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4

Norwegian Verb Particles

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Norwegian Verb Particles
by Leiv Inge Aa

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Acknowledgements

10–15 years ago, I was working as a dictionary editor for *Norsk Ordbok* (the Norwegian dictionary of spoken language and the *Nynorsk* written language), where I had the opportunity to do much empirical research on and write dictionary articles about prepositions. When I worked on the *opp* 'up' material, I found a passage from Ivar Aasen's (1848: § 335) descriptive grammar of spoken Norwegian, where he claims that particles are generally distributed to the left of the object DP. The linguistic literature had to my knowledge always claimed a free particle alternation in Norwegian. This discrepancy was the starting point of my doctoral dissertation (Aa 2015b), which the empirical material in this book builds on. However, I have added new parts, and removed some, and the theoretical perspectives are also new.

First of all, I will thank the editors of *Studies in Germanic Linguistics*, Michael T. Putnam, B. Richard Page, and Laura Catharine Smith. In particular, Michael T. Putnam has been very helpful and encouraging throughout the process.

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Last, and most importantly, I will thank my wife, Nina, and our three daughters, Astrid, Ingjerd, and Johanne, all of whom have contributed to this work in their own particular ways, but first and foremost to things not related to it.

Trondheim, April, 2020
Leiv Inge Aa

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

This book is about the syntactic structure and the semantics of verb-particle (VPrt) constructions in spoken Norwegian. VPrt constructions are highly interesting both empirically and theoretically, as they show diverging patterns even among closely related languages and dialects. Furthermore, they raise fundamental questions about the nature of language, and about the theory of language structure.

The book is divided into five chapters. An overview of Chapters 2–5 is given at the end of the present chapter, in Section 1.5. Here, in the introductory chapter, I will be concerned with the following:

Section 1.1 introduces the most central and interesting data that will be discussed and analysed in the book. I will also give a short introduction to the theoretical problems raised by the data, but the main purpose of 1.1 is to introduce the wide range of empirical issues to be discussed in more detail in later chapters.

In 1.2, I discuss very briefly the general theoretical assumptions of the book. My approach is generative broadly speaking, and builds upon both Government and Binding (GB) theory (Chomsky 1981) and the Minimalist Program (MP, Chomsky 1993, 1995), but I will also explore the data with a neo-constructionist exoskeletal approach (cf. Borer 2005). A crucial part of the theoretical discussion relates to the syntax-semantics interface, and more precisely what counts as purely linguistic information, and what instead belongs to the general-conceptual domain.

In the generative literature dealing with analyses of closely related languages (so-called micro-comparative syntax), the Principles and Parameters (P&P) approach has been central since Chomsky (1981). It has also contributed to a significant increase in empirical knowledge of Scandinavian dialect syntax. In 1.3, I discuss the P&P approach to micro-comparative syntax and compare it with a rule-based approach, as suggested by Newmeyer (2005). I will also present some language-external factors in 1.3, though these are not the main focus of the book.

In 1.4, I present the data and sources that I have used in the study. I have taken advantage of *The Nordic Dialect Corpus* (Johannessen et al. 2009) and also of other Norwegian dialectological sources.

1.1 Verb-particle data

1.1.1 The alternation problem and a possible solution

In Norwegian, the verb-particle is usually claimed to be distributed optionally to the left or right of an associated DP. The alternatives are shown in (1), where *ut* 'out' is the particle:

(1) a. Jon sparka hunden ut.[1] (Åfarli 1985: 75)
John kicked dog-the out
'John kicked the dog out'
b. Jon sparka ut hunden.
John kicked out dog-the
'John kicked out the dog'

The word order optionality illustrated by this simple pair has sparked much discussion over the years, two of the major questions being (i) *What is the basic word order?* and (ii) *How are the two alternative word orders derived?* In principle, there are four possible solutions to this set of questions, as noted by Åfarli (1985: 75). If (1a) is the basic order, the surface order of (1b) might be derived by particle movement to the left or DP movement to the right. If (1b) is the basic order, the order in (1a) might be derived by DP movement to the left or particle movement to the right. Which solution is ultimately chosen could depend on what we consider to be the essential relation between the involved units, i.e., the verb, the particle and the DP. Small Clause (SC) theories generally take the DP-Prt relation as essential, claiming there is a subject-predicate relation between the two. Others promote the V-Prt relation, and some of these analyse the particle as non-projecting and incorporated into V, while some argue that the particle projects.

Let me from now on refer to a particle that appears to the right of the object like that in (1a) as *RPrt*, and a particle to the left of the object like in (1b) as *LPrt*. They are also often referred to as the discontinuous and continuous orders, respectively.

The LPrt and RPrt distinction is one matter. We also need to make a distinction between *spatial* and *non-spatial* (e.g., *idiomatic*) constructions,[2] where I will

1. Norwegian features two written standards, *Nynorsk* and *Bokmål*. The examples from Åfarli (1985) are mainly in standard *Nynorsk* (although these particular examples can appear identically in *Bokmål*). In this book, I will by default render my Norwegian examples in *Nynorsk*. If an example is taken from *Bokmål* or a dialect, this will be specified explicitly. I will discuss the Norwegian political language situation briefly – and also my rendition of Norwegian examples – in 1.1.4.

2. I will primarily use the general terms *spatial* and *non-spatial* here, and sometimes the more specific terms *directional/non-directional*, although *predicational* (or *predicative*) and *idiomatic*

argue that only the former are predicational. We will see later that this distinction is also essential with respect to the word order variation. In short, we have a spatial construction where the basic directional semantics of the particle itself can be recognised, as the case is in (1): *ut* 'out' – 'from inside to outside'. We have a non-spatial construction where this directionality is not recognised. I show examples of the latter in (3) in Section 1.1.2 below, and I will return to the spatial-non-spatial distinction for full in Chapters 2 and 4.

In Chapter 4, I argue that only the spatial LPrt variant is derived by particle movement/remerge, while the non-spatial variant is not. In the latter, the particle is directly inserted in the LPrt position, in a different syntactic and semantic structure. This will in turn trigger an important discussion of the general semantics of the VPrt construction, namely what semantic information is given by the VPrt *structure*, what is given by the lexical elements (*sparke* 'kick' + *ut* 'out' + *hunden* 'the dog'), and what is non-linguistic. Thus, a theoretical ambition of the book is to explore both the syntax-semantics interface and also the interplay between the structural, lexical and non-linguistic semantics.

I will contend that the two alternatives in (1) are semantically distinct. A consequence of this is that they do not vary freely; we will show that (1b) is the preferred and arguably the more frequent alternative in Norwegian. Thus far, I have made two basic claims that have both a theoretical and empirical flavour; these two claims constitute my overall working hypothesis:

(2) The LPrt and RPrt constructions are semantically distinct, and the LPrt construction is the unmarked, preferred, and more frequent alternative in Norwegian.

In the research community up to now, there have essentially been two ways of approaching Norwegian VPrt constructions: one is associated with theoretical linguistics and the other with a more traditional dialectological approach.

In the linguistic literature (e.g., Taraldsen 1983, Åfarli 1985, den Dikken 1995, Svenonius 1994, 1996a, 1996b, Zeller 2001, Ramchand & Svenonius 2002), the

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are more established terms in the literature. Since the two latter terms imply a given analysis to a greater extent (*predicational* will in many cases imply a small clause analysis, and *idiomatic* implies a formalised idiom formation), I will stick to the more descriptive terms *spatial* and *non-spatial*. Although most particle examples could be generalised to *directional* and *non-directional*, that is not always the case:

(i) halde {ute} hunden {ute}
hold {out.LOC} the dog {out.LOC}
'keep the dog outside'

We will return to the *spatial/non-spatial* distinction in 1.1.2.

idea of optional particle distribution has generally been taken for granted, and typically (1a) and (1b) are derived by movement – of the particle, of the DP, or both. Some argue for quite similar, equally economical derivations (see, e.g. Svenonius 1996b), while others develop quite different derivations of LPrt and RPrt constructions (e.g., Taraldsen 1983, den Dikken 1995, Zeller 2001).

In the Norwegian traditional and dialectological literature, the LPrt preference has been well known for a long time, dating back to Aasen (1848, 1864). Later on, it was mentioned by Western (1921), Sandøy (1976, 1985), and also by Faarlund (1977). Sandøy (1976) produced arguably the most elaborate Norwegian empirical work on VPrt, emphasising the LPrt preference in the Romsdal dialect (North-West Norwegian), as well as the difference between spatial and non-spatial constructions.

I will take the traditional and dialectological approaches as my starting point, and by including more recent dialectological material (see Section 1.4 and Chapter 2), I hope to find out whether the hypothesis in (2) holds, or whether the particle alternation is actually as free as indicated by the linguistic literature. I will assume there is a structural and semantic distinction and explore what this distinction consists in more precisely.

To my knowledge, no earlier work in theoretical linguistics has taken the LPrt preference hypothesis into account before I started my first fieldwork on it in 2010 and the *Nordic Dialect Corpus* (NDC, Johannessen et al. 2009)[3] was launched in 2011. The following years, the corpus was exploited also in linguistic works, so the LPrt dominance in constructions like (1) have been exposed in, e.g., Larsson & Lundquist (2014), Lundquist (2014)[4], and Aa (2015b). The Lundquist and Larsson references give mainly empirical overviews and categorisations, while Aa (2015b) also includes a longer theoretical discussion. A lot of the data in the present work correspond to the data in Aa (2015b), but some data (especially the Ground promotion data in 4.4) are new, and the theoretical viewpoints are also different. I will discuss some other earlier linguistic approaches (from before the NDC) in Chapter 3.

What then is the nature of the syntactic structure and derivation regarding Norwegian VPrt constructions? The hypothesis in (2) contains the essential ingredients in the syntactic analysis that I will pursue in Chapter 4. Here, I will assume that RPrt projects and heads a SC, where the DP has the properties of a

3. More on the NDC in 1.4.1.2.

4. *The Nordic Atlas of Language Structures* (*NALS*), vol. 1, no. 1, 2014 (https://journals.uio.no/index.php/NALS/issue/view/487) includes a lot of shorter empirical articles about the verb phrase, including verb particle distribution, most of them written by Björn Lundquist. The most relevant of them for this work is referred to here as Lundquist (2014).

subject. The (non-spatial) LPrt does not project, but merges with V^0 and forms a complex verb. The spatial LPrt projects in the RPrt position, before P^0 remerges in V^0. This is basically a SC approach to RPrt constructions (cf. den dikken 1995, Svenonius 1996a), and a complex predicate approach to the LPrt construction (cf. Larson 1988, Zeller 2001). A similar approach is found in Larsen (2014); in the present work his principled LPrt and RPrt distinction is adapted to the Norwegian empirical reality.

1.1.2 More Norwegian data to be considered

I have formulated some general empirical and theoretical questions above. In this section, I will present the empirical diversity that I will explore, more elaborately. Consider the spatial-non-spatial distinction mentioned above. In non-spatial constructions (where no directionality compatible with the basic semantics of the particle is expressed), LPrt is not only preferred, but obligatory for some speakers. The following examples are taken from the Romsdal dialect:

(3) a. Han las opp brevet. (Sandøy 1976: 108)
he read up letter-the
'He read the letter loudly'
b. *Han las brevet opp.
he read letter-the up
'He read the letter loudly'

I will attempt to uncover why the LPrt preference is even stronger here than in spatial constructions, and what the technical difference between (1b) and (3) is, e.g., whether (3) is a result of some kind of idiom formation (cf. Bruening 2010). The distinction between spatial and non-spatial constructions is essential.

It will also be noted that the distribution of the particle is apparently affected by the presence of an additional resultative PP complement, which more easily allows RPrt. From Romsdal Norwegian:

(4) a. +Han bar fangst'n sin ut åt dei fattige.[5] (Sandøy 1976: 105)
+he carried catch-the REFL out to the poor
'He carried his catch out to the poor'

5. Sandøy (1976) uses a plus sign (+) to mark the preferred alternative, when more alternatives are possible. When the dispreferred alternative is grammatically marginal, the conventional question marks are used. I will follow Sandøy by using this kind of marking. However, when the dispreferred alternative is fully acceptable from a grammatical point of view, but just sounds more awkward, I will use a minus sign (−). The minus sign will generally be used in the context with a plus sign, so it is not confused with a dash.

b. ?Han bar ut fangst'n sin åt dei fattige.
he carried out catch-the REFL to the poor
'He carried out his catch to the poor'

In Section 4.3, I will discuss what actually causes the RPrt to be preferred in (4), contrary to what is hypothesised in (2). The question is whether the PP in the right-periphery carries an influence on the particle distribution and in case why.

There is also a second type of complex constructions, namely where the particle itself is complex, i.e., apparently phrasal.

(5) Vi sette på han hatten. (Åfarli 1985: 79)
we put on him hat-the
'We put the hat on his head'.

The interesting part here is the status of *på han*, which I will argue must be construed as a particle. The "phrasal" particle was in used Old Norse and is still used in all of the Scandinavian languages, except Danish. It is distributed as an ordinary particle across the borders, and has also the prosodic properties of a particle.

While one can speak of *preferred* and *dispreferred* particle positions for the data discussed so far, the RPrt distribution is usually not possible with a *Ground promoting particle*.

(6) a. Han skrapa av ruta.
he scraped off windshield-the
'He scraped (the ice) off the windshield'
b. */??Han skrapa ruta av.[6]
he scraped windshield-the off
'He scraped (the ice) off the windshield'

In the meaning given in the translation of (6a), the DP *ruta* 'the windshield' cannot be construed as a *Figure*. But most likely, it will be construed as what we may refer to as a *Ground* element (cf. Talmy 1972, 1985, 2000, Svenonius 1996a). Figure and Ground can be characterised as a located and a locating entity, respectively, the former denoting a moving or conceptually movable entity, and the latter a stationary reference entity. Talmy's (2000: 312) complete definition is as follows:

> The general conceptualization of Figure and Ground in language
>
> The Figure is a moving or conceptually movable entity whose path, site, or orientation is conceived as a variable, the particular value of which is the relevant issue.

6. This particular example can occur as a RPrt construction if the window is understood to be scraped off something else, i.e., as *Figure* (e.g., that it has loosened from the car as a result of too much scraping).

> The Ground is a reference entity, one that has a stationary setting relative to a reference frame, with respect to which the Figure's path, site, or orientation is characterized.

Ground promoting partciles and how they relate to Figure retaining particles (cf. Milway 2014) will be discussed in Section 4.4. The most important questions here are whether the Ground promotion is "real" (McIntyre 2007) or whether the Ground is reanalysed as a Figure (Svenonius 2003b, Blom 2005).

Consider next the data in (7)–(9), where the particle combines with an unaccusative verb.

(7) a. Han gjekk på bussen.
he went on bus-the
'He entered the bus'
b. *Han gjekk bussen på.
he went bus-the on
'He entered the bus'

(8) a. Det gjekk på nokon.
it went on someone
'There was someone entering (the bus)'
b. Det gjekk nokon på.
it went someone on
'There was someone entering (the bus)'

(9) a. Det bles opp ein storm.
it blew up a storm
'There blew up a storm'
b. *Det bles ein storm opp.
it blew a storm up
'There blew up a storm'

As was the case in (6), the associated DP *bussen* 'the bus' in (7a) is a Ground and not a Figure DP, thus the RPrt distribution in (7b) is impossible. But interestingly, the particle can alternate in the impersonal variants in (8) – but not in the weather construction in (9). I will discuss different types of unaccusative VPrt constructions in 4.5, and this extension of the Norwegian VPrt data will hopefully shed new light on how VPrt constructions in general should be treated theoretically. To my knowledge, the unaccusative VPrt constructions have not been thoroughly discussed in Norwegian before. I will argue that the weather constructions cannot be derivational since they cannot have a directional/predicational counterpart.

Finally in this section, I will briefly mention three important phenomena that I will *not* be able to discuss. The first one concerns *light pronoun constructions*.

These show an interesting pattern in East and Central Norwegian dialects, with the particle to the left of the light pronoun (see e.g. Aasen 1848: § 335 and Sandøy 1985: 102), differing from the standard Norwegian pattern that is typically presented in the generative literature (see e.g. Thráinsson 2007: 34, 142). Some of Aasen's data are given in (7).[7]

(10) **East and Central Norwegian** (Aasen 1848)
   a. Dæm åt upp det.
      they ate up it
      'They ate it up'
   b. Dæm kasta ut 'en.
      they threw out him
      'They threw him out'
   c. Kast inte burt det.
      throw not away it
      'Don't throw it away'

Although the interaction between light pronouns and particles is highly interesting, light pronouns constitute a separate and independent theme of study that is not directly relevant to the analysis of particles as such. Moreover, light pronouns raise issues that for reasons of space cannot be discussed here. One might assume that light pronoun constructions in standard Norwegian pose a problem for the LPrt preference hypothesis. But a light pronoun also precedes negation and adverbs; hence, it shifts to a vP-external position and is not relevant for the vP-internal syntax.

(11) Dei kasta han ikkje ut. (standard Norwegian)
   they threw him not out
   'They didn't throw him out'

For reasons of space, I will also not discuss *participle constructions*. These show interesting patterns regarding the possibility of a particle to incorporate into the participle, and regarding participle agreement (see e.g. Sandøy 1988 for the agreement patterns, and Svenonius 1996a and Aa, Eide & Åfarli 2014 for a discussion of agreement and incorporation possibilities).

Finally, I will not prioritise to investigate *adjectival VPrt constructions*, although they too show an interesting contrast between LPrt and RPrt distribution, between agreement vs. non-agreement before vs. after the object, and apparently

7. *Nynorsk* was not standardised by the time of 1848 (see Section 1.1.4), and Aasen's (1848) rendition of the examples is strongly flavoured by the respective dialects, i.e., Central Norwegian in (10a, b) and East Norwegian in (10c).

also between different adjectives. In short, the distribution of adjectives does not seem to follow the rules of prepositional particles. I urge the reader to consult Heggstad (1931: § 609), Åfarli (1985: 91), and Sandøy (1976: 91ff) for Norwegian, Faroese, and Icelandic data.

1.1.3 Norwegian in a Scandinavian perspective

Primarily, the present work is a study of VPrt constructions in spoken *Norwegian*. The syntax and semantics of the various particle constructions in the dialects of spoken Norwegian are therefore the main concern of the book.

Focusing on the Norwegian dialect area to the exclusion of other Scandinavian dialects may apparently seem difficult to justify methodologically, but I will argue that the new Norwegian dialectal material collected in the last decades uncovers more variation than known previously (see e.g. the discussion on the Nordic Dialect Corpus (Johannessen et al. 2009) in Section 1.4.1.2), and thus makes it natural to narrow down the language area in focus. Since Platzack's (1987) investigations of the null-subject parameter across the Scandinavian languages, and subsequent joint work with Anders Holmberg on the AGR parameter, the Insular (ISc) and Mainland Scandinavian (MSc) languages have been considered as a dialect continuum rather than different languages. As Johannessen et al. (2009: 74) point out, there is mutual intelligibility within MSc, and within ISc – and some mutual intelligibility between MSc and ISc, at least between the written forms.[8] This is one of the motivations for developing a Nordic dialect corpus (see 1.4.1.2).

As we will see in Chapter 2, Norwegian is traditionally claimed to occupy an intermediate position within MSc in many respects, e.g., concerning the word order in VPrt constructions and *la* 'let' causatives. (12)–(14) present the commonly known MSc typology for these two constructions. (12)–(13) are taken from Vikner (1987), (14) is constructed in line with Taraldsen's (1983) claim for Norwegian.[9]

From now on, I will follow Svenonius (1994, 1996a) by using curly brackets $\{\ldots\}_1$, $\{\ldots\}_2$, to mark that 1 and 2 alternate, and never occur together (we get *either*

8. When we define dialects as separate language systems (see Section 1.3), i.e., with separate grammars and inflectional systems, it follows that each and every dialect is a separate language. Thus, it becomes less important whether we cross political borders or not in a comparative study. The presence or absence of mutual intelligibility must be considered a popular diagnostic for the dialect vs. language distinction, in the same way as a separation by political borders. Principally, two dialects are grammatically closely related language systems, and non-linguistic factors such as common vocabulary and mutual intelligibility are more random and vary individually to a greater extent. We will stick to a linguistic understanding of languages here.

9. Taraldsen presents the pattern in (14) as Norwegian, but it is not specified what kind of Norwegian. Since he transcribes his examples to *Bokmål*, I have noted that explicitly in (14).

1 *or* 2). Round brackets $(\ldots)_1$, $(\ldots)_2$ usually (e.g., in dictionaries) indicate a possible simultaneous appearance of both 1 and 2, or even a possible absence of both.

(12) a. **Danish:**
Peter lod {*støvsuge} tæppet {støvsuge}.
Peter let {*vacuum-clean} carpet-the {vacuum-clean}
'Peter vacuum-cleaned the carpet'

b. **Danish:**
Peter smed {*ud} tæppet {ud}.
Peter threw {*out} carpet-the {out}
'Peter threw out the carpet'

(13) a. **Swedish:**
Peter lät {dammsuga} mattan {*dammsuga}.
Peter let {vacuum-clean} carpet-the {*vacuum-clean}
'Peter vacuum-cleaned the carpet'

b. **Swedish:**
Peter kastade {bort} mattan {*bort}.
Peter threw {away} carpet-the {*away}
'Peter threw out the carpet'

(14) a. **Norw. *Bokmål*:**
Peter lot {støvsuge} teppet {støvsuge}.
Peter let {vacuum-clean} carpet-the {vacuum-clean}
'Peter vacuum-cleaned the carpet'

b. **Norw. *Bokmål*:**
Peter kasta {ut} teppet {ut}.
Peter threw {out} carpet-the {out}
'Peter threw out the carpet'

This overview represents the claim of traditional linguistics that Danish always has RPrt, as shown in (12b),[10] and also has the infinitive on the right of the verb selecting it (12a). For Swedish, the pattern is the opposite, as in (13), and then Norwegian can apparently switch between the two, as in (14). However, the hypothesis in (2) questions the optionality in (14b). And although it is not of importance at this stage, it should be noted that (14a) is not really a comparable construction, since it is not productive in spoken Norwegian.[11] The important point is that the LPrt

10. Pedersen (2017) shows that LPrt also appears especially in colloquial Danish, meaning that the traditional claims on the *Scandinavian* variation must be revised.

11. Svenonius (1994: 181) notes one particular example from Taraldsen (1983: 203) to be a frozen form:

preference hypothesis given in (2) questions the general status of Norwegian as occupying an intermediate position within the MSc picture.

1.1.4 The Norwegian language situation – and the rendition of Norwegian examples

Political and social issues are not essential in this book, but I will clarify some basic points concerning the Norwegian language situation. First, there are two official Norwegian written standards, *Nynorsk* and *Bokmål*. With an extended dialect fieldwork lasting over many years in the 1840s, Ivar Aasen (1813–1896) formed the basis of a new written standard, i.e., *Nynorsk*, based on the rural dialects in Norway. His first attempt to standardise the language is found in *Prøver af Landsmaalet i Norge* 'Specimens of Norwegian Country Speech' in 1853; later, he published two important standardisation milestones: a prescriptive grammar (Aasen 1864) and an extended dictionary (Aasen 1873) (compared to his first dictionary, Aasen 1850). The first official standard came later, in 1901 (Skard 1901).[12] Until 1929, the language was known as *Landsmål* 'The Country's Language' or *Folkemålet* 'The People's Language', but the name was replaced by *Nynorsk* 'Modern Norwegian' from that year on.[13]

(i) De lot {mannen} sette krone på {mannen}.
they let {the man} set crown on {the man}
'They had the man crowned'

In my view, both (i) and (14a) above are conservative *Bokmål* constructs, probably adopted from Danish. While VPrt constructions are productive in both speech and writing, I have never heard a Norwegian produce a la 'let' causative of the (14a) type, and I have rarely seen it in written sources except linguistic literature. However, la 'let' causatives are highly productive with *seg* reflexives, in which case the infinitive appears to the right of the light reflexive pronouns:

(ii) Han lét seg ikkje påverke.
he let REFL not affect
'He was unaffected'

(iii) Han lét seg sjeldan imponere.
he let REFL rarely impress
'He was rarely impressed'

12. Karlsen (2017:Chapter 3) gives an extended discussion of the development of the first official *Nynorsk* (*Landsmål*) standard.

13. Haugen (1972 [1933]:25, footnote 1) uses the term *New Norse* for *Nynorsk/Landsmål*, "because it emphasizes the descent of Landsmaal from Old Norse and because it does not, like "Nynorsk", beg the question by claiming to be the only modern Norwegian language." For the readers not capable of reading Norwegian, Haugen (1972), which is an extract from his 1931

The *Bokmål* 'The Book Language' standard developed from Danish, which was the language that was regularly written in Norway from the 16th century onwards (Berg 2013: 199ff, cf. also Indrebø 1947: 30f and Nesse & Torp 2018: 369ff). From the 15th century onwards, Norway was part of different Nordic unions, and cleared its independence from a long-lasting union with Denmark in 1814. Danish was still the only official written language in Norway also for many years after the dissolution. In 1885, there was a resolution that officially put Aasens's *Nynorsk* (*Landsmål*) on equal footing with *Bokmål*/Danish (known as *Riksmål* 'The Kingdom's Language' from 1899 to 1929 (Sandøy 2018: 217). Also, beginning in 1907, *Bokmål* was eventually norwegianised by incorporating many of Knud Knudsen's (1812–1895) important norm suggestions (cf. Torp & Vikør 2003: 201ff, Rambø 2018: 531ff). Throughout the 20th century, the official Norwegian language policy aimed to assimilate the two standards into a common one (*Samnorsk* 'Common Norwegian'). However, this turned out not to be successful, and the idea was officially abandoned in 2002 (Jahr 2014: 157f).

The majority of writers has always had *Bokmål* as their first official language; the percentage of *Nynorsk* writers peaked in 1944 with 34,1%,[14] but already by 1965 it had decreased to 20% (Torp & Vikør 2003: 207). In 2018, 12% of the pupils in elementary school in Norway had *Nynorsk* as their first official language (the number has been stable the last decades); only Sogn og Fjordane county[15] in the west (with 2% of Norway's population) has had a clear and stable majority of *Nynorsk* writers (98% of the pupils in elementary and secondary school wrote *Nynorsk* in 2018) (see *Statistics Norway*).

dissertation, gives a nice overview over the early development of the *Nynorsk* language. From the discussion above, it is clear that the term *landsmål/landsmaal* is ambiguous as to whether it refers to 'the country speech' (i.e., the speech in the countryside) or 'the country's (standardised) language'. I have used the former translation of Aasen's (1853) title and the latter of the standardised version of the written language that was developed (cf. Skar 1901).

14. There is a lot of uncertainty connected to this number, since the statistics from the Second World War are not clear, and since not all of the school descicions of converting from *Bokmål* to *Nynorsk* at the time were actually implemented (Rambø 2018: 596). Hoel (2019) shows that the increasing number of *Nynorsk* pupils during the wartime can be explained demographically: A lot of children from the cities were sent to the countryside, where the food supply was safer, and attended to *Nynorsk* schools there. The percentage of *Nynorsk* pupils decreased significantly aldready from 1945.

15. From January 2020, Sogn og Fjordane was fusioned with Hordaland to Vestland county.

Despite the decline of the total percentage[16] of *Nynorsk* writers, the status of the spoken varieties has increased significantly over the last 50 years. While in the 1960s and 70s it was unthinkable to give a university lecture in a local dialect, that is rather the standard today. Furthermore, the dialects are heard in the media to a greater degree than before, e.g., in the news and in children's TV. To my knowledge, there is no serious public or formal arena today where the use of dialects is considered unacceptable (cf. Sandøy 2018: 237). Due to the general increase of migration most people are exposed to multiple dialects every day (cf. Vulchanova et al. 2012), which is also generally assumed to contribute to the higher degree of acceptance of the spoken varieties than before.[17]

As mentioned in footnote 1, I will by default render my Norwegian examples in *Nynorsk*; a non-specified Norwegian example is therefore given in *Nynorsk*. When I use a dialectal example (e.g., from *Norsk Ordbok*, see Section 1.4.2) I will also render this in standard (or in dialect-coloured) *Nynorsk*, which hopefully makes it easier to understand for those not having Norwegian as their first language, but who are capable of reading Norwegian. When I render a *Bokmål* example, this will be specified explicitly. *Nynorsk* is the standard that lies closest to most Norwegian spoken varieties, and therefore natural to use in a work like this. When I reproduce examples from other linguistic works, I will of course render the examples in the standard used in the relevant works. Taraldsen's (1983) examples are in *Bokmål*, while Åfarli's (1985) and Sandøy's (1976) examples are mainly in *Nynorsk*. Åfarli and Sandøy also give examples from their respective dialects (of Romsdal and Nordmøre), and these are either rendered in standardised or a dialect-coloured *Nynorsk* in their works.

1.2 Basic theoretical assumptions

This section will very briefly highlight two basic theoretical assumptions. Specific approaches to VPrt, specifically earlier theoretical accounts, will be discussed in Chapter 3, and an analysis of the Norwegian data will be developed in detail in Chapter 4. In 1.2.1, I adopt X-bar theory and not *Bare Phrase Structure* (BPS).

16. The actual number of *Nynorsk* writers has not decreased the latter years, but the percentage is decreasing, among others due to immigration.

17. Mæhlum & Røyneland (2009: 227) also claim that the status of the dialects generally high in Norway, but there are some important modifications discussed in their article. Despite of the general dialect levelling and regionalisation of dialects (especially in the East Norwegian dialects close to Oslo), an exaggerated accommodation of one's dialect (e.g., to a more regional/urban variant) is generally not well accepted (see also Bull 2009 for a similar conclusion).

In 1.2.2, I will follow Borer's (2005) neo-constructionist (exoskeletal) approach to grammar, where lexicon is irrelevant for the derivation of the syntactic structure. In Chapter 4, I will elaborate the claim that the VPrt data lend support to this approach.

1.2.1 X-bar theory

An important question concerns the restrictiveness of representation and derivation. I will adopt X-bar theory (cf. Chomsky 1970) here, and not *Bare Phrase Structure* (BPS) (Chomsky 1995: 241ff). A possible advantage with the X-bar schema is that it has the desirable effect of toning down the importance of the lexicon as a structure-building component. In BPS, it is suggested that a lexical element decides whether it projects one or two non-minimal levels. The levels are basically new copies of the lexical element, thus BPS goes hand in hand with the MP and the operation Merge, and it follows directly from a minimalist (and lexicalist) way of thinking. I do not follow the idea that syntactic structure is built on the inherent properties of the lexical elements, and I will sketch an alternative in the next subsection. In Chapter 4, I will relate the analysis to Larsen's (2014) model; see also his rejection of BPS (p. 210).

1.2.2 Neo-constructivism

Since the development of the Standard Theory by Chomsky (1965), the common view has been that lexical elements, and in particular verbs, are the basic building blocks of the structure-building component: they carry information about how the syntactic structure will be realised. In GB theory (Chomsky 1981), this is formalised through the Theta Criterion and the Projection Principle, and through the Inclusiveness Condition in the MP (Chomsky 1995: 228). Borer (2005: 5) refers to these models as *endoskeletal*; the syntactic flesh is built on lexico-semantic bone. Although many assumptions concerning the lexical entry and its role in syntax have changed significantly from GB to MP, the lexicon has continued to be an important structure-building component.

I will assume a neo-constructionist *exoskeletal* model here, where the structure is analysed as the primary syntactic component, which the lexical items (the listemes) can modify:

> [T]he syntactic structure gives rise to a template, or a series of templates, which in turn determine the interpretation. For such an approach, a listeme does not determine structure, but rather, functions as a modifier of the structure.
>
> (Borer 2005: 14)

There are a number of works exploring exoskeletal approaches to Norwegian data, see e.g. Sveen (1996), Nygård (2013, 2018), Åfarli (2007, 2012), Lohndal (2012, 2014), Grimstad, Lohndal & Åfarli (2014), and Riksem (2018). I will refer to these works for an extended theoretical and empirical argumentation.

In Chapter 4, we will see that the Norwegian VPrt data lend support to the exoskeletal approach, with syntactico-semantic structures generated independently of the lexical items (cf. Åfarli 2007). In the VPrt constructions in (15a, b), the lexical elements are identical, but the word orders are different. They also differ with regard to what is their most conventional reading (see discussion below the examples). The underlying reason for this semantic difference must be the word order, i.e., the structural foundation (which can lay the foundation for idiom formation in the former example). This should imply that the structure itself carries a basic meaning.

(15) a. Få opp pakken.
get up packet-the
'Open the packet'
b. Få pakken opp.
get packet-the up
'Bring the packet up'

The most conventional reading of (15a) is an aspectual reading: open the packet. (15b), however, has an immediate spatial/directional reading: bring the packet up (to a higher physical level). This contrast is not predicted by endoskeletal models, since the lexical elements are identical. Rather, the different readings of (15a, b) can be explained in the most natural way if we ascribe them to the different structures, which themselves must carry different meanings. Although the particle *opp* 'up' has a basic directional reading,[18] (15a) is not a directional construction. Given the semantics of *opp*, we should expect a directional reading of both (15a, b). Thus, we will assume that the *position* of the particle is crucial; a structure with a LPrt triggers a different reading from a structure with a RPrt. We must expect that the lexical items in one way or another modify the structure, and that there is sometimes harmony and sometimes a mismatch or friction between these two levels (cf. Åfarli 2007, Nygård 2013, 2018). For examples such as (15), I will continue to claim that the structure is the primary carrier of meaning, and that the semantic properties of the lexical items are secondary, and can modify the structure.

However, given the right context, (15a) can also get a spatial/directional interpretation, cf. the following imaginary dialogue:

18. See Section 4.2.3 for a discussion of the semantics of prepositions.

(16) A: Vil du sjå på pakken her nede?
will you look on packet-the here down?
'Do you want to look at the packet down here?'
B: Nei, få opp pakken.
no, get up packet-the
'No, get the packet up here'

Here, the question from person A naturally triggers a directional reading of B's LPrt construction. In other words, the specific context contributes to a directional interpretation of the LPrt construction. Factors such as context, knowledge about the particular situation, and even general knowledge about the world will all play a crucial role for the final interpretation of any construction. Later, we will ascribe this to what Bouchard (1995: 17) calls *situational semantics*, i.e., the portion of the semantics that is not structurally relevant.

In sum, this means that three decisive factors contribute to the final interpretation of the VPrt construction. I will pursue the hypothesis that the semantics of the *structure* (17i) is primary, the lexical semantics (17ii) is secondary, and the non-linguistic factors (17iii) are tertiary, modifying the others (17i, ii):

(17) The full interpretation of a structure depends on the three following factors in the given ranked order:
i. The semantics of the structure
ii. The semantics of the lexical elements
iii. The general non-linguistic situational semantics (e.g., world knowledge)

In Chapter 4, we will see that the rigidity of this hypothesis is fruitful for the understanding of the diversity of the Norwegian VPrt data.

1.3 Parameters and syntactic micro-variation

As discussed in Section 1.1, this book is about the syntactic structure and the semantics of VPrt constructions in Norwegian dialects. And in a comparative perspective it is also taking into account the other Scandinavian languages (cf. 1.1.3). Searching for systematic (co-)variation between languages and dialects has been essential in generative grammar since the late 1970s (Rizzi 1978) and especially since the emergence of the Government and Binding (GB) Theory in the early 1980s, when the Principles and Parameters (P&P) approach was introduced (Chomsky 1981). P&P were supposed to solve the acquisition problem, explain (and predict) differences – and similarities – between languages, and thereby also explain the universal properties of language. Because this is a micro-comparative, generative work, we need to clarify some details about (micro-)parametric variation. That is,

this type of focus could suggest an analysis in terms of classic P&P theory, but I will conclude that micro-variation is not parametric in the traditional GB sense. Instead, I will promote a model, which accounts for micro-variation as the variation in phrase structure and the operations applying to a given structure.

In 1.3.1, I include a general discussion of parameters, as to wether they are part of the language faculty or not. In 1.3.2, I promote my perspective, before a short note on comprativism is included in 1.3.3.

1.3.1 (Micro-)Parameters as first-, second-, or third-factor principles?

The assumption of a richly structured UG, i.e., parametric variation as a first-factor principle, was challenged in several respects with the emergence of micro-comparative syntactic studies. Kayne (2000: 4) suggested that it was methodologically more efficient to compare closely related languages (and dialects) than more distantly related languages, because the differences between the closely related languages would more likely actually be related, and should give more direct access to the properties of UG (cf. Kayne 2005). In the Scandinavian context, a similar view is promoted in e.g. Hellan & Christensen (1986), and more recently in Holmberg (2010).

Although micro-comparativism is motivated methodologically, it has created some theoretical challenges concerning parameters. Originally, it was assumed that there were a relatively low number of parameters to discover, but the number of suggested parameters increased dramatically as micro-comparative work took off. Some of the empirical shortcomings of the traditional GB style P&P approach are discussed by Newmeyer (2005: Chapter 3), while its conceptual and biological flaws are discussed by Boeckx (2010, 2011), among others.[19]

These shortcomings have suggested that too much information has been ascribed to UG. Throughout the 1990s and the 2000s, the general tendency has been towards assuming a smaller UG. Given that all languages have recursion, the only universal operation needed is Merge (cf. Boeckx 2011: 207ff, Chomsky 2007, McGilvray 2013: 30). With the shrinkage of UG, parameters are now generally considered to be UG-external, i.e., a part of general cognition or third-factor principles. Some of those who still defend a theory of "deep" parameters (Luigi

19. No one has been able to suggest an exact (and reasonable) number of parameters, which has eventually devalued their explanatory power. And from an evolutionary point of view, it does not appear that we will find correlates in the mind to justify the (inevitably) high number of parameters. Some works have also in more recent years argued for the existence of macro-parameters (e.g., Roberts 2001, Kayne 2000, 2005, Holmberg 2010, Roberts & Holmberg 2010), but a standard assumption in the field is that "[t]here are no global parameters ('macroparameters')" (Barbiers 2013: 923) explaining clusters between remotely related languages.

Rizzi, Anders Holmberg, Ian Roberts and others) admit that parameters are restricted by performance factors, and hence that they are not parameters in the GB sense. Boeckx (2010: 12ff) argues exactly from this point of view, maintaining that parameters cannot be restricted by linguistic (competence) factors, that we must get rid of the traditional notion of parameter. Newmeyer (2005) argues that parametric theories are fundamentally wrong; since it is impossible to reduce the number of parameters to an adequately low number, the term should be replaced by a general *rule* term.

In my view, the rule notion can be appropriate when our aim is to formulate general rules and regulations on the micro-level, and not to strive for macro-parameters. I will return to this in 1.3.2.

An intermediate position between GB style parameters and Newmeyer's (2005) rules is found in the standard MP (as in Chomsky 1995), where parametric variation is found in the lexicon (i.e., as second-factor principles).

Already in Borer (1984), it was suggested that the inflectional system is learned "on the basis of input data" (p. 29), i.e., that acquiring a language is to learn the idiosyncratic properties of the inflectional system of the lexicon. Inspired by Borer's proposal, Chomsky (1995) suggested that parametric variation applies at (the formal features of) the lexicon. This was later named the *Borer-Chomsky conjecture* (BCC) by Mark Baker. BCC moved parametrisation out of UG to the grammatical domain of the lexicon, i.e. from a first- to a second-factor principle.[20] A number of advantages by assuming lexical parameters and the BCC are discussed in Roberts & Holmberg (2010: Section 3.2). Also, they do not see a direct linking between the adopting lexical parameters and discarding macro-parameters. Instead, they try to adapt Rizzi's (1982) classic pro-drop (null subject) parameter in BCC terms that still preserve the macro-perspective. In 1.3.2, I will claim that the BCC is incompatible with an exoskeletal approach, where the lexicon is irrelevant for structure.

A relevant question is whether Newmeyer's arguments are strong enough to reject the P&P approach completely, or whether parameters should just be approached differently, as in the BCC. In itself, the parameter vs. rule term does not need to be decisive, except that we need to postulate an adequately restrictive theory. From my point of view, the parameter term is less appropriate than the rule term since macro-parameters are dispensed with (cf. Barbiers 2013), but more appropriate than the rule term since we still argue for a restriction on the micro-variation. The choice of term is therefore a matter of our definition of *parameter* (as UG-external) or *rule* (as adequately restrictive).

20. See an illustrating example of how this works in Thornton & Crain (2013: 940), where it is shown that overt movement is feature-driven, triggered by the value on the lexicon. Thus, parametric difference applies to the lexicon.

There are fewer linguists today that argue for the existence of macro-parameters, and I think the new direction in the field generally legitimates an exclusively micro-syntactic focus in our study. In the next section, I will argue for a principled way to analyse micro-syntactic variation.

1.3.2 Phrase structural vs. operational variation

In this section, I will argue that structural variation is essentially regulated in the following two domains:

(18) **Structural variation** is regulated
   i. on the phrase structure level, and
   ii. by different operations applying to the same phrase structure.

First, note that (18) is consistent with an exoskeletal approach to grammar. (18) predicts that the structural variation is captured by the particular frame/template that is generated, and to the operations that apply to that frame. Second, (18) is incompatible with the BCC, since the structural variation is not connected to the lexicon here.

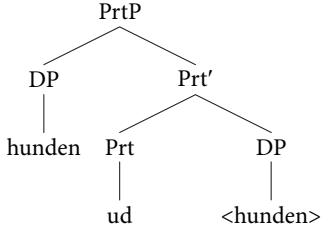
If we assume that the X-bar schema is universal (cf. 1.2.1), (18) can capture the possible structural variation quite straightforwardly. We could postulate that (18a) is relevant for differences on the macro-level, e.g., SVO vs. SOV, where the X-bar schema is mirrored. Then, the relevant differences uncovered through studies of dialect syntax and micro-variation could be the operations applying to the unvarying schema, (18b). We can then assume, for example, that Norwegian particle alternation is the outcome of a particle movement rule, which applies to an underlyingly identical phrase structure for LPrt and RPrt constructions. However, (18) really represents two different principled ways of analysing empirical patterns. SVO and SOV do not need to manifest different phrase structures (18a), but could instead be derived from a common basic structure, e.g., with a verb movement rule in the SVO alternative, cf. (18b). As discussed further in Section 4.2, I will assume that (18a) can also be relevant for micro-syntactic variation, i.e., that some syntactic differences can be the outcome of differing phrase structures – and that LPrt and RPrt constructions constitute one such case. It will be important for the generalisation of the Norwegian VPrt typology to determine whether LPrt and RPrt constructions are phrase structurally different (18a), or whether they are produced by, e.g., movement rules (18b).

Consider first a rule-based difference. In Section 1.1.3, we saw that Swedish has apparently obligatory LPrt while Danish has apparently obligatory RPrt distribution (but only apparently). Given that this difference is rule-based, we can assume that a certain movement operation applies in one of the languages, but not

in the other. If Prt-DP is the basic order, Danish has obligatory leftward DP movement, (19a); if DP-Prt is the basic order, Swedish has obligatory leftward particle movement, (19b).

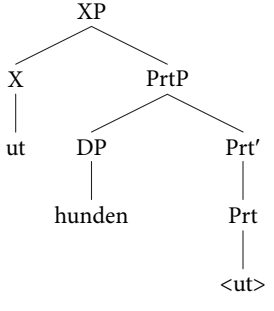
(19) (throw) {out} the dog {out}

a. **Danish derived from a Prt-DP order**



the dog out <the dog>

b. **Swedish derived from a DP-Prt order**

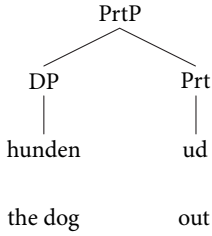


out the dog <out>

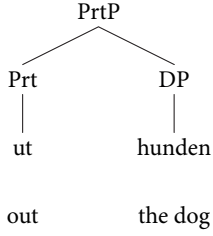
This would suggest that dialect syntax is the study of varying operations over the same phrase structure, cf. (19b). The operational alternatives must be few (e.g., ± a single movement), in order to explain the similarities between the languages/dialects.

