FROM COORDINATION TO VERBAL SERIALIZATION – THE *PÓJŚĆ* (SERIAL VERB) CONSTRUCTION IN POLISH

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Abstract

The present paper studies the PÓJŚĆ gram in Polish – a construction composed of the verb *pójść* 'walk' and another inflected verb. The author demonstrates that the PÓJŚĆ can be represented as a set of stages on the path linking bi-clausality/bi-verbiness and mono-clausal/mono-verbiness. Specifically, it spans the section ranging from a non-canonical, less cohesive instantiation of a serial verb construction (SVC) (in which it overlaps with asyndetic coordination) to a canonical instantiation of SVC (in which it complies with the SVC prototype to a large extent). Accordingly, the study corroborates the view that SVCs may derive from asyndetic coordination and, by accumulating properties associated with different parts of the clausality/verbiness continuum, gradually develop towards SVC. This gradualness is not only diachronic, but may also be observed synchronically.

Keywords: Serial verb construction, Polish, semantic maps, grammaticalization, cognitive linguistics

1. Introduction

By exhibiting similarities to both bi-clausal/bi-verbal and mono-clausal/mono-verbal structures, Serial Verb Constructions (SVCs) constitute a stage – or rather a set of stages – on the grammaticalization path linking these two opposite construction types (Aikhenvald 2006: 56). This understanding of SVCs presupposes that the development from bi-clausal/bi-verbal structures to SVC and, subsequently, to mono-clausal/mono-verbal structures, is gradual and passes through a gamut of transition phases (Aikhenvald 2011: 19-22). The present paper deals with an initial stage of this process, i.e. with the development from a bi-clausal/bi-verbal structure (specifically, asyndetic coordination) to SVC, taking as an example the PÓJŚĆ gram in Polish.

The PÓJŚĆ gram is a bi-verbal construction built around the motion verb *pójść* 'walk, go' – which is lexically perfective in Polish – and another verb. Both verbs exhibit finite forms and are not connected by a coordinator:

(1)   **Poszedł**   się   **umył**
           he.walked[1]   REFL   he.washed
           'He washed himself'

According to the linguistic norm, the PÓJŚĆ gram is limited to the imperative (cf.
Gębka-Wolak 2012) – its use in other TAM categories is regarded as
ungrammatical. Nevertheless, as will be demonstrated in this paper, in informal
colloquial situations, the gram appears in a variety of tenses and moods available
in Polish grammar. Such "non-imperative" uses will constitute the focal point of
this article.[2]

In order to study the initial phase(s) in the grammatical life of SVCs and their
transition from multi-clause/multi-verbal structures to (more) canonical SVCs,
I will follow a dynamic, radial-network approach to categorization (Haspelmath
2003; Croft 2003; Janda 2015) and a multi-feature prototype-based approach to
verbal serialization (Aikhenvald 2006, 2011; Dixon 2006; Aikhenvald and Dixon
2006). In particular, I will determine to what extent the PÓJŚĆ gram complies
with the SVC prototype and to what extent it exhibits features linking it to its
origin – the category of asyndetic coordination. The study will be developed
within the overarching frame of construction grammar (Croft 2001, 2013;
Goldberg 2003, 2006, 2013; Hoffmann and Trousdale 2013; Fried and Östman
2004; Bybee 2013; Östman and Trousdale 2013).

The article will be organized in the following manner. In Section 2, I will
present the details of the framework(s) underlying the research. In Section 3,
I will introduce the evidence related to the PÓJŚĆ gram. In Section 4, I will
evaluate this evidence within the adopted framework, and show additionally its
contribution to the general theory of SVCs and their categorization. Lastly, in
Section 5, I will draw main conclusions and propose possible lines of
future studies.

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[1]   In all the examples, the verb *pójść* will be glossed as 'walk' irrespective of its function. In
      general, I will use the word-for-word glossing format. Due to the complex morphology of Polish,
      particularly with respect to the verbal system, the glosses are only approximate. This is
      especially evident with discontinuous variants of the conditional (*tryb warunkowy*) and
      subjunctive (*tryb łączący*), e.g. *by(m) zrobił* and *żeby(m) zrobił* (see examples 16.c-e in
      Section 3).

[2]   The PÓJŚĆ gram is part of a set of bi-verbal imperative constructions built around motion verbs
      such as *iść* 'walk', *chodzić* 'walk habitually', *wejść* 'enter' *wyjść* 'go out, leave', *przyjść* 'come'
      and *wrócić* 'return' (compare Gębka-Wolak 2012, Gębka-Wolak and Moroz 2017).

2. Framework[3]

In this study, I will follow a cognitive understanding of categorization, of which the central concept is the prototype. The prototype is an inductively derived ideal that exemplifies the category to the fullest extent. It encompasses the most common features associated with the crosslinguistic representatives of that category, and distinguishes it from other categories most effectively. Thus, the prototype is posited given attested regularities and their saliency (Taylor 2003).[4] A typologically driven approach to SVCs (Aikhenvald 2006, 2011; Dixon 2006) argues that the SVC prototype exhibits the following nine features:[5]

List 1. Properties of the SVC prototype

1)	bi-verbiness[6]	- SVC consists of (at least) two finite verbs;
2)	mono-eventhood	- SVC constitutes "one assertion" communicating a single event (Aikhenvald 2006: 10);
3)	mono-predicativity	- SVC fills "one […] functional slot in a clause", precluding any type of syntactic dependency (e.g. subordination, embedding, nominalization; ibid. 5);
4)	mono-clausality	- SVC functions as a single clause, distinguishing itself from coordination, consecutivization and complement clauses (ibid. 6-7);
5)	mono-clausal intonation	- SVC exhibits intonation typical of a single clause rather than a complex of clauses, i.e. with no pause or contouring (ibid. 7);[7]
6)	shared TAM	- SVC exhibits a single TAM value and its components cannot be marked by different, especially incompatible, TAM categories (ibid. 8). Moreover, SVC is not restricted to a particular TAM category but appears in various TAM categories available in a language (ibid. 56).

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[3]   I used the same framework in two papers dedicated to serial verb constructions in Polish (Andrason 2018) and Biblical Hebrew (Andrason forthcoming), Without being reproduced literally, the present section exhibits similarity with the introductory section of those studies.

[4]   In linguistics, the ideas of prototype and family resemblance became particularly popular in the late 20th century and in the 21st century. Both concepts can be traced back to psychological research conducted by Eleanor Rosch (1973, 1975). The work on family resemblance and categorization was also influenced by philosophical writings of Ludwig Wittgenstein (1953).

[5]   For a critique of Aikhenvald and Dixon's approach see Haspelmath (2016). For a further discussion on the typology of verbal serialization consult Schiller (1990), Zwicky (1990), Joseph and Zwicky (1990), Lefebvre (1991) Rosen (1997), and Bisang (2009).

[6]   The term 'bi-verbiness' has been coined for the purpose of this paper. It implies that that a construction consists of two verbs that are finite. An alternative label could be 'bi-finiteness'.

[7]   In more integrated SVCs, this intonation may even be mono-verbal.

7) shared polarity   - SVC exhibits a unitary polarity value (ibid. 8-9); Inversely, the components of SVC cannot communicate negative and positive polarity, separately (ibid. 8-9);

8) shared (subject) arguments – the core and peripheral arguments of SVC – in particular the subject – belong to the entire construction. The components do not govern separate arguments and do not allow for duplicate roles (ibid. 12-14, 56);

9) ability to act independently - the components of SVC can occur on their own, exhibiting, in such cases, their lexical (source) meaning (ibid. 1).

The prototype is crucial as it enables a category to be structured in a meaningful manner. However, the prototype cannot be equaled with the category. The category extends far beyond its prototype. The category constitutes a complex radial network containing instantiations that range from more canonical to less canonical. The former approximate the prototype to a large extent, complying with all or most of its features. The latter, in contrast, comply only with a certain number of properties specified for the prototype, thus approximating it to a limited extent (Taylor 2003). Nevertheless, both the canonical and the non-canonical members belong to the category – all being connected via family resemblance. That is, although each member is closely related to its immediate neighbor(s), exhibiting with it a considerable degree of similarity, the similarity between distant members may be minimal or nearly null.[8] In general, the construct's belonging to the category is a question of degree instead of constituting a binary function of compliance [+ or 1] or non-compliance [- or 0] (Janda 2015).

