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Word order in argument structure constructions

Ta med sig väskan or *ta väskan med sig* in Swedish

Shiro Shibata

Doctoral Thesis in Scandinavian Languages at Stockholm University, Sweden 2026

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Abstract

This dissertation investigates the relationship between pairs of constructions in Swedish involving a reflexive preposition phrase such as *med sig* 'with oneself'. Expressions such as *ta med sig väskan* 'bring along the bag' can occasionally be rearranged without a change in meaning, as in *ta väskan med sig*, though this word order alternation is not entirely free. While the existing literature has often noted the peculiarity of the former variant, its paraphrasability with the latter variant has been largely unexplored. Drawing on the usage-based constructionist approach, which sees a construction, or a form–meaning pairing, as a basic unit of grammar, the study aims to identify the range of usages of the two variants – the verb-particle construction (VPC) and the post-objective construction (POC) – and to shed light on their relation within linguistic convention.

The study focuses on cases in which the VPC and the POC appear with a lexical object and contain one of four frequent prepositions: *av* 'off', *i* 'in', *med* 'with', and *på* 'on'. The empirical data consist of two types. Blog corpus data from 2016 were used to identify the range of usages of the VPC and the POC in naturally occurring data. Acceptability judgement data were collected through a formal experiment conducted online to examine the conventionality of the overlaps observed in the corpus.

The analysis of the corpus data shows that, although recurrent overlaps are found in two pairs of subconstructions, the VPC and the POC generally differ remarkably in lexical variability and semantic features. The VPC is lexically variable and prototypically resultative, whereas the POC is lexically highly constrained and prototypically stative. Moreover, the semantically equivalent, overlapping subconstructions are not pragmatically equivalent. Specifically, the POC with the stative verb *ha* 'have' co-occurs significantly more often with a shorter object. Furthermore, the POC with dynamic verbs is infrequent and significantly less acceptable than the VPC. These quantitative differences indicate that the POC variant is more constrained in usage than the VPC variant, making the variants pragmatically non-equivalent.

While the findings indicate that the VPC and the POC are two distinct argument structure constructions with specific word orders, the existence of recurrent overlaps between them suggests that the VPC and the POC may be related and could be abstracted into an argument structure construction without word order specification, or a constructeme, at some highly specific levels.

Overall, the study makes both empirical and theoretical contributions. Empirically, the study delivers a description of the VPC and the POC that specifies the conditions under which the VPC and the POC are chosen. The results are particularly interesting in light of earlier research on Swedish particles, which suggested that Swedish particles are limited to the VPC order and to a resultative meaning. Under the assumption that sequences such as *med sig* comprise complex particles, the present study provides a nuanced syntactic and semantic characterisation of these types of particles. Theoretically, the study presents a case study of the horizontal relations between formally distinct, yet similar, constructions within constructional networks, offering a means of relating argument structure constructions to other linguistic levels, such as individual lexical items and more general word order patterns.

Keywords: *particle alternation, alternation, word order, verbal particle, constructionist approach, construction grammar, usage-based, argument structure construction, allostruction, corpus, acceptability, Swedish.*

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Department of Swedish Language and Multilingualism

Stockholm University, 106 91 Stockholm

Stockholm University

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In memory of
Tohno-*sensei*

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Stockholm, April 2026
Shiro Shibata

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Abbreviations

Grammatical glosses

ART	article	PL	plural
AUX	auxiliary	POS	positional
DEF	definite	POSS	possessive
DET	determiner	PPART	past participle
DIR	directional	REFL	reflexive
INDF	indefinite	SG	singular

Acronyms

ADJ	adjective
N	noun
NP	noun phrase
P	preposition
POC	Post-Objective Construction
PP	preposition phrase, or a sequence resembling one
REFL-PP	reflexive preposition phrase or a sequence resembling one
V	lexical verb
VP	verb phrase
VPC	Verb-Particle Construction

1 Introduction

This dissertation investigates the interrelation between two similar constructions that are apparent word order variations. I will start by introducing the variant of such constructions that is typically used to express everyday events such as putting on clothes, taking them off, or bringing items. Examples in (1.1–1.3) illustrate the typical usage of such constructions in Swedish.[1] By 'Swedish', I refer to the modern standard written variety of Swedish used in Sweden, unless I specifically indicate otherwise.

(1.1) Eleonora *tog* ***på sig*** *ytterkläder* [...]
E. took on$_{P}$ REFL outer-clothes
'Eleonora put on her outerwear'
(Teleman et al. 1999, vol. 3, p. 434, modified)

(1.2) Pojken *tog* ***av sig*** *skjortan*
boy-DEF took off$_{P}$ REFL shirt-DEF
'The boy took off his shirt' (Tohno & Lu 2003, p. 137, adapted)

(1.3) Hon *tog* ***med sig*** *en kopp te* upp på rummet
she took with$_{P}$ REFL a cup tea up on room-DEF
'She took a cup of tea (up to the room) with her'
(Viberg 2010, paragraph 29, adapted)

These sentences share a basic composition: the lexical verb *tog* 'took' (or *ta* 'take' in dictionary form) is followed by a prepositional word (or P), a reflexive pronoun *sig* (or REFL), and an object nominal; the sequence P–REFL, resembling an ordinary preposition phrase (PP), seems to predicate over the object nominal. For example, in (1.1), the sequence *på sig* 'on oneself' indicates where the

1. In examples set apart from the running text, I italicise the part of the verb phrase relevant to the discussion of the dissertation: the lexical verb, the object, and the verbal particle, or sequences resembling these. Verbal particles and similar sequences are marked in bold.

In citing linguistic examples, I distinguish between those that are 'adapted' and those that are 'modified', drawing in part on the terminology of Larsen (2014). I use the term 'adapted' when changes are limited to formatting or the addition/adjustment of glosses and translations for consistency. I use the term 'modified' when more substantial changes have been made, such as the addition or removal of words.

Citation information is provided for all numbered example sets, with the exception of those retrieved from the *Bloggmix 2016* corpus (see Section 4.1.1), for which explicit citations are omitted.

outerwear is located, or 'on' the subject's body, albeit somewhat metaphorically in the sense that the outer clothes function as garments. Likewise, the sequence *av sig* 'off oneself' in (1.2) indicates the location of the shirt is 'off' the subject's body, or in other words, the shirt no longer functions as a garment. Similarly, in (1.3), the PP-like sequence *med sig* 'with oneself' indicates that a cup of tea is 'with' the subject, or accompanies the subject's movement to another location.

Henceforth, I will use the acronym **REFL-PP** to refer to object-predicating, reflexive PP-like sequences, regardless of their actual syntactic constituency. Accordingly, the term **preposition** refers to a class of lexical items that typically function as prepositions, regardless of whether they function as prepositions proper or otherwise. The acronym **P** refers to a position within the REFL-PP occupied by a preposition in this sense.

While sentences such as in (1.1–1.3) are highly normal in Swedish, their ordering of components is idiosyncratic. Notably, the position of the REFL-PP is atypical compared to that of ordinary locational PPs. In the canonical order of a clause, an ordinary locational PP cannot precede the object nominal. Rather, it follows the object nominal. Thus, the sentence in (1.4a) with a pre-objective PP is unacceptable, in contrast to the sentence in (1.4b) with a post-objective PP.[2]

(1.4) a. *Matts *kastade* ***i*** ***sopkorgen*** *soporna*.
M. threw in garbage.can-DEF.SG garbage-DEF.PL

b. Matts *kastade* *soporna* ***i*** ***sopkorgen***.
M. threw garbage-DEF.PL in garbage.can-DEF.SG
'M. threw the garbage in the garbage can'

(Toivonen 2003, p. 20, adapted)

A REFL-PP shows a somewhat opposite distribution. As opposed to the pattern with an ordinary PP in (1.4), postposing a REFL-PP often results in an unacceptable sentence, as shown in (1.5), or a sentence with a considerably different meaning, as shown in (1.6).

(1.5) a. *klä* ***på sig*** *maskeradkläder*
dress on SELF costume-clothes
'put on a costume'

b. **klä maskeradkläder* ***på sig***

(Teleman et al. 1999, vol. 3, p. 423, adapted)

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2. An asterisk mark '*' to the left of an expression indicates that the expression is generally judged unacceptable by native speakers of Swedish.

(1.6) a. *ha* ***för sig*** *ngt*
have for REFL sth
'think sth'

b. *ha ngt* ***för sig***
'be occupied with sth' (Teleman et al. 1999, vol. 3, p. 423, adapted)

The idiosyncrasy in ordering indicates that sentences such as (1.1–1.3) involve a distinct construction with a specific order of components. Here, the term 'construction' is used in the technical sense à la constructionist approaches: a pairing of form and meaning at varying degrees of abstraction (e.g., Goldberg 2003). In reference to other similar constructions involving so-called 'verbal particles', I will refer to this construction with a pre-objective REFL-PP as a **Verb-Particle Construction**, abbreviated as **VPC**. In contrast, the construction with a post-objective REFL-PP will be referred to as a **Post-Objective Construction**, abbreviated as **POC**. The VPC and the POC will be collectively referred to as **constructions with a REFL-PP**. These terms are elaborated upon in Section 1.3.

The distinctiveness of the VPC is often evident in that it cannot be paraphrased with the POC. However, it has been sporadically observed that such a paraphrase is sometimes possible without an apparent difference in meaning. For example, Teleman et al. (1999) cite the example in (1.7) as comparable to the VPC example in (1.1) above. Indeed, apart from the lexical content of the subject and the object nominal, the two sentences can be considered paraphrases; they express the same type of event – putting on a piece of clothing – differing only in the order of the REFL-PP and the object nominal.

(1.7) [...] hon *tog tofflorna* ***på sig*** [...]
she took slippers-DEF on REFL
'She put on her slippers' (Teleman et al. 1999, vol. 3, p. 434, modified)

Likewise, Teleman et al. (1999) relate the example pairs in (1.8–1.9) with a '≈' symbol, which in their notation indicates "approximate equivalence" ("ungefärlig likvärdighet"; Teleman et al. 1999, vol. 1, p. 11). While what they mean by "approximate equivalence" remains vague, the two ordering variants are perceived as roughly synonymous and thus paraphrasable, expressing the same type of event as in (1.3) above – i.e., an event of bringing something along.

(1.8) *bära* ***med sig*** *något* ≈ *bära något* ***med sig***
carry with REFL sth
'carry sth along' (Teleman et al. 1999, vol. 3, p. 423, adapted)

(1.9) dra **med sig** något ≈ dra något **med sig**
pull with REFL sth
'drag sth along' (Teleman et al. 1999, vol. 3, p. 423, adapted)

Under the assumption of the usage-based constructionist approach, this partial paraphrasability of the VPC and the POC poses a dilemma. If the VPC and the POC are two entirely distinct constructions, the existence of the apparently synonymous paraphrase pairs needs an account – given the *principle of no synonymy* (Goldberg 1995), two distinct forms must be semantically or pragmatically distinct. Alternatively, these paraphrase pairs can be treated as realisations of a single abstract construction at some level, or 'allostructions', analogous to the now-common analysis of English transitive particle verbs such as *pick up something* and *pick something up* (e.g., Cappelle 2006). However, given the partial paraphrasability, the latter analysis would not apply to the VPC and the POC as a whole. In other words, the question is: how are the VPC and the POC interrelated? Are they two entirely distinct constructions, or are they two different realisations of a single construction at some abstract level, that is, allostructions?

Either way, we need a better empirical ground to discuss the interrelationship between the VPC and the POC. To date, it remains unclear whether there is any systematicity in the lexical and semantic overlaps between the two constructions, and if there is, how the overlaps differ in use. Apart from a few sporadic observations in the literature such as Teleman et al. (1999) and Hulthén (1948), the degree of difference and overlap between these constructions has largely gone unexplored. An investigation into the distribution of the VPC and the POC would contribute not only to an empirical description of this aspect of Swedish grammar, but also to the theoretical development of the usage-based constructionist approach, in which the relationships among formally distinct but semantically similar constructions remain a highly debated topic.