However, as stated above, I will argue that micro-variation can be attributed to phrase structural variation, cf. (19a). Then the minimum degree of variation will be the result of differing phrase structure, not of differing operations. If LPrt and RPrt constructions are phrase structurally different, then there is no direct relation between them. This in turn will devalue the relevance of the alternation problem.

(20) a. **Possible Danish representation**



b. **Possible Swedish representation**



In Chapter 4, I will explore both approaches with and without particle movement. When macro-parameters are dispensed with, micro-variation can be the key to understanding the nature of syntactic variation on a general level (cf. Barbiers 2013: 923). Studying the minimal degree of structural variation is a fruitful way of mapping the interaction between (18a) and (18b), and whether minimally different structures are phrase structurally or operationally different, or both. If our model is successful, so that we can map the micro-variation in the best possible way, we also have a hypothesis for how structural variation in general should be accounted for. (18) does not imply arbitrary variation; many restrictions are already imposed by the X-bar schema, e.g., binarity and hierarchic relations. And if minimally different structures are basically phrase structurally (and not operationally) different, there must be a limited number of frames available (cf. Åfarli 2007).

1.3.3 Dialects as a comparative object of study

I will end this section with a general note on micro-comparativism. To study dialects in a comparative perspective is not only theoretically preferable, but practically inevitable. In the Scandinavian dialect continuum, it has been claimed that there is no linguistically principled difference between what counts as a language and what counts as a dialect (cf. Johannessen et al. 2009). However, there is one major difference on the external level. The written standard(s) equal(s) the *language*, as most non-linguists understand it. The notion of language implies that a language is an 'autonomous' object that does not automatically imply comparison

with another object. But dialects are different. Sandøy (1985: 16) defines a dialect as a language system contrasting with another language system,[21] and hence it is defined by being compared. It can also be compared to a regional spoken standard or to the national written (or spoken) standard(s). Given Sandøy's definition, a non-comparative dialect study is a contradiction in terms. Whether there are macro-parameters (Roberts & Holmberg 2010), only micro-parameters (Barbiers 2013), lexical parameters (BCC), or no parameters at all (Newmeyer 2005) is irrelevant in this respect.

In traditional Norwegian dialect studies, *syntactic* variation is less covered throughout most of the 20th century than e.g. phonology and morphology (Sandøy 1985: 100).[22] In this respect, the P&P framework has been fruitful in Norwegian and Scandinavian dialectology despite the general abandonment of UG-based macro-parameters, because the abandonment is based on a lot of documentation that would not necessarily have been done so systematically without a concrete hypothesis behind it.

1.4 Dialectological sources and tools

There are a number of suitable methods for collecting data in a dialect study, and one method alone probably cannot outperform all others. Rather, different methods have their respective advantages and disadvantages, so they can be used to complement one another (cf. Schütze 2011). In my work, I have tried to take advantage of the *Nordic Dialect Corpus* (Johannessen et al. 2009, henceforth NDC), and my main focus will be on that. However, I will divide the bulk of the data into two groups: authentic data and introspective(-like) examples. I will begin by discussing the authentic data in 1.4.1, and here I will focus on the NDC. This section will also question the general use of speech corpora methodologically (the specific searches in the NDC and results are discussed in Section 2.1.3). I will continue the authentic data discussion by including important dictionary (1.4.2) and dialecto-

21. "[V]i [vil] med ein dialekt sikte til eitt språksystem i motsetning til eit anna, …" 'With a dialect, we mean one language system in contrast to another, …'

22. An overview of the (mainly descriptive) Mainland Scandinavian (especially Norwegian and Swedish) dialect-syntactic work carried through the last 100 years is given at the website *Bibliografi over målføresyntaktiske arbeid* 'Bibliography of dialect-syntactic work': http://websim.arkivert.uit.no/getfile.php%3fSiteId=150%26PageId=6795%26FileId=48. A lot of the titles are also found in Nes' (1986) dialect bibliography.

logical recourses (1.4.3). The introsopective(-like) data will be discussed in 1.4.4 (introspective examples) and 1.4.5 (judgement tests).[23]

1.4.1 Corpus data

1.4.1.1 *Speech corpora*

A text corpus can be defined as a collection of language data built for the purpose of linguistic science (but not for one particular narrow purpose) (Schütze 2011). It usually contains a large amount of data, e.g., Nynorskkorpuset 'The Nynorsk Corpus' contains more than 100 million words, and the Nordic Dialect Corpus (NDC) contains 2,8 million words.[24] There is a lot more work (recording, transcription and tagging) related to the development of speech corpora, so they are usually much smaller than corpora of written texts. I will follow Johannessen (2003) and count speech corpus examples as authentic, as long as the recording situation is appropriate. Its major advantage is thus the large amount of available, potentially authentic material.

Corpus studies also have some drawbacks, some of which are discussed in Schütze (2011). We will not elaborate much on this discussion here, but include two major drawbacks that are relevant to our study. The first one relates to marginal constructions, which are not necessarilly found even in really large corpora. For example, Åfarli (1985) claims that colour adjectives can be distributed as LPrt in the Halsa dialect (in Nordmøre) (*måle gul bilen* 'paint yellow the car'). However, the NDC does not show any such examples from Nordmøre or the rest of the country. Schütze (2011) discusses whether this kind of absence is because of the nature of the particular corpus (size, the themes being discussed, etc.) or simply because the construction is impossible to produce (for most). A corpus leaves the question open. Some questions are also left open regarding semantic nuances and contextual differences between minimal particle pairs. I will discuss this in 1.4.4. It is also important to notice that a sentence which *does* appear in the corpus is not necessarily perfect for all speakers of the dialect. Interindividual variation is not

23. I consider fieldwork with acceptability judgement tests (1.4.5) as a kind of introspection too, namely into the minds of the informants. Although they are not 100% identical, I see judgement data and introspection as principally related activities, and thus these are treated successively. But it should be noted that this method aims for the *immediate* response of the informant, which is not the case in standard introcpection. The fieldwork done in this particular project was organised by the Nordic Center of Excellence in Microcomparative Syntax (NORMS) and was carried out during the initial stages of the work, so that it had the effect of a pilot study (see 2.1.3).

24. Other speech corpora developed at the Text Laboratory at the University of Oslo are much smaller, e.g. *The Big Brother Corpus* contains 550 000 words and *No Ta-Oslo* (Norwegian Speech Corpus – the Oslo part) contains 900 000 words.

revealed in the NDC. In acceptability judgement tests, we can ask the informant to grade an example on a Likert scale, but a corpus example must be taken for granted. Therefore, in principle, we do not know exactly what absence nor presence of a grammatical phenomenon in a given corpus really means.

The second corpus drawback that I will mention, relates to a more serious methodological problem. In generative linguistics, the object of study is language competence as it appears in the mind of the speaker. Schütze (2011) paraphrazes Chomsky (1965), as he sums up one central and three associated question that generative linguistics deals with:

> [T]he central question is 'What constitutes knowledge of (a) language?' and the associated questions are 'How is that knowledge acquired?', 'How is that knowledge used (in comprehension, production, and other activities)?', and 'How is that knowledge encoded in the brain?'. (Schütze 2011: 1)

The interesting part in our context is the relation between competence and performance. Corpus data are performance, and the question is *if*, and in case how, they can tell us anything about language competence (*I-language*). When the object of study is I-language, it means that we study individual grammars – or idealised idiolects (Barbiers 2013). And this is incompatible with a corpus, which is a collection of several speakers' performance (*E-language*). Dialects are also problematic in this sense. A dialect is a collective object, and an idealisation of several speakers' spoken language (Sandøy 1985: 16). Thus, if one wants to study I-language, meaning *individual* or *internalised* language, then corpus data and dialectology represent two serious methodological problems (cf. Fanselow et al. 2008: 4). Johannessen (2003), Schütze (2011) and others suggest that corpus data therefore should be supplemented by e.g. acceptability judgement tests and introspection.

1.4.1.2 *The Nordic Dialect Corpus: Dialects, transcription, and informants*

The Nordic Dialect Corpus (NDC) (Johannessen et al. 2009) is a speech corpus that has been developed by researchers within the ScanDiaSyn and NORMS networks, and was launched in Tromsø in 2011. The NDC consists of more than 2,8 million words from conversations and interviews of 821 speakers from 228 measure points across the North-Germanic dialect continuum (Johannessen & Hagen 2014: 15). Almost 440 of the speakers and 111 of the measure points are Norwegian (op.cit.: 17). This means that we have quite a lot of authentic free speech (though in "controlled recording situations", cf. Johannessen 2009a), which is well designed for a micro-comparative study like this. The NDC covers five countries – Iceland, the Faroe Islands, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark (plus the Swedish-speaking part of Finland) – and it is transcribed by the respective national standards, i.e., *Bokmål* for the Norwegian portion. It has also been extended to include

a dialect transcription, so there is a direct written comparison between the dialect and the *Bokmål* standard.

I will now discuss the informants briefly, and focusing mainly on the Norwegian part of the corpus. Typically, two older and two younger speakers of each gender are represented from each town/village or measure point, and they have to fulfil some criteria to be qualified as informants, e.g., have little or no education, and have grown up and lived most of their life at the relevant measure point. In isolation, these criteria are highly reminiscent of Chamber & Trudgill's (1980) NORM ('non-mobile older rural males') classification. But to the credit of the corpus, both men and women are included systematically, and there is balance between the generations.

Some of the inclusion criteria are outlined by Johannessen (2009b: 9), though the informant criteria are simplified to a quite problematic level, e.g., "each informant must speak the local dialect." This is probably meant to stress the criterion of "local connection" (but "the local dialect" should still be defined by the actual recordings rather than by the expectations of a linguist). It would probably be more correct to claim that "local dialect speaker" in this corpus essentially means a 'traditionalist' rather than an 'average speaker' from a given community, and that the chosen informants are supposed to carry as little influence from the surrounding dialects as possible. A dialect can be defined as a geographically bound language system (cf. Sandøy 1985: 16), but the NDC clearly uses social criteria for the informants as well (little or no education, little or no migration). The corpus does not show any pattern of modern migration, so we must account for a significant group of speakers from each measure point who do not necessarily sound like the informants representing them in the corpus. In that sense, although the recordings are nearly as up to date as possible, the corpus still represents the traditional dialects, even among the young speakers. But it does not reveal how representative the young traditionalists are in village A vs. B or C. Nor does it show other, more recent influences on a given dialect, which are relevant at least for some studies. However, as a tool for measuring the most extreme syntactic variation, the NDC is appropriate, as long as we keep in mind that the informants are not randomly picked "average speakers" from the given measure points. There is probably more interindividual variation within a measure point than the corpus reveals, and – on average – less variation between many of the measure points than indicated by the corpus. Like all other corpora, the NDC was created within a limited amount of time, and the recording period for the Norwegian portion was from around 2005 to 2011. This means that the recordings represent a certain group of speakers during these years.

An argument in favour of using a homogenous group of informants is that there are only four of them from each measure point (in the Norwegian part of the

corpus). With four arbitrarily picked informants, it would not be possible to generate useful dialect maps from the corpus, and we would get a misleading picture of isoglosses. With relatively conservative speakers, we are able to spot the differences between the villages more clearly and thus to discover the possible deviation from the standard that a given area offers.

One could probably also claim that a sample of only four informants is quite a low number for the characterisation of a dialect. I think that using a homogenous group compensates for this, in the sense that it can more reliably describe the more stable part of the dialect, which can serve as a starting point for further investigations. It also makes the comparative work more reliable, since the criteria for all informants for each of the 111 Norwegian measure points are basically the same. An unstable group of informants that varied arbitrarily from place to place would not be suitable material for comparison. One should keep in mind that the NDC is a pioneering work, and that this project has collected more data and systematically compared many more dialect speakers than has ever been done before in the Nordic countries. It would not be feasible to record a much larger number of informants due to the geographically wide range of the corpus.

In sum, there are practical and necessary reasons to limit the number of informants included in the corpus, and also advantages to using a homogenous group across the country. However, the informant criteria are still not 100% clear to outside researchers. I have not seen the criteria formulated precisely anywhere. We get a rough idea of the criteria from Johannessen (2009b) (i.e., traditionalists as preferred informants), but not why these particular informants are selected rather than others. The reasons and consequences mentioned above for using traditionalists are my own judgements and speculations. In sum, one can get the impression that the notions of "dialect" and "dialect speaker" are somewhat oversimplified and idealised in the NDC. However, I think it suffices to be aware of the problem, and also recognise some of the advantages of the homogenous informant groups that the corpus offers. This means that there is interindividual variation within the villages that I do not pay much attention here, and hence that the definition of a dialect in this book is also idealised. In reality, a dialect will not appear as pure as I define it here, and also the ideal dialect speaker, with an intact and pure local language system, does not exist. To the contrary, we must assume at least the younger speakers are multilingual to some extent, in the sense that they mix grammatical systems. However, the many of the old speakers in the corpus do not speak foreign languages. They can still be counted as multilingual since they understand multiple dialects (cf. Vulchanova et al. 2012).

As mentioned, the term *dialect* presupposes some kind of generalisation, namely the system behind an unconscious norm or agreement within a society of speakers, which provides a common denominator for the individual language

systems (cf. Sandøy 1985: 16). Hence, the following definition of a dialect is an idealised construct, but hopefully usable for the purposes of this work.

(21) A dialect is a geographically based language system different from other geographically based language systems, and different from the relevant written (and spoken) standard(s).

(21) is a linguistic definition of the dialect term, thus nuances relevant for other (e.g., language-external) studies are ignored. By approaching the term on a syntactic level, we also assume the structure to be the primary ingredient of the language. Some important consequences of (21) are already mentioned in Section 1.3.3. A dialect is automatically an object of comparison, and when geographically defined, it is also never found in its entireness in one single speaker. A dialect is not found at the individual level, and each individual has more language systems intact than of one pure language system. Studying language systems also means that we are not primarily occupied with the actual production of the speakers, but with how and why the production comes out the way it does. Therefore, this definition of a dialect, although it is a collective object, is more compatible with the object of study in generative grammar, i.e., I-language.

In Section 2.1.2, we will return to the NDC and discuss the specific searches conducted for the purposes of this work. The search results will be presented throughout Chapter 2.

1.4.2 *Norsk Ordbok* 'The Norwegian Dictionary'

Pedersen (2017) discusses the relevance of the use of scientific dictionaries in syntactic work. She demonstrates that syntactic patterns that are usually described as non-existent in Danish (e.g., LPrt), are found both in regional and national dictionaries. The same holds for *Norsk Ordbok. Ordbok over det norske folkemålet og det nynorske skriftmålet* ('The Norwegian Dictionary of Spoken Language and the *Nynorsk* Written Language,' henceforth NO) in Norway, where several non-standard words, declinations and constructions are documented. NO was published between 1966 and 2016 as twelve 800-page volumes comprising the complete dictionary, including material from the *Nynorsk* written language from the last 150 years, and also data from spoken Norwegian from the last 400 years (i.e., spoken Modern Norwegian).[25]

25. See more details (in Norwegian) in Karlsen, Vikør & Wetås (2016).

It should be noted that the relevance of the NO for this project is not limited to what is found in the actual dictionary. From the NO website,[26] there is open access to *Metaordboka* 'the meta dictionary', in which a lot of the dialect material is found. This includes *Setelarkivet* 'the archive of cards', which contains more than 3 million cards with old and new dialect material (e.g., handwritten directly by informants) and excerpts from books and papers. Frequent words, such as functional words, have a lot of cards connected to them. By 2014, there were about 3600 *med* 'with' cards, 1900 *opp* 'up' cards and 5000 *på* 'on' cards. This material will be exploited in the discussion in Chapter 4.

1.4.3 Norwegian dialectological sources

In addition to the above-mentioned data sources, I will also take advantage of the data in earlier Norwegian dialect-oriented literature. In earlier analyses of VPrt constructions, I think that the Norwegian dialectological sources have been ignored too much, and instead, too much attention has been paid to the apparent free alternation in the written standards. Dialect descriptions are a key to understanding this issue. First, not surprisingly, they highlight differences between the spoken varieties and the written standards, including syntactic ones. Second, they are empirical works which in a more or less arbitrary manner document variation, not necessarily with theoretical ambition. I consider this to be an advantage in the sense that they are less selective with the data; they do not provide only data that support a certain analysis. Works that are basically theoretically oriented can also be more selective with the data presentation, since not everything is relevant for their particular analysis. An empirical dialectological presentation of a wide range of data is a great starting point for a project like this. I consider Aasen (1848, 1864) and Sandøy (1976) particularly interesting for my work. Sandøy (1976) is more selective in the sense that it is about particle verbs, but it is very empirically founded and not theoretically driven.

1.4.4 Introspective examples

Since the very start of generative grammar (Chomsky 1957, 1965), introspection has been an important method for examining the possible structures in one's own mother language. This method can be considered a consequence of I-language being the object of study, and must be seen in connection with the basic notion of a generative grammar: "[T]he grammar of a language is represented by a formal set of rules that 'generate' (i.e., specify explicitly) the possible sentences and their

26. See http://no2014.uib.no/.

associated structural properties" (Newmeyer 1986: 67). Thus, through introspection one should be able to classify (im)possible structures, which we do not encounter in spontaneous speech. However, the method has faced massive criticism over the years; an informative discussion is given in Schütze (1996: 48ff).

In the particle literature, one could rightfully criticise the use of introspective data in, e.g., den Dikken (1995: 66). His Norwegian data are constructed and judged by one single Norwegian informant, who also happens to be a linguist. While the data corroborate den Dikken's analysis developed for English quite elegantly (the sources of the English data are not specified either), two problems immediately arise: Firstly, the particular choice of data could be influenced by den Dikken's hypotheses, since the data are presumably constructed on the basis of his ideas (cf. Newmeyer 1983). Secondly, and independently of whether they are influenced by the researcher or not, they are judged by only one informant (who is also a linguist). So, if this is a proper investigation of I-language, it is still only one person's I-language, and should therefore not be claimed to be representative for Norwegian.

Even though introspection has faced a lot of criticism, especially when it is not supported by other methods, it has a natural position within generative grammar, even outside of the historical context. When we try to ascertain what is a possible structure in a given language, we form hypotheses and manipulate sentences. We discuss the data with colleagues in different settings, and they might come up with fruitful additional introspection. Thus, introspection does not equal or replace an empirical investigation, but it is a natural working method when making hypotheses about, thinking about, and discussing linguistic issues. It is important to stress that discussions with colleagues may amount to a kind of introspection, so the term does not literally mean an examination of one's own mind. Introspection is therefore a necessary part of a linguistic work, which not only has a natural and rightful place, but an inevitable place. However, its major advantage is in many ways its major drawback: The fact that you do not have to move from the office chair to get "data" can lead to a certain exaggeration and misuse of these "data." Even if one investigates one's own mother language, that is really only an investigation of one I-language (and perhaps those of colleagues representing one I-language each). I will therefore not use the term *data* for sentences that I construct or manipulate myself. Let us just refer to them as (possible or impossible) *examples*.[27]

27. Introspection is clearly reminiscent of, but not quite the same as, acceptability judgement tests as done with informants during fieldwork. The goal of both is to access the I-language of a speaker, as opposed to a corpus study, where one studies actual language production (E-language). Schütze (1996: 50) separates the linguistic intuitions of an informant from introspection, as the term is understood in traditional psychological experiments. However, introspection as

VPrt constructions are frequent in Norwegian, and a corpus like the NDC can easily reveal the actual distribution of the particle, to the left or the right, but it does not directly reveal the semantic difference between the two, which we must extract from each example. In Chapter 4, I will discuss the theoretical outcome of (the analysis of) the alternation problem on a more principled level. When we move the discussion into a more detailed semantic realm, a corpus alone cannot come to the core of these problems, because it cannot provide varied enough data to support or contradict the theoretical hypotheses. One can "stretch" the authentic data by using them as inspiration for various manipulations of the sentences they provide (to be examined through introspection), but the authentic data alone simply do not supply enough material. They are not sophisticated, articulated, or numerous enough. Therefore, introspection is an inevitable and useful method in these discussions.

I will typically illustrate and manipulate minimal meaning pairs, which despite their small differences are intuitively quite different. In such cases, the use of introspective examples is efficient and appropriate, i.e., when the difference in acceptability between two similar sentences is striking, and to a less extent a result of individual or dialectal variation. I will manipulate both constructed and authentic examples, so that the introspective examples are all in all quite diverse. Consider the following pair that will be discussed further in Section 4.2:

(22) a. **RPrt:**
Køyre bilen inn
drive car-the in
'Drive the car inside' (e.g., the garage)

b. **LPrt:**
Køyre inn bilen
drive in car-the
'Drive the car inside', *or*
'Break in the car'

(23) a. **RPrt:**
–Gå skoa inn
–walk shoes-the in
'Walk the shoes inside'

described in the present section lies closer to the psychological understanding of the term, since it refers to the linguist's own reflections on the language, and not only the intuitions of the informant. Exactly for this reason, and based on Schütze's observation, I think we should be careful not to refer to a linguist's own examples as "data." Instead, we should stick to the term examples since they first and foremost illustrate our thinking.

b. **LPrt:**
+Gå inn skoa
+walk in shoes-the
'Break in the shoes'

It is not very likely that any Norwegian corpus will have all these concrete examples confirmed (at least not (23a), which I will argue in 4.2 is more marginal). Neither of the examples is found in the NDC. The closest we find is *kjøre inn høyet* 'drive in the hay,' which is confirmed with a couple of LPrt examples, but not with RPrt. In *Nynorskkorpuset* 'The *Nynorsk* Corpus,'[28] (22a) is found four times, but none of the others are present. Still, these examples (at least three of them) are highly conventional, and all of the words are common (all of the different examples and interpretations are also confirmed with Google search results).[29] I will show in Section 4.2 that constructing and discussing minimal pairs of this kind is very efficient and fruitful. If we were confirmed to discussing solely authentic examples taken from a Norwegian corpus, we would not make much progress in our theoretical discussions. Introspection is not a replacement for empirical work, and introspective examples are not true data. Nevertheless, in order to make fruitful hypotheses in theoretical work, they must be included at some level, since they are a crucial part of the thinking of language.

1.4.5 Acceptability judgement of the Norwegian particle distribution

Acceptability judgement tests have not been at the methodological forefront of this work, but it was relevant for a smaller fieldwork carried through in Trøndelag (see Section 2.1.3). I will briefly discuss a few issues here that are relevant in the specific particle context.

28. *Nynorskkorpuset* is a large text corpus consisting of more than 100 million words from a wide range of *Nynorsk* sources, e.g. novels, children's books, newspapers, textbooks, The corpus is available online at http://no2014.uib.no/korpuset/.

29. Yet, to rely on Google searches is not unproblematic. Schütze (2011) discusses several problems by using the World Wide Web as a corpus. Qualitative problems include lack of background knowledge for many of the hits. On many web pages we do not know who actually created the content on them (and therefore we do not know their first language or dialect either). Furthermore, we cannot control whether some hits are machine-translated or not. Quantitative problems include the commercial search engines, which use proprietary algorithms so that we do not know how they arrive at the number of hits we get (the web is too big for any search engine to count *all* results exhaustively). In addition to this, when there are, say, a million hits, we do not know how many of these are actually multiple copies of the same content.

Judgement tests can be used to gain a more direct access to infrequent or marginal constructions, which are not that easily attested in free speech materials such as spoken corpora (cf. Cornips & Poletto 2005, Schütze 2011). As for VPrt constructions, the standard type is not infrequent, but more specific types such as colour adjectival LPrt constructions (see Åfarli 1985) are more rare, and impossible for many speakers. The impossible constructions have always been of interest for generative grammarians, in the sense that speakers have immediate knowledge of impossible structures in their language despite the lack of negative evidence. Judgement tests can thus reveal the grade of acceptability of a sentence, and the linguist will try to analyse the (un)grammaticality of that sentence; the performance of the speaker/hearer lays the foundation for the mapping of his competence (cf. Chomsky 1965: 4, Schütze 1996: 19ff).

For the purpose of this work, it is important to know that most Norwegians write a language that is, among other things, syntactically closer to Danish than the language/dialect they speak (cf. 1.1.4). This could suggest that many speakers may be capable of judging a sentence (at least in a written elicitation scheme) in a more Danish direction than what is actually representative of their dialect. The LPrt preference hypothesis, if correct, means that spoken Norwegian is more "Swedish" on the syntactic level than is indicated by the Danish-influenced written standard(s). Especially since *Bokmål* is the first official language for a great majority of the speakers, there will necessarily be a significant syntactic discrepancy between the oral production and the judgement of a "correct" Norwegian sentence. A difficulty with investigating VPrt constructions is that, although I hypothesise that most Norwegians prefer the LPrt alternative, most speakers will also accept (and even prefer) the RPrt order in some contexts. If the informant judges written sentences, RPrt constructions will probably have a higher degree of acceptability than if they are presented orally. In some cases, acceptability vs. unacceptability will be relevant; in other cases preferences and degrees of acceptability are relevant. This is why an oral elicitation may be more helpful in the VPrt case. However, it also makes any authentic speech material (e.g., the NDC) even more invaluable, because actual usage will also give us an idea of the real preference.[30]

30. Endresen (1988) examines the distribution of negation and light pronouns in Central Norwegian and North Swedish, and he concludes (on his p. 54) that in order to discover the real syntactic patterns, and the actual competence of the speakers, he would need an authentic material of spontaneous speech. He notes a clear discrepancy between what the informants believe they say, and what they actually say (p. 53).

1.5 The structure of the book

The book is organised as follows. In Chapter 2, I will present earlier and more recent data. In the simplex construction, we will see that LPrt distribution clearly dominates. I will also present other data, for which the alternation problem is less relevant. The oldest modern Norwegian data that I include are Ivar Aasen's findings from the 1840s. The most recent and equally most important data are taken from the NDC.

In Chapter 3, some important previous theoretical accounts from the particle literature will be discussed, and I will shed light on two major perspectives: the alternation problem and the status of the particle. The alternation problem will be discussed through Taraldsen (1983), Åfarli (1985), den Dikken (1995), and Svenonius (1996a). The major questions in this part were formulated already in Section 1.1.1: *What is the basic word order? How are the two alternative word orders derived?* All the mentioned works analyse VPrt constructions as prediational, i.e., as small clauses (or similar). Concerning the status of the particle, I will incluce non-predicational analyses, where the morphological and syntactic relation between V and LPrt is essential. These issues will be discussed through Zeller (2001) and Ramchand & Svenonius (2002)/Ramchand (2008). All of the selected works include Norwegian in their discussion, either as the primary object of study or in a comparative context.

Chapter 4 is the main analytical chapter, and Larsen's (2014) model will be my starting point. He suggests that the RPrt projects and heads a SC, while the LPrt does not project, but forms a complex head with the verb. This can contribute to explaining the LPrt preference hypothesis quite elegantly and also provide a necessary distinction between predicational and non-predicational VPrt constructions, which is also strongly related to the LPrt vs. RPrt distribution in Norwegian. In this chapter, the data puzzles from Chapter 2 will be analysed successively; in short that means simplex and complex constructions, phrasal particles, Ground promotion, and finally unaccusatives. In this discussion, we will also map the factors that the full interpretation of a VPrt structure depend on: the structural, lexical and situational semantics (see 1.2.2). The goal is here to explore whether the microvariation is regulated on the phrase structure level (as in a representational model) or by derivational operations (like particle movement). I wil argue that spatial VPrt constructions are derivational, while non-spatial constructions must be analysed in a representational model.

Chapter 5 sums up and concludes.

CHAPTER 2

Norwegian verb-particle data

In this chapter, I will look at both older and contemporary data representing several different types of verb-particle (VPrt) constructions. The earliest Modern Norwegian data that I include are Ivar Aasen's findings from the 1840s, presented in his two grammar books (Aasen 1848: § 335, 1864: § 334). The former of these is descriptive,[1] and the latter is the first prescriptive *Nynorsk* grammar.[2] But since the norms of the 1864 grammar are so tightly connected to the data from spoken varieties, it is also relevant here. Throughout the 20th century, most grammars that included VPrt constructions dealt with (one of) the written standards. Heggstad (1931: § 425–429) and Beito (1970: § 153) describe some empirical facts about particle verbs in *Nynorsk*, while Western (1921: § 454) has a corresponding section in his *Riksmål*/*Bokmål* grammar. All these grammars primarily deal with the difference between particle verbs and prefix verbs, and Beito also discusses compound verbs in general.[3]

When it comes to comparative syntax, Hulthén's (1948) work is quite remarkable. He provides a systematic grammatical comparison of the Mainland Scandinavian written languages, including a section on VPrt constructions. However, the most important early work for our purposes is Sandøy's (1976) comparative study of VPrt constructions in Romsdal Norwegian, Faroese and Icelandic (and Old Norse). This is to my knowledge the most thorough systematic empirical work on VPrt constructions in Scandinavian dialectology. The new aspect of this book is that it primarily deals with syntactic variation in spoken language. Aasen's and Sandøy's findings are of great importance and serve as the inspiration for my

1. However, Walton (1996: 424) claims that the 1848 grammar and also the 1850 dictionary were actually more prescriptive than traditionally claimed, and that Aasen's aim to systematise the collected material triggered the standardisation already during the fieldwork.

2. As mentioned in Section 1.1.4, *Nynorsk* was named *Landsmål* or *Folkemålet* until 1929, but we generally use the *Nynorsk* term here for ease of exposition.

3. Again, I refer to the website *Bibliografi over målføresyntaktiske arbeid* 'Bibliography of dialect-syntactic work' for a general overview of earlier studies carried through in the Mainland Scandinavian area (mainly in Norway and Sweden): http://websim.arkivert.uit.no/getfile.php%3fSiteId=150%26PageId=6795%26FileId=48.

analysis in Chapter 4. My own findings from the pilot fieldwork in Trøndelag and Nordmøre (see Section 2.1) basically confirm what Aasen and Sandøy already noted. The main data source upon which I will build my theoretical argumentation is the *Nordic Dialect Corpus* (NDC) (Johannessen et al. 2009) (cf. 1.4.1.2), which includes much more material than is possible to collect on one's own within a reasonable amount of time.

The chapter is organised thematically as follows. In Section 2.1, I will discuss what is usually referred to as simplex VPrt constructions. These constructions include a transitive verb, and particle alternation is generally possible, which is the reason why they are discussed most often in the linguistic literature on the North Germanic languages. But we will see that there are more restrictions on RPrt distribution than traditionally claimed. Section 2.1 will differ from the other sections in that it also discusses the relevant sources and methods. Section 2.2 includes a short note on the word accent of V + LPrt constructions. Section 2.3 discusses complex particle constructions, in which we see a (resultative) PP complement in the right periphery. In 2.3, I also include a subsection on complex phrasal particles. Section 2.4 introduces Ground promoting particles, where alternation is not possible. Section 2.5 discusses unaccusative VPrt constructions, where alternation is only possible in impersonal constructions – but not in weather constructions. Section 2.6 concludes the chapter.

2.1 Simplex constructions

This section discusses simplex VPrt constructions, namely those which involve a full DP, and also introduces my data sources more in detail. Subsection 2.1.1 presents earlier empirical overviews (theoretical accounts will be discussed in Chapter 3). Subsection 2.1.2 discusses prior work on the NDC, and provides details concerning the search interface (2.1.2.1), the specific searches undertaken for this project (2.1.2.2) and the results obtained (2.1.2.3). 2.1.3 describes a smaller fieldwork project carried through in Trøndelag and Nordmøre (Central Norwegian dialects).

2.1.1 Previous accounts

In comparative studies of the particle distributions in the Scandinavian languages, the optionality in (1c) below is usually presented as the situation for Norwegian. To the best of my knowledge, the first work that gave an overview of VPrt constructions in all the Mainland Scandinavian languages was by Hulthén (1948: 159–168). This work is mainly concerned with the written standards, and includes both

of the Norwegian standards *Nynorsk* and *Bokmål* in the discussion. Thráinsson (2007: 34, 142) gives a more complete Scandinavian overview, with the inclusion of Faroese and Icelandic. Thráinsson's data are given in (1),[4] and his presentation of the Mainland Scandinavian languages corresponds with the claims made by Hulthén (1948).

(1) a. **Danish:**
Jeg skrev {*op} nummeret {op}.
I wrote {*up} number-the {up}
'I wrote down the number'

b. **Swedish:** Hon kastade {ut} Johan {*ut}.
'She threw {out} John {*out}'

c. **Norwegian:**
Han spiste {opp} tørrfisken {opp}.
He ate {up} dryfish-the {up}
'He ate up the dried fish'

d. **Faroese:** Hann gjørdi {upp} snørið {upp}.
'He wound {up} line-the {up}'

e. **Icelandic:**
Ég skrifaði {niður} símanúmerið {niður}.
I wrote {down} telephone number-the {down}
'I wrote down the number'

A potential problem with (1) is that spatial (predicational) and non-spatial examples are arbitrarily mixed. The Swedish and Faroese examples are spatial/directional, while the others are non-spatial. We will see later that this distinction matters for the distribution of the particle.[5] However, Danish and Swedish show the most rigid patterns; Danish allows only RPrt,[6] and Swedish only LPrt. Norwegian, Faroese and Icelandic all show optional VPrt distribution according to (1).

Regarding Norwegian, there is reason to believe that (1c) represents first and foremost the standard written conventions; at least Hulthén (1948) is clear about that he is commenting on written sources. Importantly, Ivar Aasen's data

4. Thráinsson also includes light pronoun constructions in his overview, but they will not be discussed here.

5. This is the case at least for Norwegian. In Swedish and Danish, the patterns are more rigid, and the spatial/non-spatial distinction is not necessarily so relevant, at least not in full DP constructions. See Vinka (1999) for a distributional difference in light pronoun constructions concerning (in his terms) predicative vs. non-predicative constructions.

6. As mentioned in 1.4.2, Pedersen (2017) shows that LPrt constructions are also found in Danish, contrary to what is usually claimed.

of colloquial Norwegian from the 1840s speak to a different conclusion than what is suggested by the Norwegian pattern in (1c). Aasen (1848) claims that both intransitive prepositions (§ 334) and directional adverbs (§ 335) (directional Ps in our terminology) are generally distributed in front of the verb's object, when the object is a noun. In other words, LPrt distribution could seem to be the unmarked pattern for Norwegian full DP constructions. All the examples in (2) are Aasen's:

(2) a. Me ha lagt paa ein Stein.
we have put on a stone
'We left a stone on it'

b. Dei tok fraa Hesten, set fyre Hesten, slepp ut Hesten
they took from horse-the /set ahead horse-the /let out horse-the
'They loosed the horse' / 'place the horse in front' / 'let out the horse'

c. Dei ha' havt inn Høy'e.
they have had in hay-the
'They have taken in the hay'

d. Han slo av Staven.
he hit off stick-the
'He broke the stick'

e. Eg talde upp-atte Penganne.
I counted up-back money-the
'I counted the money over again'

Aasen (1864: § 334–5) repeats the claim that LPrt distribution (in our terms) is the unmarked pattern, and he formulates the LPrt distribution as a prescriptive rule.[7] But he adds some important exceptions. Particles (adverbs) which describe place or direction can appear to the right of the object, especially in a written context, to promote a contrastive meaning. However, in spoken language, a prosodically prominent LPrt has the same effect. This discussion became relevant to Aasen when he was establishing the *Nynorsk* written language. His 1864 grammar is thus a *Nynorsk* prescriptive grammar, while his original 1848 grammar is commonly assumed to be a descriptive grammar of the Norwegian spoken language ("det norske Folkesprog") (see Walton 1996: 503ff for an extended discussion).

An interesting detail concerning Aasen's informants from the 1840s is that they must have been something close to "ideal" dialect speakers – not influenced significantly by the standards of the written Danish. Today, Norwegian speakers are massively exposed to other dialects and to other languages such as English, and therefore they can count as multilingual (Vulchanova et al. 2012). Fet (1995,

7. Aasen's words: "Den Regel at Adverbiet skal sættes forved et Substantiv, …" 'The rule that an adverb should be distributed in front of a noun, …' (my translation).

2003) documents that many Norwegian peasants were actually capable of reading in the 18th century, which is earlier than commonly assumed. The writing ability developed much later, among others because there was no compulsory writing instrtuction in school until the Education Act of 1827. Fet assumes that 12–24% of the Norwegian population were able to write around 1800, but that the Education Act of 1827 enhanced writing ability among the population (see an English summary of Fet's work in Fet 2003: 387ff). Hoel (2018: 452) claims that lack of sources makes it difficult to conclude on the general writing ability in the mid 19th century. But Fet's (2003) studies show that a lot of peasants in Northwest Norway learned to write outside school, and kept the tradition alive within the families. Still, a *general* public literacy was triggered first and foremost by the Education Act of 1860, which demanded the building of school houses in the countryside and a formalised teacher education. Children's writing ability thus improved significantly from the 1860s onwards (Hoel 2018: 453). With this in mind, we can assume that at least Aasen's older informants in the 1840s probably represented a less "spoilt" system of spoken modern Norwegian. Of course it is difficult to measure the influence Danish could have had on people's spoken language, and Danish would also be the oral church language at the time. But once they were able to produce the Danish pattern on paper, there was further potential for influence.

Western (1921: § 454) claims that the RPrt construction *Lægen satte benet av* 'the doctor put the leg off (down)' was transferred from German (*Der Artzt setzte das Bein ab*). There might be some borrowings from German in Norwegian, but we must assume that the early written *Riksmål/Bokmål* more or less showed the same word order pattern as Danish. Interestingly, Western (loc.cit.), like Aasen, claims the LPrt variant *Lægen satte av benet* 'the doctor put off (down) the leg' to be the Norwegian word order,[8] but it is unclear to me whether this is a description of spoken Norwegian, an advice for writers of *Riksmål*, or both. He does give more explicit details on spoken language, e.g., light pronoun LPrt constructions (*Han satte av det* he put off it 'He put it off'), which he finds inappropriate in the educated *Riksmål* speech, and which one presumably should avoid writing.[9] The interesting part here is that a sociolectal distinction is established, and thus we can assume that some speakers would switch between the patterns. A switch between the grammar of the local dialect and, e.g., that of the urban East Norwegian standardised dialect and/or the *Bokmål* standard is relevant still today (cf. Eide &

8. "Den norske ordstilling er *lægen satte av benet*, når objektet er trykksterkt …" 'The Norwegian word order is *'the doctor put off the leg'*, when the object is prominent' (my translation).

9. "Dialektisk sies endog *han satte av det*, *han fyrte av det*, men det kan neppe sies å tilhøre den dannede riksmåls-uttale." 'In the dialects, one would still say *'he put off it, he fired off it'*, but it can hardly be said to belong to the educated *Riksmål* speech' (my translation).

Åfarli 2007). With our simplified definition of a dialect in 1.4.1.2, we must assume more social variation and input from the written standards than our definition captures. The definition is repeated here:

(3) A dialect is a geographically based language system different from other geographically based language systems, and different from the relevant written (and spoken) standard(s).

The informant selection criteria of the NDC (see 1.4.1.2) also minimise the internal and social variation on each measure point. We must still keep that in mind.

As mentioned several times already, Sandøy's (1976) dissertation is of great importance for the present work. In particular, on pp. 88–113, he reports an interesting pattern for the West Scandinavian languages which forces us to revise (1c) and also (1d). According to Sandøy, Faroese has a clear RPrt preference; LPrt and RPrt seem to be in free variation only when the particle apparently constitutes a fixed expression with the verb (and the meaning of the particle is apparently blurred). Nearly the opposite is the case for the Romsdal dialect (Northwest Norwegian), in which LPrt is clearly preferred as the unmarked alternative, and RPrt can only occur when the verb, the particle or the DP is prominent. Usually, the direction is emphasised in a given RPrt construction. Non-spatial constructions allow LPrt distribution in Faroese and have obligatory LPrt in Romsdal Norwegian. The particle itself in such idiom-like, fixed expressions is often claimed to have a very vague meaning,[10] and typically cannot be replaced by other particles.[11] Some of Sandøy's examples from his pp. 107f are given in (4) (the use of curly brackets is mine):

(4) a. Han he rekna {+ut} prisan {*ut}.
he has calculated {+out} prices-the {*out}
'He calculated the prices'

b. … korleis me laga {+te} mat {*te}.
… how we make {+to} food {*to}
'… how we prepare the food'

c. Han las {+opp} brevet {*opp}.
he read {+up} letter-the {*up}
'He read the letter loudly'

10. In Chapter 4, I will claim that the semantics of the particle is constant, and that the *distribution* (the structural semantics) of the particle on the one hand and the *context* and our *world knowledge* on the other contribute to our *interpretation* of the particle, though they do not change the meaning of it.

11. In Chapter 4, we will see that this diagnostics is too strict.

d. I gløymte å legge {+fram} detta beviset {?fram}.
I forgot to lay {+ahead} this evidence-the {?ahead}
'I forgot to show the evidence'

The main rule for Romsdal Norwegian is that LPrt is certainly preferred, but RPrt is allowed in certain combinations, as in (4d).

In Sandøy's comparison with the Insular Scandinavian languages, it turns out to be hard to generalise a rigid pattern for Icelandic. Smári (1920: § 165) claims that LPrt distribution is the typical pattern, but that RPrt is also possible. Sandøy does not find support for this rule in his material. In fact, he spots a slight preference for RPrt if the DP is a determinative. If the particle is combined with a bare noun, there is a slight preference for LPrt. His informants do not provide any clear answers, except in one case, where an informant notes that LPrt constructions emphasise the DP, and RPrt constructions stress the meaning of the verb (action) or the particle (direction).

Given Sandøy's observations, I think it would be more accurate to modify the judgement pattern in (1c, d, e) to (5a, b, c), although it is still a very simplified representation. From the discussion above, it appears that Icelandic might be more nuanced than (5c) indicates. Sandøy (1985: 102) provides an updated treatment of Icelandic in line with Smári (1920): a general preference for LPrt is claimed. I have not marked this in (5c). Instead, I will leave the Icelandic question open. However, I *have* followed Sandøy's (1985) report on Norwegian, in which he claims that most dialects (and not only the Romsdal dialect) prefer LPrt.

(5) a. **Norwegian:**
Han tok {+inn} sykkelen {–inn}.
he took {+in} bike-the {–in}
'He carried the bike inside'

b. **Faroese:**
Hann gjørdi {–upp} snørið {+upp}.
He wound {–up} line-the {+up}
'He wound up the line'

c. **Icelandic:**
Ég skrifaði {niður} símanúmerið {niður}.
I wrote {down} telephone number-the {down}
'I wrote down the number'

Although the Norwegian pattern is claimed by Sandøy (1985) not to be equally rigid in all dialects, there is reason to believe that the LPrt preference is the general

rule for Norwegian, and that optional distribution is rather the exception, representing a smaller number of dialects.[12]

2.1.2 The Nordic Dialect Corpus

2.1.2.1 *Narrowing down to Norwegian*

As mentioned in Section 1.4.1.2, the Norwegian part of the Nordic Dialect Corpus (NDC) (Johannessen et al. 2009) includes conversations and interviews with almost 440 speakers from 111 measure points (Johannessen & Hagen 2014: 17). In such a large corpus, a proper search interface is important in order to limit the number of irrelevant search results. First of all, we can search for word classes and lemmas (Johannessen et al. 2009: 75), which in the case of VPrt constructions provides us with all inflected forms of the verb and the DP (when it is an appellative noun). Johannessen et al. (2009) outline a number of possibilities for searching the corpus that I will not go into here. A crucial detail for syntacticians is that the corpus is parsed, so it is possible to search for word strings. In the VPrt context, we can search for the word strings like the ones in (6):

(6) a. [inflected verb] + [prep] + [inflected noun]
b. [inflected verb] + [inflected noun] + [prep]

We do not have to specify the verb or noun lemma in the word string, but it might be a good idea to specify the preposition, which I will return to in 2.1.2.2.

