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

Introduction Present participles represent a more limited phenomenon in Norwegian than in e.g. English and French. Many verbs lack a present participle, and present participles are primarily used as adjectives (Faarlund et al. 1997:119). There is, however, a very restricted option for verbal present participles, which raises several challenges. The purpose of this paper is to give a syntactic account of (aspects of) verbal present participles in Norwegian, based upon new evidence, using the LFG theory of controlled complements (Bresnan 1982, Lødrup 2004) and complex predicates (e.g. Butt 1995, Alsina 1996).

To investigate Norwegian verbal present participles, it is necessary to distinguish between colloquial and non-colloquial language. The focus here is upon options that are acceptable in the colloquial language. In non-colloquial language, present participles can to some extent show verbal behavior, especially when they are adjuncts, such as taking an object (Kinn 2014). They will be put aside here.

Western 1921:368-70 establishes syntactic contexts for verbal present participles in the colloquial language. He does not give criteria, but his results seem reasonable. He says (roughly, in my wording) that verbal present participles in the colloquial language are selected by the predicates *komme* 'come', *bli* 'remain', *ha* 'have' and *med* 'with'. Kinn 2014:76-84 says that these contexts 'favor' verbal participles. Examples are

- (1) En mann kom styrtende
a man came rushing
'A man came rushing'
(2) Han ble liggende syk i flere uker
he remained lying ill for several weeks
'He remained lying ill for several weeks'

The predicates mentioned have very strict requirements concerning what present participles they select. With the verb *komme* 'come', the present participle must denote movement, especially manner of movement (e.g. *rusle* 'toddle', *snike* 'sneak'). With the other predicates, the central cases are the posture verbs and a few more, such as e.g. *gå* 'walk', *bo* 'live'. It is striking how restricted the selection is. In colloquial Norwegian, the present participle seems to be an inflectional form that is used with maybe a few dozens of verbs. (There are morphological, syntactic and semantic arguments that the present participles in question are really verbal, which cannot be discussed here.)

Complex predicates? Thurén 2008 (on Swedish) has an interesting approach to sentences with selected verbal present participles. She proposes that they are restructuring sentences with complex predicates. The selecting verbs are then 'light verbs'. This is a very interesting idea, but Thurén only considers the simpler cases similar to (1)-(2). Things get more complicated when we consider presentational focus sentences, and sentences with the verb *ha* 'have'. There is also a question if restructuring can give the whole story. 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.

To the extent that the relevant sentences have been discussed within traditional grammar, their analysis is considered problematic. A recurring idea, usually with some reservations, is that the predicates *komme* 'come' and *bli* 'remain' are auxiliaries when selecting a verbal present participle (Faarlund 1997:472, 532, Ebeling 2003:154:77, Kinn 2014:77-78, 83, also Teleman et al. 1999:618-19 on Swedish). The traditional concept of auxiliary covers a rather heterogeneous group. Even so, it is clear that the verbs that take verbal present participles have properties that are very different from those of the traditional auxiliaries. A striking difference is that *komme* 'come' and *bli* 'remain' only combine with a small number of verbs, while most auxiliaries take any verb. A couple of syntactic differences will be shown below.

The verb *komme* 'come' without restructuring I will first look at the option of no restructuring. The analysis of sentences with *komme* (such as (1) above) is then rather straight forward in LFG. The verbal present participle must be an XCOMP. This XCOMP does not alternate with a DP or NP or pronoun, cf. (3). It cannot topicalize or enter into other unbounded dependencies, cf. (4), contrasting with adjectival present participle adjuncts, such as *syngende* 'singing' in (5).

- (3) *Han kom stor fart / dette / det
 he came great speed / this / that
- (4) *Styrtende kom de ut av kirken
 rushing came they out of church-DEF
 'They came rushing out of the church' [intended]
- (5) Syngende kom de ut av kirken
 singing came they out of church-DEF
 'They came singing out of the church'

These are properties that recur with other XCOMPs that are realized by verbs - infinitives or perfect participles - in sentences with or without subject-to-subject raising (Lødrup 2004). Examples are (6)-(8). This gives further evidence that the present participles in question are really verbal.

