

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

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Proceedings of the Joint 2016 Conference on Head-driven Phrase Structure
Grammar and Lexical Functional Grammar

Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, Poland


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Müller (Editors)

2016

Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications

pages 380–400

Keywords: complex predicates, present participles, presentational focus, Norwegian syntax, Scandinavian syntax

Lødrup, Helge. 2016. Verbal present participles in Norwegian: Controlled complements or parts of complex predicates. In Doug Arnold, Miriam Butt, Berthold Crysmann, Tracy Holloway King & Stefan Müller (eds.), *Proceedings of the Joint 2016 Conference on Head-driven Phrase Structure Grammar and Lexical Functional Grammar, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, Poland*, 380–400. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications. DOI: 10.21248/hpsg.2016.20. 

Abstract

Norwegian has a limited option for verbal present participles. These participles only exist for a limited 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 are in some cases controlled complements, and in other cases parts of complex predicates. The presentational focus construction gives important evidence for this analysis.

1. Introduction¹

This paper is about a limited construction that has been considered problematic in Scandinavian syntax. Even if present participles are usually adjectival in Norwegian, some verbs seem to take a verbal present participle. An example is (1).

- (1) Han kom styrtende 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.

¹ I have received valuable input from audiences in Oslo (September 2015), Gothenburg (Gramino, May 2016), and Warsaw (HeadLex16, July 2016). I am grateful to the two anonymous reviewers for their thorough and constructive comments, and to the proceedings editors.

2. The basic facts

2.1 Present participles in Norwegian

Present participles represent a more limited phenomenon in Norwegian — and Swedish and Danish — than in e.g. English and French (see e.g. Egerland 2002). Many verbs lack a present participle, including frequent verbs. Norwegian present participles are primarily adjectival (see e.g. Faarlund et al. 1997:119). To what extent there are also verbal present participles is a difficult question. One problem is that varieties of Norwegian differ in their use of present participles. Written Norwegian uses some present participles that must be considered verbal because they show syntactic options that are typical for verbs, such as taking an object (Western 1921:368-76, Kinn 2014). An example is (2).

- (2) Fændrik sitter bakerst i sin fantebåt (..) syngende en munter vise
Fændrik sits hindmost in his hobo.boat singing a merry song
'Fændrik sits hindmost in his hobo-boat, singing a merry song'
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Sentences such as (2) are, however, not acceptable in colloquial Norwegian. My focus here is upon options that are intuitively acceptable in the colloquial language. I follow Western (1921:368-71) in assuming that the colloquial language allows verbal present participles with four predicates: the verbs *komme* 'come', *bli* 'remain',² *ha* 'have', and the preposition *med* 'with'. Examples are (3)-(6).

- (3) Han kom styrtende ned trappen
he came rushing down stairs.DEF
'He came rushing down the stairs'
- (4) Han ble liggende i gresset
he remained lying in grass.DEF
'He remained lying in the grass'
- (5) Jeg har en fin gammel portvin stående (Faarlund et al 1997:752)
I have a fine old port.wine standing
'I have a fine old port wine standing'
- (6) 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'

² The 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.

2.2 Selection of present participles

What verbal participles are acceptable with the four predicates mentioned is not easy to delimit exactly. Even so, it is clear that these predicates restrict what participles they take as complements (Kinn 2014).

With the verb *komme* 'come', the central participles denote movement, with a focus on manner (e.g. *gå* 'walk', *snike* 'sneak', *kjøre* 'drive').³

With the verbs *bli* 'remain' and *ha* 'have' and the preposition *med* 'with', the central participles are forms of the posture verbs (*ligge* 'lie', *sitte* 'sit', *stå* 'stand'), and some other verbs for moving (e.g. *gå* 'walk') or being at a place (e.g. *bo* 'live'). The verb *bli* 'remain' in addition allows the participles of the verbs *hete* 'be.called' and *være* 'be'.

The latter two aside, the selected participles are all forms of one-place verbs (e.g. *snike* 'sneak'), or verbs that take an oblique (e.g. *bo* 'live'). A fact that will be of interest later is that they all allow the presentational focus construction with an expletive subject, as in (7).