There are many geographical options that can be used to limit the search; we can specify country, region, area and place. In this project, since my primary focus encompasses Norwegian VPrt constructions, a country restriction is usually appropriate.

As mentioned in Section 1.1.3, one of the reasons for making a Nordic dialect corpus was that all five Nordic countries/areas plus the Swedish speaking part of Finland can be considered to be one big dialect continuum. All six of the relevant written standards (Icelandic, Faroese, Swedish, Danish, *Nynorsk*, and *Bokmål*) are closely related. There is mutual intelligibility between the mainland languages, and between the two insular languages. Between the mainland and the insular languages, there is some mutual intelligibility, at least between the written forms (cf.

12. In English, the optional distribution is well established in the literature. Therefore, Fraser's (1976: 18) empirical generalisations are interesting. Here, he claims that LPrt is preferred "when the noun phrase is very short, consisting of a single word such as *John*, *water*, or *problems*, …" Thus, *He heated up water* is preferred over *He heated water up*.

Johannessen et al. 2009: 74).[13] Hence, one could well argue that an investigation that crosses borders to a greater extent is more appropriate for this study. We saw in 2.1.1 that Norwegian, Faroese and Icelandic are traditionally claimed to have free particle alternation. But by taking the dialectological literature into account, we could use the claim that there is no free particle alternation in Norwegian to motivate a new investigation of Faroese and Icelandic too. There are already some indications from Smári (1920) and Sandøy (1976, 1985) that the Icelandic and Faroese alternation is not free.

In spite of this, I will keep my studies mainly within the Norwegian borders and consider the other languages only in passing. One reason for this is that the alternation problem is only one of several empirical issues that I will discuss. I have already mentioned that from Section 4.2 onwards the alternation problem will be less prominent. By keeping the focus restricted to Norway, I can include a wider range of data, and the data discussion can be more detailed and sophisticated. There are many interesting phenomena in the Norwegian VPrt typology that have not been discussed before, and I think my best opportunity to make a substantial contribution in the VPrt area is to concentrate on the chosen phenomena. The diversity found within Norwegian is quite substantial, and hopefully some of my findings and discussions can trigger (re)investigations of related languages.

2.1.2.2 *The specific searches*

The corpus allows us to search for word strings and to specify morphosyntactic criteria for each word. In the search for prepositional VPrt constructions, I specified the directional prepositions *ut* 'out', *inn* 'in', *opp* 'up', and *ned* 'down'. This resulted in a good amount of data, but still an amount that is manageable. I know from my dictionary work (see Section 1.4.2) that these prepositions are frequently used as particles, and more rarely (I would estimate around 2–3% of the cases) used as transitive prepositions.[14] This means that almost all results of a search with the specifications in (6a) will be relevant. On the other hand, prepositions like *i* 'in', *på* 'on', and *med* 'with' are mainly used transitively, so the search string in (6a) will give mostly irrelevant results. Since these prepositions are also very frequent, the total number of irrelevant results will be vast.

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13. Written Faroese is quite intelligible in the neighbouring countries due to V. U. Hammershaimb's (1819–1909) archaic standardisation from the 19th century. If Faroese were standardised more orthophonically (i.e., based on one of its spoken varieties), it would be less intelligible outside its borders (cf. Sandøy 1974: 14, Skomedal 1981: 88).

14. In Swedish, the selected prepositions cannot be adnominal at all and are hence construed as directional adverbials. Lundquist (2012) suggests that the Norwegian variants are only apparently adnominal and take a null preposition: *They carried him up Ø the stairs*.

I edited both *på* 'on' and *med* 'with' for *Norsk Ordbok* (NO) and thus systematically studied them in *Nynorskkorpuset* ('The *Nynorsk* Corpus,' which contains more than 100 million words, cf. 1.4.1.1). One of the conclusions from this work was that when *på* 'on' is used as a particle, it typically combines with an unaccusative verb – either a meteorological verb denoting something like an increasing wind or clouding (*lette* 'lighten', *auke* 'increase', *friske* 'freshen', *kvikne* 'quicken', *tjukne* 'thicken' *på* 'on'), or a verb denoting movement or duration (*gå* 'go', *køyre* 'drive', *fly* 'fly', *røyne* 'tire', *stå* 'stand' *på* 'on'). As we will see in Section 4.5, particle alternation is not relevant for these constructions. There are of course *på* 'on' combinations with a transitive verb too (e.g., *slå {på} lyset {på}* hit {on} the light {on} 'turn on the light'), but these are very few in number compared to all the examples we would have to ignore in a corpus study of particle alternation.[15]

The advantage of focusing on the four directional prepositions is that they all are frequently used as particles (irrelevant results are minimised, so we get manageable results), and they are used in plenty of different non-spatial constructions in addition to concrete spatial constructions. They also combine with a lot of verbs, both semantically specific and more vague (or polysemous) ones. All in all, I think they represent an essential sample of the prepositional particles used in Norwegian.

In the NDC, I searched for the eight strings schematised below (limiting myself to the Norwegian dialect area):[16]

(7) a. VERB + *ut* 'out' / *inn* 'in' / *opp* 'up' / *ned* 'down' + NOUN
b. VERB + NOUN + *ut* 'out' / *inn* 'in' / *opp* 'up' / *ned* 'down'

This means that I did not search for prominent pronouns, although they would also count as full DPs. Neither did I search for indefinite or heavy DPs (i.e., involving several words in the phrase). My working hypothesis in 1.1.1 suggests that the LPrt distribution is the preferred and unmarked alternative. Information structurally, indefinite DPs should be distributed sentence-finally since they carry new information (see e.g. Svenonius 1996b). Heavy DPs also appear sentence-finally. This means that both these types of DPs alone should trigger LPrt distribution. To the contrary, definite DPs (with a definite suffix) should be less likely to appear sentence-finally, and thus they should trigger RPrt distribution. In other words,

15. In NO, the particle is shown in the adverb article, *I på*. NO's choice of the adverb category for particles is discussed in Aa (2011).

16. Since the corpus is transcribed in each country's respective standard orthography (i.e., *Bokmål* for Norwegian, see 1.4.1.2), we can limit the search by specifying at least one of the words in the string. If we specify the preposition *opp* 'up', we have already excluded all but Norwegian (in Icelandic, Faroese and Swedish, the corresponding preposition is *upp* while in Danish it is *op*).

they speak against my working hypothesis and will therefore be treated in detail in the research.

When I present the results in 2.1.2.3, I will specify the spatial and non-spatial constructions. I assume that all of the four particles in (7) have a basic directional meaning, and that all other uses are derived from this meaning (cf., e.g., preposition entries in dictionaries, and see the discussion in 4.2.4).

Sandøy (1976: 105f) stresses the difference between *bere ut* 'carry out' and *dele ut* 'hand out'; only the former expression expresses directionality. This means that when *ut* combines with *dele*, it has a non-spatial/non-directional interpretation. In Section 4.2.4, I will claim that *ut*'s basic semantics is always directional (see also 2.1.2.3 below). The semantics of the verb and the DP contribute to our interpretation of the particle, and thus to the interpretation of the construction as a whole. Below, I go more into details concerning the results of my searches of the NDC, and I will discuss more in detail what I mean by spatial vs. non-spatial constructions.

2.1.2.3 *Results*

As mentioned in 2.1.2.2, I searched for LPrt and RPrt occurrences with *opp* 'up', *ned* 'down', *ut* 'out', and *inn* 'in' in the NDC. Thus, I obtained plenty of both spatial and non-spatial results. In some cases it can be hard to draw a clear line between these two categories, but I have tried to judge each and every sentence gathered in the searches. I will assume that all of the four relevant particles have basic semantics which expresses some kind of physical direction:

(8) a. *ut* 'out' – 'to a point outside or further out (*ute*LOC)'
b. *inn* 'in' – 'to a point inside or further in (*inne*LOC)'
c. *opp* 'up' – 'to a higher (physical) level'
d. *ned* 'down' – 'to a lower (physical) level'

I will discuss more thoroughly in Section 4.2.4 what is meant by basic semantics. Here, it will suffice to state that all examples which entail a directionality compatible with the basic semantics of the particle are by definition spatial/directional. All examples which do not entail a directionality compatible with the basic semantics of the particle are non-spatial/non-directional. A simple pair is given in (9):

(9) a. **Spatial/directional:**
kaste ut boka
throw out book-the
'throw out the book'
b. **Non-spatial/Non-directional:**
lese ut boka
read out book-the
'finish the book'

(9a) is compatible with (8a); the book ends up on a point outside or further out as a result of the throwing. (9b) is not compatible with (8a); the book does not end up on a point outside or further out as a result of the reading. This is basically what qualifies (9a) and (9b) as spatial/directional and non-spatial/non-directional, respectively. Using these criteria, we can look at some examples from the NDC of spatial/directional constructions in (10), and of non-spatial/non-directional constructions in (11). I have included LPrt and RPrt constructions in both groups, although the RPrt alternative is quite rare in the second group (cf. Table 1 below).

(10) **Spatial/directional constructions**

a. de **setter kjelene ned** (Bømlo, WNorw)
they put boilers-the down
'they put the boilers down'

b. vinduet stod åpent så jeg kunne **ta ut hånda**
window-the stood open so I could take out hand-the
(Hjelmeland, WNorw)
'the window was open so I could stretch out my hand'

c. **saga ned trær** og laga benker (Hyllestad, WNorw)
sawed down trees and made benches
'sawed down some trees and made benches (of them)'

d. vi **bar inn ved** (Lom, ENorw)
we carried in wood
'we carried the wood inside'

e. du **satte beina ned** (Vegårshei, SNorw)
you put legs-the down
'you put your legs down'

f. jeg … **slipper ankeret ut** (Hammerfest, NNorw)
I … let anchor-the out
'I … let the anchor out'

g. det er nå … fire fem andre naust der som **tar inn**
there are now … four five other boathouses there that take in
båtene (Bud, WNorw)
boats-the
'there are four or five other boathouses there, which house the boats'

(11) **Non-spatial/non-directional constructions**

a. **bytte ut bilen** med sykkel (Herøy, WNorw)
change out car-the with bike
'change the car for a bike'

b. **følge opp dyra** (Alvdal, ENorw)
follow up animals-the
'take care of the animals'

c. de **sang inn jula** (Aremark, ENorw)
they sang in Christmas-the
'they sang in the Christmas season'

d. de får **samla opp pengene** (Karmøy, WNorw)
they get collected up money-the
'they managed to collect the money'

e. de kan **plukke ut narvikværingene** (Steigen, NNorw)
they can pick out Narvik citizens-the
'they can spot the citizens of Narvik'

f. han … **la opp ruta for dagen** (Flå, ENorw)
he … laid up schedule-the for the day
'he planned the schedule for the day'

As we have seen through Sandøy (1976), spatiality is a structurally relevant criterion; non-spatial RPrt constructions are rare, and for some speakers even impossible. Therefore, I have tried to separate spatial from non-spatial VPrt constructions in the corpus results, to investigate whether this tendency is relevant across the country. Many examples, like the ones given in (10) and (11), are easy to classify as either spatial or not. But it is important to keep in mind that there are also examples that are more difficult to classify. Here are two such examples from the NDC:

(12) **Grey area examples**

a. amerikanere som **sender inn videoer** som de har filma sjøl
Americans that send in videos that they have taped self
(Suldal, WNorw)
'Americans who send in their videos, which they have taped themselves'

b. det **blomstrer opp hytter** (Vang, ENorw)[17]
it flourishes up cabins
'many cabins are raised'

Both of these examples should probably be characterised as non-spatial, but they also have a sense of spatiality. In (12a), videos are sent from the outside world into an institution, which is probably located inside a building; however, the expression does not express such 'from outside to inside' directionality. Therefore, it must probably be construed as non-directional. (12b) is interesting because the verb is definitely metaphorical (cabins don't flourish), but the particle can still have a directional reading (the cabins are raised up from ground level). Therefore, this

17. This example contains an unaccusative verb, where particle alternation is not relevant for personal constructions. But as we will see in Section 4.5, alternation is possible in the impersonal (directional) variants.

example is not completely clear. But as we will see in 4.5.1, particle alternation is in principle possible in impersonal unaccusatives.

Obviously, the degree of abstractness varies in many examples. We could be more specific than simply classifying a structure as either spatial or non-spatial and, e.g., follow a dictionary classification, where a lot more interpretations are elaborated upon in more detail. But if we draw a line and try to define what is structurally relevant, we will probably get a more simplified picture. This will be discussed in more detail in Section 4.2.

Table 1 sums up the spatial and non-spatial results of around 400 constructions from the NDC, featuring the four particles mentioned in (8). They are separated into five Norwegian regions.[18]

Table 1. Spatial and non-spatial LPrt and RPrt constructions

	Spat. LPrt	**Non-spat. LPrt**	**Spat. RPrt**	**Non-spat. RPrt**
West Norw.	30	47	4	2?
East Norw.	53	59	7	1?
Central Norw.	27	23	—	—
North Norw.	39	56	6	1?
South Norw.	18	16	4	—

18. The definition of the regions can be discussed from different linguistic criteria. In Table 1, I have included Nordmøre in Central Norwegian (= *Trøndersk*) (since the Nordmøre dialects belong there, although the region belongs administratively to Møre og Romsdal county in West Norway). There are borderline cases for each regional dialect group (see, e.g., Dalen 2008: 18 for *Central Norwegian*), but except for the case of Nordmøre, I have used the county borders for the regional groups. Thus, West Norwegian = the dialects in Rogaland, Vestland, and Møre og Romsdal (minus Nordmøre). South Norwegian includes Agder (The eastern part of Agder has the West Norwegian vowel reduction in infinitives and weak feminine nouns (Sandøy 1985: 85f), but the East Norwegian word accent spell-out (Sandøy 1985: 69f). To make it simple, I have still generalised Agder geographically as South Norwegian. However, usually South Norwegian is included in West Norwegian in the dialectology (see, e.g., Mæhlum & Røyneland 2013: 39f), and we might therefore add South Norwegian to West Norwegian in Table 1, too. But our geographical separation here at least allows us to see what is actually included from Agder in the NDC). *Central Norwegian* = the spoken varieties in Trøndelag + Nordmøre. North Norwegian = the dialects in the two northernmost counties, Nordland, and Troms and Finnmark (the latter being fusioned from 2020). Finally, East Norwegian includes the dialects in Innlandet, Viken, Telemark and Vestfold, and Oslo. We will not discuss borderline cases further, since they are not that relevant for the concrete measure points from where I have got results in the NDC. The regions mentioned above are new from 2020 (Trøndelag from 2018); the regional fusions in 2018 and 2020 have reduced the number of counties from 19 to 11 (Regjeringen 2019).

First, Table 1 tells us clearly that non-spatial RPrt constructions are very rare, and perhaps non-existent. The status of the four examples that I have found, acutally have an intermediate status, cf. (13).

(13) a. få folk opp … til å spille i høgere divisjoner (Karmøy, WN)
get people up … to to play in higher divisions
'get people up … in order to play in higher divisions'

b. … som altså løfta Bygde-Norge opp (Time, WN)
… which actually lifted Town-Norway up
'which actually increased the status of rural Norway'

c. sette prisen opp (Kvænangen, NN)
set price-the up
'increase the price'

d. nå prøver vi da å skyte den ned for å få vekta opp igjen (Lardal, EN)
now try we then to shoot it down for to get weight-the up again
'now we try to shoot it (the moose) down to increase the weight again'

All of the non-spatial RPrt examples include *opp* 'up', and all of them have an up-on-a-scale reading, which must be construed as an intermediate category, because it is very easy to relate to a physical upward direction. The examples in (13) are clearly resultative.

Most importantly, the NDC lends massive support to the hypothesis that LPrt is the unmarked pattern in Norwegian. This seems to be the case for all parts of the country. In the Central Norwegian dialect area (Trøndelag and Nordmøre), no RPrt constructions at all were found. One reason could be that this area is not as well covered as other areas (the total number of results is much lower than for North or East Norway, for example). South Norway is not that well covered either, especially not the coastal part (and the region is generally much smaller than e.g. East Norway). North, East and West Norway generally have the best coverage. In the particle context, that is a fairly good mix, since we would expect East Norway to contrast with North, and also West to some extent. In East Norway, the bias towards LPrt was expected to be strong, and 112 LPrt constructions vs. 8 RPrt constructions confirm this. The RPrt constructions are spatial (with one possible exception), while 53% of the LPrt constructions are non-spatial. Generally, the division between spatial and non-spatial LPrt constructions is about 50/50, except in the north and the west, where it is closer to 60/40 in favour of the non-spatial VPrt constructions.

Most importantly, however, Table 1 tells us that LPrt distribution is clearly the more frequent alternative for the simplex VPrt construction all over the country. RPrt constructions are rarer, and (only with a few possible exceptions) they are

spatial. The NDC does not give us any indication that there are Norwegian dialects with free particle alternation. However, we must not exclude the option that some dialects are less LPrt-bound than others, as noted by Sandøy (1985) and Svenonius (1996a). Svenonius (2010) claims that the particle alternates more freely in North Norwegian, and this is also the impression that I have from some informants in Nordland and Troms. At least, they show a less clear LPrt preference than speakers of Central Norwegian.

2.1.3 Fieldwork in Trøndelag (and Nordmøre)

In this section, I will briefly refer to a smaller fieldwork in six villages in Trøndelag and Nordmøre in 2009–10 (i.e., in the Central Norwegian dialect area). Nordmøre borders Trøndelag in the northeast and Romsdal in the south, with Romsdal being the northernmost area of the West Norwegian language area. Three of the villages from the fieldwork are in Fosen (Bjugn, Stokkøya and Skaugdalen), a coastal area in Trøndelag. The two southern villages are Oppdal, which is the southernmost village in Trøndelag, and Surnadal, further west in the inner part of Nordmøre. The sixth and last village is Nordli in Lierne community, in the northeast of Trøndelag, close to the Swedish border. All are plotted on Figure 1.

Figure 1. Measure points from the fieldwork in the Central Norwegian dialect area

All of the fieldwork was performed with the NORMS/ScanDiaSyn group, which was finishing data collection in the central part of Norway for the NDC and the Syntax Database. My own purpose was to join the group at different measure

points of *Central Norwegian*, so that I could get an immediate impression of the particle distribution in a heterogeneous dialect area with both coastal and inland features, and East and West Norwegian influences.

The Oppdal/Surnadal fieldwork was the most thorough; 4 younger and 4 older informants (both men and women) were interviewed in each village.[19] In Lierne, I only had time to interview 5 informants in total. In Fosen, I interviewed around 20 informants, but most of them were older people.

All the informants judged the acceptability of concrete sentences orally, and sometimes added a better alternative. Some gave evaluation numbers from on a scale from 1 (very bad) to 4 (OK) (alternatively: OK, ?, ??, *), while I interpreted their evaluation (and made notes of their ratings) in other cases. A concrete problem when evaluating simple VPrt constructions is that the RPrt alternative in most cases is only dispreferred, not outright banned. Hence, some informants will claim both options are equally good, because neither is ungrammatical. Thus, I asked for the preferred alternative, cf. the plus and minus sign in (14a). The judgements for simplex spatial VPrt constructions were as follows.

(14) a. **Fosen, Oppdal, Surnadal:**
Han kasta {+ut} hunden {–ut}.
He threw {+out} dog-the {–out}
'He threw the dog out'

b. **Lierne (east):**
Han kasta {ut} hunden {*ut}.
He threw {out} dog-the {*out}
'He threw the dog out'

All informants had a clear preference for LPrt. A couple of the informants did accept RPrt, but only when stressing the direction expressed by the particle. However, again it is important to notice that the RPrt representation is possible but generally dispreferred in the South(west) (Oppdal, Surnadal) and on the coast (Fosen). In the East (Lierne), LPrt is more or less obligatory. One young speaker accepted RPrt, while all the older ones discarded it.

The conclusions from this fieldwork should not be overstated, but interestingly they seem quite compatible with the traditional Norwegian dialect literature (cf. Aasen 1848, Sandøy 1976, 1985) and the NDC. They gave clear indications that we must reconsider earlier analyses made for Norwegian VPrt constructions.

19. The younger informants were mainly high school students (aged 16–18), and the older ones mainly pensioners (i.e., older than 65).

2.2 V + LPrt spelled out with word accent

In many Norwegian dialects, V + LPrt is spelled out as a prosodic unit with a single word accent. Western (1921: § 454) notes that this is the pronunciation in East Norwegian dialects, while Sandøy (1976: 13) claims that this is also the standard pronunciation in Romsdal Norwegian and *Central Norwegian*. Sandøy (1985: 71) claims it to be the standard pronunciation in East Norway, Trøndelag, Nordmøre, Romsdal, Inner Sogn and to a certain extent in Stavanger as well. Abrahamsen (2003: 197) notes that it can occur in the Sunnmøre dialect (West Norway) (but that it is a new phenomenon), and finally Skaalbones (2006) documents that it is quite common in the Rana dialect (North Norway). She believes that the East Norwegian intonational pattern has expanded and influenced the West and North Norwegian dialects. Generally, in West and North Norwegian dialects, the spell-out of V + LPrt as a prosodic unit is an alternative, though not standard (except in Romsdal and a few other places, where it is standard). Traditionally, the particle is prosodically prominent in the north and the west.

When something intervenes between V and Prt, with the exception of a (phonologically reduced) light pronoun or a (light) negation (e.g., *itj* 'not'), the word accent spell-out is cancelled. This means that V + full DP + RPrt is never spelled out as a prosodic unit. A prominent LPrt is used contrastively in Romsdal Norwegian (Sandøy 1976: 13) (and also in East and Central Norwegian), but is claimed to represent the normal "default" intonation in South and West Norway (Western 1921: § 454). I will use the word accent spell-out of V + LPrt to distinguish VPrt constructions from ordinary PPs, but I will not discuss intonation *per se*. I urge the reader to consult, e.g., Hosono (2014) for an overview of the intonational properties in Scandinavian VPrt constructions.

There are basically two distinct prosodic realisations of the simplex Norwegian VPrt construction. The hyphen in (15a) marks that the relevant words are a prosodic unit, while the capital letters in (15b) mark that the particle is prosodically prominent.

(15) a. kaste-ut hunden (East Norwegian default)[20]
b. kaste UT hunden
throw out dog-the (marked East Norwegian, West Norwegian default)
'throw out the dog'

20. An interesting consequence of this pronunciation is that V and Prt are *interpreted* as a word, which especially can be heard in child language, where the particle can move along with V to C (i), and even pick up the tempus suffix (ii).

2.3 Complex constructions

2.3.1 Verb-particles followed by a resultative PP

VPrt constructions followed by a resultative PP are interesting in written Norwegian because the particle distribution is apparently more rigid than in the simplex constructions. Again, Hulthén (1948: 168) discusses Mainland Scandinavian data; and while Swedish shows LPrt, Norwegian *Bokmål* apparently only allows RPrt in these constructions like Danish.

(16) a. **Danish:**
Han er i Færd med at bære Sagerne op i Skuret.
he is in progress with to carry stuff-the up in shed-the
'He is about to carry the stuff up in the shed'

b. **Swedish:**
Han håller på att bära upp grejorna i boden.
he holds on to carry up stuff-the in shed-the
'He is about to carry the stuff up in the shed'

c. ***Bokmål***:
Neste morgen satte Elisas hesten og vognen inn i en låve.
next morning put Elias horse-the and wagon-the in in a barn
'The next morning, Elias put the horse and the wagon in a barn'

Written Norwegian sources could give us an impression of free alternation in simplex constructions as in (1c) and obligatory RPrt in the complex constructions, cf. (16c). However, we have seen that LPrt is strongly preferred in spoken Norwegian, and it is reasonable to consider that there may be preference vs. dispreference in complex constructions too.

Consider (17)–(18) from the Romsdal dialect (Sandøy 1976: 105f). (17) shows two spatial/directional constructions in which RPrt is preferred but not obligatory. But in (18), which contains more fixed expressions (not denoting direction), there is more or less free particle alternation:

(i) Blir-med du ut? [correct: Blir du med ut?]
become-with you out?
'Will you come with me outside?'

(ii) Ho vemma meg. [correct: Ho var med meg]
she be-with.PRF me
'She came with me'

(17) a. Han bar {?ut} fangst'n sin {+ut} åt dei fattige.
he carried {?out} catch-the REFL {+out} to poor-the
'He carried his catch out to the poor'

b. Dei løfta {(?)opp} kassa {+opp} i lastebilen.
they lifted {(?)up} box-the {+up} in truck-the
'They lifted the box up in the truck'

(18) a. Han delte {ut} fangst'n sin {ut} åt dei fattige.
he handed {out} catch-the REFL {out} to poor-the
'He handed his catch out to the poor'

b. Han tenkte å legge {ned} noko tå sild'n {ned} på boks.[21]
he thought to lay {down} some of herring-the {down} on can
'He intended to lay some of the herring down on can'

Recall that in the non-spatial simplex constructions from Romsdal in (4), LPrt is obligatory. This means that the patterns for spatial and non-spatial constructions are parallel. There is a similar tendency to have a RPrt to a greater extent in both groups when the constructions are augmented with a resultative PP. The LPrt preference in (2) is turned into RPrt preference in (17), and the obligatory LPrt in (4) is turned into free alternation in (18).

We saw in (12) that it is sometimes hard to draw the line between spatial and non-spatial constructions, and that some complex constructions that are clearly spatial might also have an apparently optional particle distribution (like in the non-spatial constructions in (18)). The picture gets even more confusing when one considers the contradicting claims of den Dikken (1995: 51, 65f) and Svenonius (1996a: 9, 11). Both claim that English and Norwegian are parallel, but Svenonius claims that only RPrt is allowed, and den Dikken argues there is free alternation in both languages. Den Dikken's data are given in (19), Svenonius' in (20). Åfarli (1985: 83) provides a similar example to Svenonius' in (20b), but

21. (18b) can probably be understood as spatial/directional, but Sandøy claims that both *dele ut* 'hand out' and *legge ned* 'lay down/conserve' are fixed expressions that have lost a lot of their directional meaning (p. 106). Though (18b) feels more directional than (20a), he is right in the sense that other particles cannot substitute for *ut* 'out' and *ned* 'down' in these expressions. Particle substitution is no problem in (17). Note also that the particle in (17) can be extracted, as in (i), but this is not the case in (18), as in (ii):

(i) Ut bar han ikkje fangsten
out carried he not catch-the
'He didn't carry the catch out'

(ii) *Ut delte han ikkje fangsten.
out handed he not catch-the
'He didn't hand out the catch'

Åfarli's judgement is similar to den Dikken's (free alternation). In other words, there is no clear consensus concerning these data.

(19) a. They put {down} the books {down} on the shelves.
b. They sent {out} a schedule {out} to the stockholders.
c. Han satte {ned} katten {ned} på gulvet.
he put {down} cat-the {down} on floor-the
'He put the cat down on the floor'
d. De sendte {ut} møteprogrammet {ut} til aksjonærene.
they sent {out} schedule-the {out} to stockholders-the
'They sent the schedule out to the stockholders'

(20) a. The doorman threw {*/OK out} the drunks {out} from the bar.
b. Vi kastet {*ut} hunden {ut} av huset.
we threw {*out} dog-the {out} of house-the
'We threw the dog out of the house'

Svenonius rejects the possibility of LPrt whenever it has a complement (DP or PP). The possible LPrt in (19a) (marked with 'OK') is facilitated by analysing *from the bar* as an adjunct. When the particle appears to the right, the PP is in other words ambiguous between being construed as an adjunct or as a complement of *out*. Den Dikken's (1995: 66, footnote 37) Norwegian data in (19c, d) are constructed and judged by only one Norwegian linguist (cf. 1.4.4), but they are strengthened by Åfarli's (1985) identical judgement.

All in all, spatial complex VPrt constructions in Norwegian have a more right-bound particle than the corresponding simplex construction. Almost all of the RPrt results that I obtained from NDC searches were from complex constructions. There are also some LPrt variants among the complex constructions, but there is a slight bias toward RPrt constructions.

The distributional patterns exhibited by complex VPrt constructions are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Complex LPrt and RPrt constructions in the NDC

	Spat. LPrt	Non-spat. LPrt	Spat. RPrt	Non-spat. RPrt
West Norw.	3	2	4	__
East Norw.	__	3	4	__
Central Norw.	__	2	__	__
North Norw.	2	1	3	4
South Norw.	1	2	5	__

The total number of results is of course much lower in Table 2 than in Table 1. While there was a clear majority of LPrt constructions in Table 1, there is a slight tendency towards RPrt preference in Table 2 (20 RPrt constructions vs. 16 LPrt constructions). In line with what we have already seen, non-spatial constructions in most cases have LPrt distribution, and spatial constructions usually have RPrt distribution (North Norway being the most obvious exception). A striking result from the searches is that I did not find any RPrt constructions at all (either simplex or complex) in Trøndelag and Nordmøre. Table 1 revealed that *Central Norwegian* is not as well covered as East and North Norwegian, but *zero* is still a remarkable number.

In general, Table 1 suggests an obvious pattern, whereas the picture is less clear in Table 2. The particle distribution is more varied in Table 2, but it is not totally random; rather, it is quite clear that a resultative PP goes hand in hand with a more right-bound particle. But note that in non-spatial constructions, the particle is still in most cases distributed to the left.

In the pilot fieldwork, I asked about some complex constructions to compare them with the simplex constructions. Whereas a slight tendency toward RPrt preference was shown in Oppdal and Surnadal, in Lierne (where LPrt is more or less obligatory in simplex spatial constructions) the results varied. Some speakers clearly preferred LPrt, others RPrt. Therefore, (21b) does not necessarily indicate free alternation within a single speaker's grammar (intra-individual variation), but rather varying preference across the speakers (inter-individual variation).

(21) a. **Oppdal, Surnadal:**
Han kasta {−ut} hunden {+ut} i gangen.
he threw {−out} dog-the {+out} in hall-the
'He threw the dog out in the hall'

b. **Lierne:**
Han kasta {ut} hunden {ut} i gangen.
he threw {out} dog-the {out} in hall-the
'He threw the dog in the hall'

11 of 18 Oppdal/Surnadal speakers rejected LPrt, 5 found it ok, and 2 were unsure. RPrt was rated with a question mark by 3 speakers, and preferred by the clear majority of 15. This is perhaps also due to the fact that I only asked about spatial constructions. As seen above, the non-spatial variants have freer alternation

In Section 4.3, I will question the term "complex VPrt constructions." Does the PP have to be resultative, or does adding any kind of PP in the right periphery have an effect? We will then see that the former alternative – a resultative PP – is a prerequisite for the RPrt tendency.

2.3.2 Complex phrasal particles

In addition to simple prepositions, adverbs and adjectives, short PPs consisting of a P + a reflexive nominal *seg*, a demonstrative, a personal pronoun, or an indefinite noun may also be construed as a particle. Since most of these are reflexive, I will refer to them as PrtREFL, although this is somewhat oversimplified.[22]

Hultén (1948: 166f) compares Swedish and Norwegian *Bokmål* data (Danish cannot have the reflexive), and shows that Swedish can only have LPrtREFL while *Bokmål* allows both PrtREFL distributions. The optionality in Norwegian is also noted by Åfarli (1985: 79), who shows examples with personal pronouns:

(22) Vi sette {på han} hatten {på han}. (Åfarli 1985: 79)
we put {on him} hat-the {on him}
'We put the hat on his head'

Sandøy (1976: 87ff) shows that this kind of construction goes back to Old Norse, in which both LPrtREFL and RPrtREFL were possible, cf. (23), though RPrtREFL is claimed to be statistically preferred. In modern written Icelandic, LPrtREFL is slightly preferred over RPrtREFL, and is primarily spatial. However, Sandøy's informants accepted both word orders, cf. (24). Interestingly, they claim that RPrtREFL constructions emphasise the event (verb) or the direction (particle), while LPrtREFL constructions stress the DP. This is significantly different from the interpretation of Norwegian LPrt and RPrt constructions. Sandøy's Faroese material shows two PrtREFL occurrences, both of them with right-hand particles. (25) shows one of Sandøy's examples. His informants have a clear RPrtREFL preference, which is consistent with the general Faroese RPrt preference shown in (5b) above. Romsdal Norwegian also follows the simplex pattern described above, i.e., LPrtREFL is preferred, cf. (26). Note also that V + LPrtREFL is pronounced with a word accent (cf. 2.2).

(23) a. **Old Norse, LPrtREFL:**
Eptir þat lagði Haraldr konungr undir sik Sunnmæri
after that laid Harold king-the under REFL Sunnmøre
'After that, King Harold subdued Sunnmøre'

b. **Old Norse, RPrtREFL:**
Þá lét hann kalla konung til sín …
then let he call king-the to REFL
'Then he called upon the king'

22. Non-rexlexive variants are found in expressions with one-syllable nominals: *få på plass* 'get on place' (adapt), *gå om bord* 'get on board', *slå i hel* 'beat to death' etc. These combinations can be pronounced as single words with word accent. Both syntactically and prosodically, the complex particles thus apparently behave like ordinary particles.

(24) **Icelandic:**
Svo henti hann {frá sér} hnífnum {frá sér}.
then threw he {from REFL} knife-the {from REFL}
'Then he threw away the knife'

(25) **Faroese:**
So kastar hann {?frá sær} knívin {+frá sær}.
then throws he {?from REFL} knife-the {+from REFL}
'Then he throws away the knife'

(26) **Roms No.:**
Han kasta {+frå seg} kniven {frå seg}.
he threw {+from REFL} knife-the {from REFL}
'He threw the knife away'

In other words, the system shown in (5) is intact in (23)–(26). There is apparently free variation in Icelandic, RPrtREFL preference in Faroese and LPrtREFL preference in Romsdal Norwegian. In Section 4.3.2, I will discuss these constructions and see whether the reflexive (or short DP) is actually part of the particle, or whether it should be analysed as a particle-external Ground.

2.4 Ground promotion

In (27), the Ground is promoted, contrary to the usual (and more productive) Figure retention. Ground promotion has not been discussed much in Norwegian; Ven (1999: 47ff) and Svenonius (2003b) are two exceptions. Two typical examples of Ground promoting particles are given in (27).

(27) a. ta {av} bordet {*av}
take {off} table-the {*off}
'clear the table'
b. skrape {av} ruta {*av}
scrape {off} windshield-the {*off}
'scrape (something) off the windshield'

Given that the DP has a Ground interpretation (Talmy 1972, 1985, 2000, Svenonius 1996a), these examples are completely impossible with RPrt. If RPrt is imposed, the DP gets a Figure reading and the structure will receive an entirely different meaning, i.e., that the table is taken off something else in (27a), and the windshield is scraped off something else, such as a car, in (27b).

The Ground promoting P is is pronounced as a prosodic unit with V in the relevant dialects (see Section 2.2), as is the case with Figure retaining particles.

Ground promotion will be discussed in 4.4. And here I will also introduce more data that have not been discussed before. My clear impression is that Ground promotion is more productive in Norwegian than in English (cf. Svenonius 2003b, McIntyre 2007, and Milway 2014), and I will argue that there is one group of real Ground promoting Ps in Norwegian, while one group features a Ground that is reanalysed to Figure (cf. Svenonius 2003b and Blom 2005).

2.5 Unaccusatives

Unaccusative VPrt constructions resemble the Ground promoting particles on the surface, but are in reality quite different. In (28a), V + P is spelled out as a prosodic unit in the relevant dialects (see Section 2.2), as in the Ground promoting constructions in (27). Also parallel to the constructions discussed in 2.4, the particle selects a Ground DP. However, in the impersonal (28b), particle alternation is possible, which is not the case when the Ground is overt (28c).

(28) a. gå på toget
go on train-the
'enter the train' *or* 'collide with the train'
b. Det gjekk {på} nokon {på}.
it went {on} someone {on}
'Someone entered'
c. Det gjekk {*på} nokon {på} toget.
there went {*on} someone {on} train-the
'Someone entered the train'

The alternation in (29b) is only possible when the constructions is spatial. When a non-spatial particle combine with an unaccusative meteorological verb (29), particle alternation is not possible in the impersonal variant (29c).

(29) a. blåse opp
blow up
'get more windy'
b. skye på
cloud on
'get more cloudy'
c. Det bles {opp} ein storm {*opp}
it blew {up} a storm {*up}
'There blew up a storm'

Exploiting data from *Norsk Ordbok* (NO) (see Section 1.4.2), I will show in 4.5 that unaccusative meteorological verbs with a particle are numerous in the dialects. But they have not been discussed much in the literature. They are important not only when mapping the Norwegian typology and the alternation problem, but examples like (29c) clearly demonstrate that the non-predicational LPrt variant cannot be derived from a predicational RPrt variant.

2.6 Conclusion

From the data introduced in this chapter, it is clear that we need a new starting point for the analysis of Norwegian VPrt constructions. In the dialectological literature, they have been described in a way that has not been taken significantly into account in the linguistic literature (which will become even more clear in Chapter 3). Moreover, the NDC gives massive support to the earlier dialectological approaches. In order to move past this impasse, it is necessary to renounce the idea of optional particle distribution; the LPrt alternative is preferred in Norwegian, and these constructions also seem to carry a slightly different meaning as compared to their RPrt counterpart.

In (30), some generalisations from Chapter 2 are given. These conclusions will be important as I discuss the earlier theoretical approaches to VPrt in Chapter 3 and develop the analysis analysis in Chapter 4.

(30) a. LPrt and RPrt are not distributed optionally in Norwegian; LPrt is generally (and by most speakers, *clearly*) preferred.
b. The meaning of a given LPrt construction is different from that of the corresponding RPrt construction.
c. Non-spatial VPrt constructions are even more LPrt-bound than spatial constructions.
d. V + LPrt are in many dialects (e.g., in Romsdal, Central and East Norwegian) spelled out as one word/prosodic unit with a single word accent.
e. In complex spatial VPrt constructions, RPrt is preferred; in complex non-spatial VPrt constructions, LPrt is slightly preferred (but some dialects probably have more or less free variation).
f. 'Short' PPs (mainly particle + reflexive noun) may be construed as particles prosodically and syntactically.
g. Ground promoting particles do not allow RPrt at all.
h. Particles quite frequently combine with unaccusative verbs; alternation is only possible in spatial impersonal constructions.

With (30) in mind, I will propose an analysis of Norwegian VPrt constructions with the hope of accounting for all of these facts (and more). Before this is done in Chapter 4, I will evaluate some important previous theoretical accounts in Chapter 3, and see whether (and how) they can cope with the data outlined so far. Of course, not all of the theories are primarily occupied with Norwegian, but I have selected works that do include Norwegian in one way or another, either as the primary object of study or in a comparative context.

CHAPTER 3

The alternation problem and the status of the particle – previous approaches

Verb-particle (VPrt) constructions have been discussed thoroughly since the early days of generative grammar, and as we already have seen, much earlier in more traditional Norwegian approaches. Two major issues in the generative literature, at least in the studies of the North Germanic languages, concern the so-called alternation problem and the grammatical nature of the particle. I will focus on these themes successively in this chapter, before outlining an analysis in Chapter 4.

In Section 1.1.1, I mentioned two questions which are highly relevant in this chapter, and which we can paraphrase as follows: *What is the basic word order in a VPrt construction? How are the two alternative word orders in (1) below derived?* In this chapter, we will see that different accounts argue for different basic word orders (Prt-DP or DP-Prt), and that the derivation of the alternative word orders is also motivated differently. I will discuss this in 3.1 (see the introduction there). The works that I will refer to in this chapter all include Norwegian data in their theoretical argumentation in one way or another – either as the primary object of study or in comparison with other Scandinavian languages and/or English. A general problem for all the previous theoretical accounts (i.e., the theoretical-linguistic approaches, cf. 1.1.1) is that they presuppose an optional particle distribution for Norwegian as well as for English. I will also shed light on other problems that these accounts face in the Norwegian empirical reality.

In Ramchand & Svenonius (2002), a crucial distinction between predicational and non-predicational approaches to VPrt constructions is made. They discuss two different theoretical approaches that have developed through the years, namely the small clause (SC) approach and the complex predicate (CPr) approach. Typically, SC accounts focus on the predication relation between the DP and RPrt in (1a), and (1b) is (in many analyses) seen as a result of movement.

(1) a. Han kasta [$_{SC}$ hunden ut].
he threw dog-the out
'He threw the dog out'
b. Han [kasta ut] hunden.
he threw out dog-the
'He threw out the dog'

In SC accounts, the particle is a predicate in a subordinate nexus, and the DP will often (but not necessarily) have the status of a subject in that nexus. In CPr accounts, the adjacency of V + LPrt in (1b) is essential and these two elements are sometimes analysed as a complex verb that must be syntactically or lexically constructed somehow. But as we will see later (in 3.2.1) when considering Zeller's (2001) proposal, the particle might also be analysed as an autonomous lexical complement of the verb.[1] The status of the particle will be discussed in 3.2.

Within the SC approaches, the works of Kayne (1985), den Dikken (1995) and Svenonius (1994, 1996a) are important; Svenonius also focuses on Scandinavian data. The CPr account has earlier origins, dating back to Chomsky (1975 [1955]). Within this tradition, I will mainly be concerned with Zeller (2001), who presents a thorough discussion and analysis of the syntactic and morphological relations between the verb and the particle.

In Chapter 4, I will eventually place myself somewhere in between these two major traditions, as I will introduce Larsen's (2014) analysis, which I think captures the Norwegian empirical reality elegantly. Here, the RPrt is analysed in terms with the SC tradition, while the LPrt merges with the verb and forms a complex head.

The relevant earlier accounts under discussion will be introduced in the respective Sections, 3.1 and 3.2. 3.3 concludes the chapter.

3.1 The alternation problem

In 3.1.1, I discuss the alternation problem when a Prt-DP basic order is suggested. Two major works that advocate this order are Taraldsen (1983) and den Dikken (1995). I will argue that we face a lot of empirical – and conceptual – problems when we follow these models. Some of the problems are avoided if we assume a DP-Prt base order. In 3.1.2, this will be shown through Åfarli (1985) and Svenonius (1996a). However, neither of these four works tends to look seriously into the dialectological literature when analysing the Norwegian (or Scandinavian) particle distribution. In 3.1.3, I discuss the general data problem in the mentioned works.

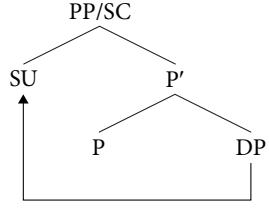
1. While Ramchand & Svenonius (2002) operate with the SC vs. CPr classifications, den Dikken's (2002: 146) classification of Zeller (2001) is somewhat different. Zeller is not defined completely in the CPr group here, since he advocates an autonomous (structurally V-adjacent) particle projection.

3.1.1 The Prt-DP base order

3.1.1.1 *Taraldsen's (1983) approach*

Taraldsen (1983) advanced a historically important thesis in the Norwegian generative tradition since this was the first major work to use the early GB framework (Chomsky 1981) to analyse Norwegian data, including VPrt constructions. More specifically, in the particle context, this account also takes advantage of Stowell's (1981) SC hypothesis, which was newly proposed at the time of Taraldsen's writing. Taraldsen categorises VPrt constructions as causatives. He advocates a Prt-DP base order and argues using Binding Theory that RPrt constructions are the result of leftward DP movement to a SC subject position, as indicated in (2):[2]

(2)



Taraldsen further argues that only RPrt constructions are true SCs. Evidence for the SC structure is found in constructions like (3) (his p. 241), where it is claimed that the pronoun *oss* 'us' must be free in its governing category (GC).[3] This is the case only in the RPrt variant. The RPrt construction has an intervening subject, *myggen* 'the mosquitoes',[4] between *vi* 'we' and *oss* 'us'. Hence, *oss* is free in its GC.

