

Swedish Place Expressions

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1. Introduction

Certain place expressions which have been called *particles* can appear between the verb and the object in Swedish. The principles that govern the appearance of particles before the object have been argued to be purely syntactic (see Den Dikken 1995 and references cited therein). In this paper, I will argue that a syntactic account is not sufficient if we want to explain the Swedish data; instead, the appearance of particles is subject to semantic conditioning.

2. Swedish place expressions

Swedish has a number of one-word place expressions, which differ in form depending on whether they denote a location or a direction.¹

- (1) (a) *Elin sitter här.*
E. sits here.LOC
'Elin sits here.'
- (b) *Elin sprang hit.*
E. ran here.DIR('hither')
'Elin ran here.'
- (c) *Elin leker hemma.*
E. plays home.LOC
'Elin plays at home.'
- (d) *Elin kommer hem.*
E. comes home.DIR
'Elin comes home.'

¹Throughout this paper I present data which I claim is representative of 'Swedish'. This is of course an idealization, since there are many different dialects of Swedish. The data reflect my own dialect, but I have checked the sentences with five native speakers and they agree with my judgements.

- (e) *Elin är uppe.*
 E. is up.LOC
 ‘Elin is up(stairs).’
- (f) *Elin går upp.*
 E. goes up.DIR
 ‘Elin goes up.’

Note the differences in form between *här* ‘here.LOC’ (1a) and *hit* ‘here.DIR’ (1b); *hemma* ‘home.LOC’ (1c) and *hem* ‘home.DIR’ (1d); *uppe* ‘up.LOC’ (1e) and *upp* ‘up.DIR’ (1f). Throughout this paper I will assume that verbs lexically select for the kind of place expression they take (locational or directional). It may be possible to state a general rule which says: ‘all and only verbs with property X/Y can take locational/directional place expressions,’ but I will leave this an open question for now and assume lexical selection.

Place expressions in transitive sentences can sometimes appear before the object.

- (2) (a) *Maria slänger (dit) bollen (dit).*
 M. throws (there.DIR) ball.the (there.DIR)
 ‘Maria throws the ball there.’
- (b) *Maria skjutsar (hem) henne (hem).*
 M. drives (home.DIR) her (home.DIR)
 ‘Maria drives her home.’

Compare the sentences in (2) to the examples in (3).

- (3) (a) *Elin förvarar (*där) kakorna där.*
 E. keeps (*there.LOC) cookies.the there.LOC
 ‘Elin keeps the cookies there.’
- (b) *Elin lämnar (*hemma) barnet hemma.*
 E. leaves (*home.LOC) child.the home.LOC
 ‘Elin leaves the child at home.’

The place expressions in (3) must follow the object, whereas those in (2) can either precede or follow the object. I will call place expressions which precede the object *particles* and the position in which they appear *the particle position*.

*Complex particle constructions*² follow the pattern of (2-3) with respect to possible word orders.

²I use the term *complex particle construction* following Den Dikken (1995). His English examples include *they put the books down on the shelf* and *they sent a schedule out to the stockholders*.

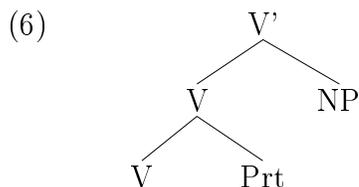
- (4) (a) *Maria leder (in) pojken (in) i huset.*
 M. leads (in.DIR) boy.the (in.DIR) in house.the
 ‘Maria leads the boy into the house.’
- (b) *Maria slängde (ut) boken (ut) genom fönstret.*
 M. threw (out.DIR) book.the (out.DIR) through window.the
 ‘Maria threw the book out through the window.’
- (c) *Maria lämnar (*inne) pengarna (inne) i huset.*
 M. leaves (*in(side).LOC) money.the (in(side).LOC) in house.the
 ‘Maria leaves the money in the house.’

In the data we have seen thus far, no *locational* place expressions have appeared in the position before the object, but it appears as though the *directionals* can optionally precede the object. I will argue in this paper that this apparent syntactic optionality is governed by semantic considerations and thus is not optionality at all. Before entering into this discussion, I will sketch what I take to be the phrase structure position of particles.