When applied to SVCs, the cognitive approach to categorization entails the following: the category of SVC comprehends a great variation of SVCs attested to in specific languages, of which some are canonical while others are non-canonical. That is, in specific languages, SVCs need not exhibit all the properties postulated for the prototype, although they may still belong to the crosslinguistic taxon of SVC (Aikhenvald 2006: 4). Crucially, there may not be a single essential and/or sufficient trait – and thus a sole, definitive diagnostic – for a gram to be classified as a SVC. A construct's fitting into the SVC taxon can only be conceived in extent to which a language-specific form complies with the (nine) traits posited for the prototype (*contra* Bisang 2009).

Furthermore, in cognitive linguistics, the radial structure of a category and the presence of members that exhibit different degrees of compliance with the prototype is not accidental. It results from a diachronic grammaticalization process that underlies that category. That is, any category c_x – with its prototype p_x – constitutes a stage on a grammaticalization path running from a more original, diachronically earlier, category c_{x-1} (and its prototype p_{x-1}) to a more advanced, and thus historically posterior, category c_{x+1} (and its prototype p_{x+1}). In fact, some

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[8] The idea of family resemblance draws from studies developed by Wittgenstein (1953 [2001]), Rosch (1973, 1975, 1978), and Rosch and Mervis (1975).

instantiations of a language-specific form may synchronically attest to such pre-category / pre-prototype stages (c_{x-1} / p_{x-1}) and/or post-category / post-prototype stages (c_{x+1} / p_{x+1}). In the former case, certain properties of a gram locate it on the path towards the category c_x and the prototype p_x. In the latter case, certain properties place the gram in a section of the path that leads from the category c_x and the prototype p_x to other categories and their prototypes. Accordingly, the variations of members of a category – both crosslinguistic and language-specific – can be viewed as a dynamic semantic map of that category. This map links the category to other categories, both conceptually and diachronically. Crucially, this type of map can be used to represent the polyfunctionality and the polysemy of a gram as a network of related components, in which different functions and roles exhibited synchronically by that gram attest to different stages on the grammaticalization path (Croft 2013, 2003; Haspelmath 2003; Narrog and van der Auwera 2001). The cohesion of a gram lies in the grammaticalization path that underlies it and the family resemblance that links that gram's various facets – not in an abstract invariant property (Janda 2015; Andrason 2016; Andrason and Locatell 2016).

The dynamic approach to categorization presented above has been used in the realm of SVCs (Aikhenvald 2006, 2011; Andrason 2018, forthcoming). Within this approach, instantiations of the SVC category that exhibit different degrees of canonicity form a continuum confined between two extremes: multi-clausal/multi-verbal constructions (e.g. syndetic and asyndetic coordination) and mono-clausal/mono-verbal constructions (first, more complex structures like converb constructions and, subsequently, single-verb TAM grams; see Figure 1 below). This continuum of clausality/verbiness has both a diachronic and a synchronic interpretation. Diachronically, SVCs originate in bi-clausal and bi-verbal structures, and develop towards mono-clausality by gradually increasing their semantic, syntactic, morphological and phonological cohesion (Aikhenvald 2006: 56, 2011: 22). Synchronically, the continuum explains the similarities between SVC and bi-clausal structures, on the one hand, and mono-verbal structures, on the other hand. With the former, SVC shares its bi-verbiness, while with the latter, it shares mono-clausality (Aikhenvald 2011). Crucially, even though the prototypes of bi-clausal/bi-verbal constructions (e.g. coordination), bi-verbal/mono-clausal (SVC), and mono-verbal constructions (e.g. synthetic TAM grams) can be viewed as the most salient sign posts on the continuum, the continuum is gradient and passes from one category to another in an uninterrupted manner. Any categorial line that aims to divide that continuum into separate entities is arbitrary – what exists is the crosslinguistic and language-specific variation and a fuzzy progression along the cline.[9]

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[9] Given its dependence on nine features postulated for the prototype (of which most are scalar themselves), the continuum linking SVC with bi- and mono-clausality/verbiness could be imagined as, at least, nine-dimensional (Aikhenvald 2006: 56). For the sake of simplicity, in Figure 1, the continuum is depicted as one-dimensional (compare with Aikhenvald 2011: 22).

Figure 1. A dynamic representation of SVC
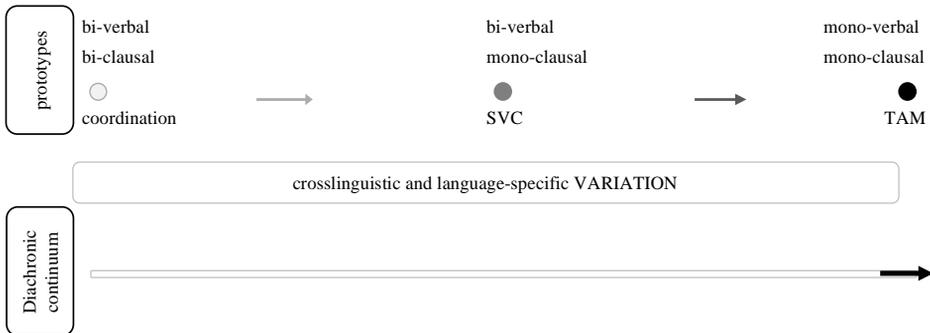
The study is developed within the frame of Construction Grammar. That is, the PÓJŚĆ gram is treated as a construction – a holistic and conventional entanglement of form and meaning, characterized by varying degrees of schemacity, abstraction, compositionality, idiosyncrasy, and complexity (Croft 2001, 2013; Goldberg 2003, 2006, 2013; Schönefeld 2006; Hoffmann and Trousdale 2013; Fried and Östman 2004; Bybee 2013; Östman and Trousdale 2013).

Construction Grammar is not uniform. It encompasses a variety of distinct constructionist frameworks, of which most exhibit, nevertheless, the following crucial similarities: (a) all linguistic elements and objects – whether synthetic (morphological) or analytical (phrasal and clausal), and whether central or peripheral – are constructions; (b) grammar is a dynamic "collection" or a network of (related and overlapping) constructions (Hoffmann and Trousdale 2013; Goldberg 2006, 2013); (c) syntax and lexicon are not separated and clear-cut but are connected by a continuum of more schematic or more substantive constructions (ibid.); (d) grammar is monostratal and the analysis avoids making use of transformations and/or derivations (Goldberg 2013); (e) constructions and grammar have cognitive and usage-based foundations (Goldberg 2013; Bybee 2013; Boas 2013); (f) frequency and usage play a fundamental role in the formation of constructions and their synchronic grammatical status (Bybee 2010, 2013; Croft 2001, 2013; Jackendoff 2013); (g) the diachronic development of a construction (either at a language-specific or a crosslinguistic level) is manifest in that construction's synchronic variation in a language, in its dialects, or across languages (Östman and Trousdale 2013).

3. Evidence

The evidence provided in this section draws from a database compiled by the author. The source of this database is twofold. Most examples have been collected through on-line searches of blogs, forums, chats, and social networks.[10] A small sub-set of examples draw from actual conversations.[11] Crucially, all the examples have been spontaneously produced by Polish native speakers, even though from the perspective of a linguistic norm (and, probably the majority of users of the language) they may be regarded as incorrect and/or ungrammatical. All of them, however, empirically exist. Their considerable number, written format and absence of corrective attempts demonstrate that one is not dealing with the phenomenon of "slip of the tongue".

The PÓJŚĆ gram is a sequence of two finite verbal forms. The first verb (V_1) is the perfective verb *pójść* 'walk' which constitutes the constant element in the construction. The second verb (V_2) is a variable or fluctuating element in the construction. Both verbs are inflected in person, number and, if possible, gender. For example, in (2.a), V_1 and V_2 appear in the 3rd person singular masculine, while in (2.b) the two verbal components are inflected in the 1st person singular masculine.