(3) Vi viftet {?*vekk} myggen {vekk} fra oss.
we waved {?*away} mosquitoes-the {away} from us
'We waved the mosquitoes away'

My first worry about this argumentation is that *oss* could certainly be interpreted as an anaphor rather than a pronoun. The former interpretation is actually more likely. Note that *myggen.*$_{\text{3RD PERS. SG.}}$ is not a possible antecedent for *oss.*$_{\text{1ST PERS. PL.}}$ in any case; the closest matching antecedent for *oss* is *vi.*$_{\text{1ST PERS. PL}}$. Furthermore, I disagree with the judgment in (3); in my opinion, the LPrt distribution is equally good. But the judgment in (3) is supposed to give support to RPrt constructions

2. I will use the DP terminology here, although Taraldsen (1983) uses the NP terminology, since he came prior to Abney's (1987) DP hypothesis.

3. GC is taken from Chomsky (1981: 209ff) and defined as follows (from Taraldsen 1983: 242): "α is GC (β) if and only if α is the least constituent γ such that β is governed in γ and γ has a subject."

4. Taraldsen paraphrases *myggen*.DEF.SG using the plural, which means that it is used as a mass noun.

being SCs (unlike LPrt constructions), because the putative pronoun must be free in its GC (unlike an anaphor). Now, I will show that this argumentation generally fails, firstly because the putative pronoun is really an anaphor, secondly because the judgment in (3) is unusual, and thirdly because the theory of anaphor binding was by 1983 not adequately developed for Norwegian. Actually, Hellan (1988) shows that (certain) anaphors can be bound across SC subjects, so that the binding relations are irrelevant for the subject status of *myggen* anyway.

Now, consider (4a), where *seg* is unambiguously an anaphor. I think most people will accept both LPrt and RPrt here. In (4b), I have added an ambiguous example, where particle alternation is also possible.

(4) a. Han vifta {vekk} myggen {vekk} frå seg.
he waved {away} mosquitoes-the {away} from himself
'He waved the mosquitoes away'

b. Han vifta {vekk} myggen {vekk} frå plassen sin.
he waved {away} mosquitoes-the {away} from place REFL
'He waved away the mosquitoes from his place' *or* 'from their place'

Following Taraldsen's reasoning, only RPrt should be possible in (4a), because only in that case is the anaphor bound in its GC (i.e., by the SC subject), but as shown by Hellan (1988: 73), anaphors like *seg* 'self' can be bound across intervening SC subjects:

(5) **Jon** hørte oss snakke om **seg**.
John heard us talk about SELF
'John heard that we talked about him'

(5) is one of Hellan's many examples in which *seg* can be bound across the SC by the matrix subject. The examples involving binding of a pronoun vs. an anaphor therefore tell us nothing about the syntactic status of *myggen*, regardless of whether the particle appears to the left og right. That is to say, *myggen* can be a subject in the LPrt alternative just as it can in the RPrt alternative. Thus, there are three serious objections to Taraldsen's analysis and argumentation: (1) An ambiguous pronoun/anaphor element (*oss* 'us') is unambiguously taken to be a pronoun, (2) the judgment of the data is misleading, and (3) the premises for diagnosing SCs on the basis of anaphor binding are false.

Note also that (4b) is ambiguous as to whether *plassen sin* 'his/their place' refers to the mosquitoes' place or the place of the denotation of the matrix subject. From Taraldsen's reasoning, we should expect LPrt to be the only option in (4b), so that the DP *plassen sin* is free in its GC. An acceptance of RPrt would force an analysis of *sin* in *plassen sin* as an anaphor bound by *myggen*. But I do not think that the particle distribution is decisive for the interpretation of *plassen sin*;

instead, both possible particle distributions yield structures that are ambiguous as to the binding relations. That is unexpected given Taraldsen's analysis.

The hypothesis that only RPrt constructions contain a SC structure is nonetheless further supported by (6), according to Taraldsen (1983: 242f). PRO subjects in infinitives initiated by the purposive *for å* 'in order to' need to be controlled by a subject from the matrix clause, hence *ulven* 'the wolf' can only function as a subject in the RPrt case in the following example:

(6) Vi jaget {*ut} ulven {ut} for å PRO gjenfinne sin tapte frihet.
we chased {*out} wolf-the {out} to again-find REFL lost freedom
'We chased out the wolf so that it could get back to its lost freedom'

Since he claims that the DP-Prt order is a result of the DP moving into a SC subject position, the LPrt ban and RPrt convergence follow as natural consequences. The singular form of the antecedent *sin* clearly suggests that the antecedent of the PRO subject must also be a singular noun, excluding the option of *vi* 'we'. Hence, the only possible solution is that *ulven* is a subject in the RPrt construction, but not in the LPrt construction. In the latter case, the derivation crashes because the anaphor lacks a matching antecedent.

Now, again the premises for diagnosing the SC through anaphor binding are false given Hellan's (1988) observations, but this example also gives rise to new problems. One problem is that the purpose clause (the infinitive) is inextricably connected to the matrix verb. When PRO is controlled by *vi.*$_{\text{1ST PERS. PL.}}$, there is a clear mismatch with PRO's anaphor *sin.*$_{\text{3RD PERS. SG}}$. However, I do agree that the RPrt alternative is marginally better, i.e., that the purpose clause is more naturally controlled by *ulven* in that case. It is also easy to paraphrase the RPrt construction with a finite sentence in which the PRO of the purpose clause will refer to *ulven*. (7) illustrates a paraphrase in *Nynorsk*, in which the syntax is closer to colloquial Norwegian.

(7) Ulven$_i$ var ute for å PRO$_i$ finne att den tapte fridomen sin.
Wolf-the$_i$ was out for to PRO$_i$ find back the lost freedom-the REFL
'The wolf was outside in order to get back to its lost freedom'

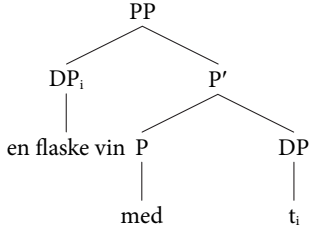
Nevertheless, I maintain that the judgments presented in (6) are too black and white, but I do agree that RPrt is marginally better.[5] *Ulven* shows tendencies to be more object-like in the LPrt construction (which is expected given Larsen's

5. This is my own judgement. I asked three randomly picked informants for their judgement, but all of them found (7) quite confusing and hard to judge, both with LPrt and RPrt distribution, and I assume this has to do with the mentioned problem that the purpose clause is inextricably connected to the matrix verb. That makes neither of the alternatives sound natural.

2014 approach, see 4.1.1). The PRO subject is therefore more intuitively linked to the matrix subject, hence there is a mismatch between PRO and *sin*. On the other hand, PRO is easier to interpret as being controlled by *ulven* when it is a SC subject, i.e., in the RPrt alternative. That is probably why RPrt is slightly better than LPrt in (6). But even with RPrt, the sentence is not perfect – and it is not ungrammatical with LPrt, as claimed by Taraldsen.

Taraldsen's next step is to exploit the parallelism between prepositions and particles (his pp. 243ff); he categorises both as P. In VPrt constructions, the DP is generated as a complement of P in this analysis, and it is allowed to shift to Spec,PP (the SC subject position). This movement is the most minimal and straightforward way to analyse the VPrt alternation within the X-bar-schema, as illustrated in (2). However, the DP complement of an ordinary preposition cannot shift like the DP in a VPrt construction:

(8) a. *Vi lekte en flaske vin med
we played a bottle wine with
'We played with a bottle of wine'
b. *Vi lekte …



This construction is assumed to crash because the A-chain created by movement of the DP is assigned two theta-roles: one from P to the trace, and one from P' to the SC subject. The reason why the similar example in (9) is possible, according to Taraldsen, is that P' undergoes reanalysis, which exempts it from assigning a theta-role to its subject. The reanalysis allows (but does not force) the DP to move to spec,PP and gives the construction a causative reading; thus, a complex predicate is formed. This could suggest that the DP movement is in a way triggered for predication reasons since only RPrt constructions are SCs in Taraldsen's analysis.

(9) Vi tok [$_{PP}$ [en flaske vin]$_i$ [$_{P'}$ med t$_i$]].[6]
we took a bottle wine with
'We brought a bottle of wine'

6. A problem with this analysis is that putting *En flaske vin* in both Spec,PP and as a trace in the complement of *med* wrongly suggests that the wine has taken with itself.

The reanalysis also exempts P from being a Case assigner. The shifted DP receives Case from the verb, and the DP chain gets its theta-role from the complex predicate kernel (V + P).

In the LPrt version in (10a), the DP still receives its theta-role from the reanalysed complex predicate kernel. *Tok* is the Case assigner which c-commands the DP (*med* 'with' is just a possible Case assigner). The particle and the DP thus cannot undergo wh-movement as a complex in (10b) (because the particle lacks Case assigning abilities). Here, *hva slags flaske vin* 'what kind of bottle of wine' fails to receive Case, because it is not c-commanded by its assigner (*tok* 'took').

(10) a. Vi tok med en flaske vin.
we took with a bottle wine
'We brought a bottle of wine'

b. * [Med hva slags flaske vin]$_i$ tok dere t$_i$?
with what kind bottle wine took you
'What kind of bottle of wine did you bring?'

The lack of reanalysis explains why the prepositional construction (11) is OK, contrary to (10b), though *med* is still a Case assigner in (11), and c-commands the wh-moved *hva slags flaske vin* (cf. Taraldsen 1983: 248).

(11) [$_{PP}$ Med hva slags flaske vin]$_i$ lekte dere t$_i$?
with what kind bottle wine played you
'With what kind of bottle of wine did you play?'

Now, there is an important detail to note concerning the LPrt construction in (10a). Although *tok* is assumed to be the Case assigner, the convergence presupposes that *med* 'with' is a *possible* Case assigner. In his comparison with *la* 'let' causatives, Taraldsen shows some examples where the *in situ* DP is assigned Case (12a) and others where it is not (12b); cf. the discussion on Taraldsen's pp. 212f.

(12) a. Vi lot løslate fangene.
we let release prisoners-the
'We released the prisoners'

b. * Vi lot bli løslatt fangene.
we let get released prisoners-the
'We got released the prisoners'

In both of these examples, reanalysis has applied and the constructions receive causative readings; the embedded verb is not an actual Case assigner in either of the examples. Instead, Case is assigned by the matrix verb *lot* 'let.' However, the two examples differ with respect to the main verb being active in (12a) vs. passive in (12b). Only the former of these is a possible Case assigner, which leads

Taraldsen to the following generalisation: "A NP in the embedded VP in the causative construction is Case-marked only if both the matrix V la and the infinitive are Case-assigners" (pp. 212f). Since VPrt constructions are also causatives, this predicts that a particle must be a possible Case assigner as well, in order to "transfer" Case to the *in situ* NP in LPrt constructions. In 3.1.2.1, we will consider some of Åfarli's (1985) remarks against this prediction. Note also that in Taraldsen's analysis (12a) is not a SC; the DP must shift to the subject position in order to create a predication relation.

However, expletive insertion in (13a, b) challenges his analysis seriously:

(13) a. Vi lot det løslate fanger.
we let it release prisoners
'We released prisoners'
b. Vi lot det bli løslatt fanger.
we let it be released prisoners
'We released prisoners'

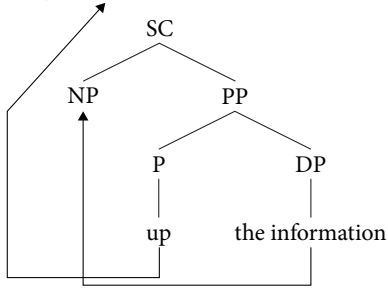
First, the expletive insertion shows clearly that *det løslate fanger* 'it release prisoners' is predicative, i.e., with the inf-DP order. Second, there is a problem with Case assignment. Given Taraldsen's analysis, *lot* must assign Case to *det* 'it' and also to *fanger* 'prisoners' via *løslate* 'release' in (13a). Note also that (13b), unlike (12b), is grammatical. But the mechanism that Taraldsen uses to assign Case to the *in situ* DP is impossible in (13b), because the passive *løslatt* 'released.$_{PASS}$' is not a possible Case assigner in his analysis. The convergence of (13b) is thus unexplained.

3.1.1.2 *Den Dikken's (1995) approach*

Den Dikken's (1995) basic idea is to renounce the analysis of particles as intransitive prepositions (contra, e.g., Emonds 1976), and instead introduce particles as *ergative SC heads* (his p. 35). He is primarily occupied with complex VPrt constructions, but he also applies his analysis to the simplex constructions (his p. 86ff). I will be occupied with the complex variant here. Like Taraldsen (1983), he advocates a Prt-NP[7] basic word order, and RPrt constructions are derived by a leftward NP movement into the subject position of the ergative particle-headed SC. In LPrt constructions, the NP stays *in situ* and the particle undergoes abstract incorporation (reanalysis) into V:

7. Since the lexical categories are crucial in den Dikken's analysis, I will refer to the nominal phrases as NPs here in 3.1.1.2, following den Dikken's own notation.

(14) a. They looked {up} the information {up}.
b. They [$_v$ looked]



A: Operation for LPrt constructions: Abstract particle incorporation into V.
B: Operation for RPrt constructions: NP movement into Spec,SC.

The analysis depicted in (14) is similar to Taraldsen's (1983) proposal outlined in Section 3.1.1.1, with NP movement into a subject position, but the technical details are quite different. The most important difference is perhaps that den Dikken's LPrt constructions are derived by a sort of movement as well, namely the abstract incorporation of the particle into V (after Baker 1988). We will see that he tries to cope with the problem of optional movement by proposing that particle verbs can select SCs with or without a functional projection (FP). The absence of a FP forces the particle to incorporate into V, and the NP gets Case *in situ*, while the presence of a FP blocks the incorporation and instead forces the NP to move to a higher position in order to get Case, resulting in a RPrt construction. The details of these operations and how the analysis escapes the optionality problem are discussed below.

Further below, I will also discuss the claimed ergative nature of particles, which is a crucial detail that purportedly enables Prt-NP base order. However, we will see that the Norwegian data (including the data presented by den Dikken himself) do not support this proposal.

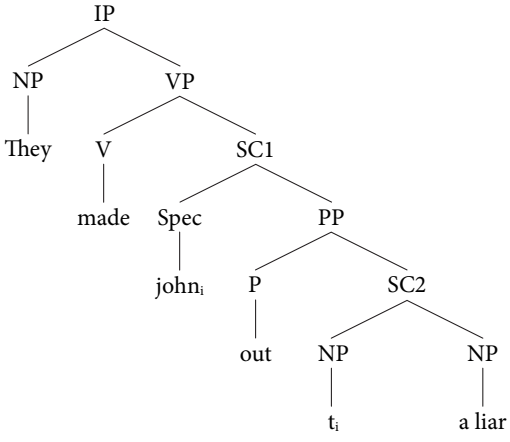
Den Dikken is primarily occupied with complex constructions of the type in (15), which is represented with a double SC structure:

(15) a. They made {*?out} John {out} a liar.[8]
b. [$_{IP}$ They [$_{VP}$ made [$_{SC1}$ [$_{Spec\theta'}$ *ec*] [$_{PP}$ out [$_{SC2}$ John a liar]]]]]

8. The allowance of (15a) does not seem to be quite clear (cf. Larsen 2014: 20, footnote 7). Bridget Samuels (p.c.) notes the following concerning this example: "For what it's worth, I think the example in (15a)/(17b) is quite bad with either word order. I can only say *They made {John} out {?John} to be a liar*."

The particle *out* is analysed as an ergative head of SC1, meaning that it is not a Case assigner and hence that *John* cannot receive Case in its base position in Spec,SC2. Instead, *John* must move to the theta'-subject position in SC1, headed by the particle, so it can receive Case from V:

(16)



Importantly, den Dikken makes the empirical observation that LPrt is impossible in (16). Rather, a particle distributed to the left seems to combine better with a *prepositional* complex particle construction, cf. (17a). The sentences containing a complex *nominal* particle construction (17b = 16) and a complex *adjectival* particle construction, (17c), only converge with a particle distributed to the right (examples from den Dikken's pp. 55f). I have put the curly brackets around the nominals in (17) to highlight their connection with the structure in (16).

(17) a. They put {the box} down {(?)the box} on the shelf.
b. They made {John} out {*?John} a liar.
c. They painted {the barn} up {*?the barn} red.

All of these examples converge with the particle to the right of the nominal, but LPrt works much better in (17a) than in (17b, c), which is perhaps not surprising since *down on the shelf* is a normal example of a complex (serial) PP (see also Section 4.3). Now, if we try to analyse these sentences in the frame of (16), we notice that there is a crucial difference with respect to categories. (17a), corresponding to (18a), contains two categorically identical SCs, namely two PPs. In contrast, (17b), corresponding to (18b), and (17c), corresponding to (18c), have SCs from two different categories. (18b) features a PP (SC1) + a NP (SC2), and (18c) features a PP (SC1) + an AP (SC2).

(18) a. They put [$_{\text{SC1 PP}}$ {the box} down [$_{\text{SC2 PP}}$ {(?)the box} on the shelf]].
b. They made [$_{\text{SC1 PP}}$ {John} out [$_{\text{SC2 NP}}$ {*?John} a liar]].
c. They painted [$_{\text{SC1 PP}}$ {the barn} up [$_{\text{SC2 AP}}$ {*?the barn} red]].

Since Case is assigned by V and not by the ergative particle, SC2 is a barrier for government, and the SC2 subject in (18b, c) is therefore forced to move for Case reasons, cf. the structure in (16). In (18a), the apparently optional NP movement indicates that SC2 is not a barrier in this case – and that is exactly den Dikken's point. Since the particle is categorised as P, the predicate of SC2 in (18a) is categorically identical to the predicate of SC1, while the corresponding predicates are categorically distinct in (18b, c). This makes the lower PP in (18a) a segment of the entire multi-segment PP (cf. Chomsky 1986: 7, 76),[9] and hence L-marking from V percolates to the bottom of the lower segment. This in turn allows V to assign Case to the SC2 subject.

In LPrt constructions, the particle potentially intervenes in V's government of the NP. Chomsky's (1986: 10, 42) Minimality Condition excludes V's government of the SC2 subject in (18a) if there is a "closer governor" to the NP. The particle is an intervening closer governor in this case, but the problem can be avoided, according to den Dikken, by reanalysing the particle together with the verb. This reanalysis takes the form of abstract particle incorporation into V, and differs from Taraldsen's (1983) reanalysis discussed in 3.1.1.1. By adopting Baker's (1988) (abstract) head incorporation and the Government Transparency Corollary (GTC), Case is assigned "naturally" to the SC2 subject. The GTC says that a lexical category (V) with an incorporated item (the particle) governs everything that the incorporated item governed in its original position. SC2 is then exempt from being a barrier of government, so the SC2 subject is governed by the reanalysed V-Prt complex. Again, this is only possible with categorical identity between SC1 and SC2.

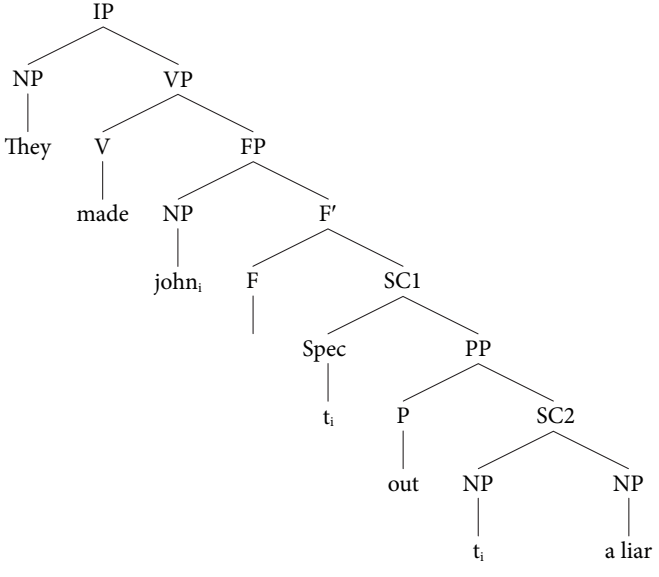
Principles of economy prevent the NP from moving to SC1 without a reason; if it gets Case *in situ*, it stays *in situ*. Since both word orders are possible in constructions like (18a), we must expect one operation to exclude the other. That is, reanalysis makes NP movement unnecessary and hence impossible. Without reanalysis, NP movement is obligatory. A set of questions immediately arises: when/why does reanalysis occur, and when/why does NP movement occur? The surface location of the particle seems to be optional. If NP movement were more economical than reanalysis, RPrt order would be obligatory, while LPrt would be obligatory if reanalysis were more economical. Den Dikken suggests on p. 27 that particle verbs might select SCs with or without a functional projection (FP). The presence

9. If A is adjoined to the category B, then A is not dominated by B, but they are two segments of the same category (cf. Chomsky 1986: 7). If we assume that the SC1 PP in (18a) is generated through adjunction to the SC2 PP, then both of the PPs are segments of the same category (i.e., a multi-segment PP). V's L-marking of the SC1 PP then percolates to the head of the SC2 PP, since they are technically the same category (den Dikken 1995: 58).

of a FP makes particle incorporation impossible, following Li's (1990) definition of improper movement, which bans an A-head (lexical head) from crossing an A'-head (functional head) to another A-head (in this case, V) (cf. den Dikken's p. 17). Such movement would violate Principle C of the extended Binding Theory. Li's principle also correctly predicts that abstract incorporation typically does not contain functional (inflectional) material.

When no FP intervenes, particle movement and incorporation are possible and hence obligatory. The surface locations of the NP and the particle thus depend on whether the SC structure contains a FP or not. Both LPrt and RPrt constructions thereby follow principles of economy. Den Dikken (2002: 167) stresses this point, suggesting that "the syntax is free to generate a functional projection on top of the projection of the particle or not to do so." If we extend (16) with a FP above SC1, particle incorporation into V is barred by the functional category F:

(19)



In sum, particle movement/incorporation is motivated for Case reasons, but it remains unclear when and why a FP is generated. Postulating the ability of the syntax to generate a FP is a stipulation, not an explanation. The alternation problem is simply moved to another domain and remains unexplained. The question of whether the particle (or the NP) moves or not is replaced by the question of whether the syntax generates a FP or not. But the question of *why* the syntax would (or would not) generate a FP remains open. It is of course possible that the English particle alternation is simply an outcome of this available syntactic operation, in which case the alternation is arbitrary in syntactic (and semantic) terms and needs to be explained in some other domain.

Although I will discuss the status of the particle more elaborately in 3.2, I will present den Dikken's (1995: 92ff) relevant section concerning the status of the particle as ergative, already here. This is because this particular section is meant to promote the Prt-NP base order. However, I am critical of his use and judgment of the Norwegian data, and thus I will argue that they do *not* support the claims that he advocates. I will focus on the constructions where the particle takes an apparent resultative complement. Some of den Dikken's examples are given in (20):

(20) a. They kicked the dog out.
b. They kicked the dog out the door.
c. They kicked the dog out of the house.

Svenonius (1992) analyses *the door* and *of the house* in (20b, c) as complements of the particle, while den Dikken argues that *the dog* is the internal argument of the particle in (20a, b, c). At this point, some Norwegian data from Åfarli (1985: 83f) are included in the discussion, namely (21).

(21) a. Vi sparka {ut} hunden {ut} av huset.
we kicked {out} dog-the {out} of house-the
'We kicked the dog out of the house'
b. Jon sparka {ut} hunden {ut} døra.
John kicked {out} dog-the {out} door-the
'John kicked the dog out the door'

As mentioned in 2.3.1, examples like (21a) are generally slightly preferred with RPrt in Norwegian, at least when the construction is spatial. However, Åfarli (1985) claims that LPrt and RPrt vary freely, which den Dikken in turn uses as an argument for maintaining the ergative status of the particle.

(20b) and (21b) pose an apparent problem for the analysis (because he must avoid an analysis where *the door/døra* is the complement of *out/ut*), but den Dikken explains the status of these examples in the following way: A'-extraction of the complement of a PP with subsequent P-stranding is "widely possible" (p. 98) both in English and Norwegian, but A'-extraction of *the door* in (20b → 22a) and *of the house* in (20c → 22b) is *not* possible:

(22) a. ?* Which door did they kick the dog out?
b. * Of which house did they kick the dog out?

Hence, den Dikken claims that the extracted elements are not the complement of *out*. The conclusion is apparently the same for corresponding Norwegian. In (23)–(24), A'-extractions of *av huset* 'of the house'/*av hvilket hus* 'of which house' and *døra* 'the door'/*hvilken dør* 'which door' cause the derivations to crash, according to den Dikken – irrespective of the distribution of the particle.

(23) a. ?* Av huset sparket han {ut} hunden {ut}?
of house-the kicked he {out} dog-the {out}
'He kicked out the dog of the house'
b. ?? Av hvilket hus sparket han {ut} hunden {ut}?
of which house kicked he {out} dog-the {out}
From which house did he kick out the dog?

(24) a. * Døra sparket han {ut} hunden {ut}.
the door kicked he {out} dog-the {out}
'He kicked the dog out the door'
b. ?* Hvilken dør sparket han {ut} hunden {ut}?
which door kicked he {out} dog-the {out}
'Which door did he kick the dog out?'

The extractions in (24) are claimed by den Dikken to be slightly worse than in (23), and I agree (stranding the preposition *av* 'of' in (23) would be better). But I am not sure whether the examples are as bad as reported (as indicated by the stars and question marks), at least not with wh-extraction. With the *Nynorsk kva* 'what' as question word and with the preposition *av* 'of' replaced by *frå* 'from,' (23) sounds better, both with LPrt and RPrt, cf. (25a).[10] (24b) is also improved with *kva*, as in (25b) – at least with a stressed RPrt. The examples below are based on my own intuitions:

(25) a. Frå kva hus sparka han {ut} hunden {ut}?
from what house kicked he {out} dog-the {out}
'From which house did he kick out the dog?'
b. Kva dør sparka han {??ut} hunden {ut}?
what door kicked he {??out} dog-the {out}
'Which door did he kick the dog out?'

My own judgements of (25) make them more parallel to (21), indicating that *ut* 'out' could be understood as a transitive particle in (24) and (25b). If we keep in mind that most Norwegian speakers prefer RPrt in (21a) as well, the acceptability of (25a) with RPrt should not be surprising (however, I find LPrt there at least equally acceptable).

In sum, the examples in (25) cast doubt on den Dikken's conclusion that *the dog* is the complement of *out* in all examples in (20). Instead, it seems quite clear

10. Stranding the preposition is even better:

(i) Kva hus sparka han {ut} hunden {ut} frå?
what house kicked he {out} dog-the {out} from
'From which house did he kick the dog out?'

that we have extracted *ut*'s complement in (25). If this is the case, then the Norwegian data do not support the analysis of the particle as ergative. This means that what is introduced only as "an apparent problem" in den Dikken's Subsection 2.4.4.2 is rather a serious problem.

It is also unclear whether one can use stranding possibilities to identify prepositions (his p. 98). PPs can indeed split quite freely in Norwegian (maybe even more so than in English), but not all PPs in adjoined positions allow P-stranding. Den Dikken makes a contrary claim, namely that extraction might happen *even* if the PP is adjoined. But there is no doubt that the b-versions below are less acceptable than the a-versions, especially with temporal PPs as in (26b) and (27b). A locative (or situational[11]) PP in (28b) is better.

(26) a. Vinteren snakka dei stadig om.
Winter-the talked they repeatedly about
'They talked repeatedly about the winter'
b. *Vinteren reiste dei stadig om.
winter-the travelled they often about
'They travelled frequently in winter'

(27) a. Johan sender vi alltid kort til.
John send we always card to
'We always send a card to John'
b. *Jul sender vi alltid kort til.
Christmas send we always card to
'We always send a card for Christmas'

(28) a. Båtar forstår dei seg ikkje på.
boats understand they REFL not on
'They do not know much about boats'
b. (?)Båtar likar dei seg ikkje på.
(?)boats like they REFL not on
'They do not like being on boats'

Den Dikken also notes that "not all temporal PPs are transparent" (p. 98, footnote 71) when it comes to stranding possibilities. In the case of Norwegian, there is no doubt that prepositions in temporal (and maybe even some locative) constructions are harder to strand than, e.g., *ut* 'out' in (25b).

11. In Aa (2013), I claim that *på* 'on' in many cases (e.g., in *på båten* 'on the boat') can refer to a certain situation or activity rather than the location. (28b) is ambiguous as to whether *på båtar* 'on boats' refers to 'on the deck of (smaller) boats' (locative) or 'on trips with (e.g.) a liner' (situational).

In sum, this means that (1) the rejection of *ut*'s stranding possibilities, and hence the rejection of *ut* taking an internal argument, is not well-founded; and (2) the argument that transitive prepositions can be recognised through their stranding possibilities is not airtight anyway.

3.1.2 The DP-Prt order

3.1.2.1 *Åfarli's (1985) criticism of Taraldsen (1983)*

We have seen in 3.1.1.1 that Taraldsen's (1983) reanalysis deprives the particle and the embedded verb in *la* 'let' causatives of their Case-assigning property, but that the particle and embedded verb must still be possible Case assigners if the *in situ* DP[12] is to receive Case. However, this yields the wrong predictions for *la* causatives, and it also wrongly predicts that all particles must be possible Case assigners, i.e., prepositions. This would exclude the attested adjectival particles and adverbial particles (Toivonen 2002: 192ff). This is one of Åfarli's (1985) objections to Taraldsen's (1983) analysis, and we will confirm that a lot of the empirical challenges seen in 3.1.1 are overcome if we assume a DP-Prt base word order.

A problem with Taraldsen's (1983) analysis is that it only deals with prepositional particles and their parallelism to ordinary (non-reanalysed) prepositions. Åfarli (1985) provides a number of examples with non-prepositional particles. The examples in (29) are taken from his p. 79, and illustrate the particle use of full PPs (a) (see Sections 2.3.2 and 4.3.2), adverbs[13] (b) and adjectives (c, d). As discussed in 3.1.1.1, Taraldsen (1983: 212f) suggests that the DP in the embedded VP of a *la* 'let' causative is only Case marked if both the matrix V (*la*) and the infinitive are Case assigners, so a passive infinitive is excluded.[14] A passive is not a Case assigner and cannot "transfer" Case from the matrix V. For the same reason, the LPrt versions of the causatives in (29) are predicted to be ungrammatical in Taraldsen's system, since none of the particles in these examples are possible Case assigners. However, they are all frequently used with LPrt in Norwegian except (29d), which

12. I return to the DP notation here.

13. In more modern terms, *heim* 'home' is categorised as a preposition, also in the Norwegian reference grammar (cf. Faarlund et al. 1997: 414). However, e.g., Bakken & Vikør (2011: 201) argue that the categorisation of traditional adverbs as prepositions is problematic especially when explaining the diachronic development of fusioned prepositions in the Norwegian dialects.

14. Cf. the following *Bokmål* example:

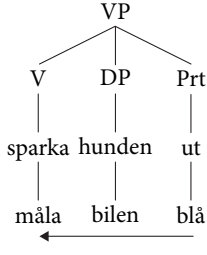
(i) *Vi lot bli løslatt fangene.
we let be released the prisoners
'We let the prisoners be released'

is taken from Åfarli's Halsa dialect (western Central Norwegian), in which there are restrictions on LPrt distribution.

(29) a. Vi tok {av oss} jakkene {av oss}.
we took {off us} jackets-the {off us}
'We took the jackets off'
b. Vi fulgte {heim} Petter {heim}.
we followed {home} Petter {home}
'We followed Petter home'
c. Vi gjorde {klar} bilen {klar}.
we made {ready} car-the {ready}
'We prepared the car'
d. Vi måla {blå} bilen {blå}.
we painted {blue} car-the {blue}
'We painted the car blue'

Åfarli points out several problems with Taraldsen's analysis, and he suggests that positing a DP-Prt base order can alleviate some of these problems. For Åfarli, LPrt constructions are a result of particle movement to the left, as suggested in (30c).

(30) a. Jon sparka hunden ut
John kicked dog-the out
'John kicked the dog out'
b. Jon måla bilen blå
John painted car-the blue
'John painted the car blue'
c. Jon …



Note that Åfarli (1985) uses a flat structure, but he posits a semantic SC, so the analysis is easy to translate into structural SC terms.

An argument for suggesting DP-Prt as the base order is that Prt-DP always seems to have a corresponding DP-Prt alternative, but not vice versa. In more general terms, the predicate phrase (PRED) (= Prt in (30)) in a causative always has the option of being positioned to the right of the DP, but not all PREDs may shift to the left.

Moreover, and more importantly, only RPrt can be modified by degree elements:

(31) a. Jon sparka hunden rett ut.
John kicked dog-the right out
'John kicked the dog right out'
b. *Jon sparka rett ut hunden.
John kicked right out dog-the
'John kicked the dog right out'

In Taraldsen's (1983) analysis, (31b) is predicted to be grammatical, since the degree element should not change the status of *ut* 'out' as a possible Case assigner. That is, although it ceases to be a Case assigner through reanalysis, Taraldsen's analysis presupposes a possible governor for the *in situ* DP. In Åfarli's analysis, the PRED *rett ut* 'right out' is too complex to move as a unit, which causes (31b) to crash (Ramchand & Svenonius (2002) formulate this in general terms concerning restrictions on head movement, see 3.2.2.3).

Like Taraldsen, Åfarli situates VPrt constructions within a broader class of causatives, but he assumes a different basic order, namely S V O PRED:

> Here S is the causer, O the causee, and PRED is predicated about O, the causee. Causatives always involve predication in the sense that something must be analysable as predicated about the causee, i.e. the person or thing that is affected by the action brought about by the causer. (Åfarli 1985: 85)

We can also consider one of his examples from p. 76 in light of this quote, cf. (32):

(32) Jon drakk kaffen varm.
John drank coffee-the warm
'John drank the coffee while it was warm', *or*
'John drank so (fast) that the coffee got warm'

The most (and perhaps only) plausible interpretation of this example is that the coffee was warm while John was drinking it, i.e., a depictive interpretation. (A causative (resultative) interpretation would be that the coffee got warm as a result of John's drinking it.) As shown in (30c), Åfarli assumes a flat structure and uses Taraldsen's reanalysis device to explain the structural difference between the two interpretations (in the causative, V and PRED are reanalysed as one complex predicate-kernel, cf. p. 76). Thus, the reanalysis of V + PRED/Prt as a complex predicate kernel is responsible for the causative interpretation of the structure. Also, the reanalysis licenses particle movement of PRED to the left, given that PRED is sufficiently simple, in Åfarli's terms.

Note also that the particle movement in (30) does not leave a trace. This stipulation can explain the non-convergence of (33):

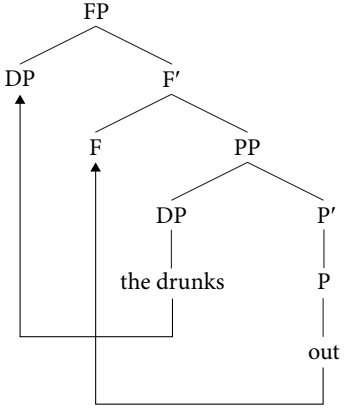
(33) *Vi sparka ut hunden ___ huset.
we kicked out dog-the ___ house-the
'We kicked out the dog from the house'

If we assume that the moved particle does not leave a trace in its base position, it is clear that *huset* 'the house' lacks a Case assigner. Analyses which presuppose leftward particle movement as ordinary head movement need another device to explain why (33) fails.

3.1.2.2 *Svenonius' (1996a) early minimalist version*

Like den Dikken (1995), Svenonius (1996a) proposes a SC structure with the particle and the DP in a predicational configuration. Contrary to den Dikken, however, Svenonius argues for a DP-Prt base order with possible movements of either the particle or the DP into a higher functional projection (FP). The rough structure of his analysis is given in (34):

(34) The doorman threw



Either DP movement into Spec,FP, *or* particle movement into F

Svenonius explains the variation in particle distribution found in the Scandinavian languages (see 2.1)[15] in terms of the different languages' respective subject positions and realisations of the EPP. In Svenonius' view, VPrt constructions are essentially causatives or resultatives: "Typically, and perhaps always, a verb-particle

15. The overview given by Svenonius (1996a: 10ff) reveals a picture of the Scandinavian variation similar to Thráinsson's (2007: 34, 142) overview, with the exception that Faroese is claimed to have RPrt preference (following Sandøy 1976).

construction of the form SUBJECT VERB OBJECT PARTICLE [= RPrt construction] means something like SUBJECT *cause* OBJECT *go* PARTICLE *by means of* VERB" (p. 3). Because of the DP-Prt base order, particles are analysed similarly to transitive PPs, but they differ in that the P-element may shift in English only when the Ground (the complement of P) is not overtly expressed. As we have seen, particle shift is obligatory in Swedish and somewhat restricted in spoken Norwegian when the Ground is overt. Den Dikken (1995) analyses *the drunks* in (35) (from Svenonius' p. 4) as the complement of the particle (cf. 3.1.1.2), but Svenonius analyses it as the SC subject, or the particle's Figure.

(35) The doorman threw [$_{\text{FIGURE}}$ the drunks] out [$_{\text{GROUND}}$ of the bar]

I have already argued that den Dikken's (1995) analysis of the particle as ergative is not convincing when it is confronted with Norwegian data, and here I will instead follow Svenonius' arguments that *of the bar* is the particle's complement.

Svenonius posits a functional layer on top of the SC. This means that the Figure is based in the spec-position of a lexical projection headed by the particle. Either the Figure DP or the particle moves up in the functional projection, as shown in (34); if the latter is the case, the LPrt construction is the result. Here, we see a more intuitively correct predication relation between the DP and the particle than in den Dikken (1995). The functional layer on top of the SC is independently motivated by Bowers (1993), who claims that all clauses are equipped with a predication operator that heads its own projection (for Svenonius 1996b, the FP is realised as a PrP). But note that Bowers (1993) base-generates the subject in Spec,PrP. This projection is motivated to formalise the relation between the specifier and the complement of a predication operator, i.e., the subject and its predicate. Therefore, a lexically based subject that moves into PrP is not compatible with Bowers' basic motivation for the predication operator.

For Svenonius (1996a), the motivation for movement into the F domain is the EPP. VPrt constructions, being clauses, all have subjects, and the strong EPP feature is assumed to be present on the F head. Hence, some nominal element must move into the F domain to check this feature. This EPP requirement can be satisfied either by the DP moving to Spec,FP, or by the particle moving to F^0. In order for this to work, the particle must bear a nominal (N) feature. This may seem *ad hoc*, but movement of a predicative head instead of a DP to satisfy the EPP is independently proposed by Alexiadou & Anagnostopolou (1995). If we take the old GB decomposition analysis of the lexical categories into account, P and V are the two non-nominal categories: P is [–N,–V] and V is [–N,+V]. Thus, we could perhaps conclude that the verb is not nominal enough to satisfy the EPP on T (although the EPP can be checked in Spec,TP by a DP). In light of this, it seems a bit strange that P is nominal enough to check the EPP on F/Pr.

An important notion to keep in mind is that of *l(exical)*-selection (Pesetsky 1995). L-selection is the "selection of a particular lexical item, typically a preposition by a verb" (Svenonius 1996a: 5). Adjectival particles apparently shift quite irregularly. The combinations *set free* and *make clear* allow shift, but *free* and *clear* cannot shift in all other combinations. Therefore, Svenonius suggests that combinations like *set free* and *make clear* are listed in the lexicon; the complement is l-selected by the verb. At least, it is intuitively reasonable to assume l-selection to be present in non-spatial/idiomatic VPrt constructions, cf. Section 2.1 and Sandøy (1976: 107f). In some cases, non-spatial constructions are only possible with a certain particle, for example: *tenkje* 'think' can appear with *ut* 'out' but not **inn* 'in', **opp* 'up', or **ned* 'down'. In spatial VPrt constructions, more particle choice is usually possible: *kaste* 'throw' can appear with *ut, inn, opp,* or *ned*. Furthermore, a spatial particle can be topicalised/A' moved, but a non-spatial one cannot (see Sections 4.1.3 and 4.2.2), so that the non-spatial particle is apparently more closely connected to the verb. One could therefore suggest that the non-spatial combinations are lexically listed. They have sometimes an idiomatic reading and they have more left-bound particles than the spatial variants; sometimes the LPrt distribution is even obligatory. In Svenonius' analysis, this means that particle shift is (almost) obligatory. If we then assume that an l-selected element is part of the selector's meaning, i.e., that the meaning of the particle is incorporated into the V somehow, we might assume that V and LPrt constitute a theta-assigning unit together.

This approach is reminiscent of Taraldsen's (1983) reanalysis, which also avoids violation of the theta-criterion. Although l-selection could seem more attractive for non-spatial (and idiomatic) constructions than spatial constructions, a general rule that deprives the P element's theta-assigning ability is desirable for all VPrt constructions. Svenonius does eventually suggest that l-selection is present in all VPrt constructions, and that it is a necessary condition for leftward particle movement to take place. In Taraldsen's analysis, reanalysis is what gives the VPrt construction a causative reading. The effect of l-selection is that particle shift is allowed.

The N feature and l-selection as requirements for particle shift might be problematic for some adjectival VPrt constructions. We would have to assume that only a few adjectives bear an N feature in English, while (probably) a slightly higher number of adjectives do so in Norwegian. However, it is hard to see how this could explain Åfarli's (1985) data, where *gul* 'yellow' is a possible LPrt in the Halsa dialect, but *gulblå* 'yellow-blue' and *fiolett* 'violet' are not.

(36) Vi måla gul/*gulblå/*fiolett bilen.
we painted yellow/*yellowblue/*purple car-the
'We painted the car yellow/yellow-blue/purple'

The N feature alone is insufficient to allow the particle to shift; it must also be l-selected, as already mentioned. Maybe the adjectives that are more idiomatically related to the verb are easier to realise as LPrt (e.g., *laus* 'loose', *fri* 'free'), while adjectives that cannot be l-selected (e.g., most colour adjectives) are harder to shift. If the N feature and l-selection are necessary for the particle to appear to the left, these criteria must be realised differently in English than they are in Scandinavian – and they must also differ across the Scandinavian languages and dialects. It seems to be more or less coincidental which elements are l-selected in a language, and which are not: "*Elect* does not l-select *president* (though it perhaps could, in principle, and therefore might, in some language) …" (Svenonius 1996a: 10). This particular quote makes it difficult to see how l-selection is explanatory, but in a complex head analysis V + LPrt will indeed be more naturally construed as a lexical unit.

From his p. 12 onwards, Svenonius develops a quite articulated model where the different Prt distribution in the Scandinavian languages is explained through different subject positions. As is widely recognised in the literature, Danish has generally RPrt (but see Pedersen 2017 for exceptions). This fact, which contrasts with the situation in the other Scandinavian languages (and English), combined with the fact that adverbs never precede subjects in Danish (again unlike Swedish and Norwegian), leads Svenonius to propose that the EPP is different in Danish. Specifically, he claims that the subject position in Danish is higher than in the other languages under discussion.