1.1 Aims and research questions

The overall aims of this dissertation are to identify the lexico-semantic range and overlaps of the VPC and the POC – two formally distinct, but similar constructions involving a REFL-PP – and to investigate their interrelationship within the constructional network. By the term 'lexico-semantic(ally)', I refer to an association between a given lexical combination, particularly in terms of the verb and the preposition, and a given meaning. To fulfil these aims, this dissertation addresses the following research questions:

RQ1 How are the VPC and the POC distributed lexico-semantically?

RQ2 To what extent do the VPC and the POC overlap lexico-semantically, and to what extent are the overlaps similar in usage?

RQ3 How and at which level of schematicity are the VPC and the POC related?

The first two questions (RQ1 and RQ2) are empirical in nature. These questions are addressed in Chapters 5 and 6, respectively. In addressing the last question (RQ3), which is more theoretical, I discuss how the empirical data provided in response to RQ1 and RQ2 can be interpreted to reveal how the VPC and the POC are interrelated as constructions.

My focus is on describing usage patterns that are more or less conventional in the modern standard variety of Swedish. Thus, this study adopts a system-oriented, aggregate view of grammar (Blensenius & Lyngfelt 2025, pp. 267–268), conceptualising grammar as a socially shared resource consisting of conventional constructions (cf. Langacker 2008; Schmid 2020; Silvennoinen 2023). While such an idealisation of language varieties into a single variety entails certain limitations, this study offers an initial attempt to describe the interrelation among constructions with a REFL-PP within the network of conventional constructions.

The study adopts a mixed-method approach, combining corpus data with acceptability judgement data. Through this approach, I seek to highlight both conventional and less conventional patterns of the VPC and the POC.

1.2 Scope and demarcations

As stated above, my primary interest lies in the range of the lexico-semantic overlap between the VPC and the POC, a topic which has remained largely unexplored. To ensure the feasibility of this study, I have narrowed the object of investigation through several principal demarcations.

First, I demarcated the study by limiting the prepositional words considered. From the prepositions known to appear in the VPC (see e.g., Teleman et al. 1999, vol. 3, p. 425), four were selected: *av* 'off', *i* 'in', *med* 'with', and *på* 'on', presented here in alphabetical order. One motivation for selecting these prepositions is their high frequency. They are among the most frequent prepositions in general. Another motivation is their presumed productivity, in terms of the number of verbs with which can be combined (cf. Section 3.5.2). Unlike prepositions such as *för* 'for' or *under* 'under', whose compatibility with the VPC appears to be restricted to lexical combinations with particular verbs such as *ha för sig* and *lägga under sig*, these four prepositions are expected to be combined with several verbs within the VPC (cf. Lyngfelt 2007). In fact, the VPCs with these four prepositions, alongside *till* 'to', *åt* 'toward', and *ur* 'out of', are included in the description by Lyngfelt (2007, pp. 107–108) of more or less productive constructions involving a reflexive object. Finally, directional prepositions – i.e., prepositions which inherently describe a directed movement, such as *till* 'to', *åt* 'toward', and *ur* 'out of' (Teleman et al. 1999, vol. 2, p. 699) – are excluded from the present study, although they can be considered more

or less productive in the VPC. This exclusion builds on previous observations that the directionality of particles plays a crucial role in their placement relative to the object. For example, it has been observed that directional adverbs such as *ut* 'out.DIR' or *fram* 'out.DIR' preferably appear in a pre-objective position, while their positional variant *ute* and *framme* can only appear in a post-objective position (Teleman et al. 1999, vol. 3, p. 434, see also Section 2.2.2.1). If the same constraint applied to the REFL-PP, a directional REFL-PP would be unevenly skewed to the VPC, making an overlap between the VPC and the POC with a directional preposition less likely than with prepositions that are non-directional or are unspecified for directionality. As an exception, I included *av* 'off' despite its encoded directionality, since it forms an antonym to *på* 'on', providing an interesting contrast within the VPC where they share the same semantic domain related to putting on/taking off clothes (Tohno & Lu 2003).

Second, I investigate the VPC and the POC with an object NP consisting of a lexical head, leaving those with a clausal object or a pronominal object out. A clausal object is expected to occur after a REFL-PP due to the general information-structural constraint in Swedish where a heavier (i.e., longer, more complex, stressed, or more rhematic) element is positioned later in the clause (Teleman et al. 1999, vol. 4, p. 554). Since a clause is at least longer and more complex than a REFL-PP (such as *på sig*), this type of object is not expected to occur before a REFL-PP (i.e., in the POC). Furthermore, the pronominal object is not expected to affect the lexico-semantic distribution, at least not categorically. Although it could be interesting to see whether non-lexical objects behave differently than lexical objects in the VPC and the POC, I excluded them due to my primary focus on the lexico-semantic aspect of the constructions.

1.3 Clarification of the terms 'VPC' and 'POC'

In this dissertation, I primarily use the term 'VPC' narrowly to refer to constructions with a pre-objective REFL-PP, as distinguished from those with a post-objective REFL-PP (i.e., 'POC'). However, I occasionally extend these terms ('VPC' and 'POC') to refer to other similar structures, from which these terms are borrowed. This section briefly presents the background behind this terminology and clarifies their extended usage.

The term 'VPC' is based on its structural and functional resemblance to what Ejerhed (1979) calls the 'verb-particle construction' ('verb-partikel-konstruktion'), characterised by the typical pre-objective position of the verbal particle. A typical example of a simplex verbal particle is provided in (1.10a), where the directional adverb *ut* 'out', apparently predicating over the object nominal, precedes the object nominal. Apart from some lexical exceptions, placing a directional adverb after the object nominal instead of before it is "not

particularly natural" ("inte särskilt naturlig", Teleman et al. 1999, vol. 3, p. 434), which is indicated by the unacceptability of the example in (1.10b) which has a verbal particle following the object nominal. The examples in (1.10) are adapted from Holmberg & Platzack (1995, p. 203).

(1.10) a. Hon *kastade* ***ut*** {*Johan/honom*}
she threw out {J./him}
'she threw {Johan/him} out'

b. *Hon *kastade* {*Johan/honom*} ***ut***

The pre-objective position and the semantic function of the REFL-PP such as *på sig* in (1.1–1.3) is analogous to the position and function of typical verbal particles such as *ut* in (1.10). Thus, the REFL-PP may be considered a type of verbal particle with a complex structure (cf. Aa 2015, p. 98).

Constructions with a post-objective REFL-PP and a verbal particle resembles the so-called 'prepositional object construction' (Valdeson 2021). The prepositional object construction is characterised by a theme PP typically following the recipient object in the ditransitive context, as exemplified in (1.11).

(1.11) Arne *gav* *boken* ***till en granne***
A. gave book-DEF to a neighbour
'Arne gave the book to a neighbour'
(Teleman et al. 1999, vol. 3, p. 299, adapted)

Due to the REFL-PP's positional and functional resemblance to the prepositional object, the term 'POC' is borrowed from the prepositional object construction. However, REFL-PPs and verbal particles may not always qualify as prepositional objects in the strict sense. Thus, I use the label 'POC' as an abbreviation of 'Post-Objective Construction' instead.

Reflecting the context above, where the relative order of various types of verbal particles in relation to the object is of primary interest, terms such as 'VPC order' and 'POC order' or the like will be used to refer to word order with a particle-like element preceding the object, as in (1.10a), or following the object, as in (1.10b), respectively.

Lastly, a further terminological clarification about the term 'VPC' may be in order. The term 'VPC' refers to different sets of linguistic structures in the literature, since – as is the case with any grammatical category – different languages may have different sets of structures that researchers classify as involving a verbal particle. It is particularly important to note that the term 'VPC' is used here in a more restricted sense than in much of the literature related to verbal particles. At the beginning of this section, I used the term 'VPC' in a restricted sense, which fits the prevalent terminology particularly in the Swedish description: i.e., constructions with a pre-objective verbal particle. On the other hand, in the context of North Germanic and English studies, the

term ‘VPC’ is often used in a somewhat broader sense than this, encompassing structures with both a pre-objective and post-objective verbal particle. This is especially the case in research concerned with word order variation of verbal particles, such as in English particle verbs (e.g., *pick sth up* vs. *pick up sth*), a phenomenon often referred to as ‘particle alternation’ (e.g., Aa 2020). In this dissertation, I will use the term **particle verb** to refer to combinations with a verb and a verbal particle without reference to its position, or alternatively **particle verb construction** when its constructionhood is emphasised. I reserve, instead, terms containing ‘VPC’ for word order patterns with a REFL-PP or other particle-like elements in the pre-objective position.

The following list summarises the definitions of the terms ‘VPC’, ‘POC’, and related terms described above.

VPC Constructions with a pre-objective REFL-PP (e.g., *ta **på sig** tröjan*).

POC Constructions with a post-objective REFL-PP (e.g., *ta tröjan **på sig***).

VPC order, VPC ordering A word order with a particle-like element in the pre-objective position. This encompasses various syntactic patterns with pre-objective REFL-PP, verbal particles, or similar elements.

POC order, POC ordering A word order with a particle-like element in the post-objective position. This encompasses various syntactic patterns with post-objective REFL-PP, verbal particles, or similar elements.

Particle verb (construction) Combinations with a verb and a verbal particle without reference to its position.

1.4 Outline of the dissertation

The remainder of the dissertation is organised as follows. Chapter 2 reviews previous research related to constructions with a REFL-PP and their overlaps, framed within the broader context of verbal particles. Chapter 3 establishes the theoretical framework, detailing the core notions underlying this study. Chapter 4 describes the methods for data extraction, annotation, and analysis for the corpus and acceptability data.

The results are presented in Chapters 5–7. Chapter 5 provides a comprehensive constructional description of the VPC and the POC, while Chapter 6 focuses specifically on the overlaps between them. In Chapter 7, I offer a theoretical interpretation of the relation between these two constructions. The dissertation concludes in the final chapter which discusses the study’s broader implications and suggestions for future research.

2 Previous research on the REFL-PP and verbal particles

In general, most researchers have limited their focus to the VPC and excluded the POC from their scope. Consequently, observations regarding the overlaps between constructions with a REFL-PP remain scarce. This limited attention is likely due to the status of constructions with a REFL-PP as an exception to more prominent grammatical patterns, typically referred to by terms such as 'particle verb', 'verbal particle', or simply 'particle', which are themselves intricate and span various dimensions of grammar.[3] What is relevant in the context of my study is verbal particles used in the transitive context, such as *ut* 'out.DIR' in *kasta ut ngn* 'throw out sb' in Swedish. Specifically, in Germanic VO-languages, viz., North-Germanic languages and English, the canonical position of the verbal particle relative to the object varies depending on language variety. While a verbal particle in some languages, such as English, can appear in both the VPC order and the POC order – a phenomenon which is often referred to as 'particle alternation' – the Swedish verbal particle is normally regarded as being restricted to the VPC order (see the example in 1.10 above). Seen from this perspective, the REFL-PP in constructions with a REFL-PP (such as *på sig*) is exceptional compared to a typical Swedish verbal particle (such as *ut*) in that it can be considered a transitive verbal particle with a complex phrasal structure and that – if considered as such – it may occupy both the pre-objective position (as in the VPC) and the post-objective position (as in the POC). Although the overlaps between the VPC and the POC would be an interesting topic against this background, researchers have tended to prioritise more typical verbal particles in their analyses and possible overlaps between constructions with a REFL-PP has remained underexplored.

This chapter presents an overview of previous research on constructions with a REFL-PP related as they relate to verbal particles. The composition of this chapter is as follows: In Section 2.1, I present the relation between the REFL-PP and verbal particles in Swedish, which situates the REFL-PP in the context

3. For a cross-linguistic (or primarily cross-Germanic) overview of the particle literature, see Dehé et al. (2002), Haiden (2006), and Cappelle (2023), among others. For an overview of the Swedish particle, see Teleman et al. (1999, vol. 3, pp. 417–435), Norén (1996, pp. 1–17), Strzelecka (2003), Toivonen (2003) and Martola (2007, pp. 210–224).

of verbal particles (Section 2.1.1). In Section 2.2, I will present literature that discusses the overlaps between the VPC and the POC, involving both the REFL-PP and several other types of transitive verbal particles. The chapter is summarised in Section 2.3.