- (7) Det ligger / går / bor en mann her
there lies / walks / lives a man here
'A man lies / walks / lives here'

2.3 Are they really verbal?

Three arguments for considering the selected present participles inflectional verbal forms will be presented briefly, others will follow later.⁴

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,

³ Present participles can be used as adjectival adjuncts in sentences with *komme* 'come'. For example, the adjunct participle *triumferende* 'triumphant' in (i) is in an adjunct position, which is not available for a complement such as *styrtende* 'rushing'. Other differences between complement and adjunct participles are mentioned in section 4.

(i) At de triumferende kommer inn her nå ..
that they triumphant come in here now
'That they come here triumphant now ..'

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⁴ Swedish present participles sometimes end in an *-s*. According to Thurén (2008:56), these forms are unambiguously verbal. This effect of *-s* is unknown in Norwegian. Present participles in *-s* occur in some dialects, e.g. *spisendes* 'eating.S'. They often have a "passive" interpretation, but this interpretation can also be found without the *-s* (Western 1921:372, Faarlund et al 1997:119).

as in (8), but they are adjuncts. The verb *bli* 'remain' can take a locative, but not an AP, as shown in (9).⁵

- (8) Han kom full / sur hjem
he came drunk / grumpy home
'He came home drunk / grumpy'
- (9) 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 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 and metaphorical uses (Holm 2013). These uses can also be found with verbal present participles, as in (10), but not necessarily with adjectival participles, as in (11).

- (10) Konklusjonen blir stående i kontrast til innholdet
conclusion.DEF remains standing in contrast to content.DEF
'The conclusion is in contrast to the content'
- (11) *Stående i kontrast til innholdet er konklusjonen uheldig
standing in contrast to content.DEF is conclusion.DEF unfortunate
'The conclusion is unfortunate, being in contrast to the content' [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 (12), but not verbal, as in (13). This is expected, when there is no verb **traktorkjøre* 'tractor.drive'.

⁵ The verb *komme* can take an AP in a lexicalized expression such as *komme løs* 'come loose'. The verb *bli* 'remain' can take an AP in archaic language, as in (i).

(i) mennesket blir sig dog alltid 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.

- (12) traktorkjørende menn
 tractor.driving men
 'men driving tractors'
- (13) *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 limited set of verbs only.

3. 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 they also say 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 heterogeneous 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.

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.⁶ (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 in which selected verbal present participles are parts of complex predicates, as well as sentences in which they are not. The question then arises how the sentences in question should be analyzed when they do not show restructuring.

⁶ 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.

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). For example, the Norwegian verb *prøve* 'try' is a verb that allows restructuring with an infinitive. The resulting complex predicate can passivize, as in (14) (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 (14) shows feature agreement with the preceding passive verb, (15) with the preceding imperative form, and (16) with the preceding participle form (Lødrup 2014a, Havelid 2015, Aagaard 2016).

- (14) Dette må prøves å gjøre(s)
 this must try.PASS to do(.PASS)
 'One must try to do this'
- (15) Prøv å gjør det!
 try.IMPERATIVE to do.IMPERATIVE it
 'Try doing it!'
- (16) Han har prøvd å gjort det
 he has try.PART to do.PART it
 'He has tried doing it'

Restructuring is usually an optional process. Verbs that can be light verbs in complex predicates also appear as full verbs in e.g. Italian (Monachesi 1998), German (Wurmbrand 2004), and Urdu (Butt 2010). The verb *prøve* 'try', which shows restructuring in (14)-(16), also occurs in sentences with properties that are incompatible with restructuring. An example (17), where the infinitive is realized as a passive subject.

- (17) Å gjøre dette er aldri blitt prøvd før
 to do this is never been tried before
 'Doing this has never been tried before'

4. The verb *komme* 'come'

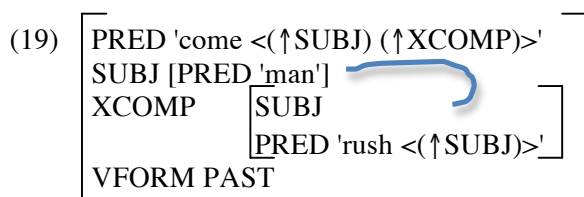
4.1 *komme* 'come' without restructuring

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

When a sentence with *komme* 'come' such as (18) does not have restructuring, its analysis is rather straight forward in LFG. In the f-structure in (19), the verbal present participle is an XCOMP — a complement with an

unrealized subject which is obligatorily controlled by an argument in the main clause.