This is seen in connection with two nominal features giving rise to EPP effects (mentioned in Chomsky 1995). Svenonius assumes an N feature, which can be checked by any nominal element and which is T-associated, and a D feature which can only be checked by a DP and which is Agr-associated. The idea is that the D feature is strong in Danish, forcing the DP to check it overtly by moving to Spec,AgrP. This again leads to the proposal that there are two functional heads above the SC, giving the following VPrt representation (from Svenonius' p. 14):

(37) a. **Norwegian:** kaste $[_{AgrP}$ Agr^0 $[_{TP}$ hunden$_i$ T^0 $[_{PP}$ t$_i$ ut]]].
b. **Norwegian:** kaste $[_{AgrP}$ Agr^0 $[_{TP}$ ut$_i$-T^0 $[_{PP}$ hunden t$_i$]]].
c. **Danish:** smide $[_{AgrP}$ hunden$_i$ Agr^0 $[_{TP}$ t$_i$' T^0 $[_{PP}$ t$_i$ ud]]].
'throw {out} the dog {out}'

In the Norwegian Example (37b), the N feature is checked by the particle (which is nominal, including the incorporated Ground). Only Danish has the obligatory checking of the D feature in the Agr domain. A quite striking result is that the SC is equipped with the same functional projections as a verbal clause, which to my

knowledge is a rather unusual assumption, since the TP is normally associated with a tense feature.[16]

Faroese fits in this new picture quite well. We have seen through Sandøy (1976) in Section 2.1 that Faroese has a general RPrt preference, and Svenonius argues (on his p. 16) that the subject position in Faroese is quite high, like in Danish. Although the Faroese data are not as unambiguous as the Danish data, there are indications that the two languages can be analysed in parallel. The only difference between the two when it comes to VPrt constructions is that while Danish particles stay low (*in situ*), agreement triggers Faroese particles to move into the Agr-domain, where the strong D feature has already attracted the subject.

In Swedish, LPrt is claimed to be obligatory and due to particle movement. Svenonius assumes that it is always sufficient for the EPP to be checked by the particle in Swedish. An independent motivation for this is taken from infinitival constructions, in which the Swedish infinitival marker seems to appear higher than in Norwegian and Danish. The following examples are taken from Svenonius' p. 18:

(38) a. **Swedish:**
Maria lovade att inte läsa boken.
Maria promised to not read book-the
b. **Danish:**
Marie lovede ikke at læse bogen.
Maria promised not to read book-the
c. **Norwegian:**
Marie lovet {å} ikke {å} lese boken.[17]
Maria promised {to} not {to} read book-the
'Maria promised not to read the book'

Svenonius stipulates that the same strong feature on Agr attracts the Swedish infinitival marker and the particle. Infinitives and VPrt constructions denote different kinds of aspect (an unrealised state of affairs vs. a resultative end state), which could suggest that there is a strong aspectual feature in Agr in Swedish, attracting both *att* and the particle. In fact, the strong aspectual feature is associated with a

16. Svenonius motivates the double functional SC layer independently from the variation found in participle constructions, but I will not discuss this issue here.

17. From the NDC, it is clear that Norwegian dialects generally feature a high infinitival marker, as in Swedish. The written standards have to some extent traditionally featured the "never split an infinitive" rule, but in prominent *Nynorsk* grammars, such as those of Heggstad (1931: § 453) and Beito (1970: § 358), it is claimed that the split infinitive is generally the rule in *Nynorsk*, especially when the adverb is a negator. This is also confirmed in *Nynorskkorpuset* 'The *Nynorsk* Corpus' (cf. 1.4.1.1). See also a discussion on the Norwegian infinitival marker in a historical context in Faarlund (2003, 2007).

third functional projection, based on Kayne's (1993) development of a D/P projection (with determinatival and prepositional properties) above AgrP and TP in participial constructions. Svenonius motivates a similar projection in VPrt constructions, namely a CpP projection, with the C indicating that the constructions have similar properties as clausal CPs. But the little p (for "particle" and "participle") separates it from the ordinary C and illustrates that a particle or a participle is always involved. The Swedish particle is then attracted by strong aspectual features all the way to Cp^0. Thus, we get the following Scandinavian variation (from Svenonius' p. 29):

(39) a. **Dan:** smide $[_{CpP}\ C_p\ [_{AgrP}$ hunden$_i$ Agr $[_{TP}\ t_i$' T $[_{PP}\ t_i$ ud]]]]
b. **Far:** blaka $[_{CpP}\ C_p\ [_{AgrP}$ hundin$_i$ út$_k$ $[_{TP}\ t_i$' $t_k\ [_{PP}\ t_i\ t_k\ ]]]]$
c. **Nor:** kaste $[_{CpP}\ C_p\ [_{AgrP}$ Agr $[_{TP}$ hunden$_i$ T $[_{PP}\ t_i$ ut]]]]
d. **Nor:** kaste $[_{CpP}\ C_p\ [_{AgrP}$ Agr $[_{TP}$ ut$_k\ [_{PP}$ hunden $t_k\ ]]]]$
e. **Swe:** kasta $[_{CpP}$ ut$_k\ [_{AgrP}\ t_k$" $[_{TP}$ T t_k' $[_{PP}$ hunden $t_k\ ]]]]$
'throw {out} the dog {out}'

3.1.3 Evaluation and the data problem

Although Åfarli (1985) uses data from his own Halsa dialect, it is a weakness of both his and Taraldsen's (1983) analysis that they do not look to the Norwegian dialectological literature for empirical support. In Aasen's (1848, 1864) work, it is quite evident that LPrt is generally preferred in Norwegian, and that a given LPrt construction differs in meaning from the corresponding RPrt construction. Furthermore, Sandøy (1976) provides a number of interesting details from the Romsdal dialect, both concerning the alternation problem and the difference between spatial and non-spatial constructions. Unfortunately, Aasen's and Sandøy's empirical observations are not reflected in Taraldsen's and Åfarli's analyses. Instead, they assume optional word order in the simplex VPrt construction. Since the emergence of Minimalism in the early 1990s, principles of economy have made optional derivations impossible; hence, a free particle alternation is a real theoretical challenge.

Taraldsen (1983) (3.1.1.1) and Åfarli (1985) (3.1.2.1) argue for different basic VPrt structures, and derive the alternative word orders in different manners. It is quite evident that Taraldsen's Prt-DP base order causes many problems. Structures judged as unacceptable are predicted to converge, while structures judged as acceptable are predicted not to converge. Åfarli's objections are crucial to resolving this situation, since the empirical coverage is improved when one assumes DP-Prt base order. But at least one aspect of Taralden's (1983) analysis is attractive, namely the claim that the two alternative word orders in VPrt constructions differ with

regard to predication. In such an approach, DP-Prt order is the result of the DP moving into the spec,PP position, i.e., the SC subject position, and is thus the only predicative construction of the two. I will follow the idea that only RPrt constructions are predicational. At least I will assume that non-spatial LPrt constructions are not predicational.

Despite the appeal of this analysis, I do not agree with some of the crucial data that are taken to motivate it. The binding data, which are taken to motivate the subject status of the DP distributed to the left contra the non-subject status of the DP distributed to the right, are misleading. It is evident that Taraldsen's work was done before the theory of Norwegian anaphors was adequately developed. Hellan's (1988: 73) observation that certain anaphors can be bound across an intervening subject thus represents a crucial objection to Taraldsen's recognition of SC subjects. Furthermore, we have seen that the basic Prt-DP order causes several problems.

In den Dikken (1995) (3.1.1.2), the generation of the functional projection that forces RPrt constructions to be derived (and vice versa, LPrt, if it is not derived) is not well motivated. I have also argued that his use of Norwegian data is misleading, and does not in fact support his ergative analysis of the particle. When this fundamental part of the analysis is weakened, the approach falls apart from a Norwegian point of view.

Svenonius' (1996a) (3.1.2.2) overview in (39) is in my view sufficient to classify Danish and Faroese as high subject languages, and serves as a possible explanation for the high Swedish particle (and infinitival marker). However, the Norwegian situation remains vague. The strong N feature in T might explain the (claimed) Norwegian position occupying the middle ground in the Scandinavian context, but it does not explain the potential semantic difference between LPrt and RPrt constructions, nor does not explain why LPrt is (often strongly) preferred. Svenonius does mention the LPrt preference in Romsdal Norwegian (from Sandøy 1976), but claims that it is not representative for Norwegian in general: "for most Norwegian dialects (…) there is free variation (…)" (p. 11). Except for Faroese, Svenonius' Scandinavian overview looks similar to Thráinsson's (2007), with the admission that the notion of "free variation" in Norwegian and Icelandic is somewhat idealised. From what we have seen in Chapter 2, Norwegian dialects with LPrt preference are the rule, not the exception.

Furthermore, LPrt distribution is claimed to be impossible in Norwegian complex VPrt constructions, as in English (i.e., the particle cannot shift when the Ground is overtly expressed) – but *dispreferred* and *optional* would probably be more accurate descriptors of Norwegian spatial and non-spatial constructions, respectively. It is hard to see how the analysis in (39c, d) can cope with these empirical facts. With the LPrt preference in spatial simple constructions and RPrt

preference in corresponding complex constructions, we must assume that the realisation of the EPP depends on whether the Ground is overt or not. The account in (39) is therefore still merely descriptive in this regard: the semantic difference between RPrt and LPrt constructions, like the difference between simplex vs. complex constructions, remains unexplained.

3.2 The Status of the particle

In the introduction to the present chapter, Ramchand & Svenonius' (2002) presentation of the small clause (SC) and complex predicate (CPr) accounts was discussed. In 3.1, I discussed the alternation problem through four works that relate to the SC camp, where the status of the particle vary from, e.g., intransitive (Svenonius 1996a) to ergative (den Dikken 1995), and where the particle projects (and moves, overtly or covertly). In this section, two alternatives for the analysis of the V-Prt adjacency will be discussed, namely a full-blooded VP internal (CPr) approach (Zeller 2001) (3.2.1), and an intermediate alternative where the Prt lexicalises a functional (resultative) head in a decomposed VP (Ramchand & Svenonius 2002, Ramchand 2008) (3.2.2). There are empirical problems with both these approaches too, but ultimately, I will follow Zeller in assuming a verb-adjacent LPrt, and I will follow Ramchand & Svenonius in assuming a resultative RPrt. The major questions are in this section are: What is the relation between V and Prt, i.e., what is the exact status of the particle?

3.2.1 The V-Prt relation in Zeller (2001)

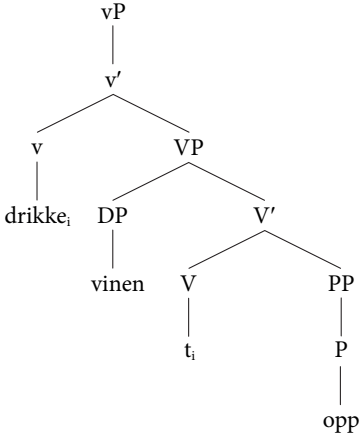
3.2.1.1 *Structural and morphological adjacency*

Zeller's (2001) work is an important example of the traditional Complex Predicate (CPr) family of approaches to VPrt, as opposed to the SC approaches. Zeller's account differs from those presented in 3.1 in that he does not promote a subject-predicate analysis of the DP-Prt relation, nor are VPrt constructions counted as resultative. Instead, the V-Prt relation is crucial; the verb and the particle are argued to be structurally adjacent to one another (with the particle projection as a lexical complement of V, cf. Zeller's p. 209). Zeller (2001: 51f) himself splits the CPr analyses into those which take a morphological approach (with the verb and the particle as a complex verbal head) and those which instead choose an incorporation approach (with the particle heading its own projection, but able to incorporate into the verb). Zeller shares the incorporation approach view (also shared by the SC analyses discussed in this chapter) that the particle heads an independent projection, but he denies the possibility that the particle can incorporate

into the verb. Instead, he defends a syntactic approach to VPrt constructions, in which the particle heads its own projection and stays *in situ* when the verb moves to C in V2 contexts.

Particle alternation and North Germanic data are secondary in Zeller's study, and thus postponed to two late chapters. Primarily, he focuses on German, where particles are stranded in main clauses. The structure he posits for RPrt constructions is given in (40) (from his p. 284).

(40)



drink wine-the up
'drink the wine up'

Unlike the typical SC account, with the Theme DP base generated within the maximal projection of the particle, the DP is here externally located in Spec,VP. To get the surface word order in Norwegian, the main verb will have to move across the DP, to little *v*. But even more importantly, the particle is structurally adjacent to V in (40); the particle heads a lexical projection, unlike a verb-complement (DO), which according to Zeller (pp. 1ff) contains a functional projection (this will be discussed further below). In the particle case, this secures the structural adjacency between V and P, which V and a DO do not have (the functional architecture makes the lexical head of a DO non-adjacent to V).

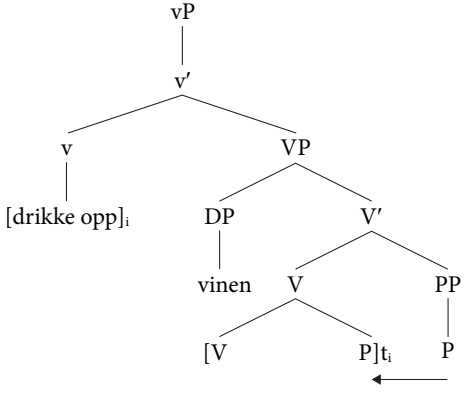
However, LPrt constructions cannot be derived straightforwardly from (40). There is no position between v and Spec,VP (the position of the object DP) to which the particle can move. In fact, structural adjacency is not sufficient to derive LPrt constructions; the adjacency between V and P must be transformed to a morphological adjacency, and this happens after a certain reanalysis of the structure. The following definition is taken from Zeller (2001: 255, 273):

(41) *Principle of Reanalysis*
Given two terminal nodes X, Y, and a lexical entry L that requires X and Y to be structurally adjacent. Then the lexical entries of X and Y can be unified with a syntactic structure in which X and Y are part of the same word X^0.

In German, (41) is only possible if the particle (Y) is part of a derived word, e.g., in derived nominals (*einführen – Einführung*) and adjectives (*aufblasen – aufblasbar*). The structural adjacency forms the basis of how these forms can be reanalysed as morphological compounds. The particle verb is hence reanalysed as a V^0, and this operation is restricted by another condition (see his p. 257) such that it only occurs inside large morphological structures.

To derive an LPrt structure from (40), Zeller posits reanalysis of a type similar to what is employed in Larson's (1988) analysis, which suggests that the V' node dominating V^0 and PP "can be reanalyzed and undergo movement as a complex V^0" (Zeller 2001: 285). This means that the LPrt word order is a result of the reanalysed complex V^0 crossing the DP by moving to v^0:

(42)



Reanalysis of P in V

On an observational level, both the V-P relation and the respective derivations are quite different in (40) vs. (42), compared to the SC approaches in 3.1. But it is a more conspicuous problem that the particle incorporates and moves along with the verb, but then needs to excorporate. I will discuss the notions of structural and morphological adjacency in the following subsection, in meeting with more Norwegian data.

3.2.1.2 *The particle as a lexical V-complement*

Zeller strongly advocates a uniform and non-predicational analysis of VPrt constructions. The structural adjacency between V and P is represented by P lacking

a functional projection. The following particle definition is given on Zeller's p. 10, and repeated on p. 127 and 148:

(43) Particles are heads of non-functional phrasal complements of the verb and do not leave their base position in overt syntax

The non-functional particle phrase ensures structural adjacency between V^0 and P^0 and differentiates particles formally from ordinary direct objects, which have functional structure. This is an appealing idea, but an apparent problem is that adjectival particles can appear inflected as LPrt (see below), opposite of what Zeller claims (on his pp. 294f).

Zeller classifies adjectival resultatives as structurally comparable to VPrt constructions (p. 59) in the sense that both the resultative adjective and the prepositional particle head autonomous phrases. Verb movement to C is then straightforward, without any excorporation or split. Later (on pp. 143–147), he discusses what separates adjectival particles in German from adjectival resultatives. The short answer is that the adjectival particles do not yield a resultative reading of the construction, while, as the name suggests, that is the nature of adjectival resultatives. Resultative adjectives are referential, i.e., they are predicated of a syntactically realised argument (the subject). The referentiality is formalised by functional structure, which the non-referential (non-resultative) adjectival particles lack. This leads Zeller to suggest that only the resultative (44b) is equipped with an AgrP, while the particle construction in (44a) contains a bare lexical AP (cf. the discussion on Zeller's p. 146).

(44) a. Peter hat krank gefeiert.
Peter has sick celebrated
'Peter played hooky'
b. Peter hat seine Nachbarn krank gefeiert.
Peter has his neighbours sick celebrated
'Peter has had so many parties that his neighbours finally became sick'

The purported non-resultative nature of adjectival particle constructions could seem counterintuitive, since a resultative reading is a central characteristic of prepositional particle constructions (cf. Svenonius 1996a). Zeller argues that the prepositional particle construction in (45) (from his p. 60) resembles a resultative adjectival construction syntactically, with the particle *ab* 'off' heading its own phrase.

(45) Peter lief seine Sohlen ab.
Peter ran his soles off
'Peter ran off his soles'

With references to Åfarli (1985) and Svenonius (1996a), Zeller claims that resultative adjectives that are distributed to the left of the DP typically appear in their bare form, although an inflected form is obligatory to the right of the DP. (46) (from Zeller's pp. 294f) is taken from Åfarli (1985).

(46) a. Vi vaska rein golvet. (Åfarli 1985)
we washed clean floor-the
'We cleaned the floor'

b. Vi vaska golvet rein*(t). (Åfarli 1985)
we washed floor-the clean*(N)
'We cleaned the floor'

This example pair is used to illustrate that the reanalysis in (41)–(42) works on lexical structures, and Zeller seems to be right in the sense that (46) represents the most conventional Norwegian system (Heggstad 1931). However, resultative adjectives *can* appear with neutral agreement to the left of the DP in many Norwegian dialects. From Sandøy (1976: 104), we have (47a), and (47b) is from my fieldwork in Oppdal, Central Norway, representing the older generation of speakers there.

(47) a. Dei skava {laust} tapetet {laust}.
they shaved {loose.N} wallpaper-the {loose.N}
(Romsdal, WNorw, Sandøy 1976)
'They loosened the wallpaper'

b. Dei slo {flatt} jarnet {flatt}. (Oppdal, CNorw)
they hit {flat.N} iron-the {flat.N}
'They hit the iron flat'

Since adjectives like these can appear both to the left and to the right, they seem to behave syntactically and semantically (as resultatives) much like prepositional particles. The adjectival LPrt can also appear inflected, which means reanalysis of a bare lexical complement into V as posited by Zeller apparently cannot be universal, at the very least. If we include inflected adjectives in the category of particles, the first part of Zeller's definition in (45) is inappropriate. Structural adjacency must then be rejected, because the adjectival particles need to be represented with functional structure in order to account for their agreement with neutral DPs.

However, there is a possibility that Zeller's definition is more correct than my conclusion based upon a surface view of the Norwegian data. By hypothesis, we could suggest that all inflected adjectival particles are in fact RPrt, and hence that the DP might be extraposed in the apparent LPrt variants. (48a) gives a possible representation of the apparent LPrt variant in (47a). Note that the inflected "LPrt" more easily (although perhaps not perfectly) can be modified than a bare LPrt (48b). This could indicate that (48a) is correct.

(48) a. Dei skava ___ [$_{\text{RPrt}}$ laust] tapetet.
they shaved ___ loose.N wallpaper-the
'They loosened the wallpaper'
b. Dei skava heilt laus*(?t) tapetet.
they shaved completely loose*(?$_{\text{N}}$) wallpaper-the
'They loosened the wallpaper completely'

Another indication that Zeller's analysis is on the right track, is the fact that while a bare adjective is always possible in the LPrt position, it is almost without exception inflected in the RPrt position. This suggests that the status of the particle really is different in the two respective positions. We will return to this in Chapter 4 and follow Larsen's (2014) hypothesis that only the RPrt projects. We will also return to the adjectival examples briefly in 4.2.2.

Zeller's idea that resultatives are equipped with a functional projection and therefore cannot form a complex V^0 with the basic verb (i.e., cannot undergo reanalysis) is also illustrated by the examples below. In (49a), full PPs are claimed to be impossible to the left, as are APs (51b, c, d) to the left, but not in (49e). The examples are taken from Zeller's pp. 290–293, and are originally from Neeleman (1994), Svenonius (1996a) and Åfarli (1985).

(49) a. John cuts {*into pieces} the pear {into pieces}.
b. The doorman beat {*senseless} the drunks {senseless}.
c. The firefighters hoisted {*high} the equipment {high}.
d. Vi måla {*fiolett} bilen {fiolett}.
we painted {*violet} car-the {violet}
'We painted the car violet'
e. Vi måla {blå} bilen {blå}.
we painted {blue} car-the {blue}
'We painted the car blue'

Zeller follows Neeleman (1994) and Svenonius (1996a) by proposing that the combinations with the adjective to the left are lexically listed. Neeleman claims that adjectives like *open* morphologically subcategorise for a verb. Having this property specified in the lexicon, such adjectives can appear verb-adjacent in combinations like *cut open*, *kick open* and *break open*. This suggestion is compatible with Zeller's notion of reanalysis, which allows bare lexical elements to form a complex V^0 with the verb. The striking contrast between (49d) and (49e) is said to be paralleled in Dutch, in which *groen* 'green' but not *violet* can undergo reanalysis with the verb. However, *blå* 'blue' distributed to the left (49e) is not generally accepted in Norwegian, but rather is a feature of the Halsa dialect (Åfarli 1985: 79). Most speakers are generally reluctant to distribute colour adjectives to the left. In my fieldwork, only a couple of young Surnadal informants marginally accepted *røytt* (*raudt*) 'red.N' to

the left. As far as I am concerned, Norwegian adjectival particles need more investigation in order to give real support to any suggested model. It is possible that the verb-adjacent adjectives are lexically listed also in Norwegian, since they at least cannot be predicted from Neeleman's and Svenonius' English examples.

In Section 2.3.2, we also saw that complex phrasal particles (apparently full PPs) are distributed as particles in Old Norse, Icelandic, Norwegian and Swedish. Some of them are repeated below:

(50) a. **Swedish**:
Barbro tok {av sig} jackan {*av sig} (Hulthén 1948: 166).
Barbro took {off REFL} jacket-the {*off REFL}
'Barbro took off the jacket'

b. **Norwegian:**
Vi sette {på han} hatten {på han}. (Åfarli 1985: 79)
we put {on him} hat-the {on him}
'We put the hat on him'

c. **Norwegian:**
Vi slo {i h(j)el} ormen {i h(j)el}.[18] (cf. Åfarli 1985: 79)
we beat {in death} snake-the {in death}
'We beat the snake to death'

d. **Romsdal Norwegian:**
å sende {+om bord} detta skaffetyet {om bord}.
to send {+on board} this tableware-the {on board}
(Sandøy 1976: 103)
'to send this tableware on board'

e. **Icelandic:**
Svo henti hann {frá ser} hnífum {frá ser}. (Sandøy 1976: 90)
then threw he {from REFL} knife-the {from REFL}
'Then he threw the knife away'

The PPs in (50) more or less follow the standard pattern of particle distribution; hence, they can be said to be complex, phrasal particles. Swedish has obligatory LPrt distribution, while Romsdal Norwegian has a preference for LPrt and Icelandic has (apparent) free option. I will argue in 4.3.2 that the PPs in (50) must be reanalysed as a head; therefore, they should be compatible with Zeller's reanalysis, too.

18. Zeller (2001: 291) himself adopts this example from Åfarli, and naturally transcribes it as Åfarli does, with *ihjel* written as a compound. However, this is a normal PP *i* 'in' *hel* 'death', and it is standardised as a PP (as two separate words) in both *Nynorsk* (*i hel*) and Bokmål (*i h(j)el*) today.

3.2.1.3 *The non-predicational structure of PPs and VPrt constructions*

A crucial question regarding the status of the particle is whether it is prediactional or not. Zeller (2001) promotes a non-predicational VPrt structure. The structures in (40) and (42) above demonstrate the "non-relation" between the particle and the Theme DP, which is essential for his understanding of resultative PPs. Svenonius (1996a: 1f) (adopting terms from Talmy 1972, 1985) claims that prepositions denote spatial relations "as holding between a Figure and a Ground." The subject in (51) is the Figure, which is related to the complement of the preposition (i.e., the Ground) by the preposition itself. Hence, the preposition is relational. In (51a), the Ground expresses the location of the Figure, but it can also express more abstract notions, e.g., a peculiar situation in which the Figure is found (e.g. (51b), my own example).

(51) a. The cat is in the bag.
b. The cat is in a hurry.

Zeller (2001: 116f) adopts Jackendoff's (1983, 1990) framework, arguing that prepositions are not relational, but instead express "local concepts like Places (locative PPs) and Paths (directional PPs)." Then the Theme of P^0 (= Figure in Svenonius' terms) is PP-externally generated, merged as the external argument of V, cf. (54a). For Svenonius (1996a), the Figure of a construction like (52b) is PP-internally generated and related to the Ground by P^0 via predication. The PP in (52b) is hence a small clause, while in Zeller's representation in (52a) the Theme is the object of little *v* (the functional projection FP above the PP is in Zeller's standard system).

(52) a. Mary [$_{v}$ takes [$_{VP}$ Peter [$_{FP}$ [$_{PP}$ to school]]]].
b. Mary takes [$_{PP}$ Peter to school].

Zeller adopts (52a) without further discussion. However, the SC representation in (52b) will give us a structural representation predicting the most plausible interpretation of the following ambiguous sentence taken from Åfarli & Eide (2003: 184).

(53) Jon hater griser på kjøkkenet.
John hates pigs on kitchen-the
'John hates that there are pigs in the kitchen', *or*
'John is in the kitchen while hating pigs'

With *grisene* 'the pigs' generated PP-internally, the structure has the unambiguous meaning of "what John hates is there being pigs in the kitchen." An externally generated DP might predict that the action of hating takes place in the kitchen. But we can also argue that Zeller's analysis correctly predicts the ambiguity given by (53). Then the least plausible (but still plausible!) interpretation is predicted directly from the structure, and the more conventional interpretation will be accessed by general world knowledge.

However, it is indeed strange that while resultative PPs have their theme generated externally, resultative APs do not (Zeller 2001: 144). This is one of den Dikken's (2002: 155) criticisms of Zeller's non-uniform treatment of resultatives. Instead of giving resultative constructions a uniform approach, Zeller strives to treat all particles in a uniform syntactic (non-predicational) manner.

There are also some investigations that speak for a separation between predicational (predicative) and non-predicational particles. One example is Sawyer's (1999) study of English L1 acquisition. Children's mistakes are more predictable and stable with predicational particles than with the non-predicational ones: dropping the Theme DP is the typical mistake made in predicational VPrt constructions. This mistake corresponds with subject (as opposed to object) drop in finite clauses, suggesting that the Theme DP in VPrt constructions is a subject, as is the standard in SC analyses. Neither of these properties is captured by Zeller's analysis.

Interestingly, Dehé (2002: 17ff) also makes some remarks against a predicational analysis of VPrt constructions based on the possibility of *to be* insertion. VPrt constructions cannot have *to be* inserted in the predicate, as shown in (56b), and they cannot be paraphrased with a finite CP construction, as shown in (56c), both of which are possible for SCs; cf. (54b) and (55b), respectively.

(54) a. I consider [$_{SC}$ John a fool].
b. I consider [John to be a fool].

(55) a. Nobody heard [$_{SC}$ it rain last night].
b. Nobody heard [that it rained last night].

(56) a. He handed [the paper in].
b. *He handed [the paper to be in].
c. *He handed [that the information was in].

However, these tests are not entirely conclusive. First, *to be* insertion or any paraphrase with a copula is a strange criterion for recognizing SCs, since it excludes resultative SCs. If we have a resultative variant of the SC type in (54), copula insertion is also unsuccessful:

(57) a. I made [$_{SC}$ John a liar].
b. *I made [John to be a liar].

The VPrt construction is more comparable to (57a) than (54a). The particle denotes the result of the matrix verbal action. If we want to paraphrase the directional VPrt construction, we need a verb that denotes movement or a change of state. In Norwegian, the copula must also combine with a locative preposition, while a directional VPrt construction demands a directional preposition:

(58) a. kome -> inn, *inne
'come -> 'in.DIR, *in.LOC'
b. vere -> *inn, inne
'be -> '*in.DIR, in.LOC'

Another argument by den Dikken (1995: 24f) is supposed to demonstrate that directional (60) and idiomatic (61) VPrt constructions do not behave like (adjectival) resultatives, as in (59).

(59) a. They hammered the metal flat.
b. There was a hammering event which resulted in the state of affairs of the metal being flat.

(60) a. They locked the dog out.
b. *There was a locking event such that the dog ended up *out*.

(61) a. They made the story up.
b. *There was a making event such that the story ended up *up*.

(60b) would be fine in Norwegian, since the locative *ute* 'out.LOC' would be used in both constructions. If the dog was *thrown* out, a directional *ut* would be used in (60a) – but still the locative *ute* would be used in (60b), because *enda opp* 'ended up' cannot be combined with the directional *ut*. In other words, it is the paraphrase itself that causes the problems, and (60a) can still be considered resultative (just not directional). The VPrt construction in (61b), however, is more difficult to paraphrase successfully with a finite CP in Norwegian; it fails both with *opp* 'up.DIR' and *oppe* 'up.LOC'. This is probably due to the fact that it is a non-spatial/non-directional construction, so it cannot be paraphrased with a preposition that has an obligatorily locative interpretation. Norwegian non-spatial VPrt constructions corresponding to (61a) are generally impossible to paraphrase similarly to (61b), cf. (62). The spatial (63a) is arguably more felicitously paraphrased with (63b).

(62) a. Dei las opp boka.
they read up book-the
'They read the book loudly'
b. *Det var ei lesehending slik at boka enda opp oppe.
it was a reading event such that the book ended up up.LOC
'There was a reading event such that the book ended up *up* (i.e., being read loudly)'

(63) a. Dei sende opp boka.
they sent up book-the
'They sent the book up'

b. Det var ei sendehending slik at boka enda opp oppe.
it was a sending event such that book-the ended up up.LOC
'There was a sending event such that the book ended up *up* (e.g., upstairs)'

Here, it is worth having a look at some of Åfarli's (1985: 85) examples too, where he discusses the predicational nature of the VPrt structure in light of Hellan's (1982) observations of *seg*-reflexives. These must be bound by an antecedent, which takes the expression that contains the reflexive as its predicate. Thus, the following grammatical constructions suggest that there is a predication relation between the antecedent (= the causee) and the phrase that contains the anaphor *sin/sitt* 'itself':

(64) a. Vi måla bilen$_i$ blå på taket sitt$_i$.
we painted car-the$_i$ blue on roof-the itself$_i$
'We painted the car blue on the roof'
b. Vi skrudde hjulet$_i$ på på akslingen sin$_i$.
we screwed wheel-the$_i$ on on shaft-the itself$_i$
'We screwed the wheel on the shaft'

Åfarli notes explicitly that *blå på taket sitt* 'blue on the (its) roof' and *på på akslingen sin* 'on on the (its) shaft' must be construed as predicates with the two causees, *bilen* 'the car' and *hjulet* 'the wheel', as their respective subjects. This is also parallel to the claim that *ut* out'and *blå* 'blue' are predicates in (30) above, and it is supported by the fact that the relevant parts of the structures in (64) can also be paraphrased with finite copula constructions: *Bilen$_i$ vart/er blå på taket sitt$_i$* 'the car became/is blue on the (its) roof' (Åfarli 1985: 86).

Åfarli (1985: 86) claims that the particle position does not affect its status as a predicate, and also the interpretations of the reflexives are constant (cf. *Han skrudde på hjulet$_i$ på akslingen sin$_i$* 'he screwed on the wheel on the (its) shaft', which is not only possible, but the preferred alternative for most). This is contrary to Taraldsen (1983), who posits a SC structure only in the DP-Prt cases, where the DP has moved into the subject position.

Note that assuming particle movement to account for the alternation implies a predicational structure in both cases, because the (subject) DP position is constant. Assuming DP movement into a subject position to account for the alternation implies different semantic interpretations, i.e., ±predication. There is, however, also an in-between option here. In 4.2.2, I I will, like Taraldsen, argue that RPrt construcitons are predicational – and I will claim that at least non-spatial LPrt construcitons are not predicational, but that spatial LPrt constructions most likely are.

One could argue that the alternation is covered by particle movement, with the effect of weakening the predication. This better explains the status of Taraldsen's binding examples discussed in the previous section. But as we will see, we must assume that there is a group of LPrt constructions (non-spatial) that cannot be construed as predicational. Both Taraldsen and Zeller draw clear distinctions between LPrt and RPrt constructions structurally, which I find appealing and will follow up through Larsen (2014) in the next chapter.

However, I do not find any convincing arguments for diagnosing spatial VPrt constructions as non-predicational, since the paraphrases which are supposed to support this analysis are often misleading. The paraphrase argument is quite common in arguments against a SC representation of VPrt constructions. See also Jackendoff (2002: 90), who puts forth similar arguments to Dehé's. In Chapter 4, I will continue to focus on the difference between spatial and non-spatial VPrt constructions – and note that the Norwegian paraphrases in (62)–(63) also show a different grammatical result for the spatial and non-spatial construction.

3.2.2 The particle as an identifier of result state in a decomposed VP

3.2.2.1 *Leftward particle movement to identify result state: Ramchand & Svenonius (2002)*

Ramchand & Svenonius (2002) promote an approach, in which the particle identifies the head of a resultative phrase within the decomposed VP. Inspired by Hale & Keyser's (1993) *l*(exical)-syntax, they aim "to capture the positive aspects of both the SC and the CP[r] accounts" (Ramchand & Svenonius 2002: 388). Their most important break from the SC accounts concerns the non-clausal treatment of the DP-Prt relation. Instead, Ramchand & Svenonius promote a decomposed VP structure, of which the VPrt construction is one part. The decomposed VP itself consists of three subevents in the following (hierarchical) order (from Ramchand & Svenonius' 2002: 392), each of them heading their own XP:

(65)	(causing subevent)	->	[process subevent	->	(result state)]
	vP		VP		RP

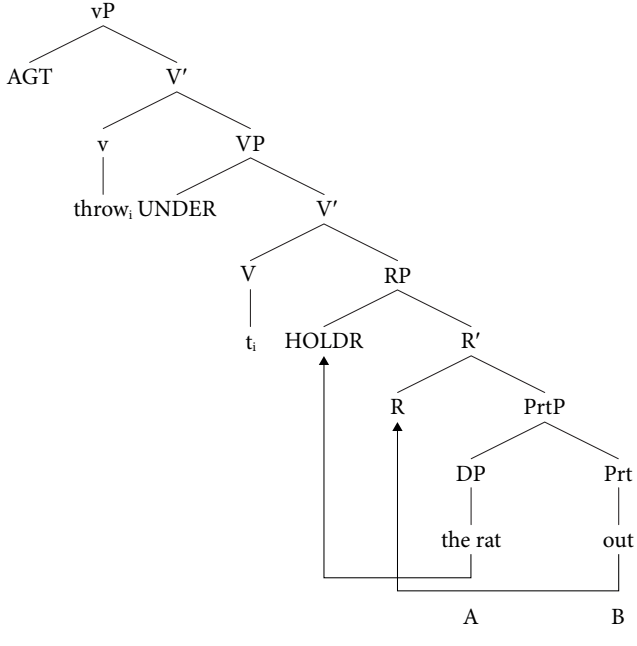
(65) opens up the possibility that a given verb might have null heads in its extended phrase: for example, a verb might lexicalise one of the heads and have two null heads. The idea is then that the particle lexicalises one of the heads in the structure, specifically the one denoting the result state. The whole decomposed verbal phrase forms one complex event; the possible DPs in the different spec-positions are respectively interpreted as initiator/subject of cause (vP), undergoer/subject of process (VP) and holder of result state/subject of result (RP). DPs can move from one spec-position to the next and thus "get 'composite' thematic interpretations" (p. 392).

VPrt constructions illustrate the composite thematic DP interpretation. In the following RPrt construction (from Ramchand & Svenonius 2002: 393), the DP is both the undergoer of the throwing process and the holder of the result state lexicalised by the particle. (66) also represents the basic structure, DP-Prt, in line with Svenonius' earlier work.

(66) Throw the dead rat out
V Undergoer/Holder of Result Prt

This basic structure is complemented by a lexical PP, which the particle heads, and in which the DP is merged in the spec-position. LPrt constructions are thus a result of particle shift – ordinary head movement from Prt^0 to R^0 – to identify the result state. The alternative DP-Prt order (RPrt construction) is derived if the DP moves instead from Spec,PrtP to Spec,RP and identifies the same result state, leaving the alternative movement unnecessary and hence impossible. So, assuming the verb is inserted in V and moves to v, the two alternative derivations can be illustrated the following way (cf. Ramchand & Svenonius 2002: 393f):

(67)



A: DP movement
in RPrt constructions
to identify result state

B: Particle movement
in LPrt constructions
to identify result state

In this way, the R-domain is lexicalised, and the verb and the particle are analysed as syntactically separate, having their own respective relations to the DP. As Ramchand & Svenonius note explicitly, particle movement from a lexical to a functional projection is motivated from Svenonius' own work from the 1990s (cf. Section 3.1.2.2). However, for Svenonius (1996a, b), the movement is EPP driven. The Norwegian particle can move to T or the DP can move to Spec,TP to check the EPP feature (see 3.1.2.2). This means that although the movements are practically the same, the motivation is different. For Ramchand & Svenonius (2002), the two alternative word orders are derived by moving something into the R-domain – both alternatives are essentially resultative, and they alternate. Thus, the free alternation presents the same problems as for Svenonius (1996a). The analysis cannot account for the LPrt preference shown in a lot of Norwegian dialects, nor the different semantic interpretations of the two word orders. While it is possible to state that a lot of dialects prefer particle movement into the R domain instead of the DP movement, this account does not explain why.

3.2.2.2 *Case licensing*

Any VPrt analysis must account for Case licensing of the DP, which is also relevant to explain the status of the particle. LPrt and RPrt constructions are treated homogenously with regard to Case licensing of the DP in (67). Ramchand & Svenonius (2002: 390) give evidence from Icelandic and Scottish Gaelic that Case does not change with the surface position of the particle (cf. also Svenonius 2001). This is also evident from Norwegian Dative dialects. The examples in (68) are taken from Sandøy (1976: 103) and the Romsdal dialect. The DP in (68a) gets Accusative independently of the particle position, but the LPrt variant in (68a) differs from the locative PP in (68b); the DP gets Dative only in the latter. This suggests that Case is associated with the preposition in (68b) and the verb in (68a).

(68) a. Han måtte skubbe {frå} båt'n {frå}. (Sandøy 1976, Roms.No.)
he must.PRF push {away} boat-the {away}
'He had to push away the boat'

b. Han måtte skubbe frå båta.
he must.PRF push from boat-the.DAT
'He had to push from the boat'

Svenonius (2001) and Ramchand & Svenonius (2002) note that although Case is generally associated with the verb in Icelandic VPrt constructions, the DP can sometimes show a different Case if the verb has no particle. But particle alternation has no influence on this. As we saw in Section 3.1.1.2, den Dikken (1995) has significantly different derivations for LPrt and RPrt constructions, and must account for different Case-licensing mechanisms. In the LPrt analysis, the NP stays

in situ and gets Case from the V-Prt complex through the Government Transparency Corollary. In RPrt constructions, the NP moves to the specifier position of the particle-headed SC and gets case from V alone. Ramchand & Svenonius (2002) argue convincingly that this analysis makes the wrong predictions; it is not empirically well-founded when we take languages with morphological Dative into account. I will follow them by assuming that Case is V-associated independently of the particle position, and whether it projects or not (see 4.1).

3.2.2.3 *Head movement and constraints*

It is well-known from the VPrt literature that adverbs or degree elements (Deg) can modify RPrt but not LPrt, both in English and Norwegian.[19] Based on this observation, Ramchand & Svenonius (2002: 394f) put forward evidence that particle movement should be analysed as ordinary head movement.[20] Their English examples are paralleled by the Norwegian facts in (69):

(69) a. Vi kasta hunden rett ut.
we threw dog-the right out
b. *Vi kasta ut hunden rett.
we threw out dog-the right
c. *Vi kasta rett ut hunden.
we threw right out dog-the
'We threw the dog right out'

Assuming *rett* to head its own phrase (e.g., Deg(ree)P) (which is commonly assumed after Abney 1987), the modifier stranding in (69b) is excluded by Relativised Minimality: Deg blocks particle (head) movement to R. Furthermore, (69c) is excluded because the two heads cannot move together. We will see in 4.1.4

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19. However, there are some marginal exceptions to this rule. *He(i)lt* 'completely' is usually also restricted to RPrt modification, but can appear with LPrt modification, as in this attested Google example:

(i) Jeg … syntes (ikke) den fanget helt opp boken (*Bokmål*)
I … felt (not) it captured completely up book-the
'I don't think it completely captured the mood of the book'

Those who accept this variant, might construe *helt opp* as a complex head. Although it is not a standard example, my guess is that *helt* will generally combine more easily with LPrt than *rett*. And *helt* works better in non-directional constructions. An anonomys reviewer notes that there are also cases of *back*-modification of LPrt in English.

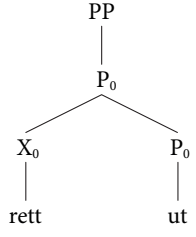
20. Taking Bobaljik & Brown's (1997) discussion into account, there is perhaps no such thing as "ordinary" head movement, since it is not compatible with the Extension Condition (Chomsky 1995: 327).

that this can be solved with Larsen's (2014) approach too, where LPrt is part of a complex V head (which thus cannot be modified), and RPrt heads a small clause (which can be modified).

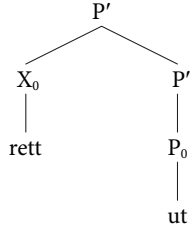
There are different theories regarding the possibility of extraction from complex X^0-categories (excorporation). Den Dikken (1995: 109f) explains non-converging examples like (69b, c) in terms of *Relativised Minimality* (RM) (Rizzi 1990). He suggests three different ways that the (bare) modifier can relate to the particle: as an adjunct at the P^0 level (70a), as an adjunct at the P' level (as in Svenonius 1992) (70b), or as the head of its own projection (70c).

(70) rett ut
'right out'

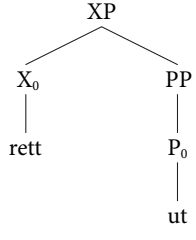
a.



b.



c.



Given X-bar theory, (70b) is the most unusual variant; if we allow a head to adjoin at this level, the restrictiveness of the phrase structure configuration is seriously challenged (a lot of unwanted combinations may be generated). But given Bare Phrase Structure, (70b) is not worse than (70c), since the number of levels are regulated by the features of the head. In any case, in all three alternatives, X^0 c-commands P^0 and movement of P^0 across X^0 is banned by RM. All three structures thus ban stranding the modifier in (69b).

I am not sure how well (70a) explains the non-converging LPrt variant in (69c). Its status depends on what is generally allowed to incorporate (a bare head or a head with its adjunct). At least given X-bar theory, (70b) can probably be discarded because it would lead to overgeneration. Hence, we may adopt (70c) (cf. also Abney 1987). Then, e.g., the non-converging (69c) can be explained because the verb cannot incorporate two heads from two distinct categories.

3.2.2.4 *Successful vs. unsuccessful P shift*

Ramchand & Svenonius (2002: 396f) pose an important restriction that I will explain differently in Chapter 5. Firstly, it is observed that a preposition, unlike a particle, cannot shift. Their examples are given below:

(71) a. We tossed the rat in.
b. We tossed in the rat.

(72) a. We tossed the rat in the sewer.
b. *We tossed in the rat the sewer.

The difference between the successful P-shift in (71b) and the unsuccessful shift in (72b) is explained through the differing inherent properties of particles and prepositions. Particles are said to have some semantic Ground element with a resultative specification incorporated into them, and this attracts them to R to identify the resultative node of the structure. Lacking this resultative feature, ordinary prepositions cannot check R, making (72b) impossible. However, it is not clear what this Ground element is. In Svenonius (1996a), particles incorporate an implicit D, which is not convincing, since the implicit Grounds of particles are mostly non-referential and non-specific, and hence should be N. Some particles with an overtly incorporated Ground seem to have restrictions of appearing as LPrt (73a), while others have not (73b).[21] These variants remind of the complex phrasal particles discussed in Sections 2.3.2 and 4.3.2 here. In Norwegian, the LPrt configuration is preferred here as well, and thus Ramchand & Svenonius' model seems more compatible with Norwegian here than English. (73c) is taken from Sandøy (1976) and Romdsal Norwegian.