- (6) 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' etc.
- (7) Hun akter å kjøre snowboard / *Hun akter det / *Å kjøre snowboard akter hun
 she intends to ride snowboard / she intends that / to ride snowboard intends she
 'She intends to ride a snowboard' etc.
- (8) Bilen bes flyttet / *Bilen bes det / *Flyttet bes bilen
 car-DEF ask-PASS moved / car-DEF ask-PASS that / moved ask-PASS car-DEF
 'Somebody is asked to move the car' etc.

Even if most constituents can topicalize, a verbal XCOMP cannot. The explanation is not clear - one possibility is that it could be a part of the classical Higgins' generalization, (see e.g. Higgins 1973, Dalrymple and Lødrup 2000), which could be paraphrased to say that a clausal argument can only topicalize if it is in a position in which a DP/NP/pronoun is an alternative.

Auxiliaries are traditionally assumed to take XCOMPs, while they are usually functional heads in newer LFG (see e.g. Butt et al. 1996). If they are XCOMPs, they have different properties than the verbal XCOMPs mentioned above. They can take some cases of DP/NP/pronoun, and their complement can topicalize. An example is (9).

- (9) Hun ville ikke kjøre snowboard / Hun ville ikke det / Kjøre snowboard ville hun ikke
 she would not ride snowboard / she would not that / ride snowboard would she not
 'She would not ride a snowboard' etc.

The verb *komme* 'come' with restructuring If *komme* is a light verb, it unites with the following verbal present participle to create a complex predicate in a monoclausal structure. Sentences with *komme* + verbal present participle share certain properties with and without restructuring. Sentences with restructuring also have a second part that cannot be replaced by DP/NP/pronoun, and not topicalize. This follows from general properties of complex predicates. In LFG, unbounded dependencies are accounted for on the level of f-structure, and what is topicalized must have a syntactic function (Kaplan and Zaenen 1989). With restructuring, the second verb and its complements (if any) are not a unit with a syntactic function, which predicts that it cannot be topicalized or pronominalized.

I don't know any discussions of presentational focus sentences with selected verbal present participles. These sentences will turn out to be important to our understanding of restructuring. Scandinavian presentational focus sentences have an expletive subject and an argument that is usually assumed to be an object (see e.g. Lødrup 1999, 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 presentational focus sentences with selected present participles: the participle can precede or follow the object, as in (10). (The word order *participle - object* in (10)b is not possible with participles that are adjuncts.)

- (10) a) Det hadde kommet en mann styrtende / b) Det hadde kommet styrtende en mann
 there had come a man rushing / there had come rushing a man
 'A man had come rushing'

I will argue that the difference in word order reflects a deeper difference between the sentences - (10)b with *participle - object* has restructuring, while (10)a with *object - participle* does not. (Simplified f-structures and c-structures are given on page 4.)

In (10)a, *en mann* 'a man' seems to be the object of *komme* 'come' only (more evidence to come). Given this premise, there cannot be a complex predicate *komme-styrtende* 'come rushing' here. A complex predicate takes one set of syntactic functions - it can never be the case that the first verb takes one subject, while the second verb takes a different subject. This is exactly the situation here: *komme* 'come' takes expletive *det* 'there' as a subject, while the present participle takes *en mann* 'a man' (via functional control of its subject position). Sentence (10)a thus represents a problem if *komme* + participle is assumed to have obligatory restructuring.

In (10)b, on the other hand, there is a complex predicate *komme-styrtende* 'come rushing' which takes an expletive subject, and *en mann* 'a man' as its object. This might seem a radical analysis, but it is important that the present participles selected by *komme* 'come' are forms of verbs that generally allow the presentational focus construction - and thus can take an object. This kind of structure can also be found with complex predicates taking infinitives as their second part (Holmberg 2004, Lødrup 2014).

- (11) *det* *klarte* *å komme ut vann av den* (www)
 there managed to come out water of it
 'It [a water jet] managed to produce water'

The verb *bli* 'remain' The verb *bli* 'remain' is interesting in this context. It is not among the verbs that take the presentational focus construction when it is the only verb, as shown in (12). As expected, it also does not take this construction when the object is followed by a participle, as in (13)a. However, when the verb is a part of a complex predicate, it can occur in a presentational focus sentence, with the word order *participle - object*, as in (13)b. This shows that it is the present participle's ability to take an object that counts for presentational focus sentences with complex predicates.

