

Helge Lødrup

Verbal present participles in Norwegian: Controlled complements or parts of complex predicates

Abstract

Norwegian has a very limited option for verbal present participles. These participles only exist with a small number of verbs, and they are selected by a handful of predicates. The analysis of sentences with these participles raises some challenges. Taking the analysis of Thurén (2008) as my point of departure, I argue that verbal present participles have two possible analyses, as controlled complements, or as parts of complex predicates. The presentational focus construction gives important evidence for my analysis.

0. Introduction

This paper is about a very limited construction that has been considered problematic in Norwegian and Scandinavian syntax. Even if present participles are usually adjectival in Norwegian, a handful of verbs seem to take a verbal present participle, as in 1.

1 Han kom stjørtende ned trappen
 he came rushing down stairs.DEF
 'He came rushing down the stairs'

These present participles have been analyzed as main verbs, with their selecting verbs as auxiliaries. There are several reasons that this cannot be correct, as will be shown below. A more interesting analysis is given by Thurén (2008) (on Swedish), who proposed that sentences such as 1 are restructuring (also called reanalysis) sentences in which the two verbs together constitute one complex predicate. The selecting verb is then a "light verb". I will partly delimit this analysis by arguing that the restructuring is optional, and partly extend it by applying it to sentences with the verb *ha* 'have'. I will also present new data, and show how the presentational focus construction gives important evidence for the optionality of restructuring.

I will use the term restructuring for the process that combines two verbs into one predicate — a complex predicate which takes a single set of syntactic functions in a monoclausal structure. Restructuring is a very limited option, possible only with a small number of verb types, which tend to recur in different languages.

1. The basic facts

1.1 Present participles in Norwegian

Present participles represent a more limited phenomenon in Norwegian — and Scandinavian — than in e.g. English and French (see e.g. Egerland 2002, Helland and Pitz 2014). Many verbs lack a present participle, including frequent verbs. Faarlund et al. (1997:119) claim that present participles in Norwegian are primarily adjectival, as in 2-3 (this view can also be found in e.g. Lie 1994, Lødrup 2002:138-39).

2 en svært underholdende film

a very entertaining movie

'a very entertaining movie'

3 Den er svært underholdende

it is very entertaining

'It is very entertaining'

The challenge is the necessity to recognize some verbal present participles. This raises some questions: One question is what should be considered data. It is not difficult to find text examples of present participles that must be considered verbal because they show syntactic options that are reserved for verbs, such as taking an object. An example is 4. Such sentences are, however, not acceptable in colloquial Norwegian.

4 Fændrik sitter bakerst i sin fantebåt (..) syngende en munter vise (www)

Fændrik sits hindmost in his hobo-boat singing a merry song

'Fændrik sits hindmost in his hobo-boat, singing a merry song'

Western (1921:368-76) finds it necessary to distinguish between colloquial and written Norwegian (*talesproget* and *skriftsproget*) to discuss verbal present participles. I will use the same strategy, and focus upon options that are intuitively acceptable in the colloquial language.

Western (1921:368-71) establishes the syntactic contexts for what he considers verbal present participles in the colloquial language. Even if he does not give criteria for what should be considered verbal, his results seem reasonable. With a certain interpretation, he says that verbal present participles in the colloquial language are those that are selected by four predicates: the verbs *komme* 'come', *bli* 'remain',¹ *ha* 'have' and the preposition *med* 'with'. Examples are 5-8.

5 Han kom styrtende ned trappen

he came rushing down stairs.DEF

'He came rushing down the stairs'

6 Han ble liggende i gresset

he remained lying in grass.DEF

'He remained lying in the grass'

¹The Norwegian verb *bli* also has other uses, which are not directly relevant here. It can mean 'become', and it is used as a passive auxiliary.

- 7 Jeg har et gevær liggende under sengen
 I have a gun lying under bed.DEF
 'I have a gun lying under my bed'
- 8 Vi kan ikke fortsette med John liggende under bordet
 we can not continue with John lying under table.DEF
 'We cannot continue with John lying under the table'

A different approach can be found in Kinn (2014), who argues that the verbal uses of present participles in the written language are more common than previously thought. Kinn (2014:65-66) argues with functional and cognitive linguistics that both marginal and central parts of the language user's knowledge of language should be the basis for grammatical description. This leads him to assume rather extensive options for verbal present participles. Even so, Kinn (2014:76-84) also follows Western (1921) when he says that the syntactic contexts mentioned by Western as taking verbal present participles in the colloquial language are contexts that "favor" verbal syntax.

Idealizing somewhat, I will assume that verbal present participles only occur as selected complements in the colloquial language. Present participles that are not selected by a predicate are assumed to be adjectives. (On the other hand, selected complements can of course be realized as adjectival present participles.) In practice, however, this idealization is not decisive for the following, because all registers have the constructions to be discussed.

1.2 Selection of present participles

The predicates that select verbal present participles have very strict requirements concerning what participles are allowed. The verb *komme* 'come' has a semantic requirement — the present participle must denote movement, with a focus on manner (e.g. *gå* 'walk', *rusle* 'toddle', *snike* 'sneak', *kjøre* 'drive').

When it comes to the verbs *bli* 'remain' and *ha* 'have' and the preposition *med* 'with', the central present participles they select can be listed. They are participles of the posture verbs (*ligge* 'lie', *sitte* 'sit', *stå* 'stand') and a small number of other verbs, especially *gå* 'walk' and *bo* 'live'. The verb *bli* 'remain' in addition allows *hete* 'be.called' and *være* 'be'. (Kinn 2014 gives text examples with some other present participles, some of which are more or less unacceptable to him and others.)

When we put aside *hete* 'be.called' and *være* 'be', the selected participles are one-place verbs. A fact that will be of interest later is that they all allow the presentational focus construction with an expletive subject, as in 9-10.