- (18) En mann kom stytende
 a man came rushing
 'A man came rushing'



The XCOMP with *komme* does not alternate with a DP/NP, as shown in (20). It cannot topicalize or enter into other unbounded dependencies, as shown in (21), contrasting with adjectival adjuncts, as shown in (22).

- (20) *Han kom den store bilen / denne / det
 he came the big car.DEF / this / it
 (21) *Stytende kom de ut av kirken
 rushing came they out of church.DEF
 'They came rushing out of the church' [intended]
 (22) 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.⁷ 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 (23)-(26).

- (23) Hun sies å vinne *Hun sies det *Å vinne sies hun
 she say.PASS to win - she say.PASS that - to win say.PASS she
 'She is said to win'
 (24) Hun akter å vinne *Hun akter det *Å vinne akter hun
 she intends to win - she intends that - to win intends she
 'She intends to win'
 (25) 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'

⁷ This question has been discussed a number of times, see Butt et al. (1996), Sells (2004), Wedekind and Ørsnes (2004), Falk (2008).

- (26) 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 complement 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, as shown in (27).

- (27) Hun ville ikke tape Hun ville ikke det Tape ville hun ikke
 she would not loose - she would not that - loose would she not
 'She didn't want to loose'

4.2 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. I assume that the basic c-structure for a sentence such as (28) is as in (29) — with or without restructuring.

- (28) Han kom styrtende
 he came rushing
 'He came rushing'

- (29)
- ```

 IP
 / \
 DP I'
 he / \
 I VP
 came |
 VP
 rushing

```

The crucial level of representation is f-structure, as in (30), where the two verbs constitute one predicate which takes a single set of syntactic functions.

- (30)  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED 'come-rush } <(\uparrow\text{SUBJ})>' \\ \text{SUBJ [PRED 'man']} \\ \text{VFORM PAST} \end{array} \right]$

The verb *komme* 'come' has a separate lexical entry for its use as a restructuring verb. 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 (31) (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 (32). 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, Sells 2004, Lowe 2015.)

(31) *komme* < theme < . . > >

|\_\_\_\_\_|

(32) *komme styrkende* < theme < agent > >

|\_\_\_\_\_|

Sentences with *komme* 'come' and 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 (20)-(21) above). These properties can also be found with other cases of complex predicates, such as long passives, as shown in (33)-(35).

(33) Dette må prøves å gjøres  
this must try.PASS to do.PASS

'One must try to do this'

(34) \*Dette må prøves det  
this must try.PASS that

(35) \*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.<sup>8</sup> 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).

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<sup>8</sup> 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.

### 4.3 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, as shown in (36)-(37). (This fact is mentioned, but not discussed for Danish in Hansen and Heltoft 2011:1603.)

(36) Det hadde kommet en mann styrtende (*object - participle*)

there had come a man rushing

'A man had come rushing'

(37) 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 as in the ungrammatical (38).

(38) \*Det hadde kommet syngende en mann

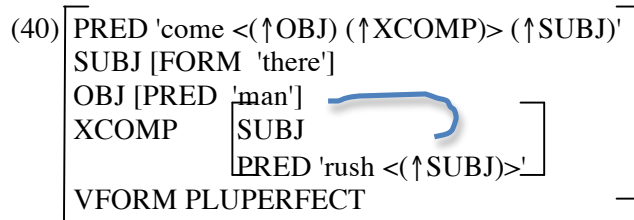
there had come singing a man

I will argue that the difference in word order reflects a deeper difference between the sentences — (37) has restructuring, while (36) does not.

In a presentational focus sentence without restructuring such as (36), the tripartite c-structure (39) is assumed for *main verb - object - present participle*. The f-structure assumed is (40).