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[10] The main criteria for inclusion in the database were: (a) the presence of a constructional pattern composed of an inflected verb *pójść* 'go' and another verb that is also inflected; (b) the inflection of the verb *pójść* in tenses other than the imperative; (c) the absence of explicit markers of bi-clausality, e.g. an overt comma or the conjunction *i* 'and'; (d) the overall grammaticality (acceptability) of the sentence (i.e. the sentence is not an evident case of a grammatical error). Given the relatively low degree of grammaticalization of the PÓJŚĆ gram as a holistic construction applicable to all tenses and aspects, and its association with colloquial registers and spoken non-normative language, a corpus that would closely reflect the colloquial spoken variety of Polish was chosen instead of the Polish National Corpus. My corpus includes fragments of blogs, chats, forums, WhatsApp messages, and posts on social networks, which may be viewed as constituting "oral texts" or at least, texts where the informal colloquial language is typical. In contrast, the great bulk of the Polish National Corpus is extracted from books, articles, newspapers, officially printed and published sources which reflect more closely the standard Polish norm, including its formal literary variety. Such an approach gave me a possibility to reveal a richer profile of the analyzed construction. Of course, the PÓJŚĆ gram appears in the Polish National Corpus. However, according to my searches, in most examples, the verb *pójść* appear in the imperative.

[11] Oral data were collected by interviewing five native speakers. The interviews ranged from an hour to two hours and took the format of conversations. All the informants were adults and, at the time of the interviews, had received a university education. Their age ranged from mid-twenties to mid-forties. A few examples were produced spontaneously by the informants. In other, more frequent, cases, a particular use was elicited by the linguist, either by a question making use of a particular construction or asking the informant to complete a given expression or a sentence.

(2)   a.   **Poszedł**   się   **powiesił**
                he.walked   REFL   he.hanged
                'He hanged himself'
        b.   **Poszłem**[12]   się   **walnąłem**   na   łóżko
                I.walked   REFL   I.hit   on   bed
                'I threw myself on the bed'

The PÓJŚĆ gram may often be interpreted in terms of mono-eventhood. Indeed, the native speakers interviewed for the purpose of this research viewed the event communicated by the PÓJŚĆ gram as relatively unitary, and conceptualized it as a 'single-scene' action or activity (cf. Aikhenvald 2006: 56). In all such cases, the event expressed by the PÓJŚĆ gram can be paraphrased by using a mono-verbal construction built around the verb V_2 – which specifies the exact type of the action – and an adverbial specifying its mode. Crucially, the semantic component related to the idea of motion – encoded in the lexical value of V_1 – is not particularly relevant even though it is often present (see further below in this section). The absence of an allative sense is evident in (3.a) where V_1 cannot be interpreted as an independent event of motion. Similarly, in (3.b), the PÓJŚĆ gram does not entail two sequential events: that of walking and that of hitting oneself on the head – the motion component is almost entirely irrelevant for the scene. In (3.c), the referent performs the action specified by V_2 (i.e. to urinate) in the place where he was originally located (i.e. in a room). This means that he didn't need to go to another place to urinate. Again, the allative semantic component is irrelevant for the action expressed by V_2 to occur.

(3)   a.   Dziękuję   Chrystusowi   za   to   że
                I.thank   Christ   for   this   that
                poszedł   **wziął** na   siebie   nasze   winy
                he.walked   he.took   on   himself   our   sins
                'I thank Christ that he took our sins on himself'
        b.   To   bym   powiedział,   żeby   **poszedł**   się
                then   I.would I.said   that   he.should.walk   REFL
                walnął   w   głowę
                he.should.hit   in   head
                'Then I would tell him to hit himself in his head'
        c.   Pochlani w   trupa,   jeden   **poszedł**   się
                drunk   in   dead.body   one   he.walked   REFL
                wylał   na   dywan
                he.pissed   on   carpet
                '[When they were] totally wasted (lit. drunk like a dead corpse), one [of them] pissed on the carpet'

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[12]   The standard form is *poszedłem*. See also (19.b).

Example (4) illustrates the property of mono-eventhood even more effectively. First, the general context suggests that the scene contains three events: eating, lying (expressed by mono-verbal structures) and defecating (expressed by the PÓJŚĆ gram). Since the animal need not go anywhere else to defecate, but rather does it in the very box where it lives, the literal allative semantic component is absent. Second, the mono-eventhood of the expression *pójdzie się zesra* can be demonstrated by certain formal properties, specifically the presence of an overt coordinator. In Polish, if three or more coordinands are connected, the first and the second tend to be juxtaposed, while the third is introduced by means of a coordinator, typically *i* 'and'. That is, only the last pair of coordinands is usually coordinated overtly and syndetically. Example (4) attests to such a situation. Two first events (*zje* 'it eats' and *leży* 'it lies') are connected asyndetically, while the last coordinand (the sequence *pójdzie się zesra*) is headed by an overt coordinator. This demonstrates that the PÓJŚĆ gram is treated as a unitary member in a coordination chain – not as an asyndetic coordination of two events. Inversely, if the PÓJŚĆ gram was a coordinating construction, the clauses of examples (4) would deliver the following sequence: [x, y C z, w], where C stands for the conjunctive coordinator *i* 'and', and x, y, z, w for the coordinated verbal clauses. Such a sequence is ungrammatical in Polish – the correct one being [x, y, z C w].

(4)   Mam   aktualnie   warana stepowego   ale   ten
      I.have   nowadays   monitor savannah   but   this
      tylko   zje,   leży   i   jedynie
      only   will.eat   lies   and   exclusively
      pójdzie   się   **zesra**
      he.will.walk   REFL   he.will.shit
      'Now, I have a savannah monitor, but it only eats, lies and shits'

Example (5) further illustrates the mono-eventhood of the PÓJŚĆ gram. In this example, two events involving urination are contrasted; namely, urinating into a chamber-pot and urinating into a bed. The presence of V₁ *poszedł* 'he walked' does not imply a new, third event in the scene, which would be separated from V₂ *wysikał się* 'he urinated'.

(5)   Wczoraj   zamiast   nasikać   na nocnik
      yesterday   instead   to.pee   on chamber-pot
      poszedł   się   **wysikał**   do   najstarszego
      he.walked   REFL he.peed   to   the.eldest
      brata   do   łóżka   i   zakrył   to
      brother   to   bed   and   he.covered   it
      'Yesterday, instead of peeing in the chamber-pot, he peed in his eldest brother's bed, and covered it'

The most evident examples of mono-eventhood are probably cases where the subject is inanimate and, thus, unable to perform an allative action of walking encoded lexically in the verb *pójść* (6.a-b). In such instances, it is impossible to understand the scene as composed of two events: one allative expressed by V_1 and the other, related to the semantics of V_2. Crucially, such examples can never be paraphrased by two independent clauses.

(6)   a.   Przyczyna   jest   taka   że   laser   **poszedł**
              cause   is   such   that   laser   it.walked
              się   **zepsuł**
              REFL   it.broke
              'The cause is (such) that the laser got broken'
       b.   Kompresor   **poszedł**   się   **popsuł**
              compressor   it.walked   REFL   it.broke
              'The compressor got broken'

The mono-eventhood of the PÓJŚĆ gram can also be demonstrated through the presence of shared temporal and spatial operators (e.g. adverbs, adverbial locutions, prepositional phrases, and clauses) that operate over the entire construction, rather than over V_1 or V_2 separately (cf. Aikhenvald 2006: 12, Bisang 2009: 803-804, 810).

As illustrated by examples (7.a-c), expressions of time may operate over the entire PÓJŚĆ gram. In (7.a), the adverb *po czym* 'then, later, afterwards' indicates that V_1 and V_2 are conceptualized as one event in a chain of events. In (7.b), the adverb *wczoraj* 'yesterday' locates the event expressed by V_1 and V_2 in a specific moment in past time. Similarly, the scope of the adjacent temporal phrase *od razu po rzuceniu srebrników* 'immediately after throwing silver coins' in (6.c) extends over the entire PÓJŚĆ gram, including both V_1 and V_2.[13] Crucially, V_1 and V_2 cannot host different temporal operators separately.[14]

(7)   a.   Po czym   **poszedł**   **usiadł**   na   ławeczce
              then   he.walked   he.sat.down   on   bench
              'Then, he sat down on the bench'
       b.   A   wczoraj   **poszedł**   **wział**   czystą   pieluchę
              and   yesterday he.walked   he.took   clean   diaper
              'And yesterday he took a clean diaper'

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[13]   Observe that TAM markers are regularly identical, which also indicates the temporal cohesion of the PÓJŚĆ gram and thus its mono-eventhood (see further below in this section).

