishment VPs.

As for the prospective 'be about to' readings in (24b) and (25b), the situation is slightly different. In the literature, the prospective is usually claimed to focus a circumstance or situation prior to an event (e.g. Kearns 2003, Zagona 2008). Let us instead assume that prospective aspect targets processes leading up to bounds, or transition points (Croft 1998). Activities like 'cry' have one inherent transition point, namely the initial endpoint of crying. Traditionally, we would assume that the transition is one from 'no crying' to 'crying' and that the prospective targets the 'no crying' phase, but we could as well assume that there is some kind of crying process¹⁸ leading up to the transition point of "full-blown crying". Accomplishments like 'write a love letter' have two transition points ('write a love letter' is telic, whereas 'cry' is not): the run-up to the starting point of writing, and the final endpoint where a love letter is brought into being. More exactly, the latter sense (in 25b) reads: 'She was about to turn the completion of an ordinary letter into a completion of a love letter'.

In sum, if implication refers to completed events, the examples of *hålla på* in (24b) and (25a–b) are non-implicatives, like the non-implicative *försöka* 'try': the crying may or may not start and the love letter may or may not come to exist. The progressive 'crying' in (24a), on the other hand, seems to be an exception here, since it describes an event that occurs as long as some part of the event occurs, like any activity event. The characterization of *hålla på* in (24a) is, then, not straightforward, since it is dependent on the VP type; it could perhaps be classified as a non-implicative that is dependent on its VP.

18 As an external observer one must be able to perceive some subevents of crying (e.g. increased eye lubrication, sobbing, etc.) in order to judge a crying event to be about to start.

5.2.3 *Hålla på* and punctual predicates

Let us return to a more canonical prospective, i.e. one with an achievement VP like the one in (23b) above, *falla av stolen* ‘fall off the chair’. Unlike the rather unsettled implications with certain activity and accomplishment VPs in (24) and (25), the most reasonable interpretation of (23b), repeated as (26), is that the subject referent did not fall off the chair.

- (26) Jag höll på å falla av stolen.
I held on å fall-INF off chair-DEF
‘I was about to fall off the chair.’

More specifically, (26) reads ‘I was about to fall off the chair, but I did not’. Does this mean that *hålla på* in this sentence, and *hålla på* with achievement VPs in general, is a negative implicative like *vägra* ‘refuse’ and *sluta* ‘stop’? I suggest that this is not the case; I suggest that *hålla på* is non-implicative here as well.

The VP of prospectives often denotes unintentionality and accidents (Törnudd-Jalovaara 1988), like the prospective in (26). Other VP heads include e.g. *dö* ‘die’ and *svimma* ‘faint’. This “mishap” reading of prospectives can be illustrated by the following example with an achievement, which also suggests why the prospective seemingly has negative entailment. Cf. (27).

- (27) Hon höll på å riva stället.
she held on å tear.down-INF place-DEF
a. ‘She was involved in the event TEAR DOWN THE PLACE.’
b. ‘She was not involved in the event TEAR DOWN THE PLACE, but was judged to be about to be involved in the event TEAR DOWN THE PLACE.’

Note that the VP with *riva* ‘tear down’ is ambiguous between at least a progressive accomplishment reading (27a) and a prospective achievement reading (27b). Focusing on the latter, and assuming that prospectives are not generally uttered out of the blue, let us add an explicit context to give us a clue as to why the prospective event is considered a “mishap” and why the prospective is not judged to be realized:

- (28) a. #Hon skulle riva huset men höll på å riva .
she was.to tear.down-INF house-DEF but held on å tear.down-INF
 väggen
wall-DEF
 #‘She was to tear down the house, but she tore down the wall.’
- b. Hon skulle måla-om huset men höll på å riva
she was.to repaint-INF house-DEF but held on å tear.down-INF
 väggen.
wall-DEF
 ‘She was to repaint the house, but she tore down the wall.’

The event in (28a), TEAR DOWN THE WALL, is an accomplishment whose process phase can be said to consist of a number of typical subevents *e*, of which I list three below. The accomplishment REPAINT THE HOUSE (28b) is described in a similar way, focusing only on the process part.