The examples in (5) illustrate that the particle position is within the VP.

- (5) (a) *Martin sparkar verkligen inte [VP upp bollen].*
 Martin kicks really not [VP up.DIR ball.the].
 ‘Martin really doesn’t kick the ball up.’
- (b) *Martin vill verkligen inte [VP sparka upp bollen].*
 M. wants really not [VP kick up.DIR ball.the]
 ‘Martin really doesn’t want to kick the ball up.’

In (5a), the verb is not within the VP. Swedish is a verb second language and finite verbs appear in a functional projection above the VP in main clauses (Holmberg 1986). Negation elements (like *inte*) directly precede the left edge of the VP, and we see that the particle appears after the negation. In (5b), the non-finite verb is in V, and the particle follows it. I take the particle to be in a position head-adjoined to V, as in (6).



For sentences like (5a) above, I assume excorporation of the verb (see Josefsson (1992) for a discussion of excorporation in Swedish).

The structure in (6) with head-adjunction accords well with the fact that modified place expressions cannot precede the object:

- (7) (a) *Elin slängde bollen [ända hit].*
 E. threw ball.the [all.the.way here.DIR]
 ‘Elin threw the ball all the way here.’
- (b) **Elin slängde [ända hit] bollen.*
 E. threw [all.the.way here.DIR] ball.the

If we assume the structure in (6) with head-adjunction, it follows that full phrases cannot precede the object, since full phrases cannot head-adjoin.

3. Condition P

The data we saw in the previous section suggest that while the locational place expressions obligatorily appear after the object, the directional place expressions can appear either before or after the object. That is, we seem to have a case of true optionality as to the positioning of the directionals. I will argue in this section both that there is no true optionality, and that it is not the case that only the directionals are relevant. Instead, the distribution of the place expressions is governed by a semantic condition, which I call Condition P.

- (8) Condition P:

The particle position can be filled only when the place expression denotes the *end state* of the entity denoted by the object, and when this end state is the *direct result* of the activity denoted by the verb.

Åfarli (1985) has suggested a similar condition for Norwegian, but he only discusses the notion of a caused result, and not the end state, which is significant for Swedish (see especially example (11) below). This section presents four arguments for Condition P. First, directionals can only precede the object when Condition P holds (Section 3.1). Second, the particle position can be filled even with a verb which selects for a locational place expression, if Condition P holds (Section 3.2). Third, Swedish has a productive resultative construction with the particle position filled (Section 3.3). Fourth, there is often a clear difference in meaning depending on the positioning of the place expression (Section 3.4).

3.1 Directionals

We saw in Section 1 that the particle position can be filled when the main verb selects for a directional place expression, as in (9).

- (9) *Maria körde (ner) bilen (ner) till stranden.*
 M. drove (down.DIR) car.the (down.DIR) to beach.the
 ‘Maria drove the car down to the beach.’

Example (9) allows the place adverbial *ner* to appear either before or after the object. In this example, a directional reading is possible, but a resultative reading is also possible: the end state of the car is that it is on the beach, and this is a direct result of the driving activity.

If the sentence is such that the spatial location of the object is not a direct result of the activity denoted by the verb, the place expression cannot precede the object, even if it is a directional:

- (10) (a) *James Bond förföljde mannen ner till stranden.*
 J. B. followed man.the down.DIR to beach.the.
 ‘James Bond followed the man down to the beach.’
 (b) **James Bond förföljde ner mannen till stranden.*
 J. B. followed down.DIR man.the to beach.the

The end state of ‘the man’ in (10) may be that he is down at the beach, but this is not a direct result of the ‘following activity’; i.e., he would have been there even if Bond had not followed him. Condition P does not hold for example (10) and the particle position cannot be filled.

Example (11a) below clearly shows that a generalization which only refers to directionality is not sufficient.

- (11) (a) **Hon kastade neråt bollen.*
 She threw downwards ball.the
 (b) *Hon kastade bollen neråt.*
 She threw ball.the downwards
 ‘She threw the ball downwards.’