[14]   If they host such separate operators, the construction is interpreted as coordinated.

c.	**Poszedł**	się	**powiesił**	od razu	po
	he.walked	REFL	he.hanged	immediately	after
	rzuceniu	srebrników			
	throwing	sliver.coins			

'He hanged himself immediately after the silver coins were thrown'

In a similar vein, locative expressions – e.g. locative adverbs – operate over the entire PÓJŚĆ gram such that the event expressed jointly by V_1 and V_2 occurs in the same place. For instance, in (8.a), the prepositional phrase *do kuwety* 'to (the) littering-box' applies to the two verbal components, not only to one of them. Example (8.b) is even more significant. Although occurring before V_1, the locative phrase *na łóżku* 'on the bed' cannot be interpreted as an adjunct operating exclusively over V_1 because the expression *na łóżku pójdzie* – with the noun *łóżko* 'bed' in the locative case – is ungrammatical.[15] To be grammatical, the locative must be interpreted as operating over the entire PÓJŚĆ gram, V_2 included.[16]

(8)	a.	Dlatego	kupiłam	kota.	**Pójdzie**	
		therefore	I.bought	cat.	He.will.walk	
		nasra	do	kuwety	i	jak	nie
		he.will.shit	to	litter.box	and	if	not
		posprzątam	to	będzie tak	cały	dzień	cuchnąć
		I.will.clean	then	it.will so	whole	day	stink

'Therefore I bought a cat. It shits in the litter box, and if I don't clean it, it stinks the whole day'

	b.	Na	łóżku	**pójdzie**	się	**walnie**
		on	bed	he.will.walk	REFL	he.will.hit

'He will throw himself on the bed'

Other types of adverbials and/or adjunct phrases exhibit similar behavior. For instance, (9.a) contains a forward causal connective (an adverb of result) *więc* 'then, so' that operates over the entire PÓJŚĆ gram rather than over V_1 or V_2 separately. In (9.b), the scope of the prepositional phrase *ze zdziwienia* 'due to astonishment' extends over the whole PÓJŚĆ gram. One should note that in this example, the event expressed by the PÓJŚĆ gram constitutes the second event in the sequence, being connected to the first event by the coordinator *i* 'and'. If V_2 communicated an independent event, separate from V_1, it would require to be headed by the coordinator *i*. That is, in Polish, the last coordinator in a series of

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[15] The correct form should be *na łóżko* with the noun in accusative which implies the motion towards.

[16] As was the case with temporal expressions, if locative operators accompany V_1 and V_2 separately, the construction is reinterpreted as coordination, and not as the PÓJŚĆ gram.

coordinated phrases or clauses cannot usually be omitted, if the first coordinator is present (cf. example 4 discussed previously).[17]

(9)	a.	Więc	**poszedł**	**rzucił**	granatem	i
		thus	he.walked	he.threw	with.grenade	and
		mówi,	że	przegrałem		
		says	that	I.lost		

'Thus, he threw a grenade and said (lit. says) that I'd lost'

	b.	Wreszcie	zamknął	ryj	i	ze
		finally	he.closed	mouth	and	due.to
		zdziwienia	**poszedł**	**usiadł**	koło	matki
		astonishment	he.walked	he.sat.down	close.to	mother

'Finally, he shut his mouth and, astonished, sat down close to his mother'

Adverbs of manner such as *szybko* 'quickly' constitute clear examples of shared adverbials in the PÓJŚĆ gram. Irrespective of their position in the construction, these types of adverbs regularly operate over V_1 and V_2 simultaneously. That is, adverbs of manner may occupy any position in the PÓJŚĆ gram without a change in meaning given that their scope extends over the entire construction, not one of its components. For instance, examples (10.a), (10.b), and (10.c) convey practically the same true conditional information, namely that of adopting certain position quickly:

(10)	a.	**Poszedł**	szybko	tam	**stanął**
		he.walked	quickly	there	he.stood
	b.	Szybko	**poszedł**	tam	**stanął**
		quickly	he.walked	there	he.stood
	c.	**Poszedł**	tam	**stanął**	szybko
		he.walked	there	he.stood	quickly

'He quickly positioned himself (over) there'[18]

Lastly, the mono-eventhood of the PÓJŚĆ gram is evident in negative examples. As will be discussed in detail further below, the negator *nie* 'not' is only used once per PÓJŚĆ gram, thus operating over V_1 and V_2 simultaneously (see examples 15.a-b). This behavior of the PÓJŚĆ gram contrasts with structures that typically express the idea of bi-eventhood (e.g. syndetic and asyndetic coordination, subordination, or even auxiliarization) where two negators may be used. On the other hand, it harmonizes with the behavior exhibited by the most prototypical

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[17] Similarly, in example (4) introduced previously, the adverb *jedynie* 'only, exclusively' refers to the entire PÓJŚĆ gram and, thus, to both of its components.

[18] This translation applies to the three Polish examples, i.e. (10.a), (10.b), and (10.c).

SVC in Polish – the WZIĄĆ gram – which regularly employs only one negator (Andrason 2018).

The above discussion demonstrates that in various cases the mono-eventhood of the PÓJŚĆ gram is relatively evident. Nevertheless, the gram also exhibits properties indicating that its mono-eventhood is not absolute.

First, the PÓJŚĆ gram is not compatible with V_2 verbs that are semantically opposite to the lexical sense of V_1 (e.g. venitive verbs such as *przyjść* 'come walking' and *przyjechać* 'arrive') or that constitute close synonyms (e.g. *chodzić* 'go habitually, walk', *jechać* 'ride, go').

Second, the PÓJŚĆ gram is typically used with animate and human subjects. In contrast, non-animate subjects – especially those that normally do not perform the allative action of walking – are found rarely (see, however, examples 6.a-b introduced previously). Both types of constraints (i.e. on roots and subjects) indicate that V_1 preserves a part of its lexical semantics – the allative action of walking typical of animate beings. Therefore, it is plausible to assume that, at least in some instances, V_1 constitutes a micro-event partially independent from the event expressed by V_2.[19]

Indeed, third, native speakers insist that in several examples containing animate subjects, the presence of a semantic component involving motion encoded by V_1 may be "sensed". That is, V_1 arguably constitutes a type of a micro-event that precedes the principal event expressed by V_2. For instance, in example (11), the macro-event expressed by the PÓJŚĆ gram contains two consecutive micro-events: the first one involving motion and the second one related to changing of clothes. Inversely, the event of putting on new clothes might have been preceded by walking to a different place.

(11)   **Poszedł**   się   **przebrał**,   wciągnął   brzuch
       he.walked   REFL   he.changed   he.pull.in   belly
       i   zrobił   zdjęcie
       and   he.made   picture
       'He (went and) changed [his clothes], pull in his belly, and took a picture'

Nevertheless, even in cases like that discussed in the previous paragraph, the micro-events expressed by V_1 and V_2 are relatively cohesive and tightly-knit. Crucially, from a semantic and syntactic perspective, V_2 is related more closely to V_1 than to any other verb and/or event included in the scene (e.g. pulling in the belly and taking a picture in example 11). This greater degree of semantic cohesion – intuitively perceived by native speakers – is overtly indicated by the following formal properties: (a) the absence of a pause separating V_1 and V_2 (see below in this section); (b) the intonation phrasing of the sentence in three parts, each expressing a different event of the scene: changing of clothes (*poszedł się*

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[19]   Inversely, the instances in which inanimate subjects are used demonstrate mono-eventhood explicitly.

przebrał), pulling in the belly (*wciągnął brzuch*), and taking a picture (*i zrobił zdjęcie*); and (c) the phonetic agglutination of the reflexive pronoun *się* to V$_1$, although it syntactically belongs to V$_2$. Overall, on the continuum of packaging of events in SVC, such cases of the PÓJŚĆ gram seem to occupy an intermediate status – they are less unitary than examples that do not involve motion (e.g. 2.a-c, 3, 4, and especially 5.a-b), but certainly more cohesive than genuine coordinated (syndetic or asyndetic) or other bi-clausal constructions.