- 9 Det styrtet inn en mann
 there rushed in a man
 'A man rushed in'
- 10 Det ligger / går / bor en mann her
 there lies / walks / lives a man here
 'A man lies / walks / lives here'

1.3 Are they really verbal?

Three arguments for considering the relevant present participles verbal will be presented briefly, others will follow indirectly later.²

Argument 1): The verbs *komme* 'come' and *bli* 'remain' do not select an AP, but they select a present participle. The verb *komme* can precede an adjective, as in 11, but they are adjuncts. The verb *bli* 'remain' can take a locative, as in 12, but not an AP.³

- 11 Han kom full / sur hjem
 he came drunk / grumpy home
 'He came home drunk / grumpy'
- 12 Han ble hjemme / i byen / *full / *sur
 he remained home / in town.DEF / drunk / grumpy
 'He stayed home / in town / *drunk / *grumpy'

When the verbs *komme* 'come' and *bli* 'remain' select a present participle, this form must be inflectional forms according to the classical distinction between inflection and derivation: Syntax can "see" inflectional morphology, but not derivational morphology, and thus not distinguish an adjectival participle from another adjective.

Argument 2): Kinn (2014:94) mentions that verbal present participles keep the meaning of the stem, while this is not necessarily the case with adjectival participles — as expected from general properties of inflection and derivation. For example, posture verbs have a rather wide meaning, allowing abstract

² Swedish present participles sometimes end in an -s.

(i) Lina tuggade högt, irriterande(s) oss mycket (Thurén 2008:56)

Lina chewed loudly irritating(-s) us much
 'Lina was chewing loudly, irritating us a lot'

According to Thurén (2008:56), the participles in -s are unambiguously verbal. This effect of -s is unknown in Norwegian. Present participles in -s occur, but they often have a kind of passive interpretation, which can also be possible without -s (Falk and Torp 1900:215-16, Western 1921:372, Faarlund et al 1997:119).

(ii) Det er da spisendes (Western 1921:372)

it is though eating-s
 'It can be eaten, though'

³ The verb *komme* can take an AP in a lexicalized expression such as (i).

(i) Han kom løs av tauet
 he came loose of rope.DEF
 'He got loose of the rope'

The verb *bli* 'remain' can select an adjective in archaic language, as in (ii).

(ii) mennesket blir sig dog altid ligt (Ibsen)
 man.DEF remains himself still always alike
 'Man always resembles himself'

It could be mentioned that Thurén (2008:62-63) rejects argument 1) for Swedish, because the corresponding Swedish verbs can select AP.

and metaphorical uses (Holm 2013). These uses can also be found with verbal present participles, as in 13, but not necessarily with adjectival participles, as in 14.

- 13 Formuleringene blir stående i kontrast til virkeligheten
formulations.DEF remain standing in contrast to reality.DEF
'The formulations are in contrast to our reality'
- 14 *Stående i kontrast til virkeligheten er formuleringene uheldige
standing in contrast to reality.DEF are formulations.DEF unfortunate
'The formulations are unfortunate, being in contrast to our reality'
[intended]

Argument 3): Verbs and adjectives have different options for compounding and derivation. As expected, adjectival present participles have the potential of adjectives, and not of verbs. For example, the compound *traktorkjørende* 'tractor.driving' can be adjectival, as in 15, but not verbal, as in 16. This is expected, when there is no verb *traktorkjøre* 'tractor.drive'.

- 15 traktorkjørende menn (NoWaC)
tractor.driving men
'men driving tractors'
- 16 *Han kom traktorkjørende
he came tractor.driving

Verbal present participles raise several challenges for morphological theory which cannot be pursued here — including the question of how a language can have an inflectional form that occurs with a few dozens of verbs only.

2. Complex predicates?

The analysis of sentences with selected verbal present participles is considered problematic by those who have discussed it. One possibility is that the verbs that take verbal present participles are auxiliaries, which take the participles as main verbs. Telemann et al. (1999:618-19) (on Swedish) say that *komma* 'come' and *bli* 'remain' are close to having auxiliary status, but also that the present participle is a predicate complement with these verbs. Faarlund (1997:472, 532) and Ebeling (2003:154-177) assume that *bli* 'remain' is an auxiliary when it takes a present participle. Kinn (2014:77-78) also considers *bli* 'remain' an auxiliary. This is also his view of *komme* 'come' — with some reservations (Kinn 2014:83).

The traditional concept of auxiliary covers a rather heterogenous group. Even so, it is clear that the verbs that take verbal present participles have very different properties (more later). A striking difference is that verbs that take verbal present participles only combine with a small number of verbs, while most auxiliaries can take any verb.⁴

⁴In Blenselius (2009) (on Swedish), the verbs *komma* 'come' and *bli* 'remain' with present participles are constructions, but so are verbs with adjunct participles, and it is not clear what the constructional status implies.

Thurén (2008) (on Swedish) has an interesting approach to sentences with selected present participles. She proposes that they are restructuring sentences with complex predicates. The selecting verbs are then light verbs.⁵ (Lundquist 2009 also assumes this analysis, without discussing it.) There is, however, more to be said. Thurén (2008) does not discuss the predicates *ha* 'have' and *med* 'with', and she does not take presentational focus sentences into account. There is also a question if restructuring can give a full account of these sentences. I will argue that there are sentences where selected verbal present participles are parts of complex predicates, as well as sentences where they are not. The question then arises how the sentences in question should be analyzed when they do not show restructuring.

It is a standard assumption that two verbs can be restructured (or reanalyzed) to a complex predicate in a monoclausal structure which takes one single set of syntactic functions (see e.g. Butt 1995, 2010, Alsina 1996, Cinque 2004, Wiklund 2007, Wurmbrand 2001, 2004, 2014).

For example, the Norwegian verb *prøve* 'try' is a verb that allows restructuring with a following infinitive. The resulting complex predicate can take the presentational focus construction, as in 17 (Holmberg 2002:122), and the passive, as in 18 (Lødrup 2014a). It also allows the second verb to take on verbal features of the first verb. This "feature agreement" has been established as a restructuring phenomenon (Niño 1997, Sells 2004, Wiklund 2007). Example sentences 18-20 show feature agreement with passive, imperative and participle forms (Lødrup 2014a, Havnelid 2015, Aagaard 2016).

17 når det prøver å komme kopier av disse to ... (www)

when there try to come copies of these two

'When copies of these two [show hosts] try coming ...'

18 Dette må prøves å gjøre(s)

this must try.PASS to do.(PASS)

'One must try to do this'

19 Prøv å gjør det!

try.IMPERATIVE to do.IMPERATIVE it

'Try doing it!'