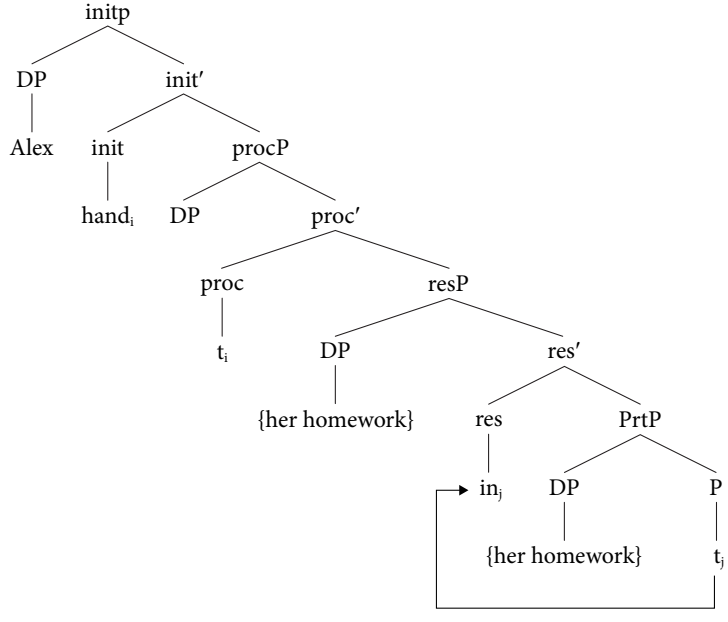
(73) a. *They took inside/downstairs the boxes.
b. We put aside our problems.
c. Han ha med å sende {+om bord} detta skaffetyet
he had with to send {+on board} this tableware-the
{om bord} (Sandøy 1976)
{on board}
'He usually sent this tableware on board'

21. I was aware of these data and Oya's (2009) discussion through an anonymous reviewer.

3.2.2.5 *Ramchand (2008)*

Ramchand (2008: 131ff) presents a slightly different account from the Ramchand & Svenounius (2002) model, although Ramchand (2008) bases her analysis on the joint paper with Svenonius. The projections in the decomposed verbal structure are basically the same, but renamed initP (causing projection), procP (process projection) and resP (result projection). The most important technical change with respect to the VPrt constructions is that the particle obligatorily moves to res/R and checks its inherent resultative properties against the extended verb phrase's corresponding feature. Thus, the word order alternation depends on whether the DP also moves or not, which means that RPrt constructions are a result of *two* movements.

(74)



Obligatory particle movement
to identify res
Optional DP movement
to Spec,resP to generate
RPrt constructions

It is not clear what motivates the spell-out of the DP in the lower vs. the higher position (cf. Ramchand's p. 132). In any case, (74) does not provide a solution to the alternation problem. Ramchand & Svenonius' (2002) analysis, which requires only one movement (either of the DP or the particle) into the resultative domain, is more economical. A second movement in (74) is not well motivated in order to explain a simple empirical pattern, DP-Prt and Prt-DP.

It is also unclear why VPrt constructions are introduced with the DP in Spec,procP on pp. 126ff. (75) is taken from Ramchand's p. 127.

(75) [$_{initP}$ Michael [$_{init}$ drive [$_{procP}$ the car [$_{proc}$ <drive> [$_{resP}$ <the car> [$_{res}$ [$_{PP}$ in]]]]]]]

Here, there is no available LPrt position, so a few pages later the DP is spelled out lower, as in (74), either in Spec,PP or Spec,resP, in order to account for the particle alternation. This discrepancy remains unexplained. In the Norwegian context, there is also still a problem with (74), as mentioned above. Intuitively, we could wish for a higher particle position in LPrt constructions, which however is impossible, since a lot of verbs, both transitive and intransitive (so-called initiation-process verbs), are merged in proc (see Ramchand 2008: 63ff). A particle therefore cannot escape the resultative domain.

3.2.2.6 *Conclusion*

Ramchand & Svenonius (2002) and Ramchand (2008) in some sense represent a continuation of Svenonius' work from the 1990s. The DP-Prt base order posited in all of these accounts is the same, and there is movement of the particle and/or DP into a higher functional domain. However, while Svenonius (1996a) motivates these movements using the EPP, they are motivated in the more recent works by the need to lexicalise a result state, which is considered by these authors to be the essential property of all VPrt constructions. And while Svenonius (1996a) promotes a classical SC analysis, the elements of the VPrt construction instead lexicalise the lower part of a decomposed VP in the later works.

The analyses of V-associated Case licensing is, to my mind, quite convincing. And it is also possible to explain the (im)possible particle modification through restrictions on head (particle) movement. However, the contradicting DP position in (74) vs. (75) is a mystery, and the alternation problem remains recalcitrant.

3.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed some previous theoretical approaches to the alternation problem (3.1) and to the status of the paricle (3.2). Although these issues overlap, I have tried to keep them separate here. I primarily focused on Taraldsen (1983), Åfarli (1985), den Dikken (1995), and Svenonius (1996a) in 3.1, and Zeller (2001) and Ramchand & Svenonius (2002)/Ramchand (2008) in 3.2. All these works discuss Norwegian in one way or another, either as the main object of study or in a comparative context. In conclusion, I think there are strong indications that the particle generally must be understood as predicational, i.e., that it heads a

small clause, and this will be my starting point in the next chapter. However, notice that non-spatial constructions have not been at the forefront in this chapter, mainly because they have not been offered much space in the relevant works that have been discussed. In the next chapter, I will eventually launch the possibility that these are *not* predicational. In this respect, I support some aspects of Zeller's (2001) (non-predicational) analysis, and even Taraldsen's (1983), where LPrt constructions are non-predicational.

Concerning the base order of VPrt constructions, Taraldsen (1983) and den Dikken (1995) argue for a Prt-DP order and leftward movement of the DP into a subject position in order to derive RPrt constructions. Åfarli (1985), Svenonius (1996a), Ramchand & Svenonius (2002), and Ramchand (2008) argue for the opposite base order and leftward particle movement in order to derive LPrt constructions. The details for deriving the two word orders differ in all the works that have been discussed; some operate with one obligatory movement, some with one obligatory and one optional movement, and some with abstract movements and reanalysis of the particle (and the verb). I have argued that the DP-Prt base order is the more successful, but that the derivations seem unnecessarily complex in all works.

Crucially, what all the works have in common is an understanding of the particle placement relative to the DP as being optional. Although Svenonius (1996a) refers to Sandøy's (1976) observation that LPrt is preferred in Romsdal Norwegian, the relevant data are not accounted for in Svenonius' analysis. However, when we take the data from Aasen (1848, 1864), Western (1921), Sandøy (1985), and the Nordic Dialect Corpus (Johannessen et al. 2009) into account, we learn that the LPrt preference is actually the general pattern for Norwegian. The preference for one word order over the other gives us reason to believe that LPrt and RPrt constructions also represent different meanings.

In the next chapter, I will argue that Larsen (2014), who primarily discusses English, also captures the Norwegian empirical reality quite elegantly. In his model, RPrt projects and heads a SC, while LPrt does not project, but merges with V^0. In other words, by exploiting tools from both the SC and CPr camps, many of the problems and dilemmas mentioned in this chapter are solved.

CHAPTER 4

The structure of Norwegian verb-particle constructions

The need for a new analysis of Norwegian verb-particle (VPrt) constructions can be motivated by the fact that previous analyses cannot account sufficiently for the empirical generalisations summed up in Section 2.6. Three of them are repeated in (1).

(1) a. LPrt and RPrt are not distributed optionally in Norwegian: LPrt is generally (and by most speakers, *clearly*) preferred.
b. The meaning of a given LPrt construction is different from that of the corresponding RPrt construction.
c. Non-spatial VPrt constructions are even more LPrt-bound than spatial constructions.

It will be one of my main tasks to try to account for these generalisations in a comprehensive analysis of Norwegian VPrt constructions. Given the fact that the empirical generalisations in (1) are not accounted for in the different previous approaches to Norwegian VPrt constructions outlined in Chapter 3, I will pursue a different approach here. I will assume that the status of the particle (cf. 3.2) and its relation to V and the object DP are different in, e.g., spatial and non-spatial constructions. This in turn has consequences for the derivation of the two word orders (3.1).

In Section 4.1, I will follow some basic assumptions from Larsen (2014) and argue that they can take care of a lot of the problems outlined in Chapter 3. This will turn out to be a self-placement somewhere between the Small Clause and Complex Predicate accounts discussed in the previous chapter. I will argue that the non-spatial Norwegian LPrt does not project, but merges with V to form a complex head. The RPrt is spatial and does project; it is the predicate of a SC and can remerge in the LPrt position in V. We will see how the model deals with particle topicalisation, Deg modification and V2 in Norwegian. In Section 4.2, I go more into detail about the derivation of the VPrt construction. My main goal in this section is to integrate crucial findings from Chapter 2 in the analysis, which among other things give rise to the generalisations in (1). I will show that the structure can be considered as the primary carrier of meaning, and furthermore that the

meaning carried by the structure is modified by the lexical elements inserted into it. The meaning is also modified by other factors of a more non-linguistic nature, such as background or world knowledge (cf. Bouchard's 1995 *Situational Semantics*). 4.3 deals with complex VPrt constructions (in which the particle is associated with an additional PP), where the RPrt word order is in fact preferred over the LPrt order. But this is straightforwardly predicted by the model. In 4.3, I also discuss complex phrasal particles (cf. Section 2.3.2) and argue that they must be reanalysed as heads. In 4.4, I discuss Ground promotion particles, which have not been offered much space in the case of Norwegian earlier, except by Ven (1999) and Svenonius (2003b). My main concern in this section is to defend a real GP analysis (cf. McIntyre 2007) in cases where we have transitive prepositions, and a kind of Figure reanalysis (cf. Svenonius 2003b and Blom 2005) in cases with prepositions that are usually not transitive. Section 4.5 highlights unaccusatives, which is another newcomer in the Norwegian particle literature. I will argue that weather constructions speak in favour of a representative model, without particle movement. Section 4.6 concludes the chapter.

4.1 The basic assumptions

This section will take Larsen (2014) as starting point; I will argue that elements from this model turn out to be fruitful and can explain the Norwegian empirical reality quite well. In 4.1.1, I will outline the basic assumptions that I will follow, concerning the derivation of LPrt and RPrt constructions. 4.1.2 discusses possible and impossible particle topicalisation, and 4.1.3 possible and impossible Deg modification. 4.1.4 suggests a solution to the V2 problem, when the particle has already merged with V^0. Preliminary hypotheses follow in 4.1.5.

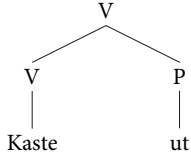
4.1.1 Some basic assumptions from the Larsen (2014) model

Larsen (2014) argues that particles are optionally projecting heads, and I will follow the idea that they sometimes project and sometimes not, although the variation is not free. I assume that non-projecting particles are basically non-spatial and appear to the left of the DP, while projecting particles are spatial and head a small clause (SC) to the right of the particle. But these can remerge in the LPrt position; and in most cases they will. Some of the central aspects of Larsen's analysis are summed up in (2) and will be discussed below (cf. Larsen 2014: 201f).

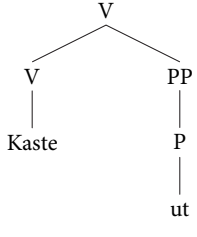
(2) a. English particles are optionally projecting heads.
b. The topmost projection of a particle (Prt or PrtP) merges with V in the particle-verb construction.
c. Nonprojecting particles:
i. form a complex head with the verb, taking an argument as a syntactic complement.
ii. remain *in situ*.
iii. allow for the derivation of both the continuous [LPrt] and discontinuous [RPrt] orders.[1]
d. Projecting particles:
i. head a small clause taking an external argument in their specifier position.
ii. may move in certain constructions, if transparent.
iii. allow for the derivation of the discontinuous [RPrt] order only.[2]

If we take Larsen's assumptions as starting-point, there are basically two kinds of particles, one that projects and one that does not. The particle's possibility to project or not results in the LPrt and RPrt distinction; in Norwegian it also results in a semantic distinction: spatiality vs. non-spatiality. The two options can be represented as following.

(3) a. Non-projecting particle



b. Projecting particle



'throw out'

1. Larsen assumes that non-projecting particles appear on either side of the DP, i.e., that the DP raises overtly or covertly to a Case position accross the LPrt. I will not follow this idea, but assume instead that non-projecting particles are LPrt in Norwegian. A possible overt DP raising is not well-motivated given the restricted word order for the non-spatial construction.

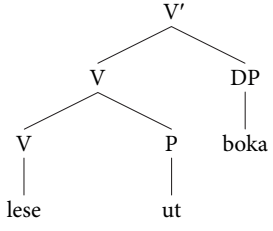
2. A mentioned above, I assume that projecting particles can remerge in the LPrt position.

We will see in this chapter that these generalisations make interesting and fruitful predictions for Norwegian, concerning the spatial and non-spatial distinction, simplex vs. complex construcitons, Ground promotion, and unaccusatives.

In Chapter 2, we saw that non-spatial particles almost exclusively are distributed to the left, while most spatial particles are too. But the latter variant usually does have a RPrt counterpart, unlike the former. In 4.1.2, we will also see that only the spatial variant can topicalise, which indicates that its syntactic status is different from the non-spatial.

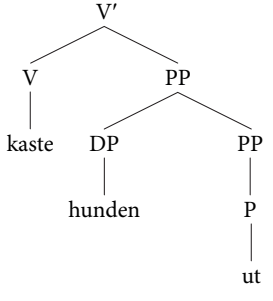
In (4a), a basic representation for the non-spatial LPrt construction is shown, where the particle does not project. (4b) shows an example where a spatial particle projects and heads a SC, in which the associated DP holds the subject position. The spatial particle can remerge in V^0, and thus form a spatial LPrt construction (4c).

(4) a. Non-spatial LPrt construction (non-projecting particle)



read out book-the
'finish the book'

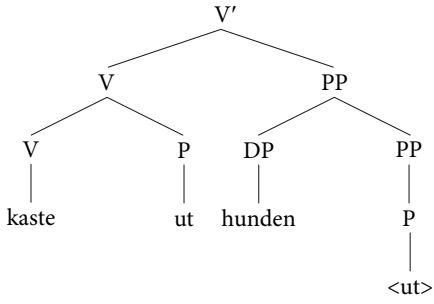
b. Spatial RPrt construction (projecting particle)[3]



throw out dog-the
'throw the dog out'

3. In line with Chomsky (1986: 20), I assume that the SC predicate has its own maximal projection, i.e., that the subject is in the specifier position of another PP. There are different technical solutions for this, e.g., a functional layer like Bowers' (1993) PredP. I will avoid that at the moment in order to retain a local relation between the verb and the particle without having to incorporate the particle into a functional head. The essential point is a representation where the predicate (the particle) can be topicalised.

c. Spatial LPrt construction (projecting particle remerges in V^0)



throw out dog-the <out>
'throw out the dog'

In (4a), the DP is a complement of the merged V and P, and it corresponds to (3a). Given (2c ii), the particle remains in situ when the verb raises e.g. to the V2 position. This is crucial for the analysis of North Germanic languages, which we will return to in 4.1.4. (4b) corresponds to (3b), where the verb takes a SC complement, headed by the particle. As mentioned. I will assume that this is the typical representation for *spatial* RPrt constructions. I will assume that the *structure* in (3a)/(4a), i.e., with a non-projecting particle, will trigger a non-spatial reading. For the spatial LPrt variant, there are in principle two options. *Either* it merges in the SC predicate and remerges in V^0, as shown in (4c), *or* spatial and non-spatial constructions are structurally identical (as in (4a)). If the latter is the outcome, then we must assume that the structure is modified to different degrees by the the content of the lexical elements, i.e. that these can override the structural-semantic reading. More precicely, the lexical semantics will – as a rule – override the structural semantics in spatial constructions. But I will eventually argue that the former solution is the more attractive, and thus that spatial and non-spatial LPrt constructions are structurally different, as shown in (4a) vs. (4c). We will return to this in 4.2.

4.1.2 Particle topicalisation

Given (3), and the hypothesis that spatial particles project, and non-spatial do not, we would expect them to behave differently, e.g., when it comes to topicalisation possibilities. Only phrasal, i.e., spatial, particles should be able to A' move. And indeed, this is exactly how it turns out. In the non-spatial (5a), particle topicalisation is impossible, while in the spatial (5b), it succeeds.

(5) a. *Ut he han rekna prisan. (cf. Sandøy 1976)
out has he calculated prices-the
'He has calculated the prices'

b. Ut sparka han hunden. (cf. Åfarli 1985)
out kicked he dog-the
'He kicked the dog out'

We know that Norwegian speakers are reluctant to distribute non-spatial particles to the right in the first place (and for some it is even impossible).[4] The examples in (5) therefore suggest that only RPrt may topicalise.

In 4.2.2, we will return to particle topicalisation and question whether this is actually a syntactic issue or information-structural.

4.1.3 *Rett* 'right' modification

As pointed out in 3.2.2.3, the possibilities of *right* modification have been seen in connection with restrictions on particle movement (i.e., head movement), cf. Ramchand & Svenonius (2002: 394f), who put forward evidence from English. Their conclusions are also compatible for Norwegian spatial constructions, cf. (6). Standard restrictions on head movement can explain the crash in (6b), given the structure in (4c). (6) is repeated from the previous chapter; and I have added the non-spatial (7), where modification of both RPrt and LPrt fails.

(6) a. Vi kasta hunden rett ut.
we threw dog-the right out
b. *Vi kasta rett ut hunden.
we threw right out dog-the
'We threw the dog right out'

(7) a. *Vi rekna prisan rett ut.
we calculated prices-the right out
b. *Vi rekna rett ut prisan.
we calculated right out prices-the
'We calculated the prices immediately'

In (7a), RPrt is not possible in the first place, so the crash is no surprise. In (7b), there is no place for the particle modifier since the particle does not project. Concerning the exact structural position of *rett* 'right', I refer to the discussion in 3.2.2.3 and den Dikken (1995: 109f).

4. We will see further below that if a particle that is usually not associated with space, is still distributed to the right, it will get a more spatial interpretation. This demonstrates the importance of the structural semantics.

4.1.4 V2 and stranded particle

In the North Germanic Languages, the verb is usually assumed to move to C in declarative sentences, which can be seen in examples like (8a), where the verb precedes a speaker-oriented adverb – and the adverb splits up the V and LPrt. V-movement to C apparently takes place *without* the particle being moved along; the impossible particle movement to C is shown in (8b). The fact that an adverb may occur between V and LPrt is by some used as an argument against assuming LPrt to be reanalysed as part of V (as in Zeller 2001), and instead the particle can be argued to be structurally independent of V. It is also clear that LPrt cannot cross the negation in I, cf. (8c), so that the only possible position left is *in situ*. See more Scandinavian data that illustrate a stranded LPrt in Larsen (2014: 243ff).

(8) a. Kari sparka heldigvis ut hunden. (cf. Åfarli 1985)
Kari kicked luckily out dog the
'Kari luckily kicked out the dog'
b. *Kari sparka ut heldigvis/ikkje hunden.
Kari kicked out luckily/not dog-the
'Kari luckily/didn't kicked/kick out the dog'
c. Kari sparka ikkje ut hunden.
Kari kicked not out dog-the
'Kari didn't kick out the dog'

Given the basic structure in (3a), this means that the lower, but not higher, V will be able to head move to I and C. The main reason for this must be economy; it would be less economical to allow the higher V to move, and therefore it is excluded.

However, a theoretical option is that the particle moves along covertly (overt movement obviously leads to ungrammaticality). But it is not clear which interpretable feature the particle has which would require it to move. And it is certainly not clear why this movement would always have to be covert. In sum, neither overt nor covert particle movement to I and C is well-motivated, and the only possible outcome is that the LPrt stays in (or moves to) V^0. I refer to Larsen (2014: 210ff) for more discussion.

4.1.5 Preliminary hypotheses

By assuming the structures in (3) and (4), we can establish more concrete hypotheses regarding the structure and sematics of the different Norwegian VPrt constructions, cf. the empirical generalisations in (1). The starting-point is that LPrt constructions dominate clearly (both spatial and non-spatial), and that RPrt constructions cannot be completely non-spatial. Projecting particles are associated with space, while non-projecting particles are not. We sum up the rules in (9).

(9) a. RPrt projects and is spatial.
b. The non-spatial LPrt does not project.
c. The spatial LPrt projects in the RPrt position, and P^0 remerges in V^0.

These rules cover the main pattern. However, there are a few examples where apparently non-spatial particles appear to the right, but I will argue that they differ in meaning from their LPrt counterpart. If a typical non-spatial LPrt construction has a converging RPrt counterpart, then the latter variant will get a reading that is easier to associate with space. (10a) is an attested example from the Norwegian novelist Kjartan Fløgstad; (10b) is a fully possible counterpart.

(10) a. Alfemann skrudde lyden opp.
Alfemann turned volume-the up
'Alfemann turned the volume up' (resultative 'scale' reading)
b. Alfemann skrudde opp lyden.
Alfemann turned up volume-the
'Alfemann turned up the volume' (continous reading)

I assume that the different readings in (10) are the result of the LPrt and RPrt *structures*, which differ in meaning. In 4.2.1 below, this will be related to the model in (12), where the semantics of the *structure* (12i) (i.e., not only the lexical elements and the context) is crucial for the full interpretation of the expression. We will also return to similar examples in 4.2.2.

Although (9) is my starting point, there is a theoretical possibility that the *spatial* LPrt is non-derived and structurally identical to the non-spatial variant, i.e., that neither of them project, like in Larsen (2014). The two possible principled outcomes are given in (11). The first alternative is the one I have argued for above and will continue to defend, i.e., a *derivational construal* (11a). The alternative is a *representational construal*, where LPrt as a general rule does not project, and thus where spatial and non-spatial LPrt constructions are structurally identical.

(11) Possible *spatial* LPrt constructions
a. Derivational construal: $[_{V'}\ [_{V}\ [_{V}$ kaste$]\ [_{P}$ ut$]]\ [_{PP}\ [_{DP}$ hunden$]\ [_{PP}\ [_{P}$ [<ut>]]]]]
b. Representational construal: $[_{V'}\ [_{V}\ [_{V}$ kaste$]\ [_{P}$ ut$]]\ [_{DP}$ hunden$]]$
'throw out the dog'

Given (11b), all LPrt constructions are structurally identical, and spatial and non-spatial constructions must be separated on the lexical and non-linguistic levels, cf. (12) below. Given (11a), we have two types of LPrt constructions, one predicational and one non-predicational. I have argued above that a derivational construal seems adequate given, e.g., particle topicalisation possibilities. And I will continue to advocate a derivational construal in the following. In the next section

on simplex constructions, we will discuss more Norwegian data with these basic assumptions in mind, and later, in 4.5, we will see that unaccusatives follow the rules in (9b, c), although they have no associated DP.

4.2 Simplex constructions

In this section, I will discuss the simplex constructions, as shown in most of the examples in the previous section, i.e., with an over Figure DP, but with no overtly expressed Ground (cf. Talmy 1972, 2000). The section is organized as follows. In 4.2.1, we first repeat the basic assumptions from 1.2.2 concerning the full interpretation of a structure. The following subsections discuss the semantic levels successively. Thus, the semantics of the VPrt *structure* is discussed in 4.2.2, and the semantics of the lexical elements (especially prepositions) in 4.2.3. In Section 4.2.4, I discuss world knowledge: the S-semantic contribution to the final interpretation of a particle construction.

4.2.1 Structural semantics, lexical semantics, and world knowledge

In Section 1.2.2, I discussed neo-constructivism briefly (cf. Borer 2005) and models that assume that the *structure* is a primary carrier of meaning (cf. Åfarli 2007, Lohndal 2012, 2014, Marantz 2013, Nygård 2018). I will now show evidence from VPrt constructions that supports these theories. A given structure can be modified by the semantics of the lexical elements (e.g., by the verb, the particle, and the DP), and further by general world knowledge or *situational semantic* factors (cf. Bouchard 1995: 17). For the final interpretation of a sentence, I consider the following three levels (repeated from 1.2.2) crucial.

(12) The full interpretation of a structure depends on the three following factors in the given ranked order:
   i. The semantics of the structure
   ii. The semantics of the lexical elements
   iii. The general non-linguistic situational semantics (e.g. world knowledge)

My main goal in Section 4.2 is to show that (12i) is primary, but nevertheless the semantics of the structure can be modified and also apparently contradicted by the factors mentioned in (12ii, iii).

4.2.2 The structure as the primary carrier of meaning

We will now see that the surface location of the particle apparently triggers a certain reading of the VPrt construction. A minimal pair as in (13), consisting of identical lexical elements but different word orders, have different preferred readings, at least when we take their most conventional interpretations into account. The questions are if and how this can be accounted for given the principles accounted for in 4.1.

(13) a. Få pakken opp.
get packet-the up
'Bring the packet up' (spatial/directional reading)
b. Få opp pakken.
get up packet-the
'Open the packet' (non-spatial/non-directional reading)

Since the lexical elements are identical in (13a) and (13b), I suggest that the semantic difference must be provided by the structure, and that ±particle projection plays a crucial role in the explanation of this difference. The RPrt construction (13a) has a concrete, spatial reading. In contrast, the LPrt order (13b) gives the structure a more abstract, non-spatial reading. I will discuss prepositional semantics more thoroughly in Section 4.2.3; for the time being, I assume that *opp* 'up' has a basic directional reading, i.e., denoting a movement from a lower to a higher level. Given that the RPrt/SC structure in (14a) has a resultative interpretation, the semantics of *opp* can be said to be compatible or in harmony with its RPrt position in the structure. With the non-projecting particle in the verb-adjacent position, cf. (14b), the directionality is no longer emphasised. The ± projecting particle is written in bold the structures below.

(14) a. RPrt structure (Prt projects)
$[_{V'}\ [_{V}$ få$]\ [_{PP}\ [_{DP}$ pakken$]\ [_{\mathbf{PP}}$ **opp**$]]]]$
b. LPrt structure (Prt does not project)
$[_{V'}\ [_{V}\ [_{V}$ få$]\ [_{\mathbf{P}}$ **opp**$]]\ [_{DP}$ pakken$]]$

Despite the readings in (13), we saw in Section 2.1.2 that almost 50% of the LPrt constructions in the Nordic Dialect Corpus (Johannessen et al. 2009) were in fact spatial, for which we have suggested a derivational analysis (9c). This means that (15) features a projecting particle.

(15) Johan kasta ut hunden $[_{PP}$ <ut>$]$.
John threw out dog-the <out>
'John threw out the dog'

This *derivational construal* of the spatial LPrt construction reminds of Zeller's (2001: 285) and Larson's (1988) incorporation analysis (see 3.2.1 above), but Larsen's (2014: 242ff) restrictions on further movement of P must be maintained. The examples in 4.1.4 above show clearly that the higher V^0 in (14) cannot move, but that further movement is reserved to the lower V^0.

If (14b) were representative for all LPrt constructions (i.e, a *representational construal*), then the semantic relation between the particle and the DP must be accounted for differently in spatial vs. non-spatial construtions. A non-projecting particle and its non-predicative relation to the DP, i.e. *a non-predicative structural semantics*, should indicate a non-spatial expression. But if we instead followed the hypothesis of a *general* representational construal, then the structural-semantic information accounted for in (14b) vs. (15), must be relegated to the lexical level, cf. (12ii).

While *få* 'get' in (14b) does not denote a specific action or direction, the lexical semantics of *kasta* 'threw' in (15) strongly favours a spatial interpretation. (14b) has only one directional lexical element (*opp* 'up'), (15) has two (*kaste* 'throw', *ut* 'out'). In (15), the lexical semantics thus seems capable of overriding the primary structural semantics.

In Section 1.2.4, I claimed that given the right context, (13b) can also have the directional reading.[5] And opposite, (13a) can marginally have a non-directional reading (say, if someone orders *Få pakken opp!* 'open the packet' to a slow gift-opener on Christmas eve). However, the alternative aspectual reading of (13a) is less accessible (more marginal) than the alternative directional reading of (13b).[6] This is probably because (13a) has two resultative elements (the SC structure and *opp* 'up'), while (13b) has one resultative element (*opp*) and one non-resultative element (the non-projecting particle structure).[7] Because of the harmony between

5. From Section 1.2.4:

A: Vil du sjå på pakken her nede?
will you look on packet-the here down?
'Do you want to look at the packet down here?'
B: Nei, få opp pakken.
no, get up packet-the
'No, get the packet up here'

6. These kinds of semantic nuances are not easy to elicit, neither orally nor in a written form. I have discussed (11a, b) with three speakers of *Central Norwegian*, who all had basically the same intuitions as my West Norwegian intuition, but I have not done further empirical research. However, the indications I have so far seem clear.

7. If (13b) gets a spatial interpretation, it might also be because it has a derivational SC *structure* (i.e., a standard, derivational construal).

the structural semantics and relevant lexical semantics in (13a), this is harder to override by the third factor (the context). But when there is conflict between the structural and the relevant lexical semantics, as in (13b), the final interpretation is more dependent on the third factor. We will return to the third factor in 4.2.4.

In every construction, there is an interaction between the structural and lexical semantics. In some cases there is harmony between the two levels, and in others there is more friction.[8] This interaction (and the general-conceptual semantics, cf. (12iii)) determines the final interpretation of the construction.

Consider (16), which cannot have a directional construal of the verb and the particle (and where there are restrictions on the particle distribution).

(16) a. leggje ned bedrifta → stengje
lay down business-the → close, end
'close the business'

b. leggje opp midlar → spare
lay up funds → save
'save funds'

For many speakers, (15) differs from (16) in that RPrt distribution is impossible in the latter; the examples in (16) cannot lexicalise the SC structure in (14a). And given a representational construal, all LPrt constructions would be structurally identical, so (15) and (16) must be separated on another level. Bruening (2010: 531ff) argues that idioms are formed by selection of a lexical category, i.e., that the interpretation of a lexical category as idiomatic depends on it being selected: "X and Y may be interpreted idiomatically only if X selects Y." (p. 532). A further restriction is that Y must be a lexical category, and that all of its selected arguments must be interpreted idiomatically, given that both X and Y have idiomatic interpretation. Let us for the moment assume that *lexical selection* is the formal way of distinguishing between spatial and non-spatial LPrt constructions (where a lot of the latter will have selected objects and thus be construed as idioms). Bruening presupposes that the selected element must be a lexical category in order to have the idiomatic interpretation. The present approach is compatible with Bruening's theory in that it treats particles as lexical, which is a reasonable conclusion given the vast number of lexicalised particle verbs, and given that inflectional elements

8. Cf. also the discussion in Section 1.2.4. I will use the term *friction* or *mismatch* when the semantics of the structure and the basic semantics of a lexical item are apparently contradictory. In cases with less contradiction, as in (4b) above, I will use the term *harmony*.

cannot appear in the LPrt position.[9] Usually, prepositions are construed as being somewhere between lexical and functional elements, but it seems that it requires a lexical element in order to be used as a particle.[10]

The RPrt ban in such constructions is illustrated by Sandøy (1976: 107f).

(17) a. å måle {opp} gard'n {*opp}
to measure {up} farm-the {*up}
'to measure the size of the farm'

b. Han ha plikt te å låne {ut} varå {*ut}.
he had duty to to lend {out} goods {*out}
'He was obliged to lend the goods'

c. Han he rekna {ut} prisan {*ut}.
he has calculated {out} prices-the {*out}
'He has calculated the prices'

d. Han las {opp} brevet {*opp}.
he read {up} letter-the {*up}
'He read the letter loudly'

Notice that the V + Prt combinations here are considered 'idiomatic' by Sandøy; they are non-spatial, and V and Prt are closely connected. The RPrt ban indicates that the non-spatial particle cannot project, and therefore they should not be able to A' move (cf. 4.1.2). (18) suggests that this is correct.

(18) a. *Opp målte han gard'n.
up measuerd he farm-the
'He measured the size of the farm'

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9. A possible counterexample is where inflected adjectives appear to the left:

(i) vaske reint huset
wash clean.N house-the.N
'clean the house'

But the main rule is that adjectival LPrt's appear bare (Heggstad 1931), while they will much more systematically appear inflected to the right. That is, a bare adjective will always be possible to the left, but much more rare to the right.

(ii) vaske {rein} huset {reint}
wash {clean} house-the.N {clean.N}
'clean the house'

A possible outcome is that (i) features a projecting RPrt with a functional layer, and that the DP is extraposed from its SC subject position (see Section 3.2.1.2).

10. A reviewer notes that particles are probably more lexical than functional, because a more clearly functional preposition like English *of* cannot function as a particle.

b. *Ut ha han plikt til å låne varå.
out had he duty to to lend goods
'He was obliged to lend the goods'
c. *Ut he han rekna prisan.
out has he calculated prices-the
'He has calculated the prices'
d. *Opp las han brevet.
up read he letter-the
'He read the letter loudly'

However, the conclusion is not entirely clear. The explanation of (18) can also be information-structural, since there is no obvious reason why one would topicalise a particle that is part of an idiom. Trotzke & Quaglia (2016: 115f) show that in order to topicalise, a particle needs a (set of possible) contrasting particle(s). Sandøy (1976) argues that the particles in (17) cannot be replaced by other particles, and thus (18) might be an illustration of not fulfilling Trotzke & Quaglia's contrasting criterion.[11]

It is important to notice that a strict representational construal is dependent on the lexical selection mechanism in order to explain (17), where both the verb ('lay') and the particle ('down'/'up') should indicate 'direction'. A derivational construal will handle this without extra mechanisms.

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11. However, *lese* 'read' + *brevet* 'the letter' can certainly get an aspectual reading with other particles as well, e.g., *ut* 'out' and *inn* 'in'. And *rekne* 'calculate' can have several particles with an aspectual reading, e.g., with *opp* 'up, *med* 'with', and *inn* 'in':

(i) rekne ut/opp/med/inn alle deltakarane
calculate out/up/with/in all participants-the
'count (in) all the participants'

But the combinations with *lese* and *rekne* still cannot have their particles topicalised – and contrast the topicalised particle with another particle:

(ii) *Opp las han ikkje brevet, men inn!
up read he not letter-the, but in!
'He didn't read the letter loudly, but he recorded his reading'

In a spatial construction, the constrasting is unproblematic.

(iii) Ut kasta han ikkje hunden, men inn!
out threw he not dog-the, but in!
'He didn't throw the dog out, but in'

4.2.3 The basic semantics of prepositions and the lexical modification of the structure

As claimed in 4.2.1, the full interpretation of a structure depends to a considerable degree on the fine-grained semantics of the lexical elements, cf. (12ii). This cannot be ignored even if the basic approach is a derivational construal. In this section, I will continue investigating the lexical modification of the structure. I will not go very much into detail on verbal semantics, but at least I will distinguish between verbs that are easily associated with directionality (e.g. *kaste* 'throw') and verbs that are not (e.g. *tenkje* 'think'). But first I want to discuss prepositional semantics, since the particle positions are usually lexicalised by a preposition.

The prepositions *opp* 'up', *ned* 'down', *inn* 'in', and *ut* 'out' can all be said to have a basic meaning expressing a direction (cf., e.g., Anderson 2010: 31ff).[12] However, they can also be used in a wide range of more abstract or non-spatial constructions, which in many cases cannot very easily be recognised as resultatives. The *interpretation* of the prepositional particle depends on its distribution (e.g., as LPrt or RPrt), and on which lexical elements combine with it (i.e., the verb and the DP). Shortly, I will investigate the particle use of *opp* 'up' more closely, but in order to separate what is expressed by the preposition itself from what is expressed by its surroundings, I will first introduce the theory of (prepositional) semantics as discussed by Bouchard (1995).

In dictionaries, we find several lexical meanings listed under each prepositional lemma; the listed meanings are implied to be meanings of the preposition. The problem is that we usually do not get a clear idea of what counts as the semantics expressed by the preposition itself, and what is the interpretation of its context (cf. Aa 2013). In Bouchard's (1995) terms, this amounts to mixing the linguistically relevant aspects of semantics, which he calls the *Grammar (G-)semantics,* with the *Situational (S-)semantics*.[13] The former stands in a one-to-one relationship with the syntactic structure, so that every G-semantic representation has a

12. As noted in Section 2.1.2.2, these prepositions cannot be adnominal in Swedish. Lundquist (2012) suggests that they are not proper prepositions in Norwegian either, but that they select null prepositions in the apparent adnominal cases, as in (i).

(i) Dei gjekk opp Ø trappa.
they went up Ø stair-the
'They went up the stairs'

13. Bouchard also operates with a third, intermediate level, the *L(inguistic)-Grammar*, which deals with linguistically relevant meaning that does not affect the syntax. The important distinction for my purposes is whether syntax is affected or not, so the difference between S- and L-semantics will not be that relevant. I will refer to these two levels collectively as S-semantics.

syntactic correspondent; on the other hand, the S-semantics deals with pragmatics and world knowledge, and has no effect on syntax. A general problem when one mixes up these two levels is that there is no clear criterion for separating polysemy from homonymy (Bouchard 1995: 11, Aa 2015a), so it is difficult to tell whether all tokens of a preposition like *opp* 'up' are actually of the same lemma (other than typographically). This is a rather typical – and paradoxical – problem for dictionaries (Aa 2013).

Bouchard (1995: 13) illustrates his basic ideas with the French preposition *dans* 'in' in the following three examples (the translations are Bouchard's):

(19) a. les bijoux sont dans la boîte.
'The jewels are in the box'
b. la vache est dans la prairie.
'The cow is in the prairie'
c. le curé est dans la file.
'The priest is in the line'

In a global approach, three different representations of *dans* would be outlined, grounded on the fact that the complement looks different with respect to size, dimension etc. (three-dimensional objects usually being the most satisfactory for *dans*). But what is linguistically relevant in (19) is that *dans* in all three examples expresses a certain relationship between a container (Ground) and a containee (Figure) – and this is what Bouchard holds as essential for the abstract representation of the preposition. At least in spatial contexts, the container-containee relationship implies that "[t]he container controls the position of the containee and not vice versa", and that "[t]he containee is included, at least partially, in the container" (p. 14). If we try to extend the generalisations to cover non-spatial contexts, this naturally implies a very broad understanding of the term "container", in the sense that it sometimes must be construed temporally (*in December*) and as state of affairs, state of mind etc. (*in duty*, *in anger*). Sometimes, e.g., in VPrt constructions, we must also account for the container to be apparently covert (as in *ta i* take in 'use power', 'work hard').[14] In this perspective, it is not the meaning of the preposition that changes (which is what the dictionary typically leads us to

14. Bouchard (1995: 94ff) suggests that in cases like this, more semantic nodes can be chunked into one syntactic node. It is not possible to account for an isomorphic mapping between semantic and syntactic nodes in all cases: "Suppose we propose the simplest linking rule possible, isomorphic mapping, where all elements of semantic representations map directly into SS in a one-to-one fashion. Under this assumption, it would seem that the hypothesis that semantic and syntactic representations are alike cannot be correct, since it would mean that there is no semantic decomposition of words, and there are numerous arguments in favor of decomposition of lexical items" (pp. 94f).

believe), but it is the meaning of the complement that decides whether the PP is construed as locative, temporal or something else.

A similar idea is also illustrated by Anderson (2010: 30ff). She proposes that all spatial prepositions have a basic semantics that is locative (which must be generally 'localising' rather than bound to a physical place), and the Norwegian *i* 'in' has a representation similar to *dans* as described by Bouchard. In the following examples (from Anderson's p. 30), there is thus no grammatical difference between the representations of *i*; in all the examples, the Figure (the containee) is found somewhere (or somehow) within the Ground (the container).

(20) a. Dei går i gatene.
they walk in streets-the
'They walk/march in the streets'

b. Dei går i tog.
they walk in train
'They walk in a parade'

c. Dei går i eigne tankar.
they walk in own thoughts
'They go in their own thoughts'

d. Dei går i grøfta.
they walk in(to) ditch-the
'They walk in(to) the ditch', *or*, e.g.,
'They fail'

e. Dei går i desember.
they walk in December
'They go hiking in December', *or*
'They quit (their jobs) in December'

All these sentences contain the same items except for the semantics of the container: for example, it is locative in (20a) but has a temporal specification in (20e). But in all cases, whether the complement is concrete or more abstract, the basic meaning of the preposition does not really change. If *i* 'in' combines with an abstract DP *eigne tankar* 'own thoughts', the PP gets an abstract reading, crucially because of the meaning of the DP, not because P in this case is a variant with an abstract meaning. The P *i* just places a containee in this abstract container.

As indicated by the translation, (20d) is ambiguous between a locative and a directional interpretation if no further context is provided. Despite this fact, we do not have to postulate two representations of *i*, even though the directional variant has another English counterpart (*into*). Instead, we can postulate a resultative structure for the directional reading, so that *i* itself does not express direction or

movement, but selects a resultative Ground. The different interpretations are thus based on the container being resultative or not.

Note also that I claimed the sentences "look" similar with the exception of the Ground element. The ambiguity of some of the sentences does not only imply different readings of the complement, but also different interpretations of the verb. In (20e), *gå* can refer to a hiking activity or someone planning to quit his/her job. But whether this ambiguity is based on our knowledge about the particular situation, according to which we will assign the appropriate interpretation of *gå*, or whether the 'quit one's job' meaning is the result of idiom formation (as for Bruening 2010), it will not affect the G-semantics of *i*, which is constant. The interpretation of the verb is highly relevant for the interpretation (but not the meaning) of the particle, as we will see further below.

Finally, consider the following pair of sentences, which may be wrongly claimed to have similar meanings.

(21) a. Johan er i bussen.
John is in bus-the
'John is in the bus'
b. Johan er på bussen.
John is on bus-the
'John is on the bus'

Only the *i* 'in'-construction is G-semantically a true locative, while *på* 'on' expresses that John is in contact with or involved in the activity of a bus journey. If the bus takes a break and John steps outside, he is still on the bus, but not *in* it. Most likely, John is in the bus in (21b) too, but that is an S-semantic conclusion based on our world knowledge. G-semantically, we do not get information regarding John's position in (21b), only his activity.[15]

Bouchard's theory shows that the semantics of the preposition itself is *one* factor that contributes to the final interpretation of the PP. We will now see that the LPrt distribution triggers a particle interpretation of the preposition, which is different from the interpretation triggered by the RPrt distribution. Consider the following examples. (22a) is taken from Sandøy (1976) (thus, the judgement is from Romsdal Norwegian), and (22b) is my own example. (22a) has an aspectual reading; in Verkuyl's (1989) terms it creates an accomplishment out of an activity (cf. also (23)–(26) below).