As is evident from the examples provided thus far, the PÓJŚĆ gram does not exhibit any type of syntactic dependency markers, be they subordinators (e.g. *kiedy* 'when' or *gdzie* 'where'), complementizers (e.g. *że* 'that') or relativizers (*który* 'that, which, who'). If one of the components is embedded, the other must also be embedded (see example 12). Furthermore, V$_2$ is not a non-finite form (e.g. infinitive) or a nominal form (e.g. verbal noun or participle). Rather, as mentioned at the beginning of this section, it is invariably inflected and finite.

(12)   Nie   znam   faceta   co   się   **poszedł**   **powiesił**
       not   I.know   guy   that   REFL   he.walked   he.hanged
       'I don't know the guy that hanged himself'

In Polish, there is a similar construction to the PÓJŚĆ gram in which V$_2$ appears in the infinitive, e.g. *poszedł się powiesić* 'he went to hang himself'. This construction has a purposive meaning evident in the English translation. In contrast, the nuance of aim or goal is absent in the PÓJŚĆ gram. Moreover, when the PÓJŚĆ gram is located in a past time frame, the event expressed by V$_2$ must have occurred. In the infinitival construction, the accomplishment of the event expressed by V$_2$ is unspecified. Furthermore, in examples of the PÓJŚĆ gram involving inanimate subjects (6.a-b), the finite form of V$_2$ cannot be replaced by an infinitive. That is, infinitival equivalents of this type of the PÓJŚĆ gram yield ungrammatical, nonsensical structures.

The PÓJŚĆ gram may be understood as a mono-clausal construction. First, as is obvious from the examples introduced thus far, V$_2$ is never a complement clause, nor is it necessary for V$_1$ and V$_2$ to be connected by an overt coordinator.[20] In fact, in various examples the presence of the coordinator *i* – the most typical coordinator found in Polish – is perceived as semantically odd. This is manifest in the unambiguous cases of mono-eventhood. Indeed, if the subject of the PÓJŚĆ gram is inanimate (e.g. 6.a-b), the use of the coordinator *i* is ungrammatical.

Moreover, the PÓJŚĆ gram cannot be understood as an archetypal case of asyndetic coordination, with which it exhibits formal similarity. Contrary to coordinated constructions, the PÓJŚĆ gram allows the extraction of an object of V$_2$ and its placement before V$_1$. Most often, the extracted object is the reflexive pronoun *się*, typically pronounced without final nasalization (see 13.a; see also 16.c). However, other types of pronouns may also be extracted, e.g. personal

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[20]   There are no consecutivizers or consecutive grams in Polish.

pronouns (13.b). Similarly, adverbial expressions and prepositional phrases (temporal, locative, manner or instrument) can be extracted and placed before V_1 even though they are (at least originally) governed by V_2 (see example 8.b discussed previously).[21]

(13) a. I   on   się   **poszedł**   **powiesił**
          and   he   REFL   he.walked   he.hanged
          'And he hanged himself'
      b. Komputer mu   się   **poszedł**   **zjebał**
          computer him   REFL   it.walked   it.got.broken
          'His computer broke down (vulg.)'

In some cases, the PÓJŚĆ gram cannot be analyzed as a clear case of asyndetic coordination due to another property. In Polish, the omission of the last coordinator in a sequence of coordinated items is ungrammatical, or at least perceived as odd (*Tomek i Olek, Marek* 'Tomek, and Olek, Marek'). Rather, in such sequences, two situations are preferred: (a) it is only the last coordinand that is headed by a coordinator (*Tomek, Olek i Marek* 'Tomek, Olek and Marek') or (b) all the members are connected by coordinators (*Tomek i Olek, i Marek* 'Tomek, and Olek, and Marek'). The same applies to clauses, where the most typical structure is: *x*, *y* and *z*. If the PÓJŚĆ gram were a true case of asyndetic coordination, examples (14.a) and (14.b) would violate the above-mentioned principle:[22]

(14) a. Murzyn[23]   ubrał   garnitur […]   i   **poszedł**
          black.guy   put.on suit   and   he.walked
          usiadł w   ławce
          he.sat   in   school.desk
          'The black guy put on a/the suit and sat down at his (school) desk'
      b. Potem się   zmęczył   i   **poszedł**   **usiadł**
          then   REFL   he.got.tired   and   he.walked   he.sat
          na   laweczce   pod   oknem
          on   bench   under window
          'Then, he got tired and sat down on the bench under the window'

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[21] If these were coordinated clauses, the pronouns *się* and *mu* could not appear before the verb *pójść*.

[22] This phenomenon was mentioned previously during the discussion of mono-eventhood (see examples 4 and 9.b).

[23] The word *murzyn* is derogatory.

The PÓJŚĆ gram also differs from coordinated clauses in its intonation pattern. To be exact, the intonation typical of bi-clausal structures (including syndetic and asyndetic coordination), where two clauses are separated by a pause, is absent. The PÓJŚĆ gram rather exhibits intonation and countering characteristic of mono-clausal structures.[24] In fact, in the PÓJŚĆ gram, pronouns that appear between V_1 and V_2, and that originally belong(ed) to the scope of V_2 are phonologically agglutinated to V_1. That is, the example *poszedł się powiesił* 'he hanged himself' (literal gloss: he.walked himself he.hanged) is pronounced [pɔsɛdɛɕ pɔvʲɛɕiw], i.e. with the reflexive pronoun *się* (from the verb *powiesić się* 'to hang oneself') agglutinated to V_1 *poszedł*.

Lastly, the PÓJŚĆ gram and coordinated clauses differ in their use of the negator *nie*. In cases of coordination, each clause hosts its own negator; moreover, each can exhibit a different polarity value. This contrasts with the behavior exhibited by the PÓJŚĆ gram. To begin with, the PÓJŚĆ gram always exhibits a single polarity value. Accordingly, its components cannot communicate opposite polarity values such that one would be negative while the other would be positive. Indeed, in all the examples introduced thus far, V_1 and V_2 are marked for the same polarity – most often affirmative. The use of the PÓJŚĆ gram with a negative value is much less common, although examples of this kind can be found (15.a-b). In such cases, the negator is expressed once per construction and operates over the two verbs simultaneously. This distinguishes the PÓJŚĆ gram from coordinated structures where, as explained above, the negator is expressed in each clause separately.

(15)	a.	Lecz	Luke	nie	**poszedł**	**usiadł**	na
		but	Luke	not	he.walked	he.sat.down	on
		przeciwko	Miley				
		front.of	Miley				
		'But Luke didn't sit down in front of Miley'					
	b.	Nie	no,	nie	**poszedł**	**usiadł**	na łóżku?
		No	well,	not	he.walked	he.sat.down	on bed
		'No, he didn't sit down on the bed (did he?)'					

The PÓJŚĆ gram typically exhibits a single TAM value. Even though this value is restricted to the perfective aspect, the gram may be used in all tenses and modal categories that tolerate perfectivity in Polish. This includes: perfective past (16.a), perfective future (16.b), perfective conditional (*tryb warunkowy*) – referring to the present (16.c) or the past (16.d), and used independently (16.c) or as part of conditional periods, e.g. in apodoses (16.d) – and perfective subjunctive (*tryb łączący*; 16.e).

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[24] Compare Gębka-Wolak and Moroz (2017) who correctly notice the influence of pause on the interpretation of bi-verbal imperative constructions as either coordinated (with a "comma" pronunciation) or non-coordinated (with no "comma" pronunciation).