2.1 The REFL-PP and verbal particles

This section provides a general introduction to the term 'verbal particle' and reviews existing analyses of the Swedish REFL-PP in relation to verbal particles in the literature.

There is general consensus that the REFL-PP in the VPC involves a verbal particle, in contrast to that in the POC, which is typically treated as an ordinary adverbial in Swedish. Despite this, there is no clear consensus on how the VPC should be analysed in terms of verbal particles. This lack of consensus seems to stem from the various ways of delineating the category verbal particle, a category that is multifaceted. The REFL-PP found in constructions with a REFL-PP displays various traits typical of verbal particles. In particular, the REFL-PP in the VPC shows prosodic and lexico-semantic traits commonly associated with prototypical verbal particles. Most notably, the REFL-PP in the VPC shows the prosody and the pre-objective position that are characteristic of typical verbal particles. On the other hand, the REFL-PP in the POC is seldom analysed as a verbal particle, most likely because of its post-objective placement, even though its prosodic and lexico-semantic properties may resemble those of typical verbal particles. Since the REFL-PP in the POC has rarely been discussed in relation to verbal particles, the discussion in this section focuses primarily on the pre-objective REFL-PP appearing in the VPC.

There are roughly speaking two types of analyses of the pre-objective REFL-PP relating to verbal particles: one that treats the REFL-PP as a sequence of two independent elements, and another that treats it as a single, internally complex element. That is, a VPC expression, such as *klä på sig rena kläder* (lit. 'dress on REFL clean clothes'), is analysed either as involving *på* as a particle and *sig* as an indirect object, or as involving *på sig* as a complex phrasal particle. The two analyses can be labelled 'indirect-object analysis' and 'complex particle analysis', and are diagrammed in (2.1) and (2.2), respectively.

(2.1) **The indirect-object analysis**
klä [på]$_{Pcl}$ [sig]$_{IO}$ [rena kläder]$_{DO}$

(2.2) **The complex particle analysis**
klä [på sig]$_{Pcl}$ [rena kläder]$_{Obj}$

In order to understand the relationship between the REFL-PP and verbal particles, a basic introduction to Swedish verb-phrase structure is necessary. I outline the

characteristics of Swedish verbal particles in Section 2.1.1. This is followed in Section 2.1.2 by an introduction to Swedish verb-phrase structure using the positional-schema model following the descriptive framework by Teleman et al. (1999), which is closely connected to indirect-object analysis. In Section 2.1.3, I present a brief typology of the position of verbal particles in the Germanic VO-languages, an oft-treated topic within the derivational tradition connected to complex particle analysis.

2.1.1 Verbal particles as a multi-dimensional phenomenon

This section presents a concise overview of verbal particles focused on aspects that are relevant to my analysis relating the REFL-PP to verbal particles. The multi-dimensionality of the phenomenon involving verbal particles is indicated in an attempt by Dehé et al. (2002) to formulate "a theory-neutral definition of (the unmarked case of) Germanic particles" as follows:

> A particle is an accented element which is formally (and, often, semantically) related to a preposition, which does not assign case to a complement and which displays various syntactic and semantic symptoms of what may informally be called a close relationship with a verb, but without displaying the phonological unity with it typical of affixes. (Dehé et al. 2002, p. 3)

As can be seen from the definition above, verbal particles involve various dimensions of grammar, such as prosody ("an accented element" and "without [. . .] the phonological unity [. . .] typical of affixes"), word class ("preposition"), and other syntactic and semantic relations associated with the verb. Due to this multi-dimensionality, the group of expressions that native speakers may intuitively believe involve verbal particles (and particle verbs) is highly inconsistent, making it virtually impossible to provide a comprehensive characterisation of the phenomenon, whether cross-linguistically or within a single language (Haiden 2006, p. 345; Dehé et al. 2002, p. 3; Toivonen 2020, pp. 532–533). As a result, the term 'verbal particle' may encompass rather miscellaneous grammatical patterns, and what is classified as a verbal particle (or a particle verb) can vary depending on the specific objectives of the analysis.

The multi-dimensionality also applies to Swedish verbal particles. They are typically identified by traits found in the prototypical verbal particles in Swedish. The most prominent formal traits are probably the characteristic prosody and the structural position, among others (Strzelecka 2003, pp. 109, 111). Grammatical patterns defined by the combination of these two formal traits typically accompany other characteristic traits of verbal particles, such as lexico-semantic traits where a specific V-P combination is conventionally associated

with a meaning that is unpredictable from the meanings of its components (Norén 1996, pp. 6–7). While there are other, mainly syntactic, traits that have been taken up in the literature mentioned at the beginning of the present section, I will restrict my focus here to the traits that are most relevant to our discussion concerning constructions with a REFL-PP: namely, the prosodic, positional, and lexico-semantic traits.

For an illustration, see the example in (2.3). This sentence can have two distinct interpretations depending primarily on whether the word *på* 'on' is stressed. When the word *på* is unstressed (and the verb is stressed), which is typically the case with a preposition proper, the a-reading is induced. On the other hand, when *på* is stressed (and the verb is unstressed), the b-reading is induced. The latter case is considered to involve a verbal particle (and thus a particle verb), which is also motivated by the fact that the clausal meaning ('visit') is unpredictable from the meaning associated with the involved lexical items, especially the lexical verb *hälsa* 'greet'.

(2.3) De *hälsade på Kerstin*
they greeted$_{V}$ on$_{P}$ K.
a. 'They greeted Kerstin'
b. 'They visited Kerstin' (Holmgren Ording 1999, p. 9, adapted)

The characteristic prosodic pattern, or 'connective prosody' ('konnektiv prosodi', Anward & Linell 1976) – also referred to as 'word group accent' ('ordgruppsbetoning', Teleman et al. 1999), 'summary accent' ('sammanfattningsaccent', Norén 1996), among others – is considered one of the most decisive criteria for identifying verbal particles (Norén 1996, p. 12). However, this prosodic criterion is not always applicable, since such prosodic information is most often absent in the written format and since prosodic realisation is affected by contextual factors (Teleman et al. 1999, vol. 3, p. 413; Strzelecka 2003, p. 110; Sjögreen 2015, pp. 27–28). Furthermore, the connective prosody is not confined to verbal particles, but is often associated with lexicalised phrases in general (Anward & Linell 1976; Riad 2014, p. 270; Myrberg & Riad 2015, pp. 127–128), which may make this criterion overly inclusive.

Besides the prosodic pattern, the pre-objective position of a word of a certain word class – typically prepositions and adverbs – is generally regarded as a reliable criterion for identifying the word as a verbal particle in Swedish. Toivonen (2003, 2020, p. 526) goes so far as to define Swedish verbal particles primarily in terms of this position.

However, this positional criterion also has exceptions. Some apparent verbal particles are separated from the verb by an obligatory element, such as in *ta sig in* 'make one's way in' and *se* ADJ *ut* 'look ADJ'. Although these combinations deviate from the positional (and partly prosodic) traits of the typical verbal particle, they are nonetheless often considered (and perceived) to be particle

verbs. In such cases, the lexico-semantic traits, characterised by lexicalised unpredictability in V-P combination, is considered (Teleman et al. 1999, vol. 3, pp. 425–426; Strzelecka 2003, p. 115). The lexico-semantic trait of the hypothesised particle is an important factor when accounting for prosodically and syntactically less prototypical cases of particle verbs, such as *ta sig in* and *se* ADJ *ut*.

Facing difficulties in delineating verbal particles, Strzelecka (2003, p. 109) considers verbal particles and particle verbs effectively as a prototype category, where members categorised as involving verbal particles or particle verbs share prototypical characteristics to varying degrees (Strzelecka 2003, pp. 115–116). Although Strzelecka mainly discusses verbal particles consisting of a preposition or an adverb, this view allows us to take other types of exceptions into consideration, including patterns with words from word classes other than preposition or adverb as the verbal particle, such as nouns (as in *slå vakt*, *äga rum*), adjectives (as in *bryta lös*/*löst*), participles (as in *göra gällande*) and fossilised preposition phrases lacking internal inflection (as in *ha på känn*) (Teleman 1974, p. 67; Norén 1996, p. 1; Toivonen 2003, pp. 17–18). Despite their origins in a variety of word classes other than preposition and adverb, all of these members share the characteristic lack of inflection, which aligns with the original meaning of the term 'particle'. They also seem to be perceived as verbal particles, at least because they exhibit some traits typical of verbal particles, such as the prosodic pattern with connective prosody and the unpredictability in lexical combination (cf. Teleman et al. 1999, vol. 3, pp. 420–421; Toivonen 2020, pp. 520–521).

Martola (2007, pp. 220–224) points out that the problem in discussions about what counts as a particle stems from the term being associated with both word class and syntactic function. Instead of seeking an inherent property of verbal particles, Martola argues that verbal particles should be viewed as a component of various complex constructions, rather than as an independent category. Her argument draws on Croft's (2001) radical constructionist perspective, which regards constructions – pairings of form and meaning – as a basic unit of grammar. This radical constructionist view of verbal particles by Martola may be combined with the prototype view of verbal particles by Strzelecka (2003) described above. That is, what we have is constructions involving verbal particles, exhibiting the characteristic traits presented above to varying degrees and thus varying in prototypicality.

Seen this way, constructions with a REFL-PP may be regarded as members of this broad family of constructions involving verbal particles. The following sections describe the similarity between verbal particles and the REFL-PP.

2.1.2 The REFL-PP and verbal particles in the positional schema

This section provides a general overview of word order in the verb phrase in Swedish, accompanied by an analysis of the REFL-PP in the VPC as involving an indirect object. The overview is based on the positional schema model ('positionsschema') by Teleman et al. (1999), which is adequate for the purpose of a general introduction to Swedish verb-phrase structure.[4]

The relative order of clausal elements is fairly fixed in Swedish. Lacking morphological markings to differentiate arguments' grammatical function, word order plays a large role in Swedish in identifying the grammatical function of the arguments (cf. Teleman et al. 1999, vol. 1, pp. 21–22). Teleman et al. (1999) describe the word order using positional schemas, a model introduced by a Danish linguist Diderichsen (1946) and adopted by the descriptive tradition of mainland Scandinavian languages. Positional schemas model and illustrate the structure of clauses and phrases as a linearly fixed sequence of positions for syntactic elements. Setting aside cases where elements otherwise found within the verb phrase are positioned outside the verb phrase, the ordering of elements generally follows the degree of dependency of these elements on the lexical verb (Teleman et al. 1999, vol. 3, pp. 254–255, 269). Teleman et al. (1999) group the elements of the verb phrase into three groups based on their degree of dependency on the verb: verbal particles ('partikeladverbial'), which are the most closely dependent, often forming a semantic unit with the lexical verb that corresponds to a single verb as a whole; arguments ('bundna bestämningar'), which are required by the lexical verb as the obligatorily expressed elements (setting aside the verbal particles); and adjuncts ('fria bestämningar'), which are not required by the lexical verb. Further, among the arguments, elements that are not flagged with a preposition, such as object or nominal/adjectival predicative, generally precede those that are flagged.

To illustrate the positional schema model by Teleman et al. (1999), I have selected the two examples most relevant to the present discussion, glossed in (2.4–2.5): the former involves a transitive particle verb with content adverbial, and the latter involves the Double-Object Construction. Both examples are adapted from Teleman et al. (1999, vol. 3, p. 269).

(2.4) sätta upp en tavla i hallen ikväll
set/put up a painting in hall-DEF tonight
'put up a painting in the hall tonight'

4. The overview is only rudimentary, omitting a large part of the details concerning the variable position of the finite verb in the clause and other exceptions. For more detailed exposition in Swedish and English, see Teleman et al. (1999, Chapters 16 and 28) and Holmes & Hinchliffe (2013, Chapter 10), respectively.

(2.5) beröva barnen deras hopp
deprive children-DEF their hope
'deprive the children of their hope'

A verb-phrase positional schema analysis on the expressions in (2.4–2.5) is presented in Table 2.1 after Teleman et al. (1999, vol. 3, p. 269). For expository purposes, I have simplified the positional labels for arguments that are not marked by a preposition: 'Obj1' indicates the position of either the sole object, or – if there are multiple objects in the same clause – the indirect object, while 'Obj2' indicates the position of the other object besides the indirect object (i.e., the direct object). The labels 'V' stands for (lexical) verb, 'Pcl' for verbal particle, and 'Arg. advl' and 'Adjunct advl' for argument and adjunct adverbials.