The word *neråt* cannot refer to an end state; it inherently denotes directionality only. It can thus never satisfy Condition P, and thus it cannot occupy the particle position.

3.2 Locationals

Some verbs select for *locational* place expressions, although those expressions denote the end state as a direct result of the verb. These verbs can have a filled particle position.

- (12) (a) *Matts lägger boken här.*
 M. puts book.the here.LOC
 ‘Matts puts the book here.’
- (b) *Matts lägger hit boken.*
 M. puts here.DIR book.the
 ‘Matts puts the book here.’
- (13) (a) *Göran hänger tavlan uppe på väggen.*
 G. hangs painting.the up.LOC on wall.the
 ‘Göran hangs the painting up on the wall.’
- (b) *Göran hänger upp tavlan på väggen.*
 G. hangs up.DIR painting.the on wall.the
 ‘Göran hangs the painting up on the wall.’

The verbs above select for locational place expressions in (12a, 13a),³ but Condition P clearly holds: the direct result of the ‘hanging activity’ in (13) is that the painting is up on the wall. As predicted by Condition P, it is possible for these verbs to have a filled particle position, even though they select for locational place expressions.

Note that the place expressions in the particle position in the examples we have seen thus far are identical in form to directional place expressions. I propose that they are actually resultative particles that are homophonous with directional words. This assumption is not crucial, but one reason why I propose it here is that there are, in fact, particles which are inherently resultative and cannot be used to denote pure directionality. These cannot appear after the object, as predicted:

- (14) (a) *Jag slog ihjäl katten.*
 I beat to.death cat.the
 ‘I beat the cat to death.’

³Some dialects spoken on the Finnish mainland do not use locational place expressions with verbs of placement like *lägga*. Instead of (12a), they say *Matts lägger boken dit*. Those dialects are set aside here.

- (b) **Jag slog katten ihjäl.*
 I beat cat.the to.death

Condition P always holds when *ihjäl* is used, and *ihjäl* always appears in the particle position. This fact further suggests that not only *can* the particle position be filled when Condition P holds, it *must* be filled, provided that the clause contains an appropriate element (cf. (6)).⁴

3.3 Resultative constructions

In Swedish, it is possible to create sentences of the form *Subject - V - particle - object*, even with verbs that are not normally ditransitive, but transitive (15) or even intransitive (16). This construction forces the following interpretation: *subject did X and the end result of X is that the object is Y*. This is exemplified in (15-16).

- (15) *Ulla charmade hem Per.*
 U. charmed home.DIR P.
 ‘Ulla charmed Per home.’

- (16) *Han pratade hit mig.*
 he talked here.DIR me
 ‘He talked me here’; ‘He talked, and his talking made me come here.’

Sentence (15) indicates that Per’s coming home is a direct result of Ulla’s charming him. Note that (15-16) are not fixed expressions, but are freely coined. It is not possible to create such examples with the particle following the object.

- (17) **Ulla charmade Per hem/hemma.*
 U. charmed P. home.DIR/home.LOC
- (18) **Han pratade mig hit/här.*
 he talked me here.DIR/here.LOC

Sentence (17) can never have a resultative reading, but is acceptable on the reading *Ulla charmed Per while at home* if the locational *hemma* is used. That is of course not the reading we are interested in here. Sentence (18) is ungrammatical on any reading, since *prata* is an intransitive verb.

⁴All elements in particle position should therefore more appropriately be glossed RES for resultative, rather than DIR. For simplicity, I will continue to gloss them as DIR.

The fact that it is possible to create these expressions, and that an element in the particle position forces a resultative reading supports Condition P.

3.4 Meaning differences

In examples like (9), repeated here as (19), it is hard to detect a clear meaning difference (resultative vs. directional) depending on the position of the particle.

- (19) *Maria körde (ner) bilen (ner) till stranden.*
 M. drove (down.DIR) car.the (down.DIR) to beach.the
 ‘Maria drove the car down to the beach.’