20 Han har prøvd å gjort det

he has try.PART to do.PART it

'He has tried doing it'

Verbs that can be light verbs in complex predicates also appear as full verbs (see also e.g. Wurmbrand 2001:chap 2.3, Butt 2010, Butt and Lahiri 2013). The verb *prøve* 'try' can occur in sentences that have properties that are incompatible with restructuring, e.g. in 21, where the verbal complement is realized as a passive subject.

⁵ Thurén (2008) seems to be more "liberal" than me concerning what verbs select verbal present participles, and what participles should be considered selected, as opposed to adjuncts. (It is not clear to me to what extent differences between Swedish and Norwegian are relevant to differences between our analyses.)

21 Å gjøre dette er aldri blitt prøvd før
 to do this has never been tried before
 'Doing this has never been tried before'

3. The verb *komme* 'come'

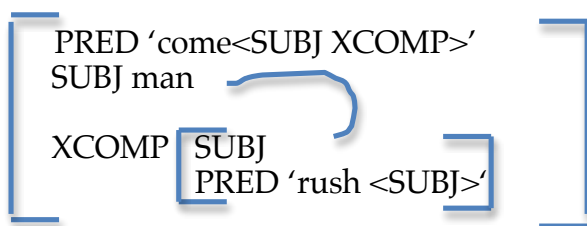
I first discuss sentences with the verb *komme* 'come' thoroughly, before showing how the other verbs may throw light upon the analysis.

3.1 *komme* 'come' without restructuring

When a sentence with *komme* 'come' such as 22 does not have restructuring, its analysis is rather straight forward in LFG. In the f-structure in 23, the verbal present participle is an XCOMP — a complement with an unrealized subject which is obligatorily controlled by an argument in the main clause (visualized by the curved line).

22 En mann kom stytende
 a man came rushing
 'A man came rushing'

23



The XCOMP with *komme* does not alternate with a DP/NP, as shown in 24. It cannot topicalize or enter into other unbounded dependencies, as shown in 25, contrasting with adjectival adjuncts, as shown in 26.

24 *Han kom den store bilen / denne / det
 he came the big car.DEF / this / it

25 *Stytende kom de ut av kirken
 rushing came they out of church.DEF
 'They came rushing out of the church' [intended]

26 Syngende kom de ut av kirken
 singing came they out of church.DEF
 'They came singing out of the church'

These are properties that are shared by verbal XCOMPS in general — except the verbal XCOMPS of auxiliaries, if they are assumed to take XCOMPS.⁶ These properties recur with other XCOMPS that are realized by verbs — infinitives or participles — in sentences with or without subject raising (see Lødrup 2004). Examples are 27-30.

⁶ This question has been discussed a number of times, see Butt et al. (1996), Sells (2004), Wedekind and Ørsnes (2004), Falk (2008).

- 27 Hun sies å være tøff *Hun sies det *Å være tøff sies hun
 she say.PASS to be tough - she say.PASS that - to be tough say.PASS she
 'She is said to be tough'
- 28 Hun akter å kjøre *Hun akter det *Å kjøre akter hun
 she intends to ride - she intends that - to ride intends she
 'She intends to ride'
- 29 Bilen bes flyttet *Den bes det *Flyttet bes den
 car.DEF ask.PASS moved - it ask.PASS that - moved ask.PASS it
 'They ask somebody to move the car'
- 30 Vi så ham stupe *Vi så ham det *Stupe så vi ham
 we saw him dive - we saw him that - dive saw we him
 'We saw him dive'

Even if most constituents can topicalize, this kind of verbal complements usually cannot. The reason is not clear. One possibility is that it could be connected to the classical Higgins' generalization, (see e.g. Higgins 1973, Dalrymple and Lødrup 2000, Lødrup 2012), which can be paraphrased to say that a clausal argument can only topicalize if it is in a position in which a DP/NP is an alternative. The traditional auxiliaries are different. They can take some cases of a DP/NP in Norwegian, and their complement can topicalize.

- 31 Hun ville ikke kjøre Hun ville ikke det Kjøre ville hun ikke
 she would not ride - she would not that - ride would she not
 'She would not ride'

3.2 The verb *komme* 'come' with restructuring

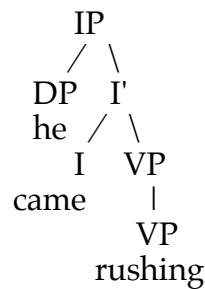
The distinction between c-structure and f-structure is important to account for restructuring. The c-structure does not reflect restructuring directly. One of the challenges of complex predicates is that the two verbs do not behave as one unit in c-structure. For example, the well-known V2 constraint only concerns the first verb, as can be seen in 32-33

- 32 Hvorfor kom han ikke styrtende?
 why came he not rushing
 'Why didn't he come rushing'
- 33 *Hvorfor kom styrtende han ikke?
 why came rushing he not

I assume that the basic c-structure for a sentence such as 34 is as in 35 — with or without restructuring.

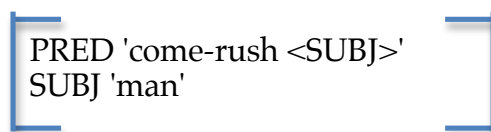
- 34 Han kom styrtende
 he came rushing
 'He came rushing'

35



The crucial level of representation is f-structure, where the two verbs together constitute one predicate which takes a single set of syntactic functions.

36



The verb *komme* 'come' has a separate lexical entry for its use as a restructuring verb.⁷ It is then an incomplete verb with an argument structure in which the internal argument is not a thematic role, but an open position, as in 37 (Alsina 1996:201-3). When the f-structure is built, a process of predicate composition combines the restructuring verb and the verb below it, creating a complex predicate. The argument structure of the complex predicate is the result of combining the argument structures of the two verbs, as in 38. The lines indicate that the external argument of the second verb is identified with the external argument of the first verb. (Some technical questions involved are not in focus here, see e.g. Andrews and Manning 1999, and Sells 2004.)

37 *komme* < agent < . . > >
 | _____ |

38 *komme styrtende* < agent < agent > >
 | _____ |

Sentences with *komme* 'come' + a verbal present participle share certain properties with and without restructuring. Sentences with restructuring also have a second part that cannot be replaced by a DP/NP, and not topicalize (see 24-25 above). These properties can also be found with other cases of complex predicates, such as long passives, as shown in 39-41.