Table 2.1. Positional schema over the verb phrase after Teleman et al. (1999, vol. 3, p. 269)

	0 V	+1 Pcl	+2 Obj1	Obj2	+3 Arg. advl	Adjunct advl
(2.4)	*sätta*	*upp*	*en tavla*		*i hallen*	*ikväll*
(2.5)	*beröva*		*barnen*	*deras hopp*		

The ordering between the elements in the verb phrase may also vary due to information-structural factors (Teleman et al. 1999, vol. 4, pp. 25–28). It may be especially worth noting here that a sole unflagged object may follow an argument adverbial, if the object consists of many words (Teleman et al. 1999, vol. 3, p. 270). In such a case, the object following the adverbial is analysed as "postposed" ("postponeras"; vol. 3, p. 270) to the position to the right of the adverbial. This is illustrated in the example in (2.6), adapted from Teleman et al. (1999, vol. 3, p. 270), where the preposition phrase *till mig* 'to me' as an argument adverbial precedes the object *ett…brev…i Kina* 'a…letter…in China', instead of following it.

(2.6) Han har *skrivit* [$_{PP}$ *till mig*] [$_{NP}$ *ett stort antal brev om sina*
he has written to me a large number letters about POSS.REFL
upplevelser i Kina]
experiences in China
'He has written a large number of letters to me about his experiences in China'

Table 2.2 illustrates the analysis of the sentence with a postposed element by Teleman et al. (1999). The symbol [–]$_i$ indicates the object's ordinary position.

In contrast, Teleman et al. (1999, vol. 3, p. 422) analyse the pre-objective REFL-PP in the VPC as a verbal particle followed by an unflagged, indirect object, rather than treating it as a preposition phrase. Martola (2007, p. 249) provides an explicit analysis extending the positional schema from Teleman

Table 2.2. Positional schema analysis of the example (2.6)

	0 V	+1 Pcl	+2 Obj1	Obj2	+3 Arg. advl	Adjunct advl
(2.6)	*skrivit*		$[–]_i$		*till mig*	$[ett \ldots brev \ldots i\ Kina]_i$

et al. (1999) to include a pre-objective REFL-PP, as illustrated in Table 2.3. Notably, the reflexive pronoun in the REFL-PP is assigned a distinct position as an indirect object, separated from the preposition.[5] Each line presents an analysis of a certain type of constructions involving verbal particles: a verbal particle without an object, as in *följas åt* 'accompany each other' (line i); a simplex verbal particle with an object, as in *dra åt bromsen* 'pull the brake' (line ii); a REFL-PP and an object, as in *roffa åt sig makt* 'seize power' (line iii); and a fossilised PP, as in *ställa i ordning bostäder (åt dem)* 'get housing ready for them' (line iv; see Section 2.2.2.3 for more on this type).

Table 2.3. Extended positional schema by Martola (2007, p. 249)

	0 V	+1 Pcl	+2 Obj1	Obj2	+3 Arg. advl	Adjunct advl
(i)	*följas*	*åt*				
(ii)	*dra*	*åt*		*bromsen*		
(iii)	*roffa*	*åt*	*sig*	*makt*		
(iv)	*ställa*	*i ordning*		*bostäder*		*åt dem*

This analysis of the pre-objective REFL-PP follows the view on the VPC by Teleman et al. (1999), which treats it as consisting of a preposition functioning as a verbal particle, followed by two unflagged objects.

The indirect-object analysis of the VPC is commonly assumed in the non-derivational tradition in the study of modern Swedish. Some works present it explicitly (Martola 2007; Teleman et al. 1999; Toivonen 2003, among others), while some more or less implicitly assume it by their use of typical terms for the Double-Object Construction, such as 'indirect object', in their description of the VPC (Norén 2000; Sundman 2010; Tohno 2001).

Although not directly relevant to the discussion of the REFL-PP, another extension concerning a verbal particle and a reflexive may be worth noting. Strzelecka (2003, p. 119) provides another positional schema where she ex-

5. Martola (2007) uses the positions Obj1 and Obj2 slightly differently than Teleman et al. (1999) originally did: whereas Teleman et al. (1999) use the Obj1 position for both a direct and an indirect object (as shown in Table 2.1), Martola reserves this position exclusively for an indirect object. The motivation for Martola's adjustment is not explicitly stated.

tends the +1 position to account for particle verbs with an obligatory element intervening between the verb and the verbal particle, such as *ta* REFL *in* (*ngn-stans*) 'make one's way in (somewhere)' or *se* ADJ *ut* 'look ADJ'. Table 2.4 illustrates her extension, modified here for expository purposes. The extended +1 position is labelled here as 'X', standing for the particle verb's obligatory element. 'Obj1' and 'Obj2' stand for positions for unflagged elements, such as objects.

Interestingly, she treats the sequence *sätta sig upp* (lit. 'set/put oneself up') differently depending on its meaning in the context. Compare the analyses in line (ii) and line (iii), where the reflexive pronoun *sig* and the adverb *upp* are placed in different positions. This difference in analysis seems to depend on the expressions' difference in compositionality/idiomaticity, i.e., the extent to which the meaning of the lexical combination as a whole is nonpredictable from the components' meaning in isolation. The expression *sätta sig upp* (*mot överheten*) in line (ii), meaning 'stand up (against authority)', is more idiomatic and less compositional than the more literal expression *sätta sig upp* (*i sängen*) in line (iii), meaning 'sit up in bed'. Thus, *upp* is treated as a locational argument adverbial in the analysis in line (iii), in contrast to the analysis in line (ii) where *upp* is treated as a verbal particle and is placed differently in the positional schema. This difference in treatment of apparent verbal particles suggests that the degree of idiomaticity is an important factor to consider in analysing them.

Table 2.4. Extended positional schema by Strzelecka (2003, p. 119)

	0	+1		+2		+3	
	V	X	Pcl	Obj1	Obj2	Arg. advl	Adjunct advl
(i)	*se*	ADJ	*ut*				
(ii)	*sätta*	*sig*	*upp*			*mot överheten*	
(iii)	*sätta*			*sig*		*upp*	*i sängen*

2.1.3 The REFL-PP and verbal particles in Germanic word-order typology

In the previous section, I presented an 'indirect-object analysis' of the REFL-PP, where the REFL-PP in the VPC is analysed as involving a verbal particle and an indirect object. While this view is common in the non-derivational tradition, another view is common in the derivational tradition, namely, 'complex-particle analysis', where the REFL-PP is treated as a complex phrase functioning as a verbal particle as a whole. The backdrop for this analysis is best understood from a cross-Germanic perspective on the variation in word order of verbal particles. Particularly relevant in the context of my discussion is the

placement of verbal particles relative to the object among the Germanic VO-languages, namely English and the Scandinavian languages: some languages allow verbal particles to appear only pre-objectively, or in the VPC order, some only post-objectively, or in the POC order, while some allow both orderings. This phenomenon is known under various labels. Terms associated with derivationist assumptions include 'particle movement' (Emonds 1972; Haiden 2006), 'particle shift' (Svenonius 1994), and 'object shift' (Holmberg 1986). Other terms used by derivationists, though not necessarily tied to the derivational analyses, include 'particle alternation' (Aa 2015; Svenonius 1996a), 'word order alternation' (Larsen 2014), and 'particle placement' (Cappelle 2006; Gries 2003; Larsson & Lundquist 2022b; Luo 2019).

Previously, I indicated that the verbal particle appears in the VPC order in Swedish. There is general consensus that this is the only possible option in Swedish. Rephrasing sentences with VPC order into POC order typically leads to an unacceptable sentence, as in (2.7b), as opposed to the acceptable sentence with VPC order, as in (2.7a).

(2.7) a. Simon *kastade* ***ut*** *soporna*
S. threw out garbage-DEF
'Simon threw out the garbage'

b. *Simon *kastade soporna* ***ut*** (Toivonen 2003, 19, modified)

In some Germanic VO-languages, notably English, Norwegian, and Icelandic, the particle-like element and the object NP can be placed either in the VPC order (i.e., with a pre-objective particle) or in the POC order (i.e., with a post-objective particle) without a remarkable semantic difference. Examples from English and Norwegian are provided in (2.8) and (2.9), where the a-sentences represent the VPC order and the b-sentences represent the POC order.

(2.8) a. He *called* ***up*** *his friend*.

b. He *called his friend* ***up***. (Haiden 2006, p. 346)

(2.9) a. Vi *slapp* ***ut*** *hunden*
we let out dog-DEF
'we let out the dog'

b. Vi *slapp hunden* ***ut***
(Svenonius 1994, p. 190; citing Taraldsen 1983, p. 240)

In Danish, only the option with the POC order is available, as indicated by the acceptability contrast between the sentence in the VPC order (in the a-example) and that in the POC order (in the b-example) in (2.10).

(2.10) a. *Han *knugede* ***sammen*** *sine hænder*
he clasped together his hands

b. Han *knugede sine hænder* ***sammen***
he clasped his hands together

'He clasped his hands together' (Platzack 1998, p. 179)

The pattern above is summarised in Table 2.5 after Toivonen (2020, p. 520).

Table 2.5. The typology of the position of the verbal particle among the Germanic VO-languages

	Available order of the verbal particle
English, Icelandic, Norwegian	VPC order & POC order
Swedish	VPC order
Danish	POC order

Although both ordering variants are possible in Icelandic and Norwegian, there are specific conditions that favour one variant over the other. Like English, the VPC order is categorically disallowed in Icelandic and Norwegian when the object is pronominal, as in the Norwegian sentence pair in (2.11) (Thráinsson 2007; Svenonius 1996a).

(2.11) a. *Vi *kastet* ***ut*** *den*
we threw out it

b. Vi *kastet den* **ut**
we threw it out

'We threw it out'

Furthermore, even for cases with lexical objects where the word order variation is possible in Icelandic and Norwegian, the variation is not entirely free. For example, in recent works in Norwegian particle alternation, Aa (2015, 2020) argues that the two word order variants are semantically distinct. His corpus data show that the VPC order is far more frequent than the POC order, and that the POC order is attested only when the sentence expresses a spatial meaning. His interview data with Norwegian informants also indicate that the POC order is dispreferred compared to the VPC order, although the former is "not outright banned" in most cases (p. 51). In addition, he observes that the two word order variants are associated with distinct preferred readings. In the contrastive pair in (2.12), adapted from Aa (2020, p. 118), the b-sentence with POC order is preferably interpreted as involving a spatial/directional event. In contrast, the a-sentence with VPC order is preferably interpreted as non-locational/non-directional, in the sense that the sentence does not describe any locational relation associated with the particle *opp* 'up'.

(2.12) a. *Få* ***opp*** *packen*
get up packet-DEF
'Open the packet' (non-spatial/non-directional reading)

b. *Få pakken* ***opp***
get packet-DEF up
'Bring the packet up' (spatial/directional reading)

Drawing on these observations, Aa argues that the VPC order is the unmarked, preferred option in Norwegian, and that the VPC order and the POC order have distinct meanings: the POC order is specifically associated with a spatial/directional meaning, in contrast to the VPC order which is associated with a non-spatial/non-directional meaning.

The type of object NP, which is associated with information-structural properties, is also considered to involve word order preference, just as in English. This is the case in Icelandic and Norwegian, in which pronominal objects are categorically disallowed in the VPC, as described above. In addition, Thráinsson (2007, pp. 142–143), citing Svenonius (1996b),[6] notes several factors that may affect word order preference in Icelandic and Norwegian particle alternation. These factors include heaviness of the theme NP, type of modification, definiteness, stress, and other "discourse phenomena". Noting that the effects of factors may vary depending on the language and even on the speaker, Thráinsson (2007, p. 143) observes that Icelandic native speakers' preference for the POC order (vis-à-vis the VPC order) varies depending on the form of the object NP. See the sentences in (2.13–2.16) adapted from Thráinsson (2007, p. 143), which have contrasting word orders where the a-examples represent the VPC order and the b-examples the POC order. The order of the examples reflects the relative preference for the POC order over the VPC order with higher preference first and lower preference last: the POC order is preferred with a definite NP object (as in 2.13); slightly preferred with a quantified NP object (as in 2.14); slightly dispreferred with an indefinite NP (as in 2.15); and dispreferred with a heavy NP (as in 2.16). Following the notation by Thráinsson, the degree of preference for the POC order (the b-sentences) in relation to the VPC order (the a-sentences) is indicated by a '+' for preference, a '?' for dispreference, and parentheses around these signs for slight preference/dispreference '(+)'/'(?)', respectively.