- (29) a. TEAR DOWN THE HOUSE if *e*₁ : get a bulldozer, *e*₂ : tear down a wall, *e*₃ :
 slam a wrecking ball into the roof, ..., *e*_{*n*} : complete tearing down
- b. REPAINT THE HOUSE if *e*₁ : scrape off loose paint, *e*₂ : clean the surface, *e*₃ :
 apply paint, ..., *e*_{*n*} : complete repainting

TEAR DOWN A WALL is here a defined subevent of the bigger event TEAR DOWN THE HOUSE, but not of the bigger event REPAINT THE HOUSE. Now, judging from (28b) above, only subevents which are not of the appropriate type, or, in other words, are not prototypical subevents in the bigger event, combine with *hålla på* and receive prospective reading. This, I suggest, is the reason why unexpected subevents are considered non-realized: it is not entailed that they do not happen, it is a conversational principle (Andersson 1977:111). If an unexpected event indeed occurred or culminated, it would be more motivated to state that it *did* occur. Asserting that an unexpected event was only close to occurring leads the listener to infer that it did not occur, but it is not entailed since it can be cancelled (30):

- (30) Vaknade upp inatt av att Baloo höll på att spy, och
 woke up tonight by that Baloo held on to puke-INF and
 sedan spydde han.¹⁹
 then puked he
 ‘I woke up tonight by Baloo being about to puke, and then he puked.’ (I.e., ‘I
 sensed that Baloo was performing subevents of the process part of a complete
 puking event, and then he reached culmination of the puking event.’)²⁰

The negative inference is weakened in a canonical achievement such as the one denoted by *vinna loppet* ‘win the race’, which is indeed a possible (but not necessarily expected) outcome of participating in the event RUN A RACE. Hence, *Hon höll på att vinna loppet* ‘She was about to win the race’ can be classified as prospective, but the entailment of actually winning the race is neutral in this case; she could lose or win the race without making the speaker’s proposition false. Therefore, what seems to be a general prospective entailment pattern for *hålla på*, is possibly pragmatic rather than semantic (truth-conditional), and consequently not an entailment: the less intrinsic to the pre-defined event chain an event is (i.e. the more unexpected it is), the more likely it is that it yields negative inference.²¹

The affinity between accomplishment-progressive and achievement-prospective *hålla på* constructions is indicated by the fact that prospective *hålla på* also seems to be able to focus a process. It is seen in the accomplishment-prospective (25b) above, where the targeting of the final endpoint yielding a reading like ‘Gosh, I almost wrote a love letter (instead of an ordinary one)’, is, on one reading, preceded by a process of writing, which is a part of the VP denotation. We could also talk about a non-profiled process in achievement-prospective *hålla på* (e.g. Croft 2012); it is, for example, not quite correct to describe the meaning of prospectives with the well-used synonymous expression *vara nära att* ‘be about to, be close to’, because this would suggest that the described situation only involves a binary transition. Cf. (31) and (32).

19 <<http://zandralindqvist.forme.se/2012/oktober/11-oktober.html>> [2014-06-05]

20 While the reading of (30) makes perfect sense on a general level, it is notoriously difficult to distinguish between different complete events of puking. Was it perhaps the case that Baloo was only about to perform a puking event, but did not succeed and moved on to another puking event?

21 It is probably also entrenched by the general pragmatic inference ‘X doesn’t want to do Y’ > ‘X will not do Y’ (Cristofaro 2012:141).

- (31) Jag fick gå in eftersom maten höll på å bli kall.
I had.to go inside because food-DEF held on å become cold
 a. ‘I had to go inside because the food was almost cold.’
 b. ‘I had to go inside because the food was cooling.’
- (32) ??Jag fick gå in eftersom maten var nära å bli kall.
I had.to go inside because food-DEF was close å become cold

The examples in (31a–b) have a non-intentional “mishap” reading, yet they contain a predicate with a gradable adjective, *bli kall* ‘become cold’, which is related to degree achievements like *kallna* ‘(become) cold’. Degree achievements show both telic and atelic properties (Hay et al. 1999): on the one hand, they can refer to a transition as in (31a), and on the other hand, they can refer to a gradable property of increased coolness, as in the more processual reading (31b). The important thing is that the dichotomous *vara nära att* ‘be about to, be close to’ is not acceptable if it cannot unambiguously denote a discrete change (32).

5.2.4 *Hålla på* and finite VP heads

Another indication that the general entailment pattern for prospective and progressive *hålla på* is non-implicative (with activity VPs with *hålla på* as a possible, but reasonably unlikely, exception) is that all *hålla på* constructions, just like the non-implicative *försöka* ‘try’, combine with finite VP heads (33 and 34 below). Recall that it is only possible to combine non-implicative Vs with finite VP heads if there is no temporal gap between the V and the VP events. Neither *försöka* nor *hålla på* seems to exhibit such a gap.