⁷ In overviews of verbs that take restructuring in the languages of the world, verbs for 'come' are among the central cases (see e.g. Wurmbrand 2001:342, Butt 2010:72). Goldberg 2006:50-54 says that English has a construction where motion verbs such as *come*, *go*, *run* and *take off* are followed by a present participle and an oblique. She calls this a serial verb construction, but there is no real analysis. This construction seems to be very different from the Norwegian case discussed here. One important difference is that the set of possible participles is rather open in English.

- 39 Dette må prøves å gjøres
 this must try.PASS to do.PASS
 'One must try to do this'
- 40 *Dette må prøves det
 this must try.PASS that
- 41*Å gjøres må dette prøves
 to do.PASS must this try.PASS

The fact that the second part of a complex predicate cannot topicalize follows from the treatment of unbounded dependencies in LFG. They are accounted for on the level of f-structure, and what is topicalized must have a syntactic function.⁸ With restructuring, the second verb and its complements, if any, are not a unit with a syntactic function, and thus not expected to topicalize (Lødrup 2011:166-67).

3.3 The verb *komme* 'come' in presentational focus sentences

As far as I know, the syntax of presentational focus sentences with selected verbal present participles has never been discussed. Scandinavian presentational focus sentences are usually assumed to have an expletive subject and an argument that is realized as an object (see e.g. Lødrup 1999 and references there, for an alternative analysis, see Börjars and Vincent 2005). Most one-place verbs take this construction, including many unergative verbs.

There are two possible word orders in the relevant presentational focus sentences; the object can precede or follow the present participle. (This fact is mentioned, but not discussed for Danish in Hansen and Heltoft 2011:1603.)

- 42 Det hadde kommet en mann styrtende (*object - participle*)
 there had come a man rushing
 'A man had come rushing'
- 43 Det hadde kommet styrtende en mann (*participle - object*)
 there had come rushing a man
 'A man had come rushing'

With present participles that are adjuncts, the participle cannot precede the object, and it is of course not expected that an adjunct should be positioned between the (non-finite) main verb and its object.

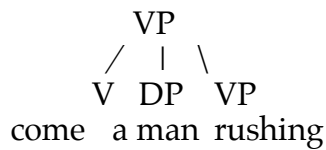
- 44 *Det hadde kommet syngende en mann
 there had come singing a man

I will argue that the difference in word order reflects a deeper difference between the sentences — 43 has restructuring, while 42 does not.

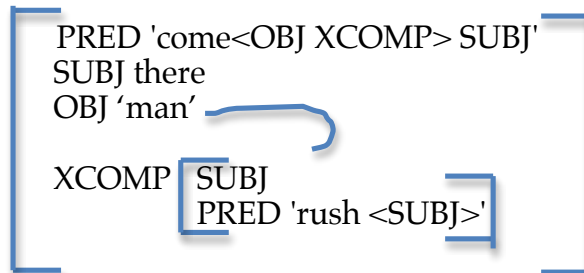
⁸ Complements of auxiliaries are potentially problematic in this respect, if auxiliaries are assumed to be functional heads. See Wedekind and Ørsnes 2004 for a proposal.

In a presentational focus sentence without restructuring such as 42, a tripartite c-structure is assumed for *main verb - object - present participle*. The f-structure assumed is 46.

45



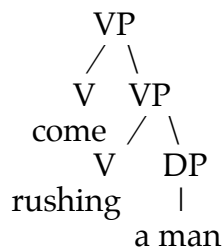
46



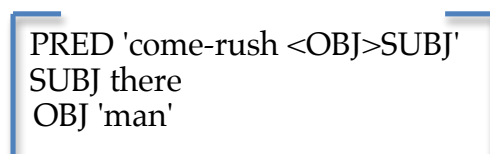
In 46, the simplex verb *komme* 'come' takes expletive *det* 'there' as its subject. The DP *en mann* 'a man' is assumed to be its object, while the present participle takes *en mann* 'a man' as its subject (via functional control of its subject position). Given this analysis, there cannot be a complex predicate *komme-styrtende* 'come rushing' in 46. A complex predicate takes one single set of syntactic functions — it cannot be the case that the first verb takes one subject, while the second verb takes a different subject. Sentence 42 would thus represent a problem if *komme* + a participle were assumed to have obligatory restructuring (which seems to be the general position in Thuren 2008).

In a presentational focus sentence with restructuring, such as 43 above, the word order is *present participle - object*. I assume that the object is a part of the present participle VP, as in 47. The f-structure assumed is 48.

47



48



There is a complex predicate *komme-styrtende* 'come rushing' which takes an expletive subject, and *en mann* 'a man' as its object.

In the argument structure, there is an "empty" role that is realized as the expletive subject, visualized as underlining in 49.

49 *komme styrtende* <___ agent < agent > >
 | _____ |

The thematic argument is realized as an object of the complex predicate. The rule for the presentational focus construction is applied to the complex predicate as a whole. This rule can apply to most one-place verbs, both unaccusative and unergative (see e.g. Lødrup 1999 and references there). Independent evidence that the presentational focus rule can apply to a complex predicate comes from sentences such as 17 above, reproduced as 50, in which it has applied to a complex predicate with an infinitive as its second part (Holmberg 2002, Lødrup 2014a).

50 når det prøver å komme kopier av disse to ... (www)
 when there try to come copies of these two
 'When copies of these two [show hosts] try coming ...'

4. The verb *bli* 'remain'

The verb *bli* 'remain' is not among the verbs that allow the presentational focus construction when it is a matrix verb, as shown in 51. It also does not allow this construction when a present participle follows the object — the word order assumed for sentences without restructuring — as shown in 52. However, it is allowed when the participle precedes the object — the assumed word order for sentences with restructuring — as in 53.

51 *Det ble en mann her lenge
 there remained a man here long
 52 *Det ble en mann liggende på bakken
 there remained a man lying on ground.DEF
 53 Det ble liggende en mann på bakken
 there remained lying a man on ground.DEF
 'A man remained lying on the ground'

The ungrammaticality of 52 and the grammaticality of 53 are as expected, because *bli* 'remain' does not allow the presentational focus construction as a matrix verb. This is another argument that the difference between the word orders reflects the deeper analysis.⁹

⁹ Thurén (2008:91) assumes that the Swedish verbs *gå* 'walk', *springa* 'run' and the posture verbs also take restructuring. Their Norwegian correspondents all allow the presentational focus construction, but they don't allow the word order *present participle* - *object*. This indicates that they do not allow restructuring.