6. I was unable to locate the observation that Thráinsson (2007) cites in the unpublished manuscript (Svenonius 1996a) which I had access to. It appears that Thráinsson may be referring to a different version of the manuscript or to an entirely different document. I list the manuscript that Thráinsson (2007) cites as a separate entry in my references, as Svenonius (1996b), though the two entries contain near-identical bibliographical information.

(2.13) a. Stelpan *bar* ***inn*** *töskurnar*
girl-DEF carried in bags-DEF
'The girl carried the bags in'

b. [+] Stelpan *bar töskurnar* ***inn***

(2.14) a. Stelpan *bar* ***inn*** *nokkrar töskur*
girl-DEF carried in some bags
'The girl carried some bags in'

b. [(+)] Stelpan *bar nokkrar töskur* ***inn***

(2.15) a. Stelpan *bar* ***inn*** *töskur*
girl-DEF carried in bags
'The girl carried bags in'

b. [(?)] Stelpan *bar töskur* ***inn***

(2.16) a. Stelpan *bar* ***inn*** [*allar stóru töskur sem við komum með úr fríinu*]
girl-DEF carried in all big bags-DEF that we came with from vacation-DEF
'The girl carried all the big bags that we brought from the vacation in'

b. [?] Stelpan *bar* [*allar stóru töskur sem við komum með úr fríinu*] ***inn***

Information structural factors seem to be relevant for some subtypes of Swedish particles as well. As will be described in Section 2.2.2.3, placement of fossilised PPs, such as *ta till fånga* 'capture, lit. take to captive', are described to be sensitive to the *type* of object NP.

Several researchers have noted the possibility of treating the REFL-PP as a complex particle and have discussed the REFL-PP in the context of particle alternation. For example, Svenonius (1996a, p. 12, fn 5) observes patterns in the Icelandic example in (2.17) and the Norwegian example in (2.18) where "what is apparently a phrasal element undergoes [a] shift". Examples in (2.17–2.18) are both adapted from Svenonius (1996a, p. 12, fn. 5), the former of which is found originally in Sandøy (1976, p. 90).

(2.17) Svo *henti* hann {***frá sér}*** *hnífunum* {***frá sér***}
so threw he from REFL knife-DEF from REFL
'Then he threw the knife down'

(2.18) Da *kledde* han {***på seg***} *genseren* {***på seg***}
then clad he on REFL sweater-DEF on REFL
'Then he put the sweater on'

Svenonius (2003) provides a somewhat more elaborate derivational analysis where he treats a whole PP in the same way as the simplex particle. A simplified illustration of such an analysis is shown in (2.19). There, he derives the structure

with the VPC order by movement of the object-predicative element higher than the object, which induces a resultative meaning in the clause. The *i* subscripts to the right of the closing brackets for the PPs mark identity between the indexed phrases. 'SC' stands for a small clause, indicating that the element in square brackets constitutes a small clause.

(2.19) $[_{VP}$ sätta$_V$ $[_{PP}$ på pojken$]_i$ $[_{SC}$ kläder $[_{PP}$ ~~på pojken~~$]_i]]$

The analysis of the REFL-PP as a complex particle is mainly found in works from Norwegian scholars. The first mention is probably Sandøy (1976, p. 87), who observes that "a short 'preposition phrase' can have the same placement as the particles".[7] Åfarli (1985), a predecessor to Svenonius' analysis, mentions Norwegian examples similar to that in (2.18) which include "particles that are full PPs". Faarlund (2019, p. 138) implies the same view when he notes that "[c]ertain fixed preposition phrases may also behave like particles in that they may precede the direct object – the SC subject – in Swedish and Norwegian". Aa (2015), drawing on data from Hulthén (1948) and Sandøy (1976), reasons that the REFL-PP "[b]oth syntactically and prosodically [...] apparently behaves like an ordinary particle" (p. 90), and refers to the REFL-PP (together with fossilised PPs and non-reflexive PPs; see Sections 2.2.2.3 and 2.2.2.4) as a "complex phrasal particle" (p. 97) – i.e., a semantic complex that is "chunked" into a single syntactic element (p. 226).

Given the generalisation that verbal particles are only available in the VPC order and are disallowed in the POC order in Swedish, analysing REFL-PP as a complex particle implies that a REFL-PP should not be expected to occur in the POC order in Swedish. In fact, Aa (2015, p. 90) states that Swedish "can only have" the pre-objective REFL-PP (i.e., the VPC) as opposed to Norwegian (bokmål) which allows both orders.[8] However, the existing, though scarce, observations of overlaps between the constructions with a REFL-PP in the literature, as will be presented below, suggest that this expectation needs to be amended.

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7. In the original: "[s]tutte 'preposisjonsledd' får same plasseringa som partiklane" (Sandøy 1976, p. 87).

8. Aa cites Hulthén (1948, 166 f.) as a source for this statement. However, this may be an oversimplification by Aa, since Hulthén does not categorically preclude the post-objective REFL-PP (i.e., the POC) in Swedish, as described in Section 2.2.

2.2 Alternations involving the REFL-PP and other verbal particles in Swedish

This section presents discussions in the literature concerning alternations, or (lexico-semantic) overlaps, between the VPC order and the POC order involving various types of verbal particles. I will first present the literature on the overlaps between constructions with a REFL-PP, followed by the overlaps between constructions involving other types of verbal particles, including: a simplex verbal particle, with a non-reflexive object or with a reflexive object; a fossilised PP; and a non-reflexive PP-like sequence.

2.2.1 Constructions with a REFL-PP

The earliest observation I could find on the overlaps between constructions with a REFL-PP in modern Swedish is Hulthén (1948). Hulthén (1948) is a comprehensive contrastive study on syntax in varieties of modern North Germanic languages, especially those spoken in mainland Scandinavia (i.e., Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Finland). Although his data are produced around the 1930s,[9] his observations are worth noting here, given that most of his observations on particles seem to hold true even for today's usage, at least to a certain extent.

In a section concerning ordering between a (simplex) verbal particle and an object, Hulthén (1948, pp. 165–168) discusses when a sequence [P–REFL] functions as a verbal particle. He observes that the ordering of a REFL-PP relative to the object is comparable to that of a simplex verbal particle, indicating that the REFL-PP generally appear in a pre-objective position (i.e., in the VPC) in Swedish. On the other hand, he points out some cases where the REFL-PP can appear in a post-objective position (i.e., in the POC).[10] These examples are provided in (2.20–2.21), adapted from Hulthén (1948, pp. 166–167). In these example pairs, the REFL-PP (i.e., *ifrån sig* 'from REFL' in (2.20) and *på sig* 'on REFL' in (2.21) appears in a pre-objective position in the a-example and

9. His data are drawn from various sources, including excerpts from novels along with their translations (mainly between standard varieties of Mainland Scandinavian languages), grammatical literature and dictionaries, observations from uncontrolled exposure to the languages, and native speaker introspections (including his own) (Hulthén 1944, pp. 1–6).

10. In his treatment, Hulthén (1948) distinguishes between two types of constructions with a REFL-PP in Swedish, based on whether the reflexive pronoun can be omitted without a change in meaning. He notes that this distinction is associated with certain classes of verbs or situations: the non-omissible type involves a semantically narrow class of verbs denoting "(rapid) movement" ("[hastig] rörelse", p. 165), such as *rycka till sig*, while the omissible type is associated with garments or the like, such as *ta av* (*sig*) *hatten* (p. 166). While the omissibility of the reflexive pronoun is a noteworthy topic, his main observations on word order variation apply regardless of this distinction. Thus, I will not differentiate between these types in the present discussion.

in a post-objective position in the b-example, corresponding structurally to the VPC and the POC in my terms.[11]

(2.20) a. Så, nu är han då hemkommen, sade Tale, då de *lagt*
so now is he then home-come.PPART said T. when they laid
ifrån sig *liket* i undantagskammaren
from REFL corpse-DEF in spare.room-DEF
'So, now he's home then, said Tale, when they had laid the corpse down in the spare room'

b. Helene *lade paketet* ***ifrån sig*** på köksbordet
H. laid package-DEF from REFL on kitchen-table-DEF
'Helene put the package down on the kitchen table'

(2.21) a. Han började *snöra* ***på sig*** *skorna*
he began lace on REFL shoes-DEF
'He began to lace on his shoes'

b. Han *spände skidorna* ***på sig***
he tightened skis-DEF on REFL
'He fastened the skis on himself'

Hulthén associates the POC order with the interpretation of the REFL-PP as an ordinary locational adverbial instead of a verbal particle. For the sentence pair in (2.20), he states that the POC order is possible "[t]o the extent that the preposition phrase is not perceived as parallel to a verb particle but as an independent adverbial" (Hulthén 1948, p. 166).[12] For the POC sentence in (2.21b), he comments that "[p]ossibly, in this word order, *på sig* has a more pronounced adverbial character" (Hulthén 1948, p. 167).[13] Judging from the above quotes, he seems to imply that the two placements of the REFL-PP relative to the object lead to a perceived difference in how the REFL-PP is related functionally to the verb. Given his definition of verbal particles, i.e., an adverb or a preposition that is tightly connected prosodically and semantically to the verb (Hulthén 1944, p. 255, fn. 2), it can be inferred that the REFL-PP in the POC is less connected to the verb than it is in the VPC, making the former variant more appropriate to be analysed as an ordinary adverbial (cf. Section 2.1.2). In other words,

11. The examples originate from Swedish novels or translations of novels from other Scandinavian languages into Swedish, published during the 1930s, apart from the example in (2.21b), which was constructed by Hulthén himself (Hulthén 1944, pp. 1–2).

12. In the original: "[i] den mån prepositionsuttrycket av språkkänslan ej uppfattas som en parallell till en verbpartikel utan som ett m. e. m. självständigt adverbial, kan sv. (ej blott skånskan och finlandssvenskan) ha samma ordföljd som den i danskan genomgående" (Hulthén 1948, p. 166).

13. In the original: "[m]öjligen får vid denna ordföljd *på sig* en mer utpräglad karaktär av adverbial" (Hulthén 1948, p. 167, fn. 2).

the REFL-PP is analysed as having two distinct clausal functions depending on whether it appears in the VPC or the POC.

However, it remains unclear exactly what distinguishes a verbal particle from an adverbial in the sentence pairs above. Specifically, does it mean that the sentence pairs in (2.20–2.21), corresponding structurally to the VPC and the POC in my terms, differ in meaning? And if so, what kind of meaning difference is involved? Based on sentence pairs such as in (2.20–2.21), one may well argue that there are no remarkable differences in meaning between the VPC and the POC. The sentences in (2.20) both express a type of event, so to say 'putting something down', regardless of the REFL-PP's placement. Likewise, the sentences in (2.21) both express an event of, so to say, "putting on shoes". While the verb lexemes in the latter sentence pair are not identical (i.e., *snöra* 'lace' vs. *spänna* 'tighten'), they are semantically similar, associated with an action of tightening strings. Furthermore, the distinction between a verbal particle and an ordinary adverbial is not entirely clear. In fact, Hulthén (1948) suggests an analysis where the distinction is blurred. In an analysis of the sentence in (2.22) with a post-objective adverb *ut* 'out.DIR', he states that *ut* in this example functions both as a verbal particle and an emphasising adverb(ial) "simultaneously" (Hulthén 1948, p. 164).[14] Hence, for Hulthén (1948), the distinction between a verbal particle and an adverbial appears to be not strictly categorical but instead a matter of degree.