(16) a.   Głośnik   **poszedł**   się   **popsuł**
           speaker   it.walked   REFL   it.broke
           'The speaker broke down'
      b.   Gada …,   że   **pójdzie**   się   **powiesi**
           he.says   that   he.will.walk   REFL   he.will.hang
           'He says […] that he will hang himself'
      c.   Bym   się   **poszedł**   **zabił**
           I.would   REFL   walked   killed
           'I would kill myself'
      d.   A   gdybym   cię   nie   zdradzał   i
           and   if.I.would   you   not   betrayed   and
           poszedł się   **wyspowiadał** czy   byś
           walked REFL   confessed   whether   you.would
           się   ucieszyła
           REFL   rejoiced
           'If I hadn't betrayed you and confessed, would you have been
           happy?'
      e.   Żeby   on   **poszedł**   się   **upił**
           that.he.may   he   he.walked   REFL   he.got.drunk
           'May he get drunk'

The PÓJŚĆ gram may also be used in the imperative (17.a) including the forms
directed to the 1st person (a type of hortative; 17.b) and those directed to the 3rd
person (a type of jussive typically used with particles *niech(aj)*; 17.c). As in the
other cases, V$_2$ tends to appear in its perfective form given the perfective sense of
the lexical verb *pójść*.

(17) a.   **Pójdź zrób**   jakieś   studia
           walk do   some   studies
           'Study something!'
      b.   **Pójdźmy**   **napiszmy**   o   tym
           let's.walk   let's.write   about   this
           'Let's write about this'
      c.   Niech się   **pójdzie**   **zapyta**
           PART   REFL   he.will.walk   he.will.ask
           'Let him ask! / May he ask!'

Overall, the gram is not restricted to a particular TAM category but appears in
various TAM categories that are available in the Polish language. As has been
mentioned above, the only constraint on verbal categories acceptable in the
PÓJŚĆ gram is their perfectivity, given the perfective aspect encoded lexically by
the verb *pójść*. Crucially, as illustrated by examples (16.a-e) and (17.a-c), the

components of the PÓJŚĆ gram cannot be marked by different, incompatible, TAM categories. The TAM categories of V_1 and V_2 must always coincide.[25]

The two verbs that form the PÓJŚĆ gram invariably share their subject argument. That is, V_1 and V_2 cannot be governed by different subject referents. This applies to intransitive (18.a), transitive (18.b) and reflexive (18.c) constructions.

(18) a.   Jake   nie   **poszedł**   **usiadł**   na   krześle
            Jake   not   he.walked   he.sat.down   on   chair
            'Jake didn't sit (down) on the chair'
      b.   To   nie   znaczy że   ktoś   **pojdzie**
            this   not   means   that someone   will.walk
            go   **kupi**
            it   will.buy
            'This doesn't mean that someone will buy it'
      c.   On   **pojdzie**   się   **wysika**
            he   will.walk   REFL   will.pee
            'He will pee'

In TAM categories other than the imperative where the 1st and the 2nd persons are highly frequent, the most common cases of the PÓJŚĆ gram involve the 3rd person masculine and feminine, singular and plural. However, the use of the 1st and the 2nd persons in the past tense and the future tense is also attested, especially if the person marker is detached from the verb as in (19.a).[26] In fact, even if the person is encoded on the verb itself, the PÓJŚĆ gram can be inflected in persons other than the 3rd person (19.b).

(19) a.   Żem   se   **poszedł**   to   **wypił**
            that.I   REFL.DAT   walked   it   drank
            'I drank it'
      b.   **Poszłem**   se   **kupiłem**   piwo
            I.walked   REFL.DAT   I.bought   beer
            'I bought a beer (for myself)'

The total valency pattern of the PÓJŚĆ gram depends on the argument structure of V_2. If V_2 is intransitive the construction is intransitive (see 18.a introduced previously); if V_2 is transitive, the construction is transitive (18.b); and if V_2 is reflexive, the construction is reflexive as well (18.c).

Since core arguments (e.g. direct objects, indirect objects, or reflexive objects) and peripheral arguments belong to the entire construction, they can occur in the

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[25]   This further differentiates the PÓJŚĆ gram from coordination and bi-causal structures, whose components may exhibit different TAM categories.

[26]   See also examples (15.c-d).

initial position before V_1 even though it is V_2 that determines the valency of the gram (see example 13.a-b). Overall, the components of the PÓJŚĆ gram never govern separate arguments nor do they allow for duplicate roles.

Although, as already mentioned, V_1 is intransitive, it can be used with an anaphoric "ethical dative" pronominal object *pójść sobie/se* 'walk away'. Many verbs used as V_2 can also occur with such anaphoric, ethical dative objects, e.g. *kupić* 'buy', *wziąć* 'take', *wypić* 'drink', *zjeść* 'eat', or *pogadać* 'chat'. As both V_1 and V_2 may contain these types of objects, in cases where the ethical dative is used in the PÓJŚĆ gram, it necessarily refers to the two verbs simultaneously. This means, in turn, that both verbs share their ethical dative object. As the dative object is a property of the entire construction rather than of one verb, it can appear in the initial position, heading V_1.[27]

(20)   Mój   kot   sobie   **poszedł**   **usiadł**
            my   cat   REFL.DAT   it.walked   it.sat.down
            tyłem   do   mnie
            backwards   to   me
            'My cat sat down with his back against me'

As far as the last criterion is concerned, the components of the PÓJŚĆ gram – i.e. V_1 and V_2 – can be used on their own, thus exhibiting their respective, individual lexical meanings. In such cases, V_1 conveys the allative sense of walking (21.a) or its various metaphorical meaning extensions (21.b).[28] It should be noted that native speakers instinctively relate V_1 found in the PÓJŚĆ gram with the lexical verb *pójść*, even though the two verbs exhibit various structural and semantic differences.

(21)   a.   Poszedł   na   stację
            he.walked   to   station
            'He walked to the station'
     b.   Samochód   poszedł   do   naprawy
            car   it.walked   to   repairs
            'The car was taken for repairs'

To conclude the review of the properties of the PÓJŚĆ gram, a set of further characteristics will be analyzed. Although these traits are not definitional for the SVC prototype, they are commonly associated with SVCs or their subtypes. These properties involve the type of TAM and person marking, the parameter of

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[27]   Such anaphoric, ethical-dative pronominal objects may occupy various positions in the sentence without causing any substantial change in that sentence's true conditional meaning. For instance, the three following variants – *sobie/se poszedł usiadł* (as in example 20); *poszedł sobie/se usiadł*; or *poszedł usiadł sobie/se* – are practically synonymous.

[28]   Some metaphorical uses tolerate inanimate subjects (see example 21.b).

contiguity and word order, the grammaticalization of V_1 in asymmetrical constructions, the grammaticalization of the entire SVC, especially its spread to certain genres and registers, and its compatibility with other SVCs available in the language.

The PÓJŚĆ gram usually exhibits a concordant type of marking. That is, both V_1 and V_2 are marked for TAM, person, number, and gender (see examples 18.a-b, 19.b and 20). Concordant marking is typical of less cohesive and less tightly-knit SVCs (Aikhenvald 2006).

As far as contiguity is concerned, in most cases of the PÓJŚĆ gram, V_1 and V_2 are immediately adjacent. The typical exceptions involve the use of a reflexive pronoun *się*, an anaphoric (reflexive / ethical) dative *se* or *sobie*, and atonic personal pronouns e.g. *go* 'him [ACC]' and *mu* 'him [DAT]'.

The order of the components of the PÓJŚĆ gram is invariant – the verb *pójść* always appears in the first position, i.e. as V_1. This order reflects the original bi-clausal source that, in an iconic manner, indicates the sequence of two verbs – the first verb refers to walking somewhere, while the second verb indicates the action that was (or will be) performed once the destination is reached. Given that Polish is characterized by free word order (although pragmatically driven) and tolerates movement of the constituents to almost all positions, this invariant structure of the PÓJŚĆ gram suggests its conceptual and grammatical proximity to asyndetic coordination. That is, the constant arrangement of the two verbs in the PÓJŚĆ gram reflects the original iconic sequence in which the word order of the two clauses could not be inverted given the consecutiveness of the actions they expressed.

