

Med as a “juxtaposer” – with complex predicative complements in PPs and particle constructions

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Jespersen (1924) introduced non-verbal clauses using the term *nexus*, and he noted that they were quite frequently complements of *with*, and Danish *med* (p. 123f):

- (1) I sat at work in the schoolroom *with the window open*.
- (2) *med hænderne tomme* ‘with the hands empty’

60 years later, these were analysed in GB approaches as small clauses, e.g. in Beukema & Hoekstra (1984). And 20 years after that, I added a similar construction to the group of SCs introduced by *med*, namely a variant with relativization (Aa 2004, 2006):

- (3) Johan fekk ei kake *med lys på R* ‘John got a cake *with candles on R/it*’

This analysis was also inspired by Bech (1998), who showed that a combination of (1–3) is possible in *tough movement* constructions:

- (4) Det er fint *med lys på kaka* ‘It is nice with candles on the cake’
- (5) Kaka er fin *med lys på R* ‘The cake is nice *with candles on R/it*’

Med seems to be unique (alongside with *utan* ‘without’) in the sense that it can introduce these SCs, which is impossible for e.g. *på* (‘on’) and *av* (‘of’).

- (6) a. ei samling **med** tusenvis av ulike plater (i)
‘a collection with thousands of different records (in)’
b. ei samling **på** tusenvis av ulike plater (*i)
c. ei samling **av** tusenvis av ulike plater (*i)

Interestingly, *med* has the ability to introduce quite complex particle constructions as well:

- (7) a. Ta med boka ned → b. Ta boka med ned → c. Ta med ned boka ‘bring *with* the book down’
- (8) a. Trill med sykkelen hit → b. Trill sykkelen med hit → c. Trill med hit sykkelen ‘roll *with* the bike over here’
- (9) a. Få med katten inn → b. Få katten med inn → c. Få med inn katten ‘get *with* the cat in’

Again, other particles, whether they are traditional transitive Ps or directionals, and whether they combine with one or the other, cannot do this:

- (10) a. Ta [PRT **med**] [PP opp / ned / inn / ut / bak / fram / rundt / over / *på / *til / *i] boka. ‘take with ... the book’
b. Ta [PRT **på**] [PP *opp / *ned / *inn / *ut / ??bak / *fram / ??framme / *rundt / *over / *på / *til / *i] hatten. ‘put on ... the hat’
c. Få [PRT **i**] [PP *opp / *ned / *inn / *ut / ??bak / *fram / ??framme / *rundt / *over / *på / *til / *i] veden. ‘put in ... the wood’
d. Dra [PRT **rundt**] [PP *opp / *ned / *inn / *ut / *bak / *fram / *framme / *rundt / *over / *på / *til / *i] snora. ‘pull around ... the string’
e. Kast [PRT **ut**] [PP *opp / *ned / *inn / *ut / ??bak / *fram / ??framme / *rundt / *over / *på / *til / *i] hunden. ‘throw out ... the dog’

Now, Jespersen (1924, 1940) claimed *med* to have a very vague meaning when introducing a nexus, and illustrated with examples where the nexus seemed to negate the preposition. I followed up this in Aa (2004, 2006) and analysed *med* in (3) as a prepositional complementizer. In this talk, I will rather suggest that the syntactic properties exhibited by *med* in the examples above can be explained in terms of its basic semantics, namely *juxtaposing* of two elements. Anderson (2010: 48) claims that

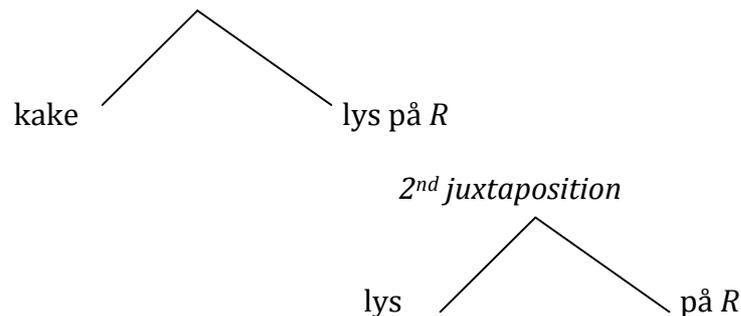
juxtaposition is a basic semantic ingredient in all *med* constructions, and we can refer to this as the basic *Grammar Semantics* of *med* (the semantics that is linguistically relevant), in the sense of e.g. Bouchard (1995). Normally, the complement of *med* is juxtaposed with something ahead of the preposition, e.g. the subject or the verbal action, cf. the following instrumental and locative constructions:

(11) Han slo med ein hammar 'he hit with a hammer'

(12) Han stod med døra 'he stood with (by) the door'

My suggestion is then that *med* can not only juxtapose e.g. a subject with *med*'s complement, but also license a second juxtaposition, namely that of the subject and the predicate within *med*'s own complement:

(13) *med* → 1st juxtaposition



Eventually, I will see how this can also explain the converging complex particle constructions in (7–9) and (10a).

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