- (12) **Det ble* *en mann her lenge*
 there remained a man here long
 (13)a) **Det ble* *en mann liggende her* / b) *Det ble* *liggende en mann her*
 there remained a man lying here / there remained lying a man here
 'A man remained lying here'

The verb *ha* 'have' The verb *ha* is always two-place, and it does not allow the presentational focus construction. (This verb is not discussed in Thurén 2008.) However, it can take a verbal present participle with the same word order variation as in the presentational focus sentences above. I will argue that the (14)a with *object - participle* has an object and an XCOMP, while (14)b with *participle - object* has restructuring. (Simplified f-structures are given on page 4.) The preposition *med* 'with', which shares parts of its syntax with *ha* 'have', only allows *object - participle*, as shown in (15). This follows if a preposition cannot take restructuring.

- (14)a) *Jeg har et gevær liggende under sengen* / b) *Jeg har liggende et gevær under sengen*
 I have a gun lying under bed-DEF / I have lying a gun under bed-DEF
 'I have a gun lying under my bed'
 (15)a) *med et gevær liggende under sengen..* / b) **med liggende et gevær under sengen ..*
 with a gun lying under bed-DEF / with lying a gun under bed-DEF
 'with a gun lying under my bed'

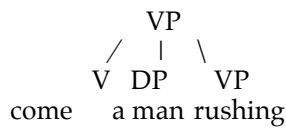
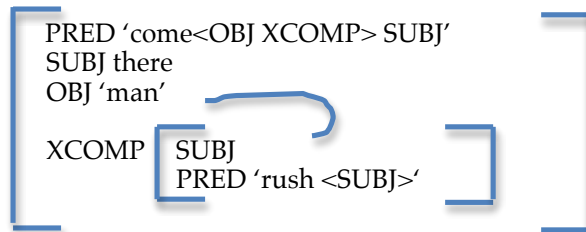
An interesting parallel to *ha* 'have' is the verb *få* 'get' when it has a benefactive (not agentive) interpretation. In (16), *få* 'get' is followed by a passive participle and an object, with the word order *object - participle* or *participle - object*. Lødrup 1996 argues that the participle is an XCOMP in (16)a with the word order *object - participle*, while (16)b with the word order *participle - object* is a complex predicate construction.

- (16)a) *Per fikk bilen reparert* / b) *Per fikk reparert bilen*
 Per got car-DEF repaired / Per got repaired car-DEF
 'Somebody repaired the car (to the benefit of Per)'

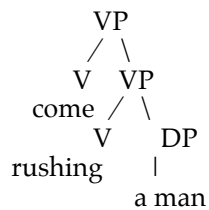
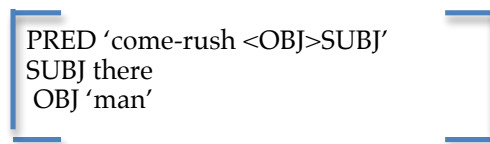
Conclusion The idea that selected verbal present participles are parts of complex predicates (Thurén 2008) turns out to be fruitful when the whole range of data is considered. It cannot do the whole job, however; selected verbal present participles also have an analysis as controlled complements. The LFG theory of controlled complements and complex predicates makes a simple account possible.

STRUCTURES

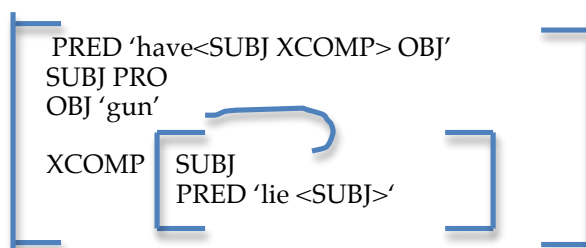
Simplified f-structure and c-structure (for VP) of
Det hadde kommet en mann styrrende
 there had come a man rushing



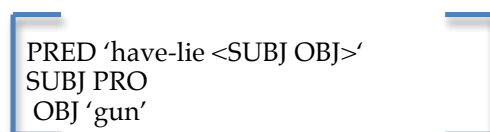
Simplified f-structure and c-structure (for VP) of
Det hadde kommet styrrende en mann
 there had come rushing a man



Simplified f-structure for
Jeg har et gevær liggende
 I have a gun lying



Simplified f-structure for
Jeg har liggende et gevær
 I have lying a gun



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