(22) a. lese {ut} bokja {*ut}
read {out} book-the {*out}
'finish the book'

15. See Aa (2013: 153ff) for further discussion (in Norwegian).

b. lese {*/??ut} hunden {?ut}
read {*/??out} dog-the {?out}
'read (so much that) the dog (goes) out'

The only lexical difference between these examples is the DP, which denotes something inanimate in (22a) and something animate in (22b). From what I have said above, (22a) works well with LPrt, but not with RPrt. However, (22b) works slightly better with RPrt, but not at all with LPrt (unless *hunden* 'the dog' is the title of a book, and the example is of the (22a) type). The most natural interpretation will perhaps be that the dog gets so tired or offended by his owner's reading that he walks out by himself. Semantically, the converging variant in (22a) is provided with a non-spatial reading, while the (near) converging variant in (22b) must be spatial.[16]

Note that the preposition gets an unequivocal spatial reading in RPrt position only. The following particles all have a basic *spatial directional* reading: *ut* 'out', *inn* 'in', *opp* 'up', *ned* 'down', *heim* 'home', *frå* 'from', *til* 'to', and *mot* 'towards.'[17] This

16. Given an appropriate context, Swedish *läsa* 'read' can be used in a spatial setting. Mikael Vinka provided me with the following example:

(i) Prästen läste ut den onda anden.
the priest read out the evil spirit-the
'The priest exorcised the evil spirit'

However, I do not think that this use of 'read' works this smoothly in Norwegian. I guess *drive* 'drive, exorcise' would be the default verb, and it combines well with *ut* 'out' (*mane* 'conjure' can also marginally combine with *ut*, at least it is attested in *Norsk Ordbok*):

(ii) Presten dreiv ut den onde anden.
the priest drove out the evil spirit-the
'The priest exorcised the evil spirit'

But note that light verbs work well to get a spatial reading of the LPrt alternative in (22b):

(iii) ha ut hunden
have out dog-the
'get the dog out'

In (22a), it is slightly worse:

(iv) ?ha ut boka
have out book-the
'get out the book'

17. *Mot* will also have the English translation 'against' in many cases, but that does not change the semantics of the Norwegian preposition. *Mot* is derived from the noun *mot* (= *møte* 'meet(ing)'), so it basically means 'in meeting with.' Thus, whether the appropriate English counterpart is

means that the basic reading of a directional preposition is in harmony with the RPrt structure. In (22), the verb does not contribute to a directional reading in either of the examples; the directionality is read off from the RPrt structure and also from the semantics of *ut* 'out'. In fact, (22b) gets a directional reading despite the verbal semantics. Concerning S-semantic factors, we know that dogs have legs and are able to move (even without the assistance of a directional verb like *kaste* 'throw'). Therefore, *hunden* 'the dog' fits well in a resultative and directional concept, S-semantically speaking. In (22a), the friction[18] between the structure (12i) on the one hand and the lexical elements (12ii) and world knowledge (12iii) on the other seems to be too salient, so the RPrt alternative crashes (at least in the Romsdal dialect). Of the three lexical elements, only *ut* 'out' is compatible with the RPrt structure. *Lese* 'read' is not a directional activity *per se*, and books do not have legs.[19] If we switched *lese* with *kaste*, we would have lexical elements that were satisfactorily directional to be inserted in the RPrt structure (*kaste boka ut* is fine and has a directional meaning only). However, the elements *lese* + *ut* + *boka* are forced into the representational LPrt structure, and then the directional interpretation of *ut* is also lost.

There are several combinations that are strongly preferred in the representational LPrt structure, although the combination contains a preposition with basic directional semantics and sometimes also a directional verb. When such combinations are inserted in the representational LPrt structure, the general directional

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'towards' or 'against' depends on other factors, such as the Ground, (connection to the) verb, context, interpretation, etc. Consider (i):

(i) Johan gjekk mot hotellet
John went against/towards hotel-the
'John walked towards the hotel', *or*
'John went against (e.g., the opinion of) the hotel'

(i) is in its written form ambiguous as to whether John walked in the direction of the hotel or was against (e.g.) the building or opinion of the hotel. Only the latter interpretation is of a VPrt construction, and in this case we have a metaphorical reading of the verb. *Hotellet* 'the hotel' does not mean the concrete building in the VPrt construction, but some kind of process (e.g., building or debate) involving the hotel. The S-semantics is in other words completely different in the different scenarios, but the G-semantics of *mot* remains identical. I discuss the particular case of *mot* in Aa (2017a).

18. Cf. the discussion on the terms *friction* and *mismatch* on the one side, and *harmony* on the other, in Sections 1.2.2 and 4.2.2.

19. In a fantasy world, we could of course imagine that the book is magically compelled by the reading to move outside. But in a normal world, direction is less likely to associate with (22a) than (22b).

interpretation is unavailable. Below, I summarise quite a few examples from the dictionary article on *opp* 'up' (Aa 2009a) in *Norsk Ordbok VIII*,[20] categorised into four S-semantic (general-conceptual) groups. That is, I have reproduced the productive V + Prt pair and added a conventional DP (from my own world knowledge, so to speak) when one is not given in the dictionary. Concerning the translations, English would probably omit the particle in many of the examples; some readers might thus claim that they are lexical V + Prt pairs in Norwegian. However, I will again support a structural-semantic analysis, in which the structure is further modified by the lexical insertion and the S-semantic interpretations. The interesting observation concerning these examples is that they are all preferred (some of them obligatory) in the LPrt structure, and they all get a non-spatial reading.[21]

(23) **Something starts or is activated**

a. starte {+opp} motoren {–opp}
start {+up} engine-the {–up}
'start the engine'

b. kveikje {opp} lyset {*opp}
light {up} candle-the {*up}
'light the candle'

c. gjere {opp} eld, varme {*opp}
make {up} fire, heat {*up}
'light the fire'

(24) **Something increases or improves in quantity or quality**

a. hausse {+opp} saka {–opp}
increase {+up} case-the {–up}
'make the case more important'

b. varme {+opp} maten {–opp}
heat {+up} food-the {–up}
'heat the food'

c. skru {+opp} lyden {–opp}
turn {+up} volume-the {–up}
'turn the volume up'

d. skru {+opp} dampen {–opp}
turn {+up} speed the {–up}
'go faster'

20. I also discuss *opp*'s dictionary article (in Norwegian) in (Aa 2017b).

21. As mentioned in Section 1.1.2, I follow Sandøy (1976) and use a plus sign (+) to mark the preferred alternative and a minus sign (–) to mark the dispreferred alternative. Unlike examples with a question mark, the examples with a minus sign are grammatically fully acceptable, but just sound more awkward.

e. pusse {opp} stova {*opp}
brush {up} living room the {*up}
'redecorate the living room'

(25) **Something is opened, divided or made clear**

a. få {+opp} ein knute {–opp}
get {+up} a knot {–up}
'open a knot'

b. slå {opp} eit prektig gapglis {*opp}[22]
open {up} a splendid yawnsmile {*up}
'open up a splendid yawning smile'

c. ta {+opp} glaset, døra {–opp}
take {+up} window-the, door-the {–up}
'open the window, the door'

d. lukke {+opp} glaset, døra {–opp}
close {+up} window-the, door-the {–up}
'open the window, the door'

e. dele {+opp} kaka {–opp}
divide {+up} cake-the {–up}
'slice the cake'

f. rive {+opp} isen {–opp}
tear {+up} ice-the {–up}
'tear up the ice'

g. splitte {+opp} saumen {–opp}
split {+up} seam-the {–up}
'split the seam'

(26) **Something or someone is finished, ended**

a. ete {+opp} maten {–opp}
eat {+up} food-the {–up}
'eat all of the food'

b. bruke {+opp} pengane {–opp}
use {+up} money-the {–up}
'spend all of the money'

c. drikke {+opp} ølen {–opp}
drink {+up} beer-the {–up}
'drink all of the beer'

---

22. Here, the DP is heavy and indefinite, which both should trigger a final position, but a less heavy and definite DP is also problematic with RPrt:

(i) slå {opp} gliset {??opp}
open {up} smile-the {??up}
'open up the smile'

d. seie {+opp} åtte tilsette {−opp}
say {+up} eight employees {−up}
'fire eight employees'

e. jule {+opp} naboen {−opp}
beat {+up} neighbour-the {−up}
'beat up the neighbour'

Again, the particle creates an accomplishment (of an activity) in each of the examples (cf. Verkuyl 1989). But in these four major conceptions, the verb and the DP are in many cases responsible for the specific S-semantic categorisation. For example, *starte* 'start' and *kveikje* 'light' are obviously perfect for the category in (23), where something starts or is activated. But note that we might also end up with a similar interpretation with a less specific verb like *gjere* 'make, do', as in (23c). The fact that all of the examples in (23)–(26) converge smoothly given the non-derivational LPrt structure, and that the direction is not traceable in (almost) any of them, suggests that the structure is primary. I claimed based on Bouchard (1995) that each preposition has a basic G-semantic meaning; *opp* 'up' probably means something like 'in an upward direction' or 'to a physically higher level'. The fact that *opp* can be used so frequently in the LPrt structure and in so many combinations where its G-semantics is blurred strongly suggests that the theory of a constant G-semantic value associated with each lexical item presupposes a sentential structure that is capable of overriding it, cf. the model in (12) above.

It is also important to notice that most of the examples do not crash in the RPrt structure either, and that the judgement can vary between Norwegian dialect speakers. In general, however, it seems that the examples in (24)–(26) are somewhat awkward in the RPrt structure. I think this is an indication that there is more friction between this structure and the given lexical elements (although *opp* is directional). If a verb and a DP that are generally hard to fit into a directional concept (cf. *dele* 'slice', *kaka* 'the cake') are inserted into the RPrt structure by a speaker, it sounds strange. Nevertheless, the hearer will still be able to interpret it correctly, due to his knowledge of the lexical elements – and probably also because of the conventions of the language. By the latter I mean that he will hear the combinations in the non-derivational LPrt structure in most cases, and this develops into a convention that helps him in cases where there is friction.[23] I think it is appropriate to keep using the term *(dis)preference* (and also to refer to different

23. Whether frequency can explain syntactic structure (Newmeyer 1998: 134ff is very sceptical) and whether the more frequent structure is also automatically the default structure (cf. Dryer 1989, 1995) are questions that go beyond the scope of our study. I assume that frequency plays a significant role in interpretation, and in performance factors such as acquiring the conventions of a language.

preferences among speakers), since there are in many cases no absolute boundaries between what counts as acceptable and unacceptable. Therefore, different degrees of friction between the structure and the lexical elements, and between general G- and S-semantics, are suitable criteria to use.

(24c) and (24d) are identical with (10) in 4.1.5 above, and the authentic examples (taken from *Norsk Ordbok*) have RPrt distribution. With RPrt, the louder volume (24c) and higher speed (24d) are identified as result states. The LPrt alternative would more intuitively focus on the the activity and have an atelic reading. In an unambiguously atelic structure, LPrt is therefore, not surprisingly, clearly preferred.

(27) Han skrudde {opp} farten {??opp} gradvis gjennom ti minutt.
he turned {up} speed-the {??up} gradually through ten minutes
'He turned up the speed gradually for ten minutes'

The test in (27) gives the same result in each example in (23)–(26) where RPrt is possible in the first place. Note that (24c) and (24d) remind of the RPrt examples in (13) in 2.1.2.2, which had an intermediate status between spatial and non-spatial. The rest of the examples with a minus value on the RPrt are not attested with this word order in my material, but the word order is *possible* to emphasise a result state. But interestingly, the attested simplex RPrt examples in the NDC and in *Norsk Ordbok* are all either spatial or have the intermediate status.

4.2.4 World knowledge: Possible S-semantic modification of structural semantics

As discussed above, I will move forward on the assumption that grammar operates with two semantically distinct VPrt structures (where particle movement from the RPrt to LPrt position is possible in one of them), which in turn will have their respective semantics confirmed or contradicted by the lexical elements. In addition, the structure will be modified by contextual information and, e.g., world knowledge, so that the final interpretation depends on several factors.

Now, to take the discussion a step further, in this subsection I will discuss some examples that clearly illustrate the importance of world knowledge when it comes to the final interpretation of a VPrt construction. Consider the following pair.

(28) a. **RPrt:**
køyre bilen inn
drive car-the in
'drive the car inside (e.g., into the garage)'

b. **LPrt:**
køyre inn bilen
drive in car-the
'drive the car inside', *or*
'break in the car'

(29) a. **RPrt:**
–gå skoa inn
–walk shoes-the in
'walk the shoes inside'

b. **LPrt:**
+gå inn skoa
+walk in shoes-the
'break in the shoes'

The lexical elements in (28) converge both in the RPrt and LPrt structures, but there is a clear difference between the two. In the RPrt structure, the sentence unambiguously expresses a directional concept, i.e., to drive the car from outside to inside (e.g., a garage). With the LPrt order, this reading is also possible, but here *køyre inn* can also be construed as 'break in.' In the RPrt case, the resultative structure is confirmed by the lexical elements, so to speak. There is harmony between *inn*'s base position and its G-semantic content. There is also another important detail: To park a car in a garage is a general concept with which most speakers are very familiar, so driving a car inside is easily associated with such an action.

Again, the ambuiguty of (28b) has two possible explanations. Either they are due to different structural semantics (12i), as assumed in the discussion so far, or they are structurally identical and are separated by world knowledge (12iii). Say, the latter were the case; even if the same lexical elements are inserted in the representational LPrt structure in (28b), the directional interpretation could be possible – partly because of the conventionalised concept of parking a car inside some building. When the representational LPrt structure is generated, the non-spatial reading of *køyre inn* 'break in' is obviously favoured. But our knowledge of the situation type or the particular situation also contributes to the final interpretation. If we know that John bought a new car, the non-spatial reading can be triggered. If we are waiting for John to come home and we finally hear the car outside the house, then the spatial reading is also appropriate when the representational LPrt structure is generated in the first place.

The lexical elements employed in (29) are not too different from those employed in (28). The particle is identical and the two verbs are both clearly associated with direction. Furthermore, shoes are an instrument for walking, just as a car is an instrument for driving. Let us begin with the LPrt structure in (29b).

When the representational LPrt structure is generated, the non-spatial reading of *gå inn* 'break in' is available here, too. But a spatial interpretation is in any case less accessible. If the RPrt structure is generated, this particular example is much less likely to converge. *-Gå skoa inn* sounds strange although all three lexical elements in isolation are easily associated with directionality.

What is the problem here? Again, I think the solution has to do with world knowledge. In contrast to driving the car inside (to park it), we have no established everyday concept of walking shoes inside (something), e.g., to leave them there and continue without them. Even if people usually take their shoes off in the hall, 'in order to take one's shoes off' is not the reason for walking inside. The concept of walking the shoes from outside to inside is non-existent.[24] Clearly, non-linguistic factors demonstrate their explanatory relevance in (28) and (29). There are apparently no linguistic reasons why the RPrt construction in (29a) should be any worse than (28a), or why the LPrt construction in (28b) is ambiguous while (29b) is not.[25]

A similar example to (28) is found in (30).

(30) a. køyre posten ut
drive mail-the out
'drive the mail out (with a car)'
b. køyre ut posten
drive out mail-the
'drive out the mail (with a car)', *or*
'distribute the mail (idiomatic reading of *køyre*)'

(30a) has the unambiguous spatial reading of bringing the mail out to the customer by using a car. The ambiguity in (30b) is exactly the same as in (28b); the spatial interpretation is possible. (I assume the processes of lexical insertion and adding S-semantic information to be parallel to the process discussed above.) However, the combination *køyre ut* 'drive out' can also have the general reading 'distribute', whether it combines with a concrete DP like *posten* 'the mail' or a more abstract one like *informasjonen* 'the information.' The latter example clearly demonstrates that a vehicle need not be included in this interpretation. *Køyre ut informasjonen*

24. Or it is only marginally accessible, say, on a warm summer day, where it might be desirable take one's shoes inside to prevent the feet from getting warmer. However, *ta* 'take' would be a more conventional verb to use in that context.

25. There is an alternative linguistic explanation: one could argue that *køyre* 'drive' has a transitive variant that assigns Case in (28a), while *gå* 'walk' does not, and therefore (29a) fails. The respective b-versions with the 'break in' readings will be subject to idiom formation (cf. Bruening 2010).

'distribute the information' can be accomplished by using e-mail. In sum, here again we have a LPrt construction which is ambiguous apparently due to different S-semantic factors.

In the discussion that follows, I will continue to pursue the derivational construal, but we must keep in mind that although two different LPrt structures are accessible, world knowledge will constribute to the final interpretation of an expression and make exsmples like (29a), which should be fully possible, strongly dispreferred.

4.3 Complex constructions

4.3.1 Constructions with a full resultative PP

In Section 2.3, it was shown that VPrt constructions followed by a full resultative PP (complex VPrt constructions) generally favour a DP-Prt order more strongly than simplex VPrt constructions. In conservative *Bokmål*, RPrt could even seem to be obligatory in such cases, cf. (31) from Hulthén (1948: 168). Sandøy (1976: 105f) claims RPrt to be preferred in spatial complex constructions, cf. (32), and he claims alternation to be free in the complex non-spatial variants, cf. (33). All of the following examples are repeated from Section 2.3.

(31) Neste morgen satte Elisas hesten og vognen inn i en
next morning put Elias horse-the and wagon-the into in a
låve. (Hulthén 1948)
barn
'The next morning, Elias put the horse and the wagon into a barn'

(32) a. Han bar {?ut} fangst'n sin {+ut} åt dei fattige. (Sandøy 1976)
he carried {?out} catch-the REFL {+out} to poor-the
'He carried out his catch to the poor'
b. Dei løfta {(?)opp} kassa {+opp} i lastebil'n.
they lifted {(?)up} box-the {+up} in truck-the
'They carried the box up in the truck'

(33) a. Han delte {ut} fangst'n sin {ut} åt dei fattige. (Sandøy 1976)
he handed {out} catch-the REFL {out} to poor-the
'He handed out his catch to the poor'
b. Han tenkte å legge {ned} noko tå sild'n {ned} på boks.
he thought to lay {down} some of herring-the {down} on can
'He intended to lay some of the herring down on the can'

Let us compare these data with the simplex constructions from 4.2. In the Romsdal dialect, the situation concerning spatial and non-spatial simplex and complex constructions is (somewhat idealised) as in (34) and (35). Simplex non-spatial constructions have obligatory LPrt, cf. (35a), but are allowed with RPrt when they are complex, cf. (34), corresponding to (34b). A spatial complex construction is preferred with RPrt, cf. (32), corresponding to (33b), while a spatial simplex construction is preferred with LPrt, cf. (34a).

(34) a. simplex spatial: {+LPrt} {−RPrt}
b. complex spatial: {?LPrt} {RPrt}

(35) a. simplex non-spatial: {LPrt} {*/??RPrt}
b. complex non-spatial: {LPrt} {RPrt}

In the Nordic Dialect Corpus (NDC, Johannessen et al. 2009), there is a slight preference for RPrt distribution in complex constructions. Out of 36 complex constructions (= around 10% of the number of simplex constructions in the corpus), 20 were RPrt constructions. Most of the 16 complex LPrt constructions were non-spatial. The RPrt constructions had a significantly higher proportion of spatial readings (see Section 2.3 for the details).

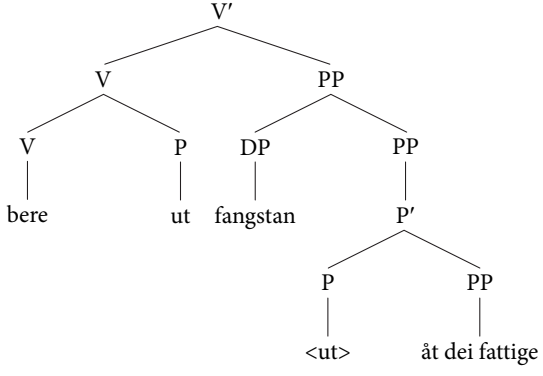
I raised a question in Section 2.3 about whether Sandøy's examples *dele ut åt dei fattige* 'hand out to the poor' and *legge ned på boks* 'lay down on the can' are really non-spatial; Sandøy argues that they are fixed expressions that have lost their basic spatial reading. Notice that these examples are quite comparable to expressions like *pakke ned* 'pack down' → 'pack' and *pakke opp* 'pack up' → 'unpack'. While I would construe these two examples as spatial, Sandøy's examples might be in the grey area. However, there is also an (albeit, not airtight) indication that his classification is correct: we can replace *legge ned* with *konservere* 'conserve', and *dele ut* with *distribuere* 'distribute', which indicates a metaphorical meaning. Another argument that Sandøy's classification is correct, is that the particle in (33a) is easier to extract than the one in (35a): *Ut bar han fangsten* vs. **Ut delte han fangsten*. This is compatible with the similar examples in 4.2.2.[26]

The reason why the resultative PP complement goes hand in hand with RPrt is quite simple: In the RPrt structure, the Ground is already established with the preposition to the right, and when this preposition takes a complement, the result is a complex construction. This is the unmarked pattern and also what must correspond to a prescriptive norm in the written standards. And it is quite simple to integrate in the resultative RPrt SC analysis.

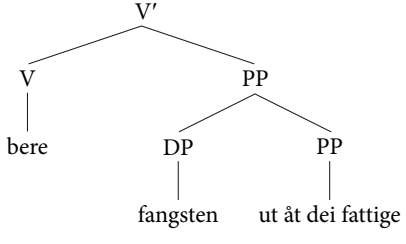
26. But see also 4.2.2 for possible counterarguments to the relevance of this evidence.

However, LPrt constructions can also be complex, although they are usually (and sometimes strongly) dispreferred. It is possible that the difference between (34) and (35) reflects a structural difference, i.e., that only the spatial variants have a SC complement with which the particle is associated, cf. (36). Then the Ground PP must be construed as an adjunct in the non-spatial variants, cf. (37), and it forms a constituent with the particle only in the spatial altenatives (36). The small differences reflected in the judgements in (34)–(35) can thus be formalised as in (36)–(37). The semantic relation between a non-spatial particle and the Ground PP is less clear, at least in the sense of forming a constituent. Grey-area examples are probably exactly in the grey area because they are structural ambiguous; they are either interpreted with the particle as part of a complex PP, or not.

(36) a. Spatial LPrt

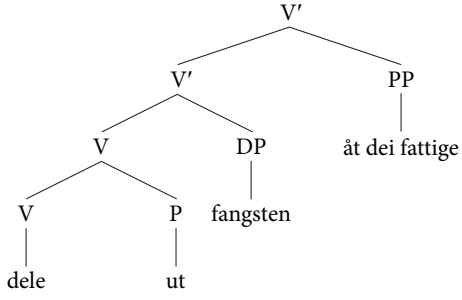


b. Spatial RPrt

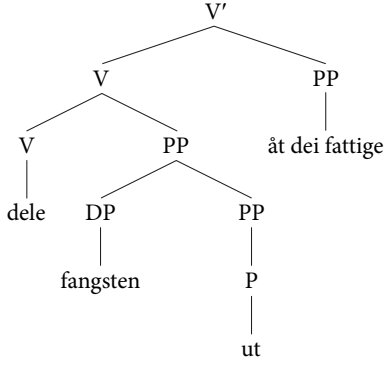


carry {out} catch-the {out} to poor-the
'carry the catch out to the poor'

(37) a. Non-spatial LPrt



b. Non-spatial RPrt



hand {out} catch-the {out} to the poor-the
'hand out the catch to the poor'

I assume that, e.g., *legge ned sild på boks* can altnernate between (36a) and (37a). In the complex variant, a concrete, spatial reading of the structure is more accessible than in the simplex counterpart (*legge ned sild* 'lay down herring'). We should therefore not reject the possibility that the simplex variant structurally different from the complex. Note that the theme DP can also be dropped: *legge ned på boks*.

Among the grey-area examples, some can take a resultative complement quite easily. Some examples that are more obviously non-spatial do not have the same possibility. For example, the constructions in (26) above (the ones describing an end-state, cf. *ete opp maten* eat up the food 'eat all of the food', *bruke opp pengane* use up the money 'spend all of the money') are clearly non-spatial; they have more or less obligatory LPrt, and they cannot have a resultative PP complement. However, in (25) we can more easily add a resultative PP in some of the constructions. So although all the examples in (23)–(26) could be argued to express an accomplishment (of an activity), they differ with regard to the possibility of resultative extension. Therefore, we can continue to consider these examples as belonging to a grey area. In (38), I have added the PPs *på gløtt* 'ajar', *i stykke* 'in pieces' and *i*

bitar 'in pieces' to four of the examples from (25). These are all overt result state manifestations, which fit quite well into this subgroup of *opp* 'up' combinations. They harmonise quite well both with the LPrt and RPrt order.

(38) a. lukke {opp} døra {opp} på gløtt
close {up} door-the {up} on ajar
'open the door ajar'

b. ta {opp} glaset {opp} på gløtt
take {up} window-the {up} on ajar
'open the window ajar'

c. dele {opp} kaka {opp} i stykke
cut {up} cake-the {up} in pieces
'slice the cake in pieces'

d. rive {opp} isen {opp} i bitar
tear {up} ice-the {up} in pieces
'tear the ice into pieces'

These examples can probably be interpreted in the structures of both (36) and (37); both particle positions are possible, and at least (38a, b) are grey area examples. As discussed in 4.2.4, there can be insertions that modify (and even semantically contradict) a given structure, and in, e.g., (38a), there is a certain friction between the LPrt construction and the resultative PP complement. This does not mean that the combination is impossible, only that there is less friction in the RPrt structure.

But how do we know that the RPrt structure and resultativeness go hand in hand? Alternatively, we could hypothesise that *any* kind of PP in the right periphery is more compatible with the RPrt structure than the LPrt structure, and that the distribution of the particle is influenced by some kind of weight principle. A few searches in the NDC show that this hypothesis cannot be maintained. I will illustrate this with some examples involving instrumental PPs. From the search criteria given in Section 2.1.2.2 and the results presented in Section 2.1.2.3, there are only three *med* 'with' instrumentals, and all of them are combined with LPrt:

(39) a. får bytte ut bilen med sykkel da tenker jeg (Herøy, WNorw.)
get change out car-the with bicycle then think I
'get to change the car with a bicycle, then, I think'

b. den derre øksa du hogger ut laft med (Rollag, ENorw.)
this that axe-the you cut out bond notch with
'this axe with which you cut the bond notch'

c. så hadde de bygd inn bekken med stein (Karmøy, WNorw.)
then had they built in brook-the with rocks
'then they had cut off the brook with rocks'

These results are also in agreement with my own intuition. If we add an instrumental PP to the right periphery of a spatial or a non-spatial VPrt construction, as in (40a) and (40b) respectively, the particle distribution seems to be unaffected.

(40) a. **Spatial:**
Eg heiv {+ut} snøen {–ut} med ein spade
I threw {+out} snow-the {–out} with a spade
'I threw out the snow with a spade'

b. **Non-spatial:**
Eg rekna {ut} tala {*ut} med kalkulator
I calculated {out} numbers-the {*out} with a calculator
'I calculated the numbers with a calculator'

Both of these examples are quite clear from my point of view: The well-formedness of the structure is unaffected by the adjoined instrumental PP.

What about temporal adverbials? The question is whether a temporal element in the right-periphery harmonises better with the RPrt structure. Judged by the NDC results from Section 2.1.2.3, it does not. Among the simplex constructions, 2 of 26 RPrt constructions have a temporal adverbial (= 7,7%), while the corresponding number for LPrt constructions is 29 of 368 (= 7,9%). The relative numbers of constructions including a temporal adverbial are therefore comparable.

In sum, there is good reason to assume that the RPrt structure is associated with resultativeness, since resultative (but no other) PPs fit significantly better into this structure than in the LPrt structure. In Section 2.3, I mentioned that the Lierne speakers (eastern Central Norwegian) had more or less obligatory LPrt in all simplex VPrt constructions; they are probably among the most consistent Norwegian LPrt users. But even these speakers hesitate when the construction is extended with a resultative PP, and some even clearly prefer the RPrt structure in such cases. The reason must be that the Ground element is already established in the RPrt structure, so the resultative PP complement just manifests this structure.

4.3.2 Constructions with complex phrasal particles

In Section 2.3.2, I introduced another type of complex construction, in which a full phrase can apparently be construed as a particle; in the LPrt structure, P and its apparent complement are spelled out as a prosodic unit with the verb (in the relevant dialects). In (41), I repeat Åfarli's (1985: 79) example, and in (42)–(43) Sandøy's (1976) examples from Romsdal Norwegian are shown. Åfarli claims free alternation of the particle complex, while Sandøy claims that LPrt distribution is preferred, as is the case with the standard particles.

(41) Vi sette {på han} hatten {på han}. (Åfarli 1985)
we put {on him} hat-the {on him}
'We put the hat on him'

(42) Han ha med å sende {+om bord} detta skaffetyet
he had with to send {+on board} this tableware-the
{om bord}. (Sandøy 1976)
{on board}
'He usually sent this tableware on board'

(43) Han kasta {+frå seg} kniven {frå seg}. (Sandøy 1976)
he threw {+from REFL} knife-the {from REFL}
'He threw away the knife'

Sandøy (1976: 87ff) gives further examples from Old Norse and the modern Insular Scandinavian languages, while Hulthén (1948: 166f) provides Swedish examples. In other words, these constructions are well established in the Scandinavian languages (except for Modern Danish).

Although (41)–(43) are usually construed as simplex VPrt constructions with a complex phrasal particle (cf. Åfarli 1985, Svenonius 2003a), there is also a semantic similarity between (41)–(43) and the complex constructions discussed in Section 4.3.1. In complex constructions, the Ground element is usually extended with a resultative PP, as in (44).

(44) Vi sette på hatten.$_{\text{FIGURE}}$ på hovudet.$_{\text{GROUND}}$
we put hat-the.$_{\text{FIGURE}}$ on head-the.$_{\text{GROUND}}$
'We put on the hat on the head'

In (41), the pronoun denotes the place where the Figure is located and therefore is construed as Ground (*Vi sette på han*$_{GROUND}$ *hatten*$_{FIGURE}$). But unlike the Ground elements discussed in 4.3.1, the Ground pronoun cannot be stranded to the right when P is distributed to the left of the Figure DP. Consider (45).

(45) a. Vi sette hatten på han.
we put hat-the on him
b. *Vi sette på hatten han.
we put on hat-the him
c. Vi sette på han hatten.
we put on him hat-the
'We put the hat on his head'

The pronoun cannot be separated from the particle, rather it seems to clitisise to it. However, light pronouns usually cliticise to the nearest host (except sentence adverbials), and given that Ground is based to the right it would have to

cross the Figure DP ('the hat'), for unknown reasons. Given that the pronoun is part of the particle, we must suggest a reanalysis of the phrasal PP to a head. First, consider (46).

(46) Nå hadde kjerringa lagt i vatn klærne i bekken[27,28]
now had lady-the put in water clothes-the in stream-the
'Now the lady had wet the clothes in the stream'

Here, the Ground pronoun is replaced by a "short DP", as in (41), and the sentence is extended with another PP, *i bekken* 'in the steam'. If this latter PP is construed as as resultative Ground PP (as in Section 4.3.1), it devalues the status of *vatn* 'water' as a proper Ground. However, I will assume that *i bekken* is an adjunct denoting place, and that *vatn* is a proper Ground. We will then have to explain why it can attach to the particle.

Remember that *sette-på-han*, *sende-om-bord*, *lagt-i-vatn* etc. can all be pronounced as single words with word accent. This should suggest that Åfarli (1985) and Sandøy (1976) are on the right track in classifying the PP as a complex particle. But the analysis is not obvious, given that LPrt already forms a complex *head* with V. Below, I will suggest that the complex phrase-like particle is in fact reanalysed as a head, which is then able to merge with V^0. We will first take a look at Svenonius' (2003a) approach.

Svenonius (2003a: 5) argues for a decomposed PP structure, which distinguishes directional PPs and VPrt constructions from locative PPs. The two former constructions contain a PathP, which is lexicalised by a stressed/prominent P. The entity that moves in VPrt constructions (given a derivational analysis) is the full PathP. Therefore, a full phrase is apparently able to move as a particle, both in Swedish and in Norwegian. (47) is taken from Svenonius (2003a):

(47) Marie satte [på pojken] kläderna.
Marie put [on boy-the] clothes-the
'Marie dressed the boy'

For Svenonius, particles and directional Ps on the one hand and locative Ps on the other hand lexicalise separate parts of the decomposed PP. The lexicalisation of

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27. This example is taken from Alf Prøysen's classic *Teskjekjerringa* 'the teaspoon lady' (which features Innlandet-coloured *Bokmål*)

28. In Kvikne, an Innlandet village close to the Trøndelag border, I got at similar light pronoun example from an old speaker (rendered close to the dialect):

(i) legge i bløtt dem i mjølk
lay in wet them in milk
'wet them in milk'

PathP is always associated with stress. In VPrt constructions, either the particle or the DP complement will be stressed/prominent. The Place head (i.e., the locative preposition) is not stressed.

(48) $[_{\text{PathP}}$ Prt / Dir P $[_{\text{PlaceP}}$ Loc P $[_{\text{DP}}]]]$

Given that the LPrt position is a head position forces us to consider a technical reanalysis of the phrasal particle into a head. In Svenonius' analysis, one must assume that PathP has a special property that licenses such reanalysis. PathP is in most cases realised with a bare particle, but everything which projects within the semantic property PathP must automatically be construed as a head. In Larsen's (2014) model, we must assume that the semantic complex is *chunked* into a single terminal syntactic node, P^0 (cf. Bouchard 1995: 99). Whenever a phrase is construed as a particle (and spelled out as a prosodic unit with the verb in the relevant dialects), it is syntactically reanalysed as a head. This is shown in (49), where Svenonius' (2003) approach (a) is compared to our analysis in (b).

(49) få på plass regelsystemet
get on place the rule system
'adapt the new system of rules'
a. Svenonius (2003a): få $[_{\text{PathP}}$ på$_i$ $[_{\text{PP}}$ t_i plass$]]_j$ $[_{\text{SC}}$ regelsystemet $t_j]$
b. Here:
Reanalysis $[_{\text{PP}}$ på plass$]$ → $[_{\text{P}}$ på plass$]$ →
$[_{\text{V}}$ $[_{\text{V}}$ få$]$ $[_{\text{P}}$ på plass$]$ $[_{\text{DP}}$ regelsystemet$]]$

4.4 Ground promotion

4.4.1 Earlier accounts and new data

Until now, I have discussed standard (simplex and complex) "Figure retaining" particles (cf. Milway's 2014 term), where alternation is usually possible, even though it is is not free. In the following, I will introduce more Norwegian data that have not been discussed much before, and where particle alternation is not an option. First, I will discuss Ground promotion (GP) particles in the present section, and then unaccusative particle constructions in 4.5. The latter type can have particle alternation only in impersonal spatial constructions, but not else. In 4.5, I will also discuss meteorological constructions, which first and foremost include the particles *opp* 'up' and *på* 'on'.

In the case of Norwegian, GP particles have been discussed earlier by Ven (1999: 47ff) and Svenonius (2003b), but to my knowledge not much else. One reason for this can be that GP is much less productive than Figure retention (cf.

McIntyre 2007, Svenonius 2003b). In (50), two prototypical examples are shown; no overt Figure is present, and particle alternation is not possible.[29]

(50) a. ta {av} bordet {*av}
take {off} table-the {*off}
'clear the table'
b. skrape {av} ruta {*av}
scrape {off} windshield-the {*off}
'scrape (e.g., ice) off the windshield'

In both of these examples, V + P are pronounced with a single word accent in the relevant dialects (see Section 2.2). Although this could be a prosodic argument for construing them as standard VPrt constructions, the semantic P + DP relation calls for a standard PP analysis. The Figure is not overtly expressed, but we can imagine the understood Figure (e.g., food) being taken off the table in (50a) and (e.g., ice) being scraped off the windshield in (50b). However, we cannot imagine any kind of Figure in each of the examples. To the contrary, there seems to be one conventional concept in each expression. As noted by Svenonius (2003b), the understood Figure in (50a) must be something related to food, and not, e.g., a sheet. And if a bird is scraped off in (50b), it must be specified overtly. The restricted and conventional meaning of the suppressed Figure might be one reason for the low frequency of GP constructions in general. In (51)–(52), I have specified the number of GP constructions meaning 'lay *or* clear the table' in the *Bokmål* corpus (Knudsen & Fjeld 2013), which contains about 100 million words.

(51) a. ta på bordet ($n = 1$)
take on table-the
'lay the table'
b. ta av bordet ($n = 21$)[30]
take off table-the
'clear the table'

(52) a. dekke på bordet ($n = 18$)
cover on table-the
'lay the table'

29. The examples in (50) can also have a marginal reading, where the DP is interpreted as Figure, and not Ground, and where RPrt *is* possible. (50a) will then mean to lift the table off (e.g., from a cabin wall), and (50b) to scrape so much that the windshield itself loosens. But it is the Ground promotion interpretation which is clearly unmarked, and that will be discussed here.

30. This string also provides two sentences where the Figure is a subject in a passive, and one where it is a relativised object. These are not included in the number above. There are no examples where 'the table' is Figure.

b. dekke av bordet (n = 1)
cover off table-the
'clear the table'

Compared to the number of Figure retaining constructions in the same corpus, the numbers in (51)–(52) are extremely low,[31] even though (51b) and (52a) are probably the most common GP expressions of all.

Some GP constructions of this type form minimal pairs with locative PPs. Only the GP variant (53a, 54a), and not the locative PP (53b, 54b), has the word accent spell-out of V + P.

(53) a. GP:
ta på bordet
take on table-the
'set the table'
b. LOC:
ta på bordet
take on table-the
'touch the table'

(54) a. GP:
ta av bordet
take off table-the
'clear the table'
b. LOC:
ta av bordet
take off table-the
'take (steal) (something) from the table'

In (53a, b) the missing Figure (food) is contextually given, and it can also be overtly included (cf. Svenonius 2003b: 441). But more important is perhaps the status and restrictions of the overtly expressed Ground. McIntyre (2007: 354) shows that "[p]romoted Grounds are often interpreted 'holistically', as substantially affected." If the holistic semantics were a prerequisite for GP, then perhaps only a few particles which can have a completive reading (cf. the *opp* 'up' examples in (26) in 4.2.3 above, and, e.g., *ut* 'out') are possible in these constructions. However, McIntyre notes that the holistic semantics is a tendency, not a requirement, which is clear in some of the Norwegian examples that we will return to below.

31. As shown in 2.1.2.2, a search with, e.g., *ut* 'out' will provide us almost excluselively with Figure retaining constructions, and the search string *[unspecified verb lemma] + ut + [unspecified noun lemma]* gives 13 969 results in the *Bokmål* corpus. Compared to that, the numbers in (51)–(52) are extremely low.

In order to account for the Figure and Ground relation, Svenonius (2003b) assumes a split PP, where the Figure DP is based in the higher, functional projection (*p*P), and the Ground DP in the lower, lexical domain (PP), cf. (55).

(55) Wipe [$_{pP}$ [$_{FIGURE}$ dust] [$_{p}$ *e* [$_{PP}$ off [$_{GROUND}$ the table]]]

Similar to *v*, *p* is a Case assigner; the Ground DP receives Case from *p*, while the Figure's Case is *v*-oriented. Svenonius observes a difference between English and Norwegian, namely that when the Figure is absent, the Ground DP can shift in English, but not in Norwegian (cf. his p. 442).

(56) a. Wipe the table off
b. Tørke {av} bordet {*av}

Svenonius suggests that the Norwegian (56b) lacks *p*, and that the Ground receives Case from a higher functional head (p. 443) (in German, it receives Case from *v*-V[32] when *p* lacks). But in English, where GP is less productive, he argues that *p* cannot be omtitted, and that *the table* is instead reanalysed as Figure. The flexible meaning of *off* allows *the table* to be reinterpreted as an affected surface (p. 442). McIntyre (2007) argues that the GP restrictions are similar in the languages which Svenonius categorises as real GP languages, e.g., German and Dutch. It is not fully productive in either group of languages; most particle verbs do not allow GP. According to Milway (2014), GP in English only occurs with verbs that denote cleaning and the particles *off* and *out*. As we will see, GP in Norwegian appears much freer than that, but there are still restrictions. One restriction is that the shape or nature of the Ground is similar to that of a transitive preposition (McIntyre 2007: 356). *Av* 'off' does not select a particular Figure, but usually it selects a surface as Ground. This restriction is hard to explain if the Ground is reanalysed as Figure. In (57)–(62) below, it is clear that the preposition selects the Ground, they constitute a PP, and I will refer to these as real GP constructions. Real GP constructions in Norwegian feature a P that is usually (also in other contexts) transitive. A *potential* transitive P is a prerequisite in order to form a real GP.

Despite the restrictions, there are quite a few possible GP combinations. Below, I have arranged different examples alphabetically (after the preposition) and illustrated them with attested examples, either from corpora or informants. We will see that the preposition does select the Ground. The examples are usually (but not necessarily) understood holistically, and none of the examples may have particle alternation.

32. Svenonius (2003b: 436) refers to earlier works of his where he argues that Case is assigned "by the combination of *v* and V", not only *v*.

(57) **av 'off'**

a. skrape av ruta
scrape off windshield-the
'scrape (the ice) off the windshield'

b. ta av bordet
take off table-the
'remove (the dishes) from the table'

c. tørke av tavla
wipe off blackboard-the
'clean the blackboard'

d. lesse av vogna
load off wagon-the
'unload the wagon'

(58) **for 'before, in front of'**

trekke for vindauget
pull for window-the
'pull (the curtains) in front of the window'

(59) **i 'in(to)'**

a. sette i kjøleskapet
put in fridge-the
'put (the food) in the fridge'

b. laste i vogna
load in wagon-the
'load the wagon'

c. legge i omnen
put in stove-the
'add (wood) to the stove'

(60) **over 'over'**

a. breie over barnet
spread over child-the
'cover the child'

b. hakk valnøttene og strø over yoghurten
chop the walnuts and sprinke over yoghurt-the
'chop the walnuts and sprinkle (them) over the yoghurt'

(61) **på 'on'**

a. dekke på bordet
cover on table-the
'lay the table'

b. legge på senga
put on bed-the
'put (bedclothes) on the bed'
c. legge på stabelen
lay on pile-the
'put (wood) on the pile'
d. lesse på vogna
load on wagon-the
'load the wagon'
e. smørje på skiva
butter on bread-the
'butter the bread'

(62) **til 'to'**
a. legge til brygga
lay to dock-the
'dock the boat'
b. venje til barnehagen
accustom to kindergarden-the
'accustom (the child) to the kindergarden'

In all of these examples, a conventional Figure can be understood contextually (thus, I have suggested it in some of the examples), so I will assume it is S-semantically given (cf. Bouchard's 1995 terms). I will also assume that ±holism is lexically (e.g., preposition-semantically) and contextually given. For instance, the *i* 'in(to)' examples in (59) are not necessarily holistic; (59c) can imply that only one more log is put in the owen. Generally, the *av* 'off' exampels in (57), *i* 'in(to)' in (59) and *på* 'on' in (61) are ambiguous when it comes to a holistic vs. non-holistic reading. These Ps can express ongoing or non-completive events as much as results or end-states. We will see that this tendency differs from the directional Ps discussed in 4.4.3 below (e.g., *ut* 'out' and *opp* 'up').

The most important observation in (57)–(62) is that that the Ground selections are the same as in conventional transitive PPs (cf. McIntyre 2007). Thus, as espected, *i* 'in(to)' occurs with a container (cf. Section 4.2.3). *På* 'on' also seems to select a surface in line with its locative use as PP (Aa 2009b). A possible counterexample is (61d), where the wagon can be construed as a container, but an outcome is that it refers to the plane surface in the wagon. Note that *i* 'in'(to)' is also used with the same Ground in (59b). *På* can be used when loading an open, but not articulated lorry. Technically, the truck platform can be an open container in (63a), but once the container is closed (and the lorry is articulated), *på* must be replaced by *i*.