As one element (i.e. V_1 *pójść*) of the PÓJŚĆ gram is fixed while the other (i.e. V_2) is a fluctuating variable, the construction can be understood as asymmetrical. Accordingly, the verb *pójść* is a minor verb, while any V_2 is a major verb. As is typical of asymmetrical constructions, V_1 undergoes the process of grammaticalization into a TAM marker. In the most exemplary cases, *pójść* seems to express a modal nuance of urgency and insistence (especially in the imperative; 22.a) or emphasizes the telicity, completeness, and perfectivity of the event expressed by V_2 (especially in the past tense; 22.b). With inanimate subjects, the use of the verb *pójść* in front of V_2 may produce the impression that the action was performed willingly, on purpose, or against the interest of the speaker or the addressee (i.e. to upset or irritate him or her; 22.c). However, the grammaticalization of V_1 as a TAM marker is far from being accomplished, and the verb sometimes preserves its original allative nuance (see the possible interpretation of V_1 and an allative micro-event discussed above). The prevalence of animate and human subjects, as well as certain restrictions on the types of verbs that can be used as V_2 also suggest the lesser extent of the grammaticalization of V_1 *pójść* and of the entire PÓJŚĆ gram.

(22)   a.   **Pójdź**   wreszcie   się   **umyj**!
             walk   finally   REFL   wash
             'Wash yourself finally (i.e. do it right now)!'
       b.   Na   koniec **poszedł**   się   **zabił**
             in   end   he.walked   REFL   he.killed
             'In the end, he killed himself (i.e. it happed definitely)'
       c.   Układ   scalony   **poszedł**   się   **zepsuł**
             circuit integrated it.walked   REFL   broke
             'The integrated circuit broke down (i.e. as if on purpose)'

The PÓJŚĆ gram is an informal, colloquial phenomenon. Except for its use in the imperative, according to the norm, it constitutes a stylistic and grammatical error. Even in the informal, colloquial language, its use in forms other than the imperative is regarded as ungrammatical by many speakers.

Most examples in my database are extracted from written registers that are informal (e.g. blogs, comments on forums, chats, social networks) and oral registers that are colloquial. Apart from the imperative uses, the PÓJŚĆ gram is never used in formal registers (both written and oral) and literature, unless literary dialogues aim to imitate the colloquial language. As already mentioned, the imperative sub-type of the PÓJŚĆ gram differs from all the other forms in this respect. It is grammatical and can be found in formal or literary texts, as demonstrated by the following example extracted from a translation of Balzac's *Ojciec Goriot* (*Père Goriot* 'Father Goriot' translated by Amelia Bortnowska):

(23)   Słuchaj […]   **pójdź** **przynieś**   ode   mnie   butelkę
        listen   walk   bring   from   me   bottle
        Bordeaux
        Bordeaux
        'Listen, fetch a bottle of Bordeaux from me'

Even though it contravenes the norms of the standard language, the PÓJŚĆ gram often appears in all its tenses and sub-types in situations that are highly expressive and/or marked for emotions. These emotions are evident through a common use of vulgarisms (e.g. *jebać* 'fuck'; a similar fact was observed by Góralczyk 2010 with respect to the canonical serial verb construction in Polish, the WZIĄĆ gram; see also Gębka-Wolak and Moroz 2017) and the presence of major verbs V_2 that express pejorative actions (e.g. urinating, defecating, throwing up) or extreme events (e.g. killing, committing suicide, breaking, beating, hitting, raping, etc.). However, activities involving positive feelings and "emotionally neutral" actions can also be expressed by the PÓJŚĆ gram (see examples 11 and 14.b).

Lastly, it should be noted that the PÓJŚĆ gram may co-occur with a canonical SVC in Polish, the WZIĄĆ gram (Andrason 2018). In (24a.) the PÓJŚĆ gram is a component that occupies the slot of V_2 in the WZIĄĆ gram. In (24.b), it is the WZIĄĆ gram that occupies the V_2 slot in the PÓJŚĆ gram.

(24) a.   [Wziął]   [poszedł   się   zabił]
            he.took   he.walked   REFL   he.killed
            'He killed himself'

      b.   [Poszedł]   [wziął   się   zabił]
            he.walked   he.took   REFL   he.killed
            'He killed himself'

4. Discussion

The evidence provided in the previous section demonstrates that, in many aspects, the PÓJŚĆ gram complies – or may comply – with the prototype of SVC. The PÓJŚĆ gram is a bi-verbal construction whose components are finite; neither of these verbal components is syntactically dependent on the other; the formative verbs are not connected by a coordinator but rather form a single clause; the PÓJŚĆ gram exhibits a mono-clausal intonation with no pause separating V_1 and V_2; it also exhibits a single TAM value and a single polarity value; the components of the PÓJŚĆ gram are not marked by incompatible TAM categories; the gram is not restricted to a particular temporal or modal category, but appears in various TAM categories available in Polish; V_1 and V_2 share their subject argument and duplicate roles are disallowed; lastly, both verbs may occur on their own, thus exhibiting their respective lexical meanings.

    However, the response of the PÓJŚĆ gram to three of the above-mentioned properties (i.e. mono-clausality, compatibility with TAM, and use in negative contexts) is less ideally matched with the prototype. First, even though it is found in various TAM categories, the PÓJŚĆ gram is limited to those that are perfective. Second, even though the PÓJŚĆ gram can be found in negative contexts, such uses are highly uncommon, the immense majority of cases involve a positive polarity value. Third, although the PÓJŚĆ gram does not contain an overt coordinator and, often, its interpretation in terms of asyndetic coordination is impossible, in some examples, the gram does exhibit similarity to asyndetic coordination. In such cases, the two structures are distinguishable only by their intonational patterns.[29]

    The analysis of the remaining property – i.e. mono-eventhood – is even more complex. The property of mono-eventhood attests to two possible interpretations. In various cases, the PÓJŚĆ gram constitutes one assertion and communicates a single event. This situation is typically found if the subject is inanimate; if negation is used; if the gram exhibits shared temporal, locative or other adverbial operators; and if the allative sense of V_1 is either implausible or impossible. However, in several instances, the PÓJŚĆ gram may be interpreted as a macro-

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[29] That is, the intonation of the PÓJŚĆ gram tends to be mono-clausal, while that of asyndetic coordination is typical of bi-clausal structures, i.e. with a clear pause and contouring between the coordinated clauses.

event composed of two micro-events. In such cases, V_1 expresses an allative event while V_2 specifies the type of the main action. The interpretation of V_1 as an allative micro-event appears if an animate/human subject is used and, at the same time, the context is sufficiently unspecified to allow for that subject to be associated with motion. Nevertheless, even in the cases where allative, micro-event interpretation is possible, the overall eventhood of the PÓJŚĆ gram is more unitary than the bi-eventhood of coordination. That is, V_1 and V_2 form a more cohesive event between themselves than with any other event(s) in the sentence.

Overall, the results of the research indicate that the PÓJŚĆ gram synchronically attests to more than one developmental stage on the continuum from bi-clausality/bi-verbiness to mono-clausality/mono-verbiness. Some uses of the gram correspond to a stage where asyndetic coordination transmutes into a slightly more cohesive structure on its path to the SVC prototype. Such uses of the PÓJŚĆ can be viewed as non-canonical instantiations of a SVC category. In some other cases, the gram exhibits a profile that approximates the SVC prototype to a great extent. These uses of the gram can be viewed as canonical instantiations of the SVC category. All the other uses of the PÓJŚĆ gram are confined between these two "extremes". Therefore, rather than being mapped as a point on the continuum of clausality/verbiness, the PÓJŚĆ gram spans a fragment of that developmental path (see Figure 2 below).[30]

Moreover, even though the PÓJŚĆ gram can be identified as *a separate construction*, which is confined within the above-mentioned boundaries, it is clearly related to its constructional "mother" – the asyndetic coordination. In fact, in cases where the PÓJŚĆ gram acts as a non-canonical instantiation of SVC, it overlaps with less canonical instantiations of asyndetic coordination, in which the cohesion of the coordinands increases and properties typically associated with coordination gradually cede place to those characteristic of SVC. In such uses, it may be difficult to clearly distinguish the PÓJŚĆ gram from asyndetic coordination. Rather, two interpretations are possible: as a less-canonical SVC or as a less canonical asyndetic coordination (see again Figure 2 where this overlap is represented graphically). Crucially, even though we divide the path into zones associated with two different construction types (i.e. asyndetic coordination and the PÓJŚĆ gram) and see the two constructions as independent "entities", what realistically exists in the language is the variation of uses of the verb *pójść* in the

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[30] As is common in cognitive studies where grammaticalization-based maps are used, the synchronic potential of a form can be mapped onto a fragment of a diachronic template without making use of direct historical data. That is, the soundness of a given evolutionary scenario (a grammaticalization path inferred from typological studies) and the synchronic evidence (variation of uses and functions) warrant the structure of the map proposed for a given construction, in this case, the PÓJŚĆ gram. Diachronic data should, nevertheless, be consistent with the proposed mapping (Haspelmath 2003; Janda 2015; Andrason 2016; Andrason and Locatell 2016; Andrason and Dlali 2017).

company of another verb.[31] Such uses range from canonical asyndetic coordination to a canonical SVC.