(i) Det hadde gått en mann ruslende forbi / *ruslende en mann forbi
 there had walked a man toddling by / toddling a man by
 'A man had toddled by'

The contrast between 52 and 53 also shows that presentational focus sentences with complex predicates require that the present participle allows the presentational focus construction. When the present participle does not allow this construction, the complex predicate as a whole does not. An example is the verb *hete* 'be.called'. It never takes the presentational focus construction, neither as a simplex verb, as in 54, nor as the second part of a complex predicate, as shown in 55.

- 54 *Det het en hund Troll
 there was.called a dog Troll
 'A dog was called Troll' [intended]
 55 *Det ble hetende en hund Troll
 there was be.called.ing a dog Troll

Another argument for my analysis concerns the position of an object relative to an oblique. In 53, repeated as 56, the oblique must follow the object.

- 56 Det ble liggende en mann på bakken
 there remained lying a man on ground.DEF
 'A man remained lying on the ground'
 57 *Det ble liggende på bakken en mann
 there remained lying on ground.DEF a man

The locative in 56 must be selected by the present participle, but it cannot immediately follow it. The word order of the embedded VP is simply the general VP word order *verb - object - oblique* (which is also found when the posture verb is the main verb in a presentational focus sentence). If *en mann* 'a man' were an object of *bli* 'remain', these facts would be difficult to account for.¹⁰

5. Against an auxiliary analysis

It was mentioned above that *komme* and especially *bli* have been considered auxiliaries — with some reservations (Teleman et al. 1999:618-19, Faarlund 1997:472, Ebeling 2003:154-177, Kinn 2014:77-78, 83). Auxiliary is a difficult

¹⁰ The verb *bli* 'remain' has one property that could give an argument for auxiliary status. Kinn (2014:77) points out that its present participle VP can be pronominalized.

- (i) (Ble det liggende en mann på bakken?) Ja, det ble det
 remained there lying a man on ground.DEF yes there remained that
 'Did a man remain lying on the ground? Yes, he did'

In my view, this is not a real argument. The verb *bli* 'remain' can pronominalize its complement independently of its category (as an alternative to pronominalizing the larger VP with *gjøre det* 'do it').

- (ii) (Ble han hjemme?) Ja, han ble det
 remained he home Yes he remained that
 'Did he stay home? Yes, he did.'

More generally, the verb *bli* can pronominalize its complement in all its uses as main or auxiliary verb. The pronoun is a "surface anaphor" (see e.g. Lødrup 1994, Bentzen et al. 2013)

concept, which is used of verbs with rather different properties. Even so, there are some general properties that are assumed to distinguish auxiliaries from light verbs (Butt 2010, Butt and Lahiri 2013, Seiss 2009). Properties relevant to the case at hand include the following:

- Light verbs such as *komme* and *bli* are used in all forms and periphrases, while auxiliaries are often used in some forms only.
- Light verbs such as *komme* and *bli* often have limited combinatorial options, while auxiliaries usually occur with all kinds of verbs.

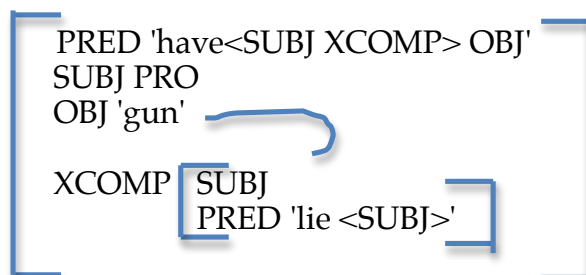
There are also language specific syntactic differences: *komme* og *bli* differ from auxiliaries in not topicalizing their complement. Furthermore, *komme* takes the presentational focus construction, while auxiliaries do not.

6. The verb *ha* 'have' and the preposition *med* 'with'

Sentences with *ha* 'have' and *med* 'with' are not mentioned in Thurén (2008). The syntax of *ha* 'have' offers many challenges. I assume that sentences with verbal participles can take an XCOMP and a raised object.

58 Jeg har et gevær liggende under sengen
 I have a gun lying under bed.DEF
 'I have a gun lying under my bed'

59



As in the presentational focus sentences discussed above, word order gives an argument for optional restructuring. Faarlund et al (1997:752-53) discuss the fact that an object can precede or follow the participle, with examples such as

60 Jeg har en fin gammel portvin stående
 I have a fine old port.wine standing
 'I have a fine old port wine standing'
 61 Jeg har stående en fin gammel portvin
 I have standing a fine old port.wine
 'I have a fine old port wine standing'

A regular adjectival XCOMP must follow the object, cf. 62-63.

62 Vi kan ikke ha en skatteinspektør snokende her
 we can not have a tax.inspector snooping here
 'We cannot have a tax inspector snooping here'

63 *Vi kan ikke ha snokende en skatteinspektør her
 we can not have snooping a tax.inspector here
 'We cannot have a tax inspector snooping here' [intended]

Faarlund et al. claim that the object can follow the participle if it is indefinite. This is reminiscent of the definiteness restriction in presentational focus sentences (not mentioned by Faarlund et al.). The definiteness restriction applies, as expected, to the object of a complex predicate with an expletive subject.

64 Det hadde kommet styrtende en mann / *mannen
 there had come rushing a man / man.DEF
 'A / *The man had come rushing'

In a sentence such as 61, however, the subject of the complex predicate is not expletive, and there is no reason there should be a definiteness restriction. Text searches give acceptable examples with a definite object, such as 65-66,¹¹ so the restriction in Faarlund et al. does not seem to be empirically correct.

65 Noen som også har liggende den siste oppdaterte versjonen? (www)
 anybody that also has lying the last updated version.DEF
 'anybody who has the last updated version as well?'

66 Aastny Kieldsdatter Bierke hadde stående sine arvemidler i boet (www)
 Aastny Kieldsdatter Bierke had standing her inheritance in estate.DEF
 'Aastny Kieldsdatter Bierke had her inheritance in the estate'

We see, then, that there is optional restructuring with the verb *ha*.¹² This verb gives another argument against the idea that verbal present participles are

¹¹ A reviewer points out that an object following the participle cannot be pronominal. A pronominal object must follow *ha* 'have'.