(63) a. laste på lastebilen
load on truck-the
'load the truck'
b. *laste på traileren
load on articulated lorry-the
'load the articulated lorry'

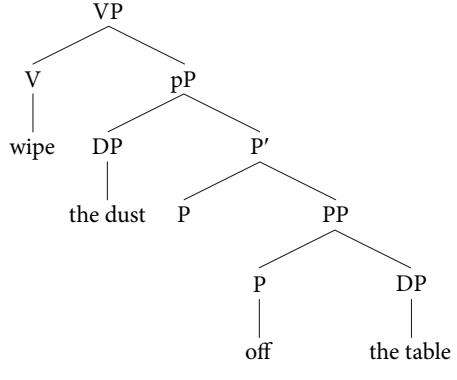
In conclusion, none of the GP examples in (57)–(62) offer any major prepositional semantic surprises. The Grounds have the properties of real Grounds, i.e., as complements of transitive Ps, which is my starting point below. The next section concerns with an analysis of the real GP data put forward so far, and in 4.4.3 I will include data that are less clear, i.e., where the P usually does *not* form a PP with the Ground DP. In those examples, particle alternation is also possible, and I will conclude that they are not real GP constructions, but reanalysed Figures.

4.4.2 The analysis

The data above show that (1) the P and the Ground form a PP at one level, and that (2) the P must appear to the left of the DP. The question is whether the P is really verb-adjacent in a complex structure with a covert/silent Figure or or remains in the base-generated PP position. The word accent spell-out of V + P is similar to the pronunciation of V + a Figure retaining particle – and could therefore indicate a verb-adjacent P. But I will argue that the P remains in the Ground domain.

Although there are restrictions for Norwegian GP constructions, they do include more particles and more concepts than in English (i.e., other than *off* and *out* related to 'cleaning'). An idea compatible with Larsen's (2014: 202, 230ff) projecting particle analysis (see also Section 4.1.1) is to adopt Svenonius' (2003b) split PP hypothesis and Milway's (2014) null head analysis. A structure with overt Figure and Ground will then have the following structure (from Milway 2014: 6).

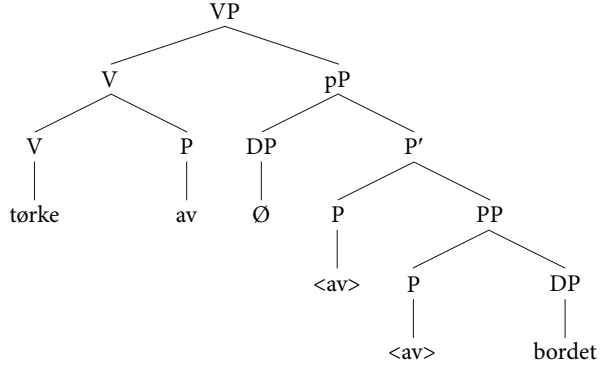
(64)



This structure implies that the DP in the Spec,*p*P position gets the Figure interpretation, while the Ground holds the complement position of P.[33] Milway (2014) argues that the Ground is a null-pronoun in Figure retaining constructions, and that the *p* head and hence the Figure DP are absent in GP constructions. (64) is appealing, since it can account for Ground promotion and Figure retention in a uniform way.

But one thing apparently remains unexplained, namely the Norwegian word-accent spell-out of V + P. If the spell-out indicates a remerge of P in the verb-adjacent position, we get a representation as in (65).

(65)



wipe off <off> <off> table-the
'wipe off the table'

A problem with (65) is that the remerge/movement of the particle may not seem well motivated. The problem is that it cannot move once the Figure is present, cf. (66a).

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33. Note that the Ground DP can precede the Figure DP if P is verb-adjacent, but not the other way around.

(i) tørke av {*støv} bordet {støv}
wipe off {*dust} table-the {dust}
'wipe the dust off the table'

Apparently, the converging variant should also fail for Case reasons, but we must assume that the Figure ('dust') is correctly licensed by V and the Ground ('the table') by P. Given this, it seems that P must still license an adjacent DP, since the example crashes if the Figure precedes the Ground. The verb can license the Figure DP correctly from its trace. These examples can also be generalised as typical examples of locative alternation (e.g. Rappaport Hovav & Levin 1985, 1988. For an extended list of references, see Levin 1993: 49f). This particular example fits in Levin's (1993: 51f) group of transitive *clear* alternation constructions. I will not elaborate upon the locative alternation here, but I refer to Levin (1993) for an empirical overview and further references.

(66) *ta av maten bordet
take off food-the table-the
'take the food off the table'

This example fails because the Ground DP lacks a Case assigner. It was shown already in Taraldsen (1983) and Åfarli (1985) that the particle is not a Case assigner in Norwegian; in the present analysis it means that a verb-adjacent P does not assign Case. The crash in (66) suggests that the P must also stay *in situ* in (65), and hence that it is a transitive preposition. A verb-adjacent P, as indicated by the word accent spell-out of V + P, can only be apparent.

An *in situ* Ground P should allow for a simultaneous appearance of an identical Figure retaining particle, so that they can form a complex VPrt construction. Such double constructions are rare, but possible. The NDC attests examples with a Figure retaining LPrt, but none with RPrt. A few of the LPrt examples are given in (67).

(67) a. så holder de på og tar av mosen av plena
then hold they on and take off moss-the off lawn-the
(old woman, Gauldal, CNorw)
'then they are removing the moss from the lawn'

b. da kunne vi banke av hodet av riva
then could we knock off head-the off rake-the
(old man, Røros, CNorw)
'then we could knock the head (the part with metal points) off the rake'

c. legge i mynten i bøtta (young man, Kirkesdalen, CNorw)
lay coin-the in bucket-the
'put the coin in the bucket'

d. legge på nytt torvtak på et bur (old man, Surnadal, CNorw)
lay on new sod-roof on a cage
'put a new sod-roof on the cage'

In standard complex constructions (i.e., with overt Figure and Ground), RPrt is usually preferred (see 4.3.1); in that sense, this pattern is surprising.[34] Thus, it is possible that the Ground PP is construed as an adjunct, whenever the two Ps are identical.

34. But it is *not* surprising in the sense that the resultative structure is usually a standard SC, as in (64). In complex constructions, the RPrt manifests the resultative structure, but when the RPrt and the Ground P are the same lexical item, there are good information structural reasons to omit the RPrt.

4.4.3 The case of *ut* 'out', *inn* 'in(to)', *opp* 'up' and *ned* 'down'

The prepositions *ut* 'out', *inn* 'in(to)', *opp* 'up' and *ned* 'down' differ from, e.g. *av* 'off' and *på* 'on' in that the former usually do not constitute a transitive PP, but are more frequently used as Figure retaining particles. A question is then whether the Ps which are usually not transitive, can function as GP particles. Svenonius (2003b: 442) shows that *ut* 'out' can only select a Ground when the Figure is absent. He claims that its Case-assigning properties change once the Figure is absent, which makes it possible to select a Ground. If the Figure is present, we need, e.g., *av* 'off' to select the Ground.

(68) a. De pakket klærne ut *(av) sekken.
they packed clothes-the out (of) bag-the
'They packed the clothes out of the bag'
b. De pakket ut (av) sekken.
they packed out (of) bag-the
'They unpacked the bag'

A relevant question is whether *sekken* is still a proper Ground in (68b). As we saw towards the end of 3.1.1.2, *ut* can indeed be used transitively, i.e., select a proper Ground, as in *ut døra/glaset* 'out the door/the window'. However, this use is restricted; and *ut* will in most cases be associated with a Figure, as in (69a) below.

Here, I will separate between real and apparent Grounds, and I will suggest that the latter is reanalysed as Figure, because it appears structurally as one. (69a) contains an unambiguous Figure DP, and particle alternation is possible. However, in the two following examples, the word *glas* is ambiguous in many dialects; it can mean a 'glass' (to drink from) (69b), and it is the traditional Norwegian word for 'window' (cf. Stausland Johnsen 2019: 115) (69c). *Ut glaset* is therefore ambiguous: 'out (of) the glass' *or* 'out the window'. Interestingly, *ut* can alternate like a Figure retaining particle in the former meaning, but not in the latter.

(69) a. tømme {ut} vinen {ut}
empty {out} wine-the {out}
'empty the (glass of) wine'
b. tømme {ut} glaset {ut}
empty {out} glass-the {out}
'empty the glass (of wine)'
c. tømme {ut} glaset {*ut}
empty {out} window-the {*out}
'empty (the glass of wine) out of the window'

From what is said in 4.4.2, *ut* seems to form a PP (i.e., select a Ground) only in (69c). The possible alternation in (69b) suggests that the 'container' (the glass) is technically (i.e., structurally) reanalysed as Figure. The interesting detail is that while the lexical semantics of 'glass' in (69b) strongly indicates a Ground reading (it is a container), it is a *structural* Figure.

Note that it is also fully possible to combine (69b) and (69c), cf. (70).

(70) tømme ut glaset ut glaset.
empty out glass-the out window-the
'empty the glass out the window'

The system in (69) is also possible in the case of *inn* 'in(to)' (71) and *opp* up' (72). Like *ut*, these prepositions are only very rarely used transitively, and they seem *not* to select proper Grounds in these cases, but reanalysed Figures (i.e. lexical Grounds that are structural Figures).

(71) a. **Figure**
smørje {inn} solkremen {inn}
cream_{V} {in} suncream-the {in}
'smear sun cream (into the kids)'
b. **Reanalysed Figure**
smørje {inn} ungane {inn}
cream_{V} {in} kids-the {in}
'smear (sun cream) into the kids'

(72) a. **Figure**
drikke {opp} vinen {opp}
drink {up} wine-the {up}
'drink up the wine'
b. **Reanalysed Figure**
drikke {opp} flaska {opp}
drink {up} bottle-the {up}
'drink up (the wine in) the bottle'

(71) is discussed in Dutch by Blom (2005: 191) and in German by McIntyre (2007: 356). Blom denies a GP analysis, since (what corresponds to) *inn* cannot be used transitively, nor select a Ground. This is also the case in Norwegian, at least it very rarely takes a complement – which clearly contrasts the use of *på* 'on', cf. (73). This fact and the fact that *inn* can alternate in (71b), suggest that *ungane* 'the kids' are not a proper Ground.

(73) Ho smurde solkrem *inn/på ungane.
she creamed sun cream into/on the kids
'She smeared sun cream into the kids'

It is important to notice that while *inn* is almost always used in Figure retaining VPrt constructions, and very rarely as a transitive preposition, *på* is much more frequently used as a transitive preposition than a particle (when used as a particle, *på* usually combines with an unaccusartive verb; see 4.5 below). (73) is therefore fully predictable, and the reanalysis of the DP to a Figure, in terms of Svenonius (2003b) and Blom (2005), seems to be correct for the particles that usually do not constitute PPs. (69c) is an exception, and similarly *inn* and *opp* cannot alternate once they select a proper Ground (*inn døra* 'through the door', *opp fossen* 'up the waterfall' etc.). Note that in (72), we have the usual restrictions on RPrt distribution, since the particle is non-spatial, but the essential point here is that the restrictions are parallel in (72a) and (72b).

As mentioned in 4.4.1, Milway (2014) claims that GP particles in English only include *off* and *out* related to 'cleaning'. Let us compare this observation with four *vaske ut* wash out 'clean (completely)' examples in Norwegian. The examples below are taken from the sub-entry *vaska ut* 'wash out' under the *vaska* 'wash' entry in *Norsk Ordbok*.

(74) a. vi vaska ut leilegheita
we washed out apartment-the
'we cleaned the apartment' (completely, e.g., before moving)

b. vaske ut fisken
wash out fish-the
'clean (the inside of) the fish'

c. vaske ut smør
wash out butter
'wash (and knead the salt out of) the butter'

All of these examples have a contextually understood Figure, and *ut* selects the Ground, which is a container in all three examples. *Ut*'s selection of a container seems to be consistent in the combination with *vaske*. It is possible to 'wash out' an apartment and a room, but not a floor (i.e., a surface). I have found only one possible counterexample in the Norwegian newspaper corpus, namely (75).

(75) vaska ut trappene og gongen [sic, *gangen* is the correct form]
wash out stairs-the and hall-the
'clean the stairs and the hall'

Usually, the hall, but not the stairs, would be considered a container. But the most straightforward analysis here is that the conjunction of 'the stairs and the hall' is construed as the stairwell. In other words, *ut* does select the Ground in (75).

A last example to consider is (76), *vaske ned* wash down 'clean completely', which is another frequent and holistic *vaske* collocation.

(76) vaske ned huset
wash down house-the
'clean the house (completely)'

Here, it is not obvious whether the house itself is 'down' after the cleaning (Figure reading), or whether the dirt (Figure) is cleaned 'down' from the house (Ground reading). The impossible discontinuous order (**huset ned*) would promote an absurd directional reading of *ned* ('to clean so much that the house itself falls down to the ground') – so the question is whether this is due to the general LPrt preference of non-spatial particles (Figure reading of 'the house') or because (76) is a real GP example.

4.4.4 Conclusion

It seems clear that GP in Norwegian first and foremost is associated with transitive prepositions, and only in exceptional cases where the preposition has a more marginal transitive use (see 4.4.3). GP can be accounted for in a decomposed PP-structure, where the preposition stays *in situ* in the lexical domain, and where the functional domain is reserved for Figure retaining particles.

(77) tørke [$_{pP}$ Ø [$_{PP}$ av bordet]]
wipe off table-the
'wipe off the table'

I have argued that the Ground P does not move, since it has no reason to, although the word-accent spell-out of *tørke av* could indicate that *av* is in the verb-adjacent position. While the Ground's Case is P-oriented (78a), a Figure's Case is V [+P]-oriented (78b). This is clear when both Figure and Ground are overt. If the higher *p* moved to the verb-adjacent position (78c), then the Ground cannot receive Case from the "trace".

(78) a. tørke [$_{pP}$ støvet [$_{PP}$ av bordet]]
wipe dust-the off table-the
b. [$_{V'}$ [$_{V}$ tørke av] [$_{pP}$ støvet <av> [$_{PP}$ av bordet]]]
wipe off dust-the off table-the
c. * [$_{V'}$ [$_{V}$ tørke av] [$_{pP}$ støvet <av> [$_{DP}$ bordet]]]
wipe off dust-the table-the
'wipe the dust off the table'

The most notable observation in this section is the Figure reanalysis cases in (71b) and (72b). Particle alternation is not compatible with a GP analysis, so that these DPs are structural Figures, although their lexical semantics implies a Ground. It is due to the lexical Ground semantics that they can be "shadow interpreted" (cf.

Hoekstra's 1988: 117 term) as Grounds, although they are clearly structural Figures. A Figure that is shadow interpreted as Ground is referred to here as a "fake Ground" or a "reanalysed Figure". Real GP presupposes a transitive preposition, or at least a preposition that can be used transitively.

4.5 Unaccusatives

In this final section, I will discuss some different groups of unaccusative VPrt constructions. In 4.5.1, I discuss personal vs. impersonal variants, where particle alternation is possible in the latter. In 4.5.2, I discuss meteorological constructions, where RPrt is impossible (or at best strongly dispreferred) – also in the impersonal variant. The "weather particles" are usually non-spatial, and these data clearly speak against a non-predicational analysis of the non-spatial VPrt construction, in line with what we have assumed so far. In most cases, RPrt would yield an absurd reading of the construction, so that a predicational SC analysis with particle movement would seem unlikely.

4.5.1 Personal vs. impersonal unaccusatives

At first glance, the personal unaccusative VPrt construction in (80) look similar to the Ground promoting (GP) construction in (79), since particle alternation is impossible in both.

(79) skrape {av} ruta {*av}
scrape {off} windshield-the {*off}
'scrape (the ice) off the windshield'

(80) gå {på} bussen {*på}
go {on} bus-the {*on}
'enter the bus'

However, the unaccusative, unlike the GP construction, can have an impersonal variant *with* alternation possibility (81). Two personal variants are included in (82).

(81) Det gjekk {på} nokon {på}
it walked {on} someone {on}
'Someone entered (the bus)'

(82) a. Hundane snusa rundt.
dogs-the sniffed around
'The dogs sniffed around'

b. Ho voks opp på Byrkjelo.
she grew up on Byrkjelo
'She grew up in Byrkjelo'

In (82), a predicational analysis is possible, if one assumes that the DP has moved from the subject position of a SC to fulfil the subject requirement in the matrix clause. Then they are in fact identical to RPrt constructions except that the Figure DP has raised. However, both of the examples are sensitive to Deg insertion, which indicates that the particle surfaces in the verb-adjacent position.

(83) a. *Hundane snusa rett rundt.
dogs-the sniffed right around
'The dogs sniffed right around'
b. *Ho voks rett opp på Byrkjelo.
she grew right up on Byrkjelo
'She grew right up in Byrkjelo'

I will continue to argue in the next section about meteorological constructions that the non-spatial personal unaccusatives are not predicational, and that the particle must be construed as a non-projecting LPrt there. First, I will discuss the impersonal variant in (81). Sveen (1996: 95ff) argues, despite some syntactic differences (e.g., with regard to passivisation and prenominal modifying possibilities), that the post-verbal DP (in bold type) is a *syntactic object*, both in the unaccusative *Det visna **mange blomster*** 'There withered many flowers' and in the unergative *Det skøyta **mange barn*** 'There skated many children.' There are also other works that support an object analysis of the DP, e.g., Askedal (1986), Vangsnes (1994), and Vikner (1995). Nordgård (2002: 68f) argues, in opposition to these works, that the post-verbal DP is a SC subject. I think Nordgård's arguments for pursuing a subject analysis of the post-verbal DP in non-resultative expletive constructions are not convincing,[35] but in the cases where the DP combines with a RPrt, the predicational DP-Prt relationship promotes an understanding of the

35. Nordgård (2002: 68f) discusses stative examples like the following:

(i) Det sitter fugler på taket (Bokmål)
it sits birds on roof-the
'There are birds on the roof'

(ii) Det står ein mann utanfor (Nynorsk)
it stands a man outside
'There is a man outside'

Nordgård argues for her view using evidence from adverb insertion and coordination, among others. She admits that the coordination test is not airtight, but I think the adverb test also fails.

post-verbal DP as a subject. I assume that the expletive is directly inserted in the matrix Spec,vP (Åfarli & Eide 2000 suggest that the expletive is directly inserted in Spec,PrP).[36] Since the subject position in the matrix clause is filled as a result of *det* 'it' insertion, the post-verbal DP stays in in situ. In the spatial examples in (84), I still assume that the particle projects in the SC in the usual manner, and can head move to V^0. The meteorological examples in 4.5.2 differ from (84) in that respect.

(84) a. LPrt: [$_{vP}$ Det [$_{v}$ gjekk [$_{VP}$ [$_{V'}$ [$_{V}$ [$_{V}$ <gjekk>] [$_{P}$ på]] [$_{SC}$ nokon <på>]]]]]
b. RPrt: [$_{vP}$ Det [$_{v}$ gjekk [$_{VP}$ [$_{V'}$ [$_{V}$ <gjekk>] [$_{SC}$ nokon på]]]]]
it went {on} someone {on}
'Someone went on/entered (e.g., the bus)'

In a fully specified structure, we can assume in the usual manner that the matrix subject and the finite verb are associated with TP (Nominative, tense) and CP (topicalisation, V2). The particle alternation shows that the unaccusative is parallel to standard Figure retaining constructions, and the unaccusatives can also be extended by a resultative (or source) PP.

(85) a. Det gjekk {på} ein mann {på} (på toget).
it walked {on} a man {on} (on train-the)
'A man entered the train'
b. Det sprang {ut} nokre hundar {ut} (til kattane).
it ran {out} some dogs {out} (to cats-the)'
'There ran out some dogs (to the cats)'
c. Det kom {heim} ei dame {heim} (frå storbyen).
it came {home} a woman {home} (from bigcity-the)
'A woman came home (from the city)'

Stowell (1983) shows that causative SCs cannot be split by adverbs, and Nordgård claims this is the case for impersonal constructions, too:

(iii)?? Det står ein mann av og til utanfor
it stands a man off and to outside
'There is a man sometimes outside'

However, the example is better with a short adverbial:

(iv) (?)Det står ein mann no utanfor
(?)it stands a man now outside
'Now, there is a man outside'

The crash with av og til 'sometimes' might therefore be because the adverb is not in its canonical position. With a light adverb and a dislocated DP it converges more smoothly.

36. But see Deal (2009) for a low merger analysis of expletives.

Suppose that negation marks the edge of vP (cf. Adger 2003: 181, Åfarli & Eide 2003: 90f). Then, the insertion of the negation *ikkje* 'not' should demonstrate whether the particle-associated Figure DP in the examples above is VP-external (if preceding Neg) or -internal (if following Neg):

(86) a. **LPrt:**
Det sprang {ikkje} ut {*ikkje} nokre hundar {*ikkje}.
it ran {not} out {*not} some dogs {*not}
'There didn't run out any dogs'

b. **RPrt:**
Det sprang {ikkje} nokre hundar {*ikkje} ut.
it ran {not} some dogs {*not} out
'There didn't run any dogs out'

It is clear that the DP cannot precede Neg in either of the examples. In the LPrt construction (86a) it is also clear that the particle is stranded in V^0 and does not follow the verb across Neg.

4.5.2 Meteorological constructions

Unlike the impersonal unaccusatives discussed above, impersonal *meteorological* constructions cannot have RPrt distribution. (87) gives support to a uniform non-predicational analysis for non-spatial constructions.

(87) Det bles {opp} ein storm {*opp}.
it blew {up} a storm {*up}
'There blew up a storm'[37]

The failed RPrt alternative would trigger an absurd spatial reading, which should fail at least on S-semantic grounds, since a storm blowing in an upward direction is not possible (or at least very weird). However, if the particle is an unambiguously directional lexical element, then RPrt is clearly preferred; LPrt is marginally possible.

(88) Det bles {??hitover} ein storm {hitover}.
it blew {??hereover} a storm {hereover}
'There blew a storm here$_{DIR}$'

Combinations of an unaccusative meteorological verb and *opp* 'up' or *på* 'on' are numerous (cf. Aa 2009a, b in *Norsk Ordbok*). The expressions in (89) all describe

37. It is also worth to mention that the glossed example is attested in English, but no RPrt alternative that I am aware of.

similar weather conditions; something starts or increases dramatically, e.g., the wind or the cloudiness. The *på* variants in (89b) are not the non-telic prepositional variant that one often finds with this preposition, but an inchoative variant.

(89) a. blåsa / kula / skya / storma **opp** …
blow / cool / cloud / storm **up** …
b. auka / frisk(n)a / kula / kvika / skya / tjukna **på** …
increase / freashen / cool / quicken / cloud / thicken **on** …

All these examples can be used with *det* 'it', *der* 'there' or *han* 'he' as expletive subjects. But they can be used with personal subjects as well, like in (90).

(90) Stormen bles opp.
storm-the blew up
'The storm emerged/increased'

As shown in 4.1.3, only RPrt can be modified by *rett* 'right', and in construcitons like (90) such modifications are impossible. Or at least the Deg-insertion would force a spatial reading of the structure, so (90) → (91a) sounds absurd. In contrast, (91b) is fine with a spatial interpretation, and in (90c), a spatial reading is obligatory (though strange) when *rett* is inserted, while an inchoative reading is more appropriate without *rett*.

(91) a. *Vinden auka rett på.
wind-the increased right on
'The wind increased right on'
b. Vinden bles rett på
wind-the blew right on
'The wind blew right on'
c. ?Stormen bles rett opp.
storm-the blew right up
'The storm blew right up'

The unacceptability of (91a) indicates that the particle is in the verb-adjacent position, and that V^0 and P^0 – as expected – cannot be split by DegP. (91b) is fine, and must be construed with a predicational RPrt structure. Note that without *rett* the sentence is ambiguous. *Vinden bles på* 'the wind blew on' has either a directional reading (where *rett* modification is possible) or an atelic reading (*rett* insertion is impossible). (91b) cannot have the inchoative reading as the examples in in (89b). (91a) can only have the inchoative reading and therefore no *rett* insertion.

(91c) is less clear. Without *rett*, a non-directional, inchoative interpretation is plausible: 'The storm started to blow.' But as soon as *rett* is present, a directional interpretation is forced on it. In a normal world, a storm blowing in an upward

direction is certainly weird as a continuous process, but single upward blasts from the storm are fully imaginable.

An impersonal variant of a meteorological construction of the type in (87) can also be extended with a PP complement – a resultative (92a) or an agentive *med* 'with' construction (92b, c).

(92) a. Det bles opp (til storm).
it blew up (to storm)
'A storm blew up'

b. Han friskar på med vinden (Volda, WNorw.)
he increases on with wind-the
'The wind increases'

c. Det dvådde av med regnet (western part of Telemark, Ross 1895)
it stopped off with rain-the
'The rain stopped'

(92a) is probably the most frequent of all meteorological VPrt construction types in Norwegian, and the two *med* 'with' constructions in (92b, c) are quite common, too (although *dvå* 'stop' is not a standard verb). All three examples can be paraphrased with the complement of the particle as subject of the main clause:

(93) a. Stormen bles opp.
storm-the blew up
'The stormed emerged/increased'

b. Vinden friskar på.
wind-the increases on
'The wind increases'

c. Regnet dvådde av.
rain-the stopped off
'The rain stopped'

Given a representational model, the impersonal variants in (93a, b) will presumably be inserted in identical LPrt structures:

(94) a. Det [$_{V}$ bles opp [$_{PP}$ til storm]].
it blew up to storm
'The storm blew up'

b. Han [$_{V}$ friskar på [$_{PP}$ med vinden]].
he increases on with wind-the
'The wind increases'

But only (94a) gets a resultative reading. This is probably caused by the lexical semantics of *til* 'to' vs. *med* 'with'. *Til* expresses telicity, which is compatible with a

general resultative reading. *Med* expresses juxtaposition; the agentive reading of the *med* phrase can then be explained through its juxtaposition with the matrix subject (the expletive) (cf. Aa 2018).

As in the personal constructions in (91a, b), insertion of *rett* 'right' is impossible when a spatial interpretation is impossible, cf. (95a). (95b) is quite naturally associated with directionality, thus *rett*-insertion is felicitous. But note that *det bles på* 'it blew on' is ambiguous, with the spatial interpretation being one of two options. Practically the same is the case for (95c), but the non-modified variant *det bles opp* 'it blew up' strongly indicates an inchoative and not a spatial reading, as was the case for (91c). With *rett*, the inchoative reading is excluded. Again, this must be ascribed to the missing opportunity for modification of the non-projecting particle.

(95) a. *Det auka rett på.
it increased right on
'It increased right on'
b. Det bles rett på.
it blew right on
'It blew right on'
c. Det bles rett opp.
it blew right up
'It blew right up(wards)'

Interestingly, an overt PP result does make the Deg insertion + inchoative reading marginally better, cf. (96a). However, a non-resultative construction, like in (87) above, cannot have Deg inserted, cf. (96b).

(96) a. ?Det bles rett opp til orkan.
it blew right up to hurricane
'A hurricane blew right up'
b. *Det bles rett opp ein storm.
*it blew right up a storm
'A storm blew right up'

Intuitively, there is a conflict between the fixed expression *blåse opp* and the degree element *rett. Blåse opp,* as mentioned, refers to an inchoative event, or maybe also to an increasing intensity, and *rett* seems to be associated with direction or resultativeness. On the other hand, (96a) shows that these two apparently incompatible elements can probably be combined when complemented by a resultative Ground PP. Notice that their combination produces something like an up-on-a-scale reading (as was the case with *skru lyden opp* 'turn the volume up' in Section 4.2.3), so the inchoativeness of *blåse opp* competes with the resultativeness of *opp til orkan*. In sum, (96a) is a weird, but not impossible structure.

The particle must be low (i.e., resultative) in order for (96a) to converge, and the non-resultative (96b) is evidently impossible, probably because *rett* combines with a high particle. If the two structures in (96) are combined (except for the Deg insertion), the LPrt structure is now arguably better:

(97) Det bles {+opp} ein vind {−opp} til orkan.
it blew {+up} a wind {−up} to hurricane'
'There blew up a wind to hurricane level'

The paradox for the dispreferred (or certainly weird) RPrt construction here is that the insertion of the resultative PP matches it perfectly, while the RPrt position is still dispreferred. I believe that it has to do with the strong inchoativeness connected to the combination *blåse opp*. Note also that the PP result refers to a state or a level, not a physical location, and maybe that is abstract enough for LPrt to be preferred. The inchoative reading is clear with a LPrt, while the up-on-a-scale reading is triggered by the more marginal RPrt distribution.

In sum, the meteorological constructions confirm what we have already seen with the unaccusatives in 4.5.1, and they even show more clearly that there is a semantic distinction between LPrt and RPrt constructions, and that the non-spatial LPrt constructions are not derived from a basic predicational RPrt order.

4.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have aimed to analyse the data put forward in Chapter 2. The three most important empirical observations upon which this chapter is based are a rejection of the hypothesis of optional particle distribution in Norwegian (98a), the notion that there is a semantic difference between constructions where the particle appears to to the left (LPrt) and to the right (RPrt) of the object (98b), and finally that the restrictions on the distribution is even stronger for non-spatial particles (98c).

(98) a. LPrt and RPrt are not distributed optionally in Norwegian; LPrt is generally (and by most *clearly*) preferred.
b. The meaning of a given LPrt construction is different from that of the corresponding RPrt construction.
c. Non-spatial VPrt constructions are even more LPrt-bound than spatial constructions.

In Section 4.1, I adopted a variant of Larsen's (2014) model, in which I have argued that (98) can be accounted for. Norwegian simplex constructions cleary show restrictions on RPrt distribution, and this has to be implemented in our analysis

somehow. I have argued that the non-spatial LPrt does not project, but merges with V^0 to form a complex head. The RPrt is almost without exception spatial; it projects and heads a SC in the complement position of the verb. Thus, (98c) inidates that non-spatial particles as a rule do not project; only spatial particles do. But spatial particles also appear more frequently in the LPrt position, which means that the RPrt can head move to or remerge in V^0. Thus, we have two kinds of LPrt constructions: one spatial and one non-spatial. I have treated these as structurally different, as in (99).

(99) a. **Spatial LPrt:**
Johan $[_{V'}\ [_{V}\ [_{V}$ kasta$][_{P}$ ut$]\ [_{SC}$ hunden <ut>$]]]$
John threw out dog-the
'John threw out the dog'

b. **Non-spatial LPrt:**
Johan $[_{V'}\ [_{V}\ [_{V}$ tenkte$][_{P}$ ut$]\ [_{DP}$ planen$]]]$
John thought out plan-the
'John figured out the plan'

The meteorological data in 4.5.2 have manifested clearly that there is a systematic difference between spatial and non-spatial constructions, i.e., that RPrt is banned in non-spatial constructions. There is also a theoretical option that both types can be given a representational construal, i.e., like in (99b). If so, then their different interpretations must be assigned to second and third factor principles: either the lexical semantics of the verb, the particle and the DP, or to general world knowledge (S-semantics). But I have argued that the difference is structural.

The fact that the RPrt position is associated with resultativeness is clear in complex constructions, where an overt resultative Ground seems to trigger the clearly preferred RPrt distribution. It is not 100% clear whether the Ground PP is part of the SC complement or an adjunct; I argued in 4.3.1 that the former is the case in spatial constructions, and that the few rare non-spatial cases with RPrt feature the overt Ground in an adjoined position.

In 4.3.2, I also included "phrasal" particles in the discussion, which are found in all of the Scandidavian languages except Danish. I concluded that the phrasal particle must be reanalysed as a head and functions as a particle, although the pronoun or the nominal reanalysed into the particle has a Ground interpretation.

(100) $[_{V}\ [_{V}$ sette$]\ [_{P}$ på han$]\ [_{SC}$ hatten <på han>$]]$
put on him hat-the
'put the hat on his head'

In the two latter sections of the chapter, I have discussed data that have not been shed much light on earlier, namely Ground promoting and unaccusative particle

constructions. The aim of the former of these sections was to explore whether Norwegian features real Ground promotion (GP) (cf. McIntyre 2007), or whether the Ground DP is reanalysed to a Figure in terms of Svenonius (2003b) and Blom (2005). I have argued that real GP is usually associated with transitive Ps (101a). Directional Ps like *ut* 'out', *inn* 'in(to), *opp* 'up' and *ned* 'down' are very rarely transitive, and therefore also very rarely used in GP; *ut* is the clearest exception. Examples like (101b) do not feature real GP; the particle can alternate, and the DP must be construed as a reanalysed Figure (although the *lexical* semantics of the DP indicates a Ground reading).

(101) a. tørke {av} bordet {*av}
wipe {off} table-the {*off}
'wipe off the table'
b. smørje {inn} ungane {inn}
cream$_V$ {in} kids-the {in}
'smear (sun cream) into the kids'

Impersonal unaccusatives can in principle have particle alternation, and then they behave much like the standard Figure retaining constructions – since only spatial Ps can naturally feature in the RPrt position. This means that the inchoative weather construction in (102b) cannot have the alternation as in (102a).

(102) a. Det gjekk {+på} ein mann {−på}.
it walked {+on} a man {−on}
'There entered a man'
b. Det bles {opp} ein storm {*opp}.
it blew {up} a storm {*up}
'There blew up a storm'

I have argued that the meteorological constructions cannot have particle projection the RPrt position with remerge in the LPrt position. Instead, these data are good evidence for Larsen's (2014) original idea of a non-projecting LPrt which merges with the V head and is construed as part of V^0.

On an overall level, I have problematised to what extent the semantics of the structure, the lexicon, and the general-conceptual semantics contribute to the final interpretation of an expression. The VPrt data show clearly how one level is modified by the two other, and that one level can also be contradicted by another.

CHAPTER 5

Summary and conclusions

The main goal of the present work has been to describe and analyse the verb-particle (VPrt) construction in spoken Norwegian. It is well known that in simplex spatial constructions, the Norwegian particle can appear to the left or the right of an associated DP; the alternation is shown in (1).

(1) Johan kasta {ut} hunden {ut}.

In Section 1.1.1, I address the two following questions, which have been at the forefront of the discussion in the linguistic literature on VPrt constructions over the years: *What is the basic word order? How are the two word orders derived?* I argue against a commonly held assumption of the previous linguistic literature, namely that the particle alternation in Norwegian is free. Instead, I have followed the tracks of the dialectologically oriented literature, which states that the particle is usually distributed to the left (as LPrt) in spoken Norwegian. The opposite, a particle distributed to the right (RPrt), is used as a marked alternative, to emphasise a resultative interpretation. Thus, an important observation is that LPrt and RPrt constructions are semantically distinct.

My theoretical foundation is generative and can be placed within the Principles & Parameters tradition (cf. Chomsky 1981, 1993, 1995, and see Sections 1.2–1.3). However, contrary to the standard Government & Binding and Minimalist theories, I defend an exoskeletal grammar model and reject the common assumption that the lexical verb is the basic building block of the structure-building component. Instead, I argue that the structure is generated independently from the lexicon (cf. Borer 2005, Åfarli 2007, Lohndal 2014, Nygård 2018). Furthermore, the structure is the primary carrier of meaning; the structural semantics (2i) is modified by the semantics of the lexical elements (2ii), and by general world knowledge (2iii). These three factors lay the foundation for the full interpretation of the structure.

(2) The full interpretation of a structure depends on the three following factors in the given ranked order:
   i. The semantics of the structure
   ii. The semantics of the lexical elements
   iii. The general non-linguistic situational semantics (e.g., world knowledge)

In the analysis of Norwegian VPrt constructions, I aim to explore the interplay between these three levels. I discuss cases where there is harmony between them, and cases where there is more friction.

The factors in (2) are related to the domains in (3), concerning structural variation. I have discussed two separate principled ways of analysing structural variation:

(3) **Structural variation** is regulated
  a. on the phrase structure level, and
  b. by different operations applying to the same phrase structure.

In Chapter 4, one major concern regards whether the particle alternation in (1) is the outcome of operations/derivations (e.g., particle movement), cf. (3b), or whether the alternation in fact manifests different structures, cf. (3a). I have argued that at least non-spatial constructions (see below) cannot be derivational.

I have taken much of the data from the *Nordic Dialect Corpus* (Johannessen et al. 2009) (see Sections 1.4.1.2 and 2.1.2), but also from other dialectological sources, e.g., *Norsk Ordbok* (see 1.4.2) and earlier empirical accounts, such as Aasen (1848, 1864) and Sandøy (1976).

In Chapter 2, I map the central empirical phenomena to be analysed. Here, the LPrt preference is confirmed, and the observed semantic distinction between LPrt and RPrt constructions is examined. The most basic data that I introduce are simplex spatial (4) and non-spatial (5) constructions, and complex constructions (6) (the latter with a resultative PP) (I will comment on additional data further below).

(4) Johan kasta ut hunden.
  John threw out dog-the
  'John threw out the dog'

(5) Johan las ut boka.
  John read out book-the
  'John finished the book'

(6) Johan kasta ut hunden i gangen.
  John threw out dog-the in hall-the
  'John threw the dog out in the hall'

In Chapter 3, I discuss some major theoretical issues in the particle literature, namely the basic word order and alternation problem (3.1), and the status of the particle (as predicational or not) (3.2). I relate the discussion to some previous theoretical accounts that in one way or another include Norwegian VPrt constructions in their discussions. These accounts include Taraldsen (1983), Åfarli (1985), den Dikken (1995), Svenonius (1996a), Zeller (2001), Ramchand & Svenonius

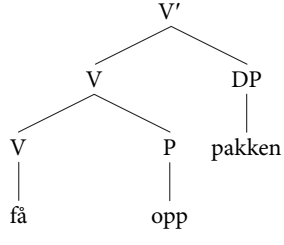
(2002), and Ramchand (2008). I use the data from Chapter 2 actively in Chapter 3, and I conclude that neither of the earlier theoretical accounts explains the Norwegian particle alternation satisfactorily.

In Chapter 4, my starting point is that we need elements from both predicational/small clause accounts and complex prediacate accounts in order to account for the Norwegian empirical reality. Thus, I adopt central principles from Larsen's (2014) model, where RPrt heads a SC, and where LPrt does not project, but merges with V^0 to form a complex verb. I suggest an intermediate option for *spatial* particles, which project in the SC and remerge in V^0. The model explains particle topicalisation possibilities, Deg modification and V2 (where the particle is left *in situ*).

In Section 4.2 onwards, I discuss how the interplay between structural (2i), lexical (2ii) and non-linguistic (2iii) meaning best be integrated in an analysis of Norwegian VPrt constructions. I argue that (2i) is the basic semantic determinant, which (2ii) and (2iii) in turn modify and enrich. The lexical and non-linguistic modification of the structural semantics actually turn out to be quite crucial.

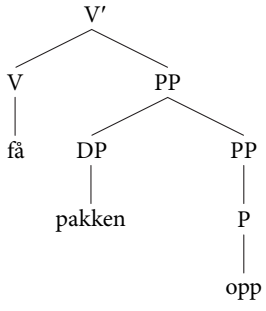
Since most non-spatial LPrt constructions do not have a RPrt counterpart, I advocate a representational model for these, where the particle is directly inserted in V^0 (7a). The RPrt structure is predicational; RPrt projects and heads a SC (7b). Since spatial LPrt constructions relate to a RPrt counterpart more clearly, they are most likely derivational; the particle head moves from the SC to V^0 (7c). (7c) is not a possible structure for the non-spatial variant. However, one cannot exclude the possibility that (7a) is the representation for all LPrt constructions, and that the spatial/non-spatial is a matter of semantic interpretation, i.e. (2ii) and (2iii), and not a structural distinction (2i). I have still followed the distinctions sketched in (7).

(7) a. Non-spatial LPrt structure (Prt does not project)



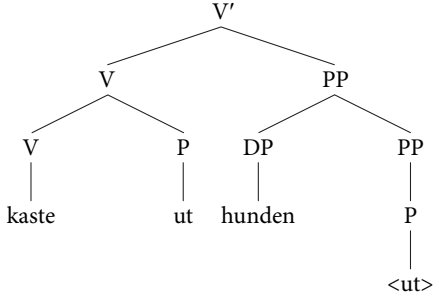
get up packet-the
'open the packet'

b. RPrt structure (Prt projects)



get packet-the up
'bring up the packet'

c. Spatial LPrt derivation (derivational construal)



throw out dog-the <out>
'throw the dog out'

For a more detailed sum-up of complex constructions (with a resultative PP), phrasal particles (*ta på seg hatten* take on REFL hat-the 'put the hat on the head'), Ground promotion (*dekke på bordet* cover on table-the 'lay the table') and unaccusatives (*storme opp* 'storm up', *tjukne på* 'thicken on'), I urge the reader to consult the conclusion of Chapter 4 above (Section 4.6). Here, I will conclude with some general remarks.

Consider this much used example again.

(8) kaste ut hunden
throw out dog-the
'throw out the dog'

Arguably, the RPrt counterpart *kaste hunden ut* 'throw the dog out' is more unambiguously directional than (8). (8) will in most cases have a directional reading too, but note that the more general interpretation 'get rid of' is also available. The

combination *kaste ut* 'throw out' is very often used metaphorically,[1] and although the combination *kaste ut hunden* will naturally imply a 'from inside to outside' reading, this is not a necessary condition. Note that *kaste* in itself will most likely have a metaphorical reading (dogs are not literally thrown other than in cartoons), but the reason why the directional reading of (8) is easily accepted can be argued to be S-semantic: We have a clear picture of dogs on a leash in the garden. That is a common concept about which we have general world knowledge. Similarly, *kaste ut mannen* 'throw out the man' can quite easily get the reading to get rid of the husband, i.e., to get divorced.

I have argued that non-spatial LPrt constructions cannot be derived from the RPrt counterpart; that is only possible in the case of spatial LPrt constructions. The alternative, *representational* analysis mentioned above suggests that spatial and non-spatial LPrt constructions are structurally identical and differ only on the S-semantic level. If we take the latter approach, some of the differences that are assumed to be structural in my approach in Chapter 4 are relegated to the general-conceptual domain.

It is important to notice that, given the latter approach, a big part of the semantic explanation will be resting on the S-semantic domain. And then a satisfactory analysis of the linguistic expressions demands a much more elaborate analysis of conceptual structure than I have been able to do in the present work. Thus, a careful and detailed empirical study is necessary, in order to form the basis of the rich conceptual structures.

There are several empirical challenges concerning VPrt constructions within the North-Germanic languages, e.g., the alternation problem, but in many cases the fundamental questions boil down to the following two (cf. Jackendoff 2002: 88):

(9) What is the relation between V and Prt?

(10) What is the relation between Prt and the DP?

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1. The Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation (http://www.nrk.no) had the following headline on February 23, 2014:

(i) Østerrikes skipresident vurderer å kaste ut langrenn fra
Austria's ski president considers to throw out cross country skiing from
forbundet
federation-the
'The Austrian ski president is considering to throw out cross country skiing from the federation'

In this complex LPrt construction, *kaste ut* 'throw out' is clearly non-directional and means 'to get rid of'.

As discussed in the introduction of Chapter 3, the theoretical approaches to VPrt constructions can roughly be divided into two groups, whether they primarily deal with question (9) or (10) (cf. Ramchand & Svenonius 2002). I have placed myself somewhere between the two groups, and by taking the principles in (2) into account, I have examined the structural vs. general-conceptual relation between V, Prt and the DP – and thus aimed to answer both questions satisfactorily.

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Index

This book aims to explain the syntax and semantics of Norwegian verb particles. While particles have been claimed to be distributed optionally to the left (as LPrt) or right (as RPrt) of an associated DP in the linguistic literature, the dialectologically oriented literature has shown for a long time that many Norwegian particles are preferred as LPrt (corresponding to English 'throw out the dog'). While spatial particles can appear in both positions, non-spatial particles primarily appear as LPrt. A complex predicate analysis is adopted for non-spatial particles, and a small clause analysis for spatial particles. It is argued that a non-spatial LPrt construction triggers an atelic reading, and the RPrt counterpart identifies a result state.

The book combines traditional dialectology with modern linguistic theories and includes much Norwegian data that has not been shed theoretical light on before: simplex and complex spatial and non-spatial constructions, phrasal particles, ground promotion, and unaccusatives. Several earlier theoretical accounts of Norwegian particles are reviewed in a separate chapter.

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