(2.22) Jakob *rodde henne* ***ut*** till postbåten
J. rowed her out to mail-boat-DEF
'Jakob rowed her out to the mail boat' (Hulthén 1948, 164, adapted)

Another observation by Hulthén on overlaps between the VPC and the POC concerns when the object is an unstressed pronoun. Comparing Swedish with other Scandinavian languages in his material (primarily standard varieties of Norwegian), he observes that when the object is unstressed, no difference is noted between the languages regarding the position of the REFL-PP (pp. 166–167). From this observation, he infers that the POC order is "more common in Swedish when the object is unstressed than when it is stressed" (p. 166).[15] Although he does not elaborate further on this observation, he seems to suggest that lexico-semantic overlaps between the VPC and the POC are more likely in Swedish when the object is an unstressed pronoun.

Another observation on overlaps between constructions with a REFL-PP is found in Teleman et al. (1999). As already mentioned in Chapter 1, Teleman

14. In the original: "[*u*]*t* är nämligen där enligt min uppfattning på samma gång verbpartikel och förstärkande adverb till den följande prepositionen" (Hulthén 1948, p. 164).

15. In the original: "ordföljden *Han ryckte den till sig* är vanligare på sv. när objektet är tryckstarkt än när det är tryckstarkt" (Hulthén 1948, p. 166).

et al. (1999) observe that a VPC sentence "can sometimes be paraphrased" ("kan ibland parafraseras"; Teleman et al. 1999, vol. 3, p. 423) with a POC sentence, as in (2.23–2.24), repeated here from (1.8–1.9) and adapted from Teleman et al. (1999, vol. 3, p. 423). Teleman et al. (1999) relate the a-sentence and the b-sentence in the sentence pairs in (2.23–2.24) with a '≈' symbol, which indicates an "approximate equivalence" ("ungefärlig likvärdighet") in their notation (vol. 1, p. 11).

(2.23) *bära* ***med sig*** *något* ≈ *bära något* ***med sig***
carry with REFL sth carry sth with REFL
'carry sth along'

(2.24) *dra* ***med sig*** *något* ≈ *dra något* ***med sig***
pull with REFL sth pull sth with REFL
'drag sth along'

Teleman et al. (1999) present examples where a VPC sentence can be paraphrased with a POC sentence with the same set of lexical items "with roughly the same meaning" ("med ungefär samma betydelse", Teleman et al. 1999, vol. 3, p. 425). In the list in (2.25), adapted from Teleman et al. (1999, vol. 3, p. 434), VPC expressions are related to POC expressions with the same set of lexical items by the symbol '≈'. In our terms, these pairs can in effect be considered as lexico-semantic overlaps between the VPC and the POC.

(2.25) *kasta* ***av sig*** *ngt* [≈ *kasta ngt* ***av sig***], *få* ***för sig*** *ngt* [≈ *få ngt* ***för sig***], *ha* ***för sig*** *ngt* [≈ *ha ngt* ***för sig***], *sleva* ***i sig*** *ngt* [≈ *sleva ngt* ***i sig***]

However, Teleman et al. (1999) do not elaborate further on how approximate the equivalence is. Thus, it is not entirely clear what distinguishes these overlapping pairs in meaning. An illustrative example is the combination {*ha*, *för sig*}, as in (2.26), repeated here from (1.6). They on one occasion treat the VPC and the POC variants of this combination as approximately equivalent, as in (2.25), yet on another occasion they distinguish the same pair as non-equivalent (Teleman et al. 1999, vol. 3, p. 423).

(2.26) a. *ha* ***för sig*** *ngt*
have for REFL sth
'think sth'

b. *ha ngt* ***för sig***
'be occupied with sth'

Thus, what Teleman et al. (1999) mean by "approximately equivalent" seems to cover a wide range, from considerable similarity to a clear difference. Although it is not self-contradictory to treat the same pair as both approximately equivalent and non-equivalent – since non-equivalence holds whenever the pair

is not completely equivalent – the degree and variability of similarity between such pairs remain unclear. Furthermore, although Teleman et al. (1999) note that such paraphrasability is "to a large extent lexically determined" (vol. 3, p. 433),[16] the precise extent to which it is lexically determined remains unknown.

Martola (2007, pp. 235–238) discusses the positional variation of a REFL-PP observed in varieties of Swedish spoken in Finland. These varieties are often referred to as 'Finland Swedish', contrasted against 'Sweden Swedish' (i.e., the standard variety spoken in Sweden.) She lists several sentence pairs from her Finland Swedish corpus, where a REFL-PP *åt sig* 'towards oneself; for oneself' occurs in both the VPC and the POC orders. One of these sentence pairs is cited in (2.27), where the a-example and the b-example contain a REFL-PP in the VPC and the POC, respectively.

(2.27) a. Riksdagen *bygger* ***åt sig*** *ett nytt stort hus*
parliament-DEF builds for REFL a new big house
'The Parliament is building a new big house for itself'

b. De borde bättre ta hand om pensionärerna och alla unga
they should better take hand around pensioners-DEF and all young
istället för att [...] *bygga flotta villor* ***åt sig***
instead for to build fine villas for REFL
'They should take better care of the pensioners and all the young instead of building fine villas for themselves'

(Martola 2007, p. 236, adapted)

As Martola discusses, it is debatable whether an overlap such as in (2.27) involves a verbal particle. This is because two of the most reliable criteria for a verbal particle, i.e., the positional and the prosodic criteria, do not provide a clear distinction in (certain varieties of) Finland Swedish (Martola 2007, pp. 210–212). The positional criterion, which relies on the suspected particle's pre-objective placement (i.e., in the VPC order), is less reliable in this case, since Finland Swedish (or at least some varieties of it) is more flexible in the placement of the PP proper than the standard variety of Swedish spoken in Sweden, which diminishes the exclusivity of the VPC order as a diagnostic for verbal particles. The prosodic criterion is also problematic, since the lexico-semantic combinations corresponding to typical Swedish verbal particles do not prosodically distinguish themselves from ordinary non-particle patterns.

However, when considering the lexico-semantic criterion, many occurrences with a REFL-PP in the VPC order (and some in the POC order) in Martola's material may still be analysed as involving verbal particles. In fact, she observes

16. In the original: "[v]ilka konstruktionsalternativ som är möjliga är i stor utsträckning lexikalt fastlagt" (Teleman et al. 1999, vol. 3, p. 433).

that lexico-semantic combinations typical to the VPC in Sweden Swedish mostly occur in the VPC in her Finland Swedish material, suggesting a considerable degree of parallelism between the VPCs in Sweden Swedish and Finland Swedish. Yet, she also found several VPC occurrences with lexico-semantic combinations that are atypical for verbal particles, making them appear rather like involving an ordinary adverbial instead (cf. Martola 2007, p. 236). Unable to reach a firm conclusion, she leaves open the question of whether any instance of *åt*–REFL in Finland Swedish should be analysed as involving a verbal particle, and calls for more in-depth investigations into verbal particles in Finland Swedish.

On the other hand, she analyses the REFL-PP in the VPC in Sweden Swedish as involving a verbal particle rather than an ordinary adverbial PP. Her motivation for this analysis is that the pre-objective position in the VPC is strongly associated with typical verbal particles in Sweden Swedish, and that the VPC in Sweden Swedish shows a striking restriction on which verb it can combine with, compared to the post-objective variant (Martola 2007, p. 230).

To summarise this section, the distribution of constructions with a REFL-PP has been largely unexplored, leaving open the question about the degree and nature of their overlap. Although both Hulthén (1948) and Teleman et al. (1999) analyse the REFL-PP in the VPC and the POC as involving different syntactic functions overall, it remains unclear how similar the overlapping pairs are in meaning or usage. Also, since both authors only present isolated examples of overlaps, the extent to which the VPC and the POC overlap remains understudied. Martola (2007) observes positional variation of *åt*–REFL in Finland Swedish, where the distinction between the VPC and the POC is less pronounced compared to Sweden Swedish, highlighting the need for more in-depth investigation of verbal particles in Finland Swedish.

2.2.2 Other constructions involving a verbal particle

This section presents previous observations related to particle alternation other than constructions with a REFL-PP, with a focus on predicative particles.

2.2.2.1 Constructions with a simplex verbal particle

For simplex verbal particles, which is the prototypical class of verbal particle, there are several well-known distributional facts that distinguish the VPC order from the POC order, thereby constraining possible overlaps.

Simplex verbal particles consist of directional adverbs such as *ut* 'out.DIR' and *upp* 'up.DIR'. As described above, simplex verbal particles are generally restricted to the VPC order in Swedish. The POC ordering of directional adverbs results in sentences that are "not particularly natural" ("inte särskilt naturlig";

Teleman et al. 1999, vol. 3, p. 434), such as in (2.28b). Conversely, positional adverbs such as *framme* 'out.POS' and *uppe* 'up.POS' can only appear in the POC order. Toivonen (2003) argues that this distributional contrast does not concern directionality, but rather whether the adverb encodes an endpoint or not. This is evident from the fact that adverbs without an endpoint (such as *framåt* 'forwards' and *uppåt* 'upwards') cannot occur in the VPC order despite their encoded directionality, as in (2.29). The examples (2.28–2.29) are adapted from Toivonen (2020, p. 525).

(2.28) a. Malin *sparkade* {***fram*/*upp***} *bollen*
M. kicked forth/up ball-DEF
'Malin kicked {out/up} the ball'

b. *Malin *sparkade bollen* {***fram*/*upp***}

(2.29) a. Malin *sparkade bollen* {***framåt*/*uppåt***}
M. kicked ball-DEF forwards/upwards
'Malin kicked the ball {forwards/upwards}'

b. *Malin *sparkade* {***framåt*/*uppåt***} *bollen*

The VPC ordering of verbal particles contrasts with ordinary content adverbials, which cannot generally appear in the VPC order (Toivonen 2003, p. 20). Thus, the sentence with VPC order in (2.30a), with a full PP *i sopkorgen* 'in the garbage bin' in the pre-objective position, is unacceptable, whereas the sentence with POC order in (2.30b), where the same PP appears in its canonical post-objective position, is acceptable. The examples in (2.30) are repeated from (1.4).

(2.30) a. *Matts *kastade* ***i sopkorgen*** *soporna*
M. threw in garbage.bin-DEF.SG garbage-DEF.PL

b. Matts *kastade soporna* ***i sopkorgen***
M. threw garbage-DEF.PL in garbage.bin-DEF.SG
'Matts threw the garbage in the garbage bin'
(Toivonen 2003, p. 20, adapted)

On the other hand, when the object is 'heavier' than the adverbial elements, the object can be 'postposed' to after the adverbial elements, resulting in the VPC order. In such a case, the pre-objective adverbial element is usually not considered to be a verbal particle, but rather a word order variation triggered by information structural factors. (Teleman et al. 1999, See the analysis in Table 2.2 by)

The pre-objective particle cannot be modified (Strzelecka 2003, pp. 111–112; Toivonen 2003, pp. 20–21). Thus, the sentence with VPC order in (2.31a), where the particle *bort* is modified by the word *längre* is unacceptable, in contrast to the sentence with POC order in (2.31b) which has a particle with

the same modifier. The examples in (2.31) are adapted from Toivonen (2003, p. 112).

(2.31) a. *Olle *sparkade* [*längre* ***bort***] *bollen*
O. kicked further away ball-DEF

b. Olle *sparkade bollen* [*längre* **bort**]
O. kicked ball-DEF further away
'Olle kicked the ball further away'

However, Larsson & Lundquist (2022b, pp. 185–186) observe that the VPC order is preferred to the POC order even when the particle is modified, as long as the modifier is separated at the end of the sentence. This is exemplified in the sentence with VPC order in (2.32), where the modifier *långt* is separated from the pre-objective particle *ut* by the object.