With finite VPs there is entailment with activity (33a) as well as with accomplishment (33b) VPs, at least as far as the process part of the event is concerned. There are, in any case, no ‘be about to’ readings.

- (33) a. Han höll på å grät.
He held on å cried
 ‘He was crying (performed several crying events).’
 b. Hon höll på å skrev ett kärleksbrev.
She held on å wrote a letter
 ‘She was writing a letter.’

Finite prospective achievement VPs receive a reading of ‘completed transition’ and, in addition, iteration. This is expected if *hålla på* is non-implicative:

- (34) Jag höll på å föll av stolen.
I held on å fell off chair-DEF
 'I fell (completely) off the chair again and again.'

Note that the iterative reading is dependent on the ability of the achievement to de-focus the process part. Some achievements seem to be able to denote both the process part and the consecutive realization of the transition (35a), especially those with the inchoative copula 'become'. Alternatively, the realized transition is iterated (35b).²²

- (35) Jag höll på och blev tokig av att gå hemma [...].²³
I held on and became crazy by to go at.home
 a. 'I was going insane (i.e. sensed a string of insanity subevents) and then I was (completely) insane by having nothing to do.'
 b. 'I went (completely) insane again and again by having nothing to do.'

In sum, and in line with the finite profiling of internal event structure (see section 2 above), a finite VP with the *hålla på* as V requires that at least some event be performed, either some subevent or the complete event. With finite VP accomplishments, subevents in the process part must be realized. In the case of finite VP achievements, the process part is defocused, and they tend to get an iterative reading.

6. Summary and conclusions

The study set out to map out the way in which VP tense inflection affects interpretation of V (å) VP constructions, focusing the combination of finiteness/realis and (situation) aspect. I have found three major factors determining the meaning:

22 Things are complicated by the fact that *bli tokig* 'become insane', *bli galen* 'become mad', and the like are seldom used when referring to culminations of abnormal psychotic behavior, but rather denotes relatively mild mental instability. A sentence such as *Jag blev galen* 'I became (completely) mad' can for example be used by someone who could not log in to Facebook, but was devoid of hallucinations and irrational beliefs; here, the point of transition may be very subtle.

23 <<http://www.familjeliv.se/forum/thread/16729076-efter-forlossningen-blev-ni-latare-da/1>> [2014-06-05]

Implication is aspect (situation-type) dependent. Activity VPs yield implication with *hålla på* as V. Accomplishment and achievement VPs do not. Implication seems to be controlled by the VP as well as e.g. the *hålla på* V, but further research will have to establish this.

Finite VPs with single-event readings allow no temporal gaps between the V and the VP events. Constructions with finite VP heads allow V and VP events which are overlapping (e.g. *började (å) läste* ‘began to read’). If there is a semantic mismatch such as a temporal gap between the V and VP events (e.g. #*Jag lovade å gjorde det* (only: ‘I promised something and then did something’), an independent-event reading is forced. Negative implicative Vs are not allowed with finite VP heads if single-complex-event reading is desired.

Finite VPs denote realized events (in simple sentences). With infinitive VP heads, the type of V seems to govern entailment, whereas finite VPs, denoting realis events, seem to be independent of the implication of V as far as their “coming about in the world” is concerned. This shows a semantic connection between implication and realis. This may be a reason why a finite VP does not denote “prospective” aspect with *hålla på* as V.

Finite VPs imply realized (sub)events. Depending on the aspectual class of the second verb, the finite and non-finite variants receive quite different interpretations. There is a semantic difference between non-completed telic events, which are expressed by infinitive VPs following implicative or non-implicative Vs. Examples include *Hon fortsatte (å) gå över bron* ‘She continued to cross the bridge’ and completed telic events, e.g. *Hon fortsatte å gick över bron* ‘She continued/tried to cross the bridge (and eventually crossed the bridge completely)’.

The differences between V (å) VP constructions with infinitive and finite VP heads shed some light on the interaction between finiteness, implication and aspect. Further research can hopefully determine whether the findings in the present article extend to other constructions as well, e.g. the finite simple present vs. the periphrastic future *komma att* + V-INF ‘come to + V-INF’ as future markers.

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