(i) Jeg har den stående her / *Jeg har stående den her
 I have it standing here / I have standing it here
 'I have it here'

This might be interpreted as a case of clitic climbing. There are also other restructuring constructions in Norwegian/Scandinavian in which clitic climbing might be assumed to play a part (see data in Lødrup 1996:84, Engels and Vikner 2013).

¹² There is a potential meaning difference between sentences with and without restructuring, which follows from the account given here. In sentences without restructuring, I assume subject-to-object raising, which means that there is no thematic relation between *ha* 'have' and the object. In sentences with restructuring, on the other hand, there is a thematic relation here - the object is assumed to realize both the internal role of *ha* 'have' and the role of the present participle. Consider (i)-(ii).

(i) Han har tungen hengende ut av munnen
 he has tongue.DEF hanging out of mouth.DEF
 'He has his tongue hanging out of his mouth'

(ii) ??Han har hengende tungen ut av munnen
 he has hanging tongue.DEF out of mouth.DEF

[note cont'd next page]

main verbs with auxiliary verbs selecting them, since it would be impossible to analyze two-place *ha* as an auxiliary.

The preposition *med* 'with' also gives interesting evidence. It has often been pointed out that this preposition shares aspects of its syntax with the verb *ha*. One of these is the option of selecting a verbal present participle. There is one important difference, however: The preposition *med* only allows one word order: the object preceding the present participle, cf. 67-68. This follows when we assume that a preposition cannot take restructuring.

67 *med en fin gammel portvin stående ..*

with a fine old port.wine standing

'with a fine old port wine standing ..'

68 **med stående en fin gammel portvin ..*

with standing a fine old port.wine

With restructuring, the lexical entries with *ha* 'have' are as in 69-70, while the simplified f-structure is as in 71.

69 *ha* < benefaktiv theme < . . > >

| _____ |

70 *ha liggende* < benefaktiv theme < theme > >

| _____ |

71

PRED 'have-stand <SUBJ OBJ> SUBJ PRO OBJ 'port'

Feature agreeing second verb

Some Swedish and Danish dialects have an interesting construction which is like the one with *ha* 'have' discussed here, except the second verb has the same inflectional form as 'have'. Swedish and Danish differ in that Danish has the conjunction *og* 'and' preceding the second verb.

72 *Jag har cykeln står på gården* (Swedish, Nordberg 1977:117)

I have bike.DEF stands in backyard.DEF

'I have my bike standing in the backyard'

73 *Vi havde en lang bænk og stod i køkkenet* (Danish, Pedersen 2014:223)

we had a long bench and stood in kitchen.DEF

'We had a long bench standing in the kitchen'

It is strange to say that a person 'has' his tongue. Even so, there is nothing strange about (i), because the object is non-thematic relative to *ha* 'have'. On the other hand, (ii) preserves this strangeness, because restructuring does not sever the object's thematic relation to *ha* 'have'.

The group of possible second verbs seems to be the same that is used in the construction discussed here, and the second verb can be replaced by a present participle (Nordberg 1977:118, Pedersen 2014:229). A complex predicate analysis is proposed informally in Pedersen 2014 (see also Larsson 2014a). The morphological form of the second verb must be seen as a case of verbal feature agreement, which has been established as a restructuring phenomenon (Niño 1997, Sells 2004, Wiklund 2007, see also 18-20 above). The word order is not expected from a Norwegian point of view, but Scandinavian languages and dialects do not necessarily have the same word order in these and related constructions (Larsson 2014a).

A comparison with the verb *få* 'get'

An interesting parallel to the restructuring sentences with *ha* 'have' can be found with a certain use of the verb *få* 'get'. In 74, it takes a participle, and shows the word order verb - object.

74 Han fikk reparert bilen
 he got repaired car.DEF
 'He got the car repaired'

Example 74 is ambiguous. It has an "active" interpretation, where the subject of *få* is the agent of the repairing, as well as a "passive" interpretation, where the subject of *få* is a benefactive, and the agent of the repairing is not specified. Lødrup 1996 suggests that the latter interpretation is syntactically distinct from the first one. In his analysis, 74 with the "passive" interpretation is a complex predicate construction with a passive second verb. (See also Larsson 2014b and references there.) The parallel to the sentences with *ha* 'have' is striking. In both cases, there is an embedded VP, with a verb realizing its argument as an object. This embedded VP has no subject of its own, and combines with the verb above it into a complex predicate.

The parallels go even further. Example 74 above had the word order *verb - object*. As with *ha*, there are also sentences with the word order *object - verb*.

75 Han fikk bilen reparert
 he got car.DEF repaired
 'He got the car repaired'

Lødrup 1996 shows that there are grammatical differences between sentences with different word orders, and suggests that sentences like 75 are not restructuring sentences — the participle is an XCOMP.

7. Conclusion

Verbal present participles do not show uniform behavior in syntax. There is no evidence that they can be main verbs in sentences with auxiliaries. A verbal present participle can be a verbal XCOMP, or it can take part in restructuring with its selecting verb. In these constructions, they have the

properties expected. The LFG theories of controlled complements and complex predicates make a simple account possible.

APPENDIX: A problem — pseudocoordinations

A problem for the analysis given here — and in Thurén (2008) — is the relation to pseudocoordinations, such as 76. Pseudocoordinations are possible with a small groups of verbs that includes posture verbs (see e.g. Lødrup 2002, 2014b). They look like coordinations of two verb phrases, but they have different grammatical properties.

76 Han sitter og skriver
 he sits and writes
 'He sits writing'

Thurén (2008) compares sentences with selected verbal present participles with pseudocoordinations. She claims that they have important properties in common, and wants them to have the same analysis. Like e.g. Wiklund (2007), she considers pseudocoordinations to be complex predicates. She wants constructions with verbal present participles to have the same analysis as pseudocoordinations — both should be complex predicate constructions.¹³ She does not note that this gives an argument against her own analysis, because the first part of a pseudocoordination with *komme* 'come' can take a verbal present participle.

¹³ There are important grammatical differences between pseudocoordinations and sentences with selected verbal present participles. Pseudocoordinations have options that verbal present participles do not have in Scandinavian (as opposed to e.g. English and French). In Lødrup 2014b, 2014c, I show that (most) pseudocoordinations cannot be complex predicates. The differences between pseudocoordinations and the restructuring sentences discussed here include the following:

a) Scandinavian present participles cannot be negated, while the second part of a pseudocoordination can.

