

## Verbal copying as a restructuring effect

This paper deals with unexpected morphology on verbs. A famous example is the West-Germanic IPP-effect where a verb appears in the infinitive instead of the past participle usually selected by the auxiliary (superscript numbers refer to the hierarchical position where  $V^1$  is the highest verb).

- (1)       ...dass Peter es nicht hat  $V^1$  machen  $V^3$  können  $V^2$   
          ...that Peter it not has do.INF could.INF  
          ‘...that Peter hasn’t been able to do it’

The semantically vacuous IPP is restricted to the past tense of 3-verbs-clusters in which  $V^2$  belongs to a subclass of the core restructuring verbs, arguably verbs which “select” much reduced verbal complements (see e.g. Wurmbrand 2006 for recent discussions).

A superficially very different construction is the Danish Pseudo-coordination. Here two finite verbs are apparently coordinated, yet the second verb behaves much like an infinitival complement, e.g. in that it allows extraction (2).

- (2)       Hvad sidder ( $V^1$ ) Peter og læser ( $V^2$ ) for bøger?  
          What sits Peter and reads for books

My claim is that these two phenomena are different instantiations of one and the same basic property, namely the size of the verbal complement. In pseudo-coordinations,  $V^2$  is arguably a bare VP and as such cannot be assigned a form independently and so copies the form of  $V^1$ . Since a finite verb without functional structure is not licensed as a complement, a Linker Phrase (LkP) needs to be projected, a functional shell that facilitates transference of inflection and of the subject from  $V^1$  to  $V^2$ . The head of the LkP, *og*, looks like a coordinating conjunction but behaves radically different.

However, not only  $V^2$  is defective; pseudo-coordinations generally have one of four basic verbs of position or movement as their  $V^1$  (sit, lie, stand, walk). Just as other restructuring verbs, they are very primitive and often unable to stand alone. Taking a constructionist point of view on VP-internal structure (à la Ramchand 2008), I argue that like copula, verbs of position and telic verbs of movement project an Existential Phrase (ExP) which may not only be enhanced by e.g. adverbials but also by predicative complements. In assuming that all telic verbs of movement such as *komme* ‘to come’ or *gå ud* ‘walk out’ are also existential, in that all they do is situate a subject explicitly, the prediction is that all of these verbs may also pseudo-coordinate. This prediction is indeed borne out, a fact which is generally overlooked in the literature.

Hence, for a sentence like *X sidder og læser en bog* ‘X sits and reads a book’, I suggest the following structure. Importantly the very same structure can be suggested for telic verbs of movement, the only difference being a slightly bigger VP-internal structure above ExP.

(3)  $X_i$  [<sub>ExpP</sub> subj<sub>i</sub> [<sub>Exp</sub><sup>o</sup> *sidder*] [<sub>LkP</sub> subj<sub>i</sub> Lk<sup>o</sup> [<sub>VP</sub> subj<sub>i</sub> *læser en bog*]]]

Although no restructuring diagnostics have been established for Danish, I defend the view that morphological unexpectedness like the finite verbal complement of pseudo-coordinations is a result of restructuring or more precisely that restructuring equals much reduced verbal complements.

Ramchand, Gillian C. (2008): *Verb Meaning and the Lexicon: A First Phase Syntax*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Wurmbrand, Susi (2006): “Verb Clusters, Verb Raising, and Restructuring”. In: *The Blackwell companion to syntax*. Blackwell Publishing.