Even though it is difficult to tease the two meanings apart in (19), there are clearer examples.⁵

- (20) (a) *Maria följde hem honom.*
 M. followed home.DIR him
 ‘Maria followed him home.’ (made sure he got home all right)
- (b) *Maria följde honom hem.*
 M. followed him home.DIR
 ‘Maria followed him home.’ (accompanied him home)
- (21) (a) *Maria visade ut pojken.*
 M. showed out.DIR boy.the
 ‘Maria showed the boy out.’ (made him leave, told him to leave)
- (b) *Maria visade pojken ut.*
 M. showed boy.the out.DIR
 ‘Maria showed the boy out.’ (in a friendly way)
- (22) (a) *Hon körde ut honom.*
 she drove out.DIR him
 ‘She kicked him out.’
- (b) *Hon körde honom ut på landet.*
 she drove him out.DIR on countryside.the
 ‘She drove him out to the countryside.’

⁵Note that *följa* in (20) is different from *förfölja* (10). *Förfölja* necessarily means ‘follow behind, pursue’, whereas *följa* can mean ‘accompany’.

There is a clear difference in meaning between the (a) and (b) sentences in (20-22). The (a) sentences all have a resultative meaning where the particle denotes the end state which is a direct result of the activity denoted by the verb, whereas the place expressions in the (b) sentences are purely directional. For example, (21a) means that Maria forced the boy to leave the house or the room. On the other hand, (21b) implies only that Maria showed the boy how to find the exit, but the boy did not necessarily leave right away and if he did, it was by his own choice. These data lend further support to the proposal that the particle position is connected with a resultative interpretation, and is not just a surface transformational reordering.⁶

4. English

This section will investigate whether Condition P holds for English in the way it does for Swedish. Den Dikken (1995) develops a thorough account of particles in English (and Dutch). He discusses data similar to the Swedish data considered here. Den Dikken (1995, 55-56):

- (23) (a) *They made John out a liar.*
 (b) **?They made out John a liar.*
- (24) (a) *They painted the barn up red.*
 (b) **?They painted up the barn red.*
- (25) (a) *They made John out to be a liar.*
 (b) *(?)They made out John to be a liar.*
- (26) (a) *They put the books down on the shelf.*
 (b) *They put down the books on the shelf.*
- (27) (a) *They sent a schedule out to the stockholders.*
 (b) *They sent out a schedule to the stockholders.*

Den Dikken's analysis differs from the one proposed in this paper in that it is a purely syntactic one. In his analysis, the structure of (23a) is (28).

- (28) [_{IP} They [_{VP} made [_{SC1} [_{Spec θ} John_i][_{PP} out [_{SC2} t_i a liar]]]]]

⁶For more examples like (20)-(22), see Teleman et al. (in press).

Den Dikken argues that *John* must move out of the *lower clause* to receive Case. However, if the lower small clause is a PP, then it is not a barrier to Case marking, so *John* can stay. The lower small clause is not a barrier if its predicate is categorially non-distinct from the head of the first small clause, and so the lower PP is a *segment* of the entire PP, the first small clause (Den Dikken 1995, 57-58). Den Dikken analyzes infinitival *to* as a preposition; that is why (25b) is acceptable or marginal.

Den Dikken's purely syntactic analysis correctly accounts for (23-27), but fails to explain why (29b) and (30b) are not grammatical.

- (29) (a) *Zorro followed the man down to the beach.*
 (b) **Zorro followed down the man to the beach.*
- (30) (a) *Zorro walked the man down to the beach.*
 (b) **Zorro walked down the man to the beach.*

In (29-30) the head of each small clause is a preposition, so there should be no barrier to case marking on Den Dikken's account. Thus the fact that (29b) and (30b) are ungrammatical cannot be explained under his analysis.

Considering only examples (23-30), it might seem like Condition P is relevant for English in the same way it is for Swedish. This is not, however, correct, as illustrated by (31).

- (31) (a) *The sailors pulled in the sails.*
 (b) *The sailors pulled the sails in.*

English speakers tend to get only the directionality interpretation for (31a) and both the directionality reading and the end state reading for (31b). If Condition P (as stated) did hold for English as well as Swedish, we would expect the opposite. We can conclude that the distribution of particles does not seem to be governed by Condition P in English.