Figure 2. A dynamic model of the PÓJŚĆ gram
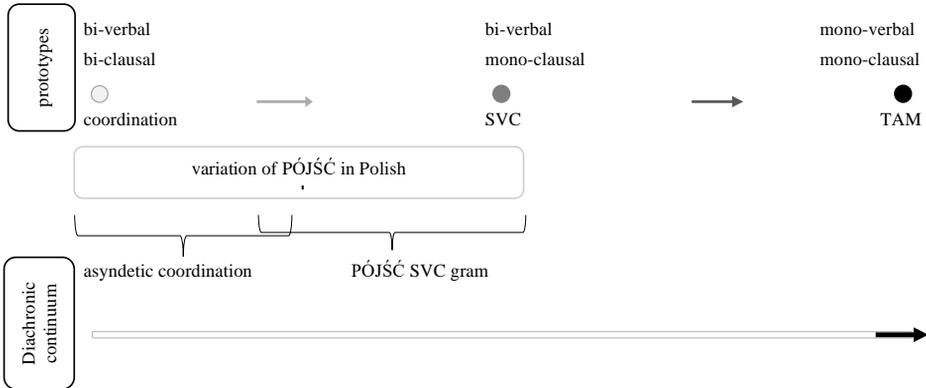
The semi-advancement of the PÓJŚĆ gram along the path towards SVC and, subsequently, mono-verbiness is, to a degree, correlated with various grammaticalization phenomena.

Most properties suggest a limited degree of the grammaticalization of the PÓJŚĆ gram. First, even though attested to, the use of the PÓJŚĆ gram in categories other than the imperative is controversial. From the perspective of the linguistic norm, such examples constitute grammatical errors and are *de facto* viewed by many speakers as ungrammatical. This indicates that the acceptability of the gram has not been stabilized. Second, the use of the PÓJŚĆ gram is also limited to determined registers. The majority of the attested examples of the PÓJŚĆ gram appears in colloquial and informal situations, typical of early stages of grammatical lives of constructions. The only forms found in literary genres are imperatives. Third, the PÓJŚĆ gram is particularly common in expressive contexts related to extreme events and subjective feelings. Expressiveness and subjectivity are characteristic of incipient phases of grammaticalization rather than of its end point, where "objectivity" is more typical. Fourth, the concordant TAM and person marking suggest a less cohesive – and thus less grammaticalized – gram structure. Fifth, the invariant order of the verbal components of the PÓJŚĆ gram directly reflects the iconic bi-clausal sequence found in asyndetic coordination from which it (i.e. the PÓJŚĆ gram) has emerged. If the gram was more grammaticalized it would arguably tolerate the placement of the minor verb *pójść* after the major verb as is possible with all auxiliary, TAM and SVC

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[31] It is us – observers – who fraction this variation into two areas or two "independent" categories: coordination and the PÓJŚĆ gram.

constructions in Polish. Sixth, the constraints on the types of subjects and the types of verbs acceptable in the PÓJŚĆ gram also echo the properties of the original asyndetic coordination, and in particular the properties exhibited by its first member – the verb *pójść*. In more grammaticalized structures (e.g. a canonical SVC such as the WZIĄĆ gram) those constraints are absent. Seventh, V_1 exhibits a low degree of grammaticalization as a TAM marker. Even though it can communicate urgency or telicity/perfectivity, the verb often preserves some type of an allative nuance.

However, the PÓJŚĆ gram also exhibits certain properties that suggest a moderate increase in its grammaticalization as a holistic construction. Even though sporadically, inanimate subjects are admissible. The negation appears once per construction. The PÓJŚĆ gram occupies a single slot in the most canonical SVC in Polish – the WZIĄĆ construction. And, if inflected in the imperative, the PÓJŚĆ gram is accepted by all speakers and viewed by the prescriptive grammar as fully grammatical.[32]

The study generally corroborates the dynamic trans-categorial and prototype-driven model of SVCs formulated by Aikhenvald (2006, 2011). The analysis demonstrates that, by exhibiting, in some cases, properties associated with asyndetic coordination, the PÓJŚĆ gram most likely originates from a coordinated structure. By increasing its internal cohesion, in particular the degree of mono-clausality and mono-predicativity, this original structure has advanced along the cline of grammaticalization, gradually approximating the prototype of SVC more closely.

However, the present research also advances Aikhenvald's (2006, 2011) model. First, the different uses and properties exhibited by the PÓJŚĆ gram in modern Polish correspond to different points of the cline of SVC introduced in Section 2. Therefore, when analyzed holistically (i.e. as the sum of its uses), the PÓJŚĆ gram is represented not as a single point on the evolutionary continuum, but rather as a fragment of it. Second – and as a consequence of the previous remark – the actual progression along the cline does not consists of moving from one point to another point. It rather consists of modifying the set of points that cover a fragment of that continuum, such that the set appears as gradually travelling in the direction predicted by the grammaticalization path, i.e. from bi-clausality/bi-verbiness to mono-clausality/mono-verbiness. That is, the PÓJŚĆ gram – and arguably other SVCs – do not "jump" from one stage to another, but rather accumulate (and/or lose) properties associated with different parts of the continuum and, thus, with different constructional categories and their prototypes. This accumulation and loss give, in turn, the impression of a unidirectional movement along the path.

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[32] Given the more advanced status of the PÓJŚĆ gram in the imperative, it is likely that the evolution of the asyndetic coordination with *pójść* into more cohesive structures and its grammaticalization have started in that context.

5. Conclusion

The present paper has demonstrated that the PÓJŚĆ gram often complies with the features postulated for the prototype of a SVC construction. However, the gram also exhibits properties that link it to multi-clausal, less cohesive structures, specifically asyndetic coordination. Consequently, in its totality, the PÓJŚĆ gram is defined as a set of stages on the path linking bi-clausality/bi-verbiness and mono-clausal/mono-verbiness. Specifically, it spans the section of that developmental path that ranges from a non-canonical, less cohesive instantiation of SVC to its canonical, more cohesive instantiation. The former is less advanced on the path, while the latter occupies a more advanced position on it. In its uses as a non-canonical SVC, the PÓJŚĆ gram categorially overlaps with a more cohesive variant of asyndetic coordination. This overlap is related to the fact that the PÓJŚĆ gram emerged from asyndetic coordination which is still accessible to the verb *pójść* in Polish. In that manner, various uses of the verb *pójść* attest to the entire first part of the clausality/verbiness continuum, i.e. from coordination to SVC. While observers partition this variation into two, partially overlapping, entities – i.e. asyndetic coordination and the PÓJŚĆ SVC – it is only the variation that realistically exists in the language.

Overall, the results of this paper both corroborate and expand the model of SVCs proposed by Aikhenvald (2006, 2011). That is, at least some SVCs derive from asyndetic coordination and, by modifying their span on the grammaticalization cline linking bi-clausality/bi-verbiness and mono-clausality/mono-verbiness, develop gradually towards the SVC prototype. Overall, gradience in grammar has both a synchronic and diachronic dimension.

Abbreviations

PART – optative particle *niech*; REFL – reflexive pronoun *się*; REFL.DAT – reflexive dative pronoun (anaphoric or "ethical dative").

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