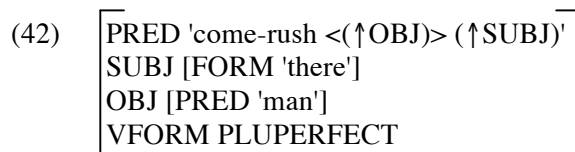
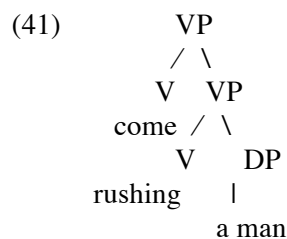
(39)

|      |   |       |         |  |
|------|---|-------|---------|--|
|      |   | VP    |         |  |
|      | / |       | \       |  |
|      | V | DP    | VP      |  |
| come |   | a man | rushing |  |

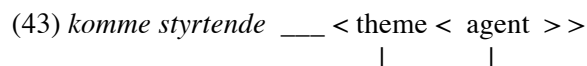


In (40), the verb *komme* 'come' takes expletive *det* 'there' as its subject. The DP *en mann* 'a man' is assumed to be its object, while the present participle takes *en mann* 'a man' as its subject (via functional control of its subject position). Given this analysis, there cannot be a complex predicate in (40). 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 (36) would thus represent a problem if *komme* + a participle were assumed to have obligatory restructuring (which seems to be the position in Thuren 2008).

In a presentational focus sentence with restructuring, such as (37) above, the word order is *present participle - object*. I assume that the object is a part of the present participle VP, as in (41). The f-structure assumed is (42).



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 (43).



The thematic argument is realized as an object of the complex predicate. The rule for the presentational focus construction has applied to the complex predicate as a whole. Independent evidence that the presentational focus rule

can apply to a complex predicate comes from sentences such as (14) above, in which it has applied to a complex predicate with an infinitive as its second part.

### **5. 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 (44). It also does not allow this construction when a present participle follows the object — the word order for sentences without restructuring — as shown in (45). However, it is allowed when the participle precedes the object — the word order for sentences with restructuring — as in (46).

- (44) \*Det ble            en mann her lenge  
          there remained a man here long
- (45) \*Det ble            en mann liggende på bakken  
          there remained a man lying on ground.DEF
- (46) 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 (45) and the grammaticality of (46) follow from the analysis given here. The point is that *bli* 'remain' constitutes the matrix predicate alone in (45), while it is a part of a complex predicate in (46). This is another argument that the difference between the word orders reflects the deeper analysis. The contrast (45) - (46) also shows that the presentational focus construction with a complex predicate requires that the verb occurring as a present participle allows this construction. When the verb does not allow this construction, the complex predicate as a whole does not. This restriction can also be seen in sentences with the verb *hete* 'be.called'. This verb never takes the presentational focus construction, neither as a matrix verb, as in (47), nor as the second part of a complex predicate, as in (48).

- (47) \*Det het            en hund Troll  
          there was.called a dog Troll  
          'A dog was called Troll' [intended]
- (48) \*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 (46) above, the oblique must follow the object; it cannot precede the object as in (49).

(49) \*Det ble liggende på bakken en mann  
 there remained lying on ground.DEF a man

The oblique in (46) 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.<sup>9</sup>

## **6. 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 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.

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<sup>9</sup> 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'

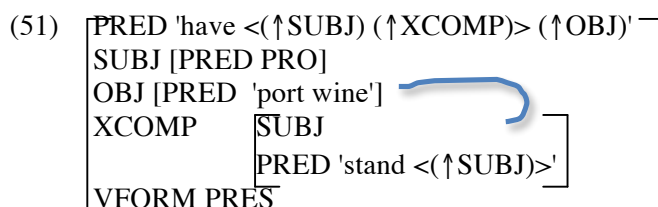
In my view, this is not a real argument. The verb *bli* can pronominalize a complement independently of its category. This is true of all its uses as a main or auxiliary verb (as an alternative to pronominalizing the larger VP with *gjøre det* 'do it'). An example is (ii).

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

## 7. 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 the object of *ha* 'have' can be non-thematic (see e.g. Sæbø 2009), and that a sentence such as (50) with *ha* 'have' and a verbal participle takes an XCOMP and a raised object. Its f-structure is as in (51).

- (50) Jeg har en fin gammel portvin stående (Faarlund et al 1997:752)  
 I have a fine old port.wine standing  
 'I have a fine old port wine standing'



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 the participle, as in (50), or follow it, as in (52). An adjectival present participle cannot follow the object, cf. (53).