(i) Da er det alltid en som sitter og ikke har det bra (www)
 then is there always one who sits and not has it well

b) Scandinavian present participles cannot contain auxiliaries, while the second part of a pseudocoordination can.

(ii) Jeg sitter og har brukt opp datakvoten min (www)
 I sit and have used up data.quota my

Futhermore, grammatical processes such as the presentational focus rule can apply to the first verb without affecting the second. In (iii), the subject of the first verb is expletive, while the subject of the second verb is *en mann* 'a man', via functional control. A complex predicate analysis is then impossible. showing that pseudocoordinations are (usually) not complex predicates.

(iii) Det sitter en mann her og skriver
 there sits a man here and writes

77 En mann kom sturtende og brølte
 a man came rushing and roared
 'A man came rushing and roared'

The relation between pseudocoordinations and verbal present participles raises an issue for my own analysis as well. In Lødrup 2002, 2014b, 2014c, I argue that the second part of a pseudocoordination is an XCOMP (in most cases). In the present paper, I assume that verbal present participles are XCOMPs when there is no restructuring.

78 En mann kom sturtende og brølte
 a man came rushing and roared
 'A man came rushing and roared'

There cannot be two XCOMPs. My analysis therefore only generates 87 with *kom sturtende* 'came rushing' as a complex predicate. A sentence such as 89 must have restructuring, and again presents no problem.

79 Det kom sturtende en mann og brølte
 there came rushing in a man and roared
 'A man came rushing and roared'

The problem is a sentence such as 90. It cannot have restructuring when *komme* takes *en mann* 'a man' as an object, while *brøle* 'roar' takes it as a subject.

80 Det kom en mann sturtende og brølte
 there came man rushing in and roared
 'A man came rushing and roared'

Without restructuring, the present participle must be an XCOMP — which the second half of the pseudocoordination should also be. So there is a problem for my analysis here — maybe it is located in the analysis of pseudocoordinations??

CORPUS

NoWaC (Norwegian Web as Corpus)
http://www.tekstlab.uio.no/glossa2/?corpus=nowac_1_1

REFERENCES

- Aagaard, Teodor Ekblad. 2016. *Doble partisipper i norsk: Verbal trekkongruens og restrukturering*. MA thesis. University of Oslo.
- Alsina, Alex. 1996. *The Role of Argument Structure in Grammar: Evidence from Romance*. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.
- Andrews, Avery D. and Christopher D. Manning. 1999. *Complex Predicates and Information Spreading in LFG*. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.
- Bentzen, Kristine, Jason Merchant, and Peter Svenonius. 2013. Deep properties of surface pronouns: pronominal predicate anaphors in

- Norwegian and German. *The Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 16.2-3, 97-125.
- Blensenius, Kristian. 2009. Springa flåsande och andra progressiva participkonstruktioner i svenskan. *Språk och stil* 19, 172-201.
- Börjars, Kersti and Nigel Vincent. 2005. Position versus function in Scandinavian presentational construction. In Miriam Butt and Tracy Holloway King (eds.) *Proceedings of the LFG05 Conference*, 54-72. Stanford CA: CSLI Publications.
- Butt, Miriam. 1995. *The Structure of Complex Predicates in Urdu*. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.
- Butt, Miriam. 2010. The light verb jungle: Still hacking away. In Mengistu Amberber, Brett Baker, and Mark Harvey (eds.) *Complex Predicates in Cross-Linguistic Perspective*, 48-78. Cambridge University Press.
- Butt, Miriam. 2014. Control vs. complex predication: Identifying non-finite complements. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 32, 165-190.
- Butt, Miriam, and Aditi Lahiri. 2013. Diachronic pertinacity of light verbs. *Lingua* 135, 7-29.
- Butt, Miriam, Maria-Eugenia Niño and Frédérique Segond. 1996. Multilingual processing of auxiliaries in LFG. In Dafydd Gibbon (ed.) *Natural Languages Processing and Speech Technology*, 111-122. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. (Reprinted in Louisa Sadler and Andrew Spencer (eds.) *Projecting Morphology*, 11-22. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.)
- Cinque, Guglielmo. 2004. Restructuring and functional structure. In Adriana Belletti (ed.) *Structures and Beyond. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures* 3, 132-191. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dalrymple, Mary and Helge Lødrup 2000. The grammatical functions of complement clauses. In Miriam Butt and Tracy Holloway King (eds.) *Proceedings of the LFG00 Conference*. CSLI Publications.
- Ebeling, Signe Oksefjell. 2003. *The Norwegian Verbs bli and få and their Correspondences in English: A Corpus-Based Contrastive Study*. Dissertation, Faculty of Arts, University of Oslo.
- Egerland, Verner. 2002. On absolute constructions and the aquisition of tense. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 69: 77-120.
- Engels, Eva and Sten Vikner. 2013. Object Shift and remnant VP-topicalisation: Danish and Swedish verb particles and 'let'-causatives. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics* 36, 2, 219-244.
- Faarlund, Jan Terje, Svein Lie and Kjell Ivar Vannebo. 1997. *Norsk referansegrammatikk*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Falk, Hjalmar, and Alf Torp. 1900. *Dansk-norskens syntax i historisk fremstilling*. Kristiania: Aschehoug.
- Falk, Yehuda. 2008. Functional relations in the English auxiliary system. *Linguistics* 46(5): 861-889.
- Goldberg, Adele E. 2006. *Constructions at Work. The Nature of Generalization in Language*. Oxford University Press.
- Hansen, Erik and Lars Heltoft. 2011. *Grammatik over det danske sprog*. København: Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab.
- Havelid, Inga Margrethe. 2015. "Prøv å fakk skurken som gjemmer seg på Manhattan": Om dobbel imperativ i norsk. MA thesis. University of Oslo.
- Helland, Hans Petter and Anneliese Pitz. 2014. Participles in contrast. In Ebeling, Grønn, Hauge & Santos (eds.) *Corpus-based Studies in Contrastive Linguistics*, Oslo Studies in Language 6, 1, , 229-250.
<http://www.journals.uio.no/osl>