(2.32) Vi *kastade* ***ut*** *stenen* *långt*.
we threw out rock-DEF far
'We threw the rock far out' (Larsson & Lundquist 2022b, p. 186)

The POC ordering of an apparent verbal particle is exceptionally possible under certain conditions. One such condition is when the particle is immediately followed by another PP which further specifies the location denoted by the particle (Hulthén 1948; Strzelecka 2003; Teleman et al. 1999; Toivonen 2003). Compare the examples with a verbal particle *ut* 'out.DIR' and an adverbial PP *genom fönstret* 'through window-DEF' in (2.33), adapted from Toivonen (2003, p. 104). The sentence pair differs only in the position of the particle *ut*, which appears in the VPC order in (2.33a) and in the POC order in (2.33b). Larsson & Lundquist (2022b, pp. 185–186) observe that, in such contexts, the VPC ordering of the particle (as in 2.33a) is preferred to the POC ordering (as in 2.33b), the latter being "marginal" and "hardly occur[ing]" (cf. Larsson & Lundquist 2022a).

(2.33) a. Han *kastade* ***ut*** *böckerna* [$_{PP}$ *genom fönstret*]
he threw out books-DEF through window-DEF
'He threw the books out through the window'

b. Han *kastade böckerna* ***ut*** [$_{PP}$ *genom fönstret*]
(Toivonen 2003, p. 104, adapted)

Another exception appears when the verb only denotes an indirect cause for the object referent's movement, then the directional adverb must appear in the POC order (Teleman et al. 1999, vol. 3, p. 433). This is exemplified in (2.34): the action denoted by the verb *följa* 'follow' does not provide a direct cause for the movement of the object referent in the same way as *kastade* 'threw' and *sparkade* 'kicked' do in the previous examples, but rather an indirect cause, i.e., by 'following'. Toivonen (2003, pp. 126–127) suggests that the exceptional

placement of the verbal particle in such cases is due to the fact that the apparent verbal particle in sentences such as in (2.34) predicates of the subject referent, rather than the object referent. That is, the particle *ut* describes the result state of the subject referent *Mweta* as being 'out', rather than the object referent (denoted by *honom*).

(2.34) a. *Mweta envisades med att *följa* ***ut*** *honom* på trappan
M. insisted with to follow out him on stair-DEF

b. Mweta envisades med att *följa* *honom* ***ut*** på trappan
M. insisted with to follow him out on stair-DEF
'Mweta insisted on following him out on the stairs'
(Teleman et al. 1999, vol. 3, p. 433, modified)

Additionally, as Teleman et al. (1999, vol. 3, p. 433) observe, there are some adverbs that occur in both the VPC and the POC orders, as in (2.35–2.36). These adverbs include the directional adverbs *hem* 'home.DIR', *hit* 'here.DIR; hither', and *dit* 'there.DIR; thither', and even the placement adverbs *kvar* 'still here/there' and *ombord* 'aboard'.[17] The examples (2.35–2.36) are adapted from Teleman et al. (1999, vol. 3, p. 433).

(2.35) a. *skjutsa* ***hem*** *gästerna*
drive home.DIR guests-DEF
'drive the guests home'

b. *skjutsa gästerna* ***hem***

(2.36) a. *bära* ***ombord*** *bagaget*
carry aboard luggage-DEF
'carry the luggage on board'

b. *bära bagaget* ***ombord***

Several researchers argue that the VPC order is semantically distinct from the POC order. Teleman et al. (1999, vol. 3, p. 433), for example, observe that when the verbal particle appears in the VPC order, "the result is emphasised", whereas when it appears in the POC order, "the manner of movement is also highlighted".[18]

Toivonen (2003, 2020) states a similar observation that resultativeness characterises the VPC order. She suggests a broader generalisation that, except for idiomatic cases where the meaning of the lexical combination is nonpredictable

17. Given its PP-like composition (*om* + *bord*), the adverb *ombord* may be considered a case of what I call 'fossilised PPs', which is treated later in Section 2.2.2.3.

18. In the original: "[i] konstruktionen med partikeladverbial betonas resultatet, medan konstruktionen med bundet adverbial också lyfter fram sättet för förflyttning" (Teleman et al. 1999, vol. 3, p. 433).

from its components (such as *hålla av* 'like'),[19] the verbal particles appearing in the VPC order *must* denote the end state of the object as a direct result of the action denoted by the verb (Toivonen 2003, p. 117). Her generalisation accounts for the distribution of adverbs contrasting in the encoding of an endpoint, such as *fram* vs. *framåt* in (2.28–2.29). Furthermore, she seems to imply that there is always a difference in meaning between variants with VPC and POC orders, such as the sentence pair in (2.35): the directional adverbs appearing in the VPC order in (2.35) denote an end state of the object, whereas the adverbs appearing in the POC order denote the direction of activity (Toivonen 2003, p. 116).

Toivonen provides several contrastive pairs where the semantic difference is more evident, such as the sentence pair in (2.37). In (2.37a), which has the particle *hem* in the VPC order, the clause expresses a situation where the bus "necessarily ends up at home", while in (2.37b) with the same particle positioned in the POC order, the clause "simply means that Hans rode the bus home" (Toivonen 2003, p. 119), meaning that it predicates of the subject *Hans* rather than the object and that the subject referent does not need to have reached home (cf. Toivonen 2020, p. 526).

(2.37) a. Hans *tog* ***hem*** *bussen*
H. took home.DIR buss-DEF
'Hans brought home the bus'

b. Hans *tog* *bussen* ***hem***
H. took bus-DEF home.DIR
'Hans took the bus home' (Toivonen 2003, p. 119, adapted)

While Toivonen's generalisation that the VPC order is always resultative seems to hold for most cases, there are some apparent exceptions. Admitting that such cases are infrequent in both type and tokens (cf. p. 271) Strzelecka (2003, pp. 254–259) notes cases where clauses with verbal particles denote events that do not involve a change of state and thus do not have an inherent endpoint, or are atelic (cf. Teleman et al. 1999, vol. 4, p. 426). Among the several types she presents, the type of examples that may be worth noting in the context of our discussion is a combination with the verb *hålla* 'hold', which can be considered stative (Strzelecka 2003, p. 251), and thus atelic, that is, lacking an inherent endpoint. The sentences in (2.38–2.39), adapted from Strzelecka (2003, p. 257), contain a verbal particle in the VPC order, yet they seem to

19. Toivonen (2003, 2020) further excludes from her generalisation cases with non-predicative, aspectual particles such as *på* in *mannen pratade på* 'the man talked on' (Toivonen 2003, pp. 135–142). Since my discussion primarily concerns predicative particles (i.e., particles which in some way seem to predicate over a nominal argument, particularly an object), aspectual particles are not relevant.

express stative situations: the object referents in these examples (i.e., the bag in 2.38 and the horse in 2.39) do not change their locations. Rather, they are kept in the same location for a given period of time.

(2.38) Micke ler och *håller* ***upp*** *påsen* *med* *amfetaminet*
M. smiles and holds up.DIR bag-DEF with amphetamine-DEF
'Micke smiles and holds up the bag with the amphetamine'

(2.39) Joost Rijsberg *höll* ***in*** *sin* *häst* för en stund
J. R. held in.DIR POSS.REFL horse for a while
'Joost Rijsberg reined in her horse for a while'

Furthermore, Strzelecka observes that the context often determines the telicity of sentences containing such combinations. This is evident in the example (2.40), which contains the same V-P combination as (2.39) (i.e., 'hold in [a horse]'), and yet expresses a telic event involving an abrupt change of state of the horse to the state of 'reined in'.

(2.40) Sedan *höll* hon ***in*** *hästen*, så tvärt att han stegrade sig
then held she in.DIR horse-DEF so abruptly that he reared REFL
'Then she reined in the horse, so abruptly that he reared'
(Strzelecka 2003, p. 257)

Thus, she concludes that these combinations with the verb *hålla* are neutral in telicity, a trait which is exceptional among particle verbs (in the VPC order) that tend to be telic unless they are idiomatic (p. 257). Furthermore, referring to this case as involving "resultative particle verbs which secondarily refer to states" (p. 256),[20] Strzelecka considers that the atelicity of these sentences, with VPC order, is a result of mental scanning (Langacker 1987, p. 251), a process where language users construe a stative situation to be dynamic (Strzelecka 2003, pp. 255–256). As I understand her analysis, the sentence describing the stative situation *hålla in hästen* 'rein in.DIR the horse' as in (2.39) is still dynamic in its construal. That is, while there is no motion involved in the described situation itself, the linguistic form (in this case, the directional adverb *in*) reflects the construal of motion by language users when scanning the situation.

It is worth noting that her analysis is comparable to the treatment of English resultatives by Goldberg & Jackendoff (2004, pp. 543–544) regarding what they call "stative resultative". Additionally, the case of the verb *hålla* fits precisely as a subtype of stative resultatives involving causation which "does not involve change but rather forced maintenance of a state" (p. 544). This is exemplified by the English expression *The weights stretched the rope over the pully* (p. 544), where the subject referent exerts a continuous force so that the object referent

20. In the original: "resultativa partikelverb som sekundärt refererar till tillstånd" (Strzelecka 2003, p. 256).

remains in a certain location. Drawing on Goldberg & Jackendoff's analysis, Larsen (2014, p. 223) describes English particle verbs such as *hold back* (e.g., *the enemy troops*) and *keep out* (e.g., *the evil spirits*) as involving resultativeness, where "by averting one possible outcome a different outcome is brought about".

Several researchers have observed that certain varieties of Swedish allow more flexibility in the position of verbal particles (Hulthén 1948, pp. 160–161; Holmberg 1986, p. 236; Vinka 1999; Lundquist 2014a; Martola 2007). Two studies that discuss quantitative data are worth noting here. Lundquist (2014a) reports acceptability judgement data on word order variation of the lexical combination {*sätta på*} 'turn on (sth)' in the Nordic Syntax Database (Lindstad et al. 2009).[21] The test sentences are reproduced in (2.41), adapted from Lundquist (2014a, p. 111). The informants rated the test sentences on a 5-point Likert scale.

(2.41) a. Jag *satte* ***på*** *radion*
I put on radio-DEF
'I turned on the radio'

b. Jag *satte radion* ***på***

Lundquist reports that the POC-order variant in (2.41b) was generally judged unacceptable, rated on the lower end of the 5-point scale (viz., 1 or 2) by most informants. Exceptions to this pattern were observed in several locations, mostly around southern Finland – specifically, three adjacent locations in Southern Finland, one location in Österbotten, and one location in Överkalix. The informants from these locations rated the POC-order variant (2.41b) somewhat higher, with a mean rating in the middle (3) or higher (4 or 5) on the scale.

In her corpus study, Martola (2007, p. 238) found several occurrences of the V-P combination {*skilja åt*} 'separate (sth)' in both the VPC and the POC order in her Finland Swedish material – 59 and 96 occurrences, respectively – while in her Sweden Swedish material she found only the POC-order variant, with 123 occurrences. Since the V-P combination {*skilja åt*} is lexically fixed, and its usage does not appear to differ considerably depending on whether it appears in the VPC or the POC order, Martola analyses {*skilja åt*} as an abstract construction that permits word order variation, licencing both the VPC- and the POC-order variants. Her analysis of the V-P combination *skilja åt* virtually corresponds to Cappelle's (2006) allostructional analysis of English particle verbs (see Section 3.3.3).

21. The data come from 49 locations in Sweden and Finland, with judgements from an average of four participants per location. Participants from each location varied in age (15–30 or over 50) and sex (male or female). The stimuli were presented aurally and translated into the participants' dialect. See Lindstad et al. (2009) for details on the data collection procedure.

2.2.2.2 Constructions with a simplex verbal particle and a reflexive object

When the object is a reflexive pronoun, the POC ordering of what can be regarded as a verbal particle is possible in certain cases (e.g., Leander 1933; Teleman et al. 1999). Some cases are more lexicalised combinations and occur only in the POC-order variant, such as *slå sig ner* (‘sit down’; lit. ‘beat oneself down’), *bryta sig in* (‘break in illegally’; lit. ‘break oneself in’) (Strzelecka 2003, pp. 127–131). In many cases, different orderings of the same V-P combination are associated with different meanings, as in *ställa in sig* (*på ngt*) ‘prepare (for sth)’ vs. *ställa sig in* (*hos ngn*) ‘ingratiate oneself (with sb)’ (Teleman et al. 1999, vol. 3, p. 425).

Kvist Darnell & Wide (2001, p. 116) observe that there are some pairs where the meaning difference is not “hazardous” or “not decisive for the whole interpretation”.[22] One such pair is the one provided in (2.42), adapted here from Lundquist (2014b, p. 127).