- (52) Jeg har stående en fin gammel portvin (Faarlund et al 1997:753)  
 I have standing a fine old port.wine  
 'I have a fine old port wine standing'
- (53) \*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, as shown in (54).

- (54) 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 (52), 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 (55),<sup>10</sup> so the restriction in Faarlund et al. does not seem to be empirically correct.

- (55) Noen som også har liggende den siste oppdaterte versjonen?  
 anybody that also has lying the last updated version.DEF  
 'Anybody who has the last updated version as well?'  
 mac1.no/forum/viewtopic.php?p=1903139 11/03/16

We see, then, that there is optional restructuring with the verb *ha*.<sup>11</sup> This fact gives another argument against the idea that verbal present participles are main verbs with auxiliary verbs selecting them, since it would be impossible to analyze two-place *ha* as an auxiliary.

With restructuring, the simplified f-structure of (52) above is as in (56).

- (56) 

|                                    |
|------------------------------------|
| PRED 'have-stand <(↑SUBJ) (↑OBJ)>' |
| SUBJ [PRED PRO ]                   |
| OBJ [PRED 'port wine']             |
| VFORM PRES                         |

The preposition *med* 'with' also gives interesting evidence concerning the relation between word order and restructuring. 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

<sup>10</sup> A reviewer points out that an object following the participle cannot be pronominal. A pronominal object must follow *ha* 'have', cf. (i).

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

This might be interpreted as a case of clitic climbing. For another possible case of clitic climbing in Norwegian, see Lødrup (1996:84).

<sup>11</sup> There is a 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

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'.



important difference, however: The preposition *med* only allows one word order: the object preceding the present participle, cf. (57)-(58). This follows when one assumes that a preposition cannot take restructuring.

- (57) med en fin gammel portvin stående ..  
with a fine old port.wine standing  
'with a fine old port wine standing ..'  
(58) \*med stående en fin gammel portvin ..  
with standing a fine old port.wine

Some Swedish and Danish dialects have a construction in which 'have' takes a second verb with the same inflectional form as 'have'. Examples are (59)-(60). Swedish and Danish differ in that Danish has the conjunction *og* 'and' preceding the second verb.

- (59) 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'  
(60) 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'

The group of possible second verbs seems to be the same as in the construction with a present participle (Nordberg 1977:118, Pedersen 2014:229). A complex predicate analysis is proposed informally in Pedersen (2014) (see also Larsson 2014). 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 (14)-(16) 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 2014).

There is a use of the verb *få* 'get' that gives an interesting parallel to the restructuring sentences with *ha* 'have'. In (61), *få* 'get' takes a participle with a following object.

- (61) Han fikk reparert bilen  
he got repaired car.DEF  
'He got the car repaired'

Example (61) 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) argues that the latter interpretation is syntactically distinct from the first one. In his analysis, (61) with the "passive" interpretation is a complex predicate construction with a passive second verb. 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 to form a complex predicate.

The parallels go even further. Example (61) above has the word order *participle - object*. As with *ha*, there are also sentences with the word order *object - participle*, such as (62).

- (62) 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 (63) are not restructuring sentences — the participle is an XCOMP.

## **8. 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<sup>12</sup>, 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.

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<sup>12</sup> There is one problem with my analysis that cannot be discussed due to lack of space: The analysis is not compatible with the analysis of pseudocoordinations given in Lødrup (2002, 2014b, 2014c). The problem concerns sentences such as (i).

- (i) Det kom en mann sturtende og brølte  
      there came a man rushing and roared  
      'A man came rushing and roared'

This is a presentational focus sentence without restructuring, in which the present participle is an XCOMP. Following the participle is the constituent *og brølte* 'and roared'. Example (i) is not a coordinate structure, however, but a so-called pseudocoordination. Lødrup (2002, 2014b, 2014c) assumes that pseudocoordinations are subordination constructions, in which the second part is (usually) an XCOMP. Combining my analyses of pseudocoordinations and verbal present participles would make both *sturtende* 'rushing' and *og brølte* 'and roared' XCOMPs. This would be an impossible situation, a violation of the uniqueness condition. I have no solution to this problem — maybe the real question is the analysis of pseudocoordinations?

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