- Higgins, F. R., 1973. On J. Emonds's analysis of extraposition. In John P. Kimball (ed.), *Syntax and Semantics* 2, 149–195. Academic Press.
- Holm, Elisabeth. 2013. *Det sto aldri på noe papir, men det lå i luften og satt i veggene: Kroppspositurverb brukt om eksistens og lokasjon i norsk*. MA Thesis. Department of Linguistics and Scandinavian Studies, University of Oslo.
- Holmberg, Anders. 2002. Expletives and agreement in Scandinavian passives. *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics*, 4, 2, 85-128.
- Kinn, Torodd. 2014. Verbalt presens partisipp. *Norsk Lingvistisk Tidsskrift* 32.1, 62-99.
- Larsson, Ida. 2014a. Serial verb constructions. *Nordic Atlas of Language Structures (NALS) Journal*, Vol. 1, 370-80. <http://tekstlab.uio.no/nals#/chapter/65>
- Larsson, Ida. 2014b. GET and HAVE + past participle or supine. *Nordic Atlas of Language Structures (NALS) Journal*, Vol. 1, 161-81. <http://tekstlab.uio.no/nals#/chapter/57>
- Levin, Beth and Malka Rappaport Hovav. 1995. *Unaccusativity: At the syntax-lexical semantics interface*. MIT press.
- Lie, Svein. 1994. Partisipper = adjektiver. In Jens Allwood et al. (eds.): *Proceedings from The XIVth Scandinavian Conference of Linguistics and The VIIIth Conference of Nordic and General Linguistics*, Vol 2., Göteborgs universitet, Göteborg 1994. <http://folk.uio.no/slie/got.htm>
- Lødrup, Helge. 1994. "Surface proforms" in Norwegian and the Definiteness Effect. In Mercè González (ed.) *Proceedings of the North East Linguistics Society 24*. Amherst: GLSA, Department of Linguistics, University of Massachusetts. 303-315.
- Lødrup, Helge. 1996. The theory of complex predicates and the Norwegian verb få 'get'. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 57, 76-91.
- Lødrup, Helge. 1999. Linking and optimality in the Norwegian presentational focus construction. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics* 22, 2, 205-229.
- Lødrup, Helge. 2002. The syntactic structures of Norwegian pseudocoordinations. *Studia Linguistica* 56, 2, 121-143.
- Lødrup, Helge. 2004. Clausal complementation in Norwegian. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics* 27, 1, 61-95.
- Lødrup, Helge. 2011. Lexical Functional Grammar: Functional Structure. In Robert D. Borsley and Kersti Börjars (eds.) *Non-Transformational Syntax: Formal and Explicit Models of Grammar*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell 2011. 141 - 180.
- Lødrup, Helge. 2012. In search of a nominal COMP. In Miriam Butt and Tracy Holloway King (eds.) *Proceedings of the LFG12 Conference*, Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications, 383-403.
- Lødrup, Helge. 2014a. Long passives in Norwegian: Evidence for complex predicates. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics* 37, 3, 367-391.
- Lødrup, Helge. 2014b. There is no reanalysis in Norwegian pseudocoordinations (except when there is). In Hans Petter Helland and Christine Meklenborg Salvesen (eds.), *Affaire(s) de grammaire: Mélanges offerts à Marianne Hobæk Haff à l'occasion de ses soixante-cinq ans*, 43-65. Oslo: Novus.
- Lødrup, Helge. 2014c. How can a verb agree with a verb? Reanalysis and pseudocoordination in Norwegian. In Miriam Butt and Tracy Holloway King (eds.), *Proceedings of the LFG14 Conference*. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.

- Lundquist, Björn. 2009. *Nominalizations and Participles in Swedish*. Ph.D. Dissertation. University of Tromsø.
- Niño, Maria-Eugenia. 1997. The multiple expression of inflectional information and grammatical architecture. In Francis Corblin, Danièle Godard and Jean-Marie Marandin (eds.), *Empirical Issues in Formal Syntax and Semantics*, 127-47. Bern: Peter Lang.
- Nordberg, Bengt. 1977. Har du Dahlstedt ligger på nattduksbordet? En syntaktisk egendommelighet i mellansvenskt talspråk. In Claes-Christian Elert, Stig Eliasson, Sigurd Fries and Sture Ureland (eds) *Dialectology and Sociolinguistics*, Umeå Studies in the Humanities 12, 113-136.
- Pedersen, Karen Margrethe. 2007. Nogle danske dialektale pseudosideordninger. In Torben Arboe (ed.) *Nordisk dialektologi och sociolingvistik*. Århus: University of Århus. 314-322.
- Seiss, Melanie. 2009. On the difference between auxiliaries, serial verbs and light verbs. *Proceedings of the LFG09 Conference*. CSLI Publications, 2009. 501-19.
- Sells, Peter. 2004. Syntactic information and its morphological expression. In Louisa Sadler and Andrew Spencer (eds.) *Projecting Morphology*, 187-225. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.
- Teleman, Ulf, Staffan Hellberg and Erik Andersson. 1999. *Svenska akademiens grammatik. Volume 2*. Stockholm: Svenska Akademien.
- Thurén, Camilla. 2008. *The Syntax of the Swedish Present Participle*. Ph.D. Dissertation. Lund University.
- Wedekind, Jürgen, and Bjarne Ørsnes. 2004. An LFG account of the Danish verbal complex and its topicalization. *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia* 36.1 35-64.
- Western, August. 1921. *Norsk riksmåls-grammatikk*. Kristiania: Aschehoug.
- Wiklund, Anna-Lena. 2007. *The Syntax of Tenselessness*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Wurmbrand, Susanne. 2001. *Infinitives: Restructuring and Clause Structure*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Wurmbrand, Susi. 2004. Two types of restructuring - Lexical vs. functional. *Lingua* 114, 991-1014.
- Wurmbrand, Susi. 2014. Restructuring across the world. In *Complex Visible Out There. Proceedings of the Olomouc Linguistics Colloquium 2014: Language Use and Linguistic Structure*, ed. by Ludmila Veselovská and Markéta Janebová, 275-294. Olomouc: Palacký University.

Helge Lødrup
 University of Oslo
 Department of Linguistics and Scandinavian Studies
 Pb 1102, Blindern, N-0317 Oslo, Norway
 helge.lodrup@ifl.uio.no
<http://folk.uio.no/helgelo>