

Sidder og . . .

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1 Introduction

This paper is concerned with the construction shown in (1). We will refer to it as the *sidder og* construction.

- (1) Peter sad og læste en bog.
Peter sat and read a book

The construction is interesting because we cannot predict from the semantics of the two conjuncts the semantics of the coordinated phrase. This makes the construction a good candidate for a constructional analysis along the lines of Ginzburg and Sag (2000). The construction is further an example of the subtle interaction between syntactic structure and semantic information. The non-derivational nature of HPSG where the various levels of linguistic description are represented in parallel provides a natural framework for working with such constructions.

2 The *sidder og* construction

The *sidder og* construction is mainly characterized by the aspectual information that it introduces. Simplified we may say that the difference between (2a) and (2b) is mainly that of whether the event is regarded as completed or not (Brandt (1992), Hansen (1967)).

- (2) a. Peter sad og læste en bog.
Peter sat and read a book
b. Peter læste en bog.
Peter read a book

The *sidder og* construction adds a progressive perspective on the event. In (2a) the event is not necessarily completed. A consequence of this is the difference between (3a) and (3b).

- (3) a. Peter sad og kyssede pigen.
Peter sat and kissed girl-the
b. Peter kyssede pigen.
Peter kissed girl-the

Here the construction adds a repetitively meaning, in that in (3a), the kissing occurred repetitively.

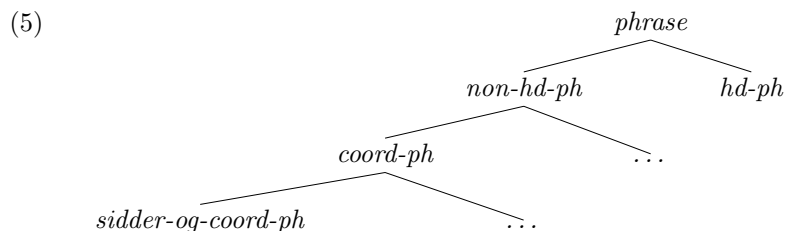
3 Syntactic quirks

That we are not dealing with a regular coordination structure is supported by the behaviour of the construction in various syntactic configurations. One example is its behaviour with respect to the Coordinate Structure Constraint. According to Ross’s constraint (Ross, 1967), a coordinated structure can only contain a gap if both conjuncts are paired with the same filler. (4a) is clearly a violation of this constraint, suggesting that we are not dealing with a compositional construction.

- (4) a. Dette er pigen_i Peter sad og kyssede *e_i*.
This is girl-the Peter sat and kissed
- b. *Dette er pigen_i Peter dansede og kyssede *e_i*.
This is girl-the Peter danced and kissed

4 Formalisation

The construction is formalised as the *sidder-og-coord-ph*. The phrase is part of a phrase hierarchy as in (5) (Sag and Wasow, 1999).



In such a hierarchy, constraints are expressed on the various nodes. We suggest the following constraint on the *sidder-og-coord-ph*. Details are omitted.

- (6) *sidder-og-coord-ph* →
- $$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{SYNSEM | LOC | CONT | RELS } \langle [\textit{progressive-rel}] \oplus \boxed{1} \oplus \boxed{2} \oplus \boxed{3} \\ \text{NHD-DTRS } \left\langle \left[\text{SS | LOC | CONT | RELS } \boxed{1} \right], \left[\text{SS | LOC } \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{CAT | HEAD } \textit{conj} \\ \text{CONT | RELS } \boxed{2} \end{array} \right] \right], \left[\text{SS | LOC | CONT | RELS } \boxed{3} \right] \right\rangle \end{array} \right]$$

The construction adds to the semantics of the coordination by introducing a *progressive-rel* on the mother. The exact formulation of the constraint involves relations between events and times.

References

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