5. Movement?

Let us now return to Swedish, where we can see clear effects of Condition P. Condition P refers to the semantic interpretation of the particle and also to the particle's position in the clause: this is a clear syntax-semantics interface phenomenon. How do we formalize this? A movement analysis comes to mind. There are two logical possibilities (assuming leftward movement only): either the particle is base

generated to the right of the object and moves when Condition P holds (NP Prt \rightarrow Prt NP), or the object NP is base generated to the right of the particle and moves when Condition P does not hold (Prt NP \rightarrow NP Prt). There are problems with both approaches. An analysis where the particle moves seems easier to motivate than an analysis where the NP moves: an analysis in the spirit of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995) could posit a feature in the particle position which a resultative particle must check. It is more difficult to motivate movement of the NP (as in Den Dikken’s analysis of English) to get a resultative reading, since it is the meaning of the *particle* that is affected, not the meaning of the *object*. Consider (32).

- (32) (a) *Maria följde hem pojken.*
 M. followed home boy.the
 ‘Maria followed the boy home.’
- (b) *Maria följde pojken hem.*
 M. followed boy.the home
 ‘Maria followed the boy home.’

As discussed earlier, (32a) implies that the boy definitely reached the home, as a direct result of Maria’s action; she made sure he got home. The sentence in (32b) has a different reading; it means that Maria kept the boy company as he was walking home. Examples like (32) make it difficult to motivate an analysis where the NP moves, since the meaning of the *object* does not change depending on the word order.

Again, an analysis where the particle moves seems more plausible than one where the NP object moves. In a Minimalist account, we could propose that the particle must check a feature, call it a *resultative feature* in resultative clauses. This feature would check against a phonologically null CAUSE morpheme, which adjoins to the verb. In Swedish, the relevant features are strong, so the movement would necessarily be overt. This seems to work fairly well for Swedish. However, the English data present a problem. If the positioning of the particle depends on a resultative feature that checks against a cause morpheme, we have a problem with sentences like (31), repeated here as (33).

- (33) (a) *The sailors pulled in the sails.*
 (b) *The sailors pulled the sails in.*

Speakers of English⁷ get a resultative end state reading in (33b), but not in (33a). This is a real problem for the analysis we are considering here. The fact that (33b)

⁷This concerns English speakers that I have consulted. Dialect differences may exist.

gives two readings, the directional and the resultative end state reading, can be accounted for if we assume that the resultative feature is weak in English and checks covertly. However, if the reason why the particle moves is to check a resultative feature, and this feature is weak, (33a) should not be grammatical. However, (33) *is* grammatical, and it does not imply the resultative end state reading.

Finally, the fact that the place expression sometimes differs in form (see (34)) depending on its position is problematic for any kind of movement analysis.

- (34) (a) *Matts lägger boken här.*
 M. lays book.the here.LOC
 ‘Matts puts the book here.’
- (b) *Matts lägger hit boken.*
 M. lays here.DIR book.the
 ‘Matts puts the book here.’

It is difficult to imagine a reason why the phonological form of the place expression (*hit/här*) should change when the object NP moves. If we still wanted to maintain an NP movement analysis, we would have to stipulate a special mechanism to change the form of the particle in examples like (34). These examples pose a problem for a particle movement analysis as well. If (34b) is derived from (34a) by movement of the particle, we must explain why the particle does not have the same phonological form in the two sentences. Again, we would have to stipulate some extra mechanism to account for this.

6. Conclusion

In this paper, I have argued that a complete account of the positioning of Swedish place expressions must make reference to semantics, and not just syntax. I have proposed the following condition:

Condition P:

The particle position can be filled only when the place expression denotes the *end state* of the entity denoted by the object, and when this end state is the *direct result* of the activity denoted by the verb.

If this account is correct, we do not need to make reference to a vague concept like *syntactic optionality* when we attempt to model the grammars of speakers of

Swedish. The distribution of particles is not optional, it is governed by Condition P.

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