(2.42) a. De *trängde* ***in*** *sig* i huset
they squeezed in REFL in house-DEF
‘They squeezed themselves into the house’

b. De *trängde sig* ***in*** i huset
they squeezed REFL in in house-DEF

Lundquist (2014b, p. 134), on the other hand, observes that such pairs often involve “slightly different interpretations”, where “the particle seems to modify the event rather than the following state” in the POC-order variant in (2.42b). While it is not entirely clear how this interpretation of the POC-order variant contrasts with that of the VPC-order variant, he seems to suggest that the verbal particle *in* in (2.42b) is associated with the verb *trängde* rather than the following adverbial *i huset*. Further, he attempts to characterise the semantic difference between the VPC order and the POC order in terms of co-occurring verbs. Admitting that which factors determine the word order is unclear, he observes that the POC-order variant “seems to be mainly used when the verb (plus particle) denotes a change of location or posture”, as in *sätta sig upp* ‘sit up’, whereas the VPC-order variant tends to be used instead with verbs denoting change of state or other verbs, as in *lugna ner sig* ‘calm down’, *klä upp sig* ‘dress up’, and *skämma ut sig* ‘shame/embarrass oneself’.

Lundquist’s observation that the tendency of the POC-order variant to be used with locational verbs is likely related to the fact that this variant forms a

22. In the original: “[det finns] flera standardsvenska uttryck där olika ordföljd mycket väl kan accepteras utan att betydelse förändringen blir *halsbrytande* [. . .]. Vi vill inte hävda att det inte går att göra någon skillnad alls, bara *att skillnaderna inte blir avgörande för hela tolkningen av innehållet*” (Kvist Darnell & Wide 2001, pp. 115–116). The italicised sections indicate the sections presented in the main text in my own translation.

productive pattern, corresponding to the so called '*way*-construction' in English (Toivonen 2002, 2003, 2020; Strzelecka 2003, pp. 128–130; Lyngfelt 2007, pp. 103–104). Toivonen (2003, p. 107) regards this pattern as a "constructional idiom", in which the verb-phrase structure [V-REFL-OBLIQUE] itself encodes a directional meaning, allowing verbs not directly related to motion to co-occur with it to express a directional meaning. An example of such constructional idioms is presented in (2.43). Although the verb *jobbade* 'worked' is not typically associated with directional meaning, the whole clause expresses an event where the subject *Margareta* moves up to an implicit location, either concretely or abstractly.

(2.43) Margareta *jobbade* *sig* ***upp***
M. worked REFL up
'Margareta worked her way up' (Toivonen 2020, p. 532, adapted)

Lundquist (2014b) also reports some varieties in which both variants are accepted. For two V-P combinations tested in his acceptability judgement study – namely {*sätta ner*} (lit. 'set [oneself] down') and {*vända om*} (lit. 'turn [oneself] around') – speakers of the variety of Swedish spoken in southern Finland generally accepted both the VPC and the POC orders, indicating a free word order variation in this regional variety. Furthermore, among speakers of Sweden Swedish, where the VPC order is considered "non-standard" (p. 131), older speakers from various regions accepted the VPC order, suggesting that the VPC order was more readily accepted in the past than it is today.

2.2.2.3 Constructions with a fossilised PP

Teleman et al. (1999, vol. 3, pp. 420–421) observe that some lexicalised PPs can occur in both the VPC and the POC orders. This is exemplified in (2.44), where the PP-like sequence *till fånga* appear either before or after the object *tyskarna*. Other examples include combinations such as *göra i ordning*, *ro i land*, *ta till vara*. I will refer to this type of lexicalised PP specifically as **fossilised PP**s. Fossilised PPs distinguish themselves from the REFL-PP in some formal aspects. Prosodically, the stress on fossilised PPs falls on the noun (t.ex., *till FÅNGA*). Morphologically, they lack internal inflection and often preserve archaic declension forms, such as *fånga* in *till fånga*, which is an archaic genitive form of *fånge* 'captive' (cf. Teleman et al. 1999, vol. 1, p. 113). In contrast, REFL-PPs receive stress on the preposition (t.ex., *TILL sig*) and change their form according to the subject of the clause with which the reflexive pronoun agrees. Teleman et al. (1999) analyse fossilised PPs differently than REFL-PPs: they treat fossilised PPs as a multi-word adverb functioning as a particle in its entirety – i.e., in effect as a complex particle – in contrast to REFL-PPs, which they regard as composed of a particle and an indirect object.

(2.44) a. *ta* ***till fånga*** *tyskarna*
take to captivity germans-DEF
'capture the Germans'

b. *ta tyskarna* ***till fånga*** (Teleman et al. 1999, vol. 3, p. 420, adapted)

Teleman et al. (1999) observe further that many such combinations tend to be preferred in the POC order when the object is an unstressed pronoun. This pattern is illustrated in the examples in (2.45), where the object is the unstressed pronoun *dem*. The sentence in the VPC order in (2.45a) is less acceptable, whereas the sentence in the POC order in (2.45b) is fully acceptable, though both have a fossilised PP. Larsson & Lundquist (2022b) propose analysing this pattern similarly to typical verbal particles in present-day Norwegian, in which the placement of verbal particles is considered sensitive to the type of object (see Section 2.1.3).

(2.45) a. ?*ta* ***till fånga*** *dem*
take to captivity them

b. *ta dem* ***till fånga***
take them to captivity
'capture them' (Teleman et al. 1999, vol. 3, p. 420, adapted)

2.2.2.4 Constructions with a non-reflexive PP-like sequence

Kjellman (1929) compares the VPC and the POC orders of what appears to be a PP headed by the preposition *till* 'to' followed by a non-reflexive, referential complement. This pattern is exemplified in the example pair in (2.46), adapted from Kjellman (1929, p. 143). The non-reflexive PP-like sequence *till Pelle* 'to Pelle' precedes the object *bollen* 'the ball' in (2.46a), while it follows the object in (2.46b)

(2.46) a. han *kastade* ***till Pelle*** *bollen*
he threw to P. ball-DEF
'he threw the ball to Pelle'

b. han *kastade bollen* ***till Pelle***

Kjellman observes that in the VPC-order variant in (2.46a), "[t]he direction itself is emphasised incredibly much more" (p. 143)[23] than in the POC-order variant in (2.46b). Later, Norén (1996) discusses this same contrast pair and observes that the difference is not clearly perceived as Kjellman (1929, p. 124) describes it. According to her, the difference can be ascribed to a focus on

23. In the original: "själva riktningen framhålles oerhört mycket mer än i den förra" (Kjellman 1929, p. 143).

the different participants, rather than on the direction: while the theme argument (the ball) is the focus in the POC-order variant in (2.46b), the recipient argument (Pelle) is the focus in the VPC-order variant in (2.46a).

Interestingly, Norén (1996, pp. 160, 212) further speculates on changes in usage since the time of Kjellman (1929). Regarding the series of examples with a non-reflexive PP-like sequence in the VPC order provided by Kjellman (1929), Norén (1996) comments that they are no longer perceived acceptable, although some are still interpretable.[24] In addition, Norén (1996) also treats another pattern containing a non-reflexive PP-like sequence with the preposition *av* 'off', exemplified in (2.47–2.48). The parentheses mark the part that can be omitted.

(2.47) Hon *skalade* ***av äpplet*** (*skalet*)
she peeled off apple-DEF peel-DEF
'She peeled the peel off the apple' (Norén 1996, p. 175, adapted)

(2.48) Hon *tvättade* ***av händerna*** (*smutsen*)
she washed off hands-DEF dirt-DEF
'She washed the dirt off her hands' (Norén 1996, p. 176, adapted)

In these examples, according to Norén (1996), "the theme object is focused, at the same time as the direction of movement 'from a source' is emphasised" (p. 175),[25] in addition to being "terminativ" (p. 176), which is her term for resultative.

While both Kjellman's and Norén's observations on the semantic difference between the VPC order and the POC order are not elaborated further, they seem to suggest that it involves a difference in focus: the VPC order puts more focus on the pre-objective PP-like element, either on the directionality related to the P or the NP than the POC order, which puts less focus on these elements, if any.

2.3 Summary

In this chapter, I have reviewed previous research on the overlaps between constructions with a REFL-PP, relating them to the literature on verbal particles. Since the VPC order is most often considered distinctively associated with verbal particles in Swedish, the POC order tends to not receive much attention, making the amount of literature discussing overlaps between constructions

24. It may be worth noting that several native speakers of Swedish have commented that Norén's examples in (2.47–2.48) sound unnatural as Swedish. From these comments, it can be inferred that a further decrease in usage may have occurred since the description by Norén (1996).

25. In the original: "rörelsepartikeln *av* [kan] också användas så att ett Objekt fokuseras, samtidigt som rörelseriktningen 'från en källa' förstärks" (Norén 1996, p. 175).

with a REFL-PP relatively scarce. Among the few studies that have discussed overlaps between constructions with a REFL-PP, a common assumption is that the REFL-PP in the constructions with a REFL-PP in Swedish takes on a different grammatical function depending on its position: the REFL-PP in the VPC is assumed to involve a verbal particle, while the REFL-PP in the POC is treated as a kind of content adverbial. However, it remains to be explored to what extent the VPC and the POC overlap and how a difference in clausal function maps onto differences in meaning or usage across overlapping patterns.

To supplement the lack of discussion on the overlaps between the VPC and the POC in Swedish, I have presented existing discussions on the overlaps involving other types of verbal particles. The semantic characteristics that researchers tend to associate with the VPC order, in contrast to the POC order and vice versa, can be summarised in three, possibly interrelated, categories:

- The VPC order, excluding idiomatic combinations, encodes a resultative meaning (regarding constructions with simplex verbal particles and those with a non-reflexive PP).
- The POC order tends to be associated with locational meaning in contrast to the VPC order which is associated with the result state or the change of state (regarding constructions with simplex verbal particles and those with a simplex verbal particle + a reflexive object).
- The two orders are associated with different ways of emphasising participants (regarding constructions with a non-reflexive PP).

Additionally, fossilised PPs such as *till fånga* 'to capture' have been reported to occur in both the VPC and the POC orders, a distribution that, as Teleman et al. (1999) observe, depends in part on the type of object. Furthermore, some researchers have pointed out regional and generational variation in the possible placement of some types of verbal particles. In particular, southern Finland Swedish has often been observed to allow both the VPC and the POC orders to the extent that they can be considered free word order variation, such as *sätta på radion* vs. *sätta radion på* ('turn on the radio'). However, as Martola (2007, p. 237) points out, the status of verbal particles in this regional variety is debatable due to their lack of absolute distinctiveness relative to ordinary adverbials, at least concerning a REFL-PP *åt sig*.

3 Theoretical framework

In this chapter, I present the theoretical framework and relevant theoretical concepts that underpin the present study. My theoretical framework is the **usage-based constructionist approach** (e.g., Bybee 2010; Diessel 2015; Goldberg 2006, 2019), a strand of broader approaches known under the label 'construction grammar'. While this latter label is widely used, it may overly imply a specific formalisation and unnecessary divisions between approaches that, in fact, share a core set of assumptions (Goldberg 2013b, p. 31). Since I am more interested in an approach to grammatical analysis broadly rather than in specific formalisations, I adopt Goldberg's label 'constructionist approach'.

One of the essential assumptions shared by the practitioners of constructionist approaches is that knowledge of language consists of a network of mentally stored form-meaning pairings, or **constructions**, which may vary in complexity and schematicity (cf. Croft & Cruse 2004; Diessel 2015). Additionally, the usage-based constructionist approach is distinguished from other strands of constructionist approaches by its commitment to **usage-based models of grammar**, which view grammar as a dynamic system emergent through and constantly shaped by actual usage (e.g., Langacker [1988] 2002; Bybee 2010; Diessel 2015, 2019; Ungerer & Hartmann 2023, p. 21; Goldberg 2006, pp. 213–226; Schmid 2020). This specific approach has been also referred to as 'cognitive construction grammar' (Boas 2013; Goldberg 2006), 'usage-based construction grammar' (Hoffmann 2022; Valdeson 2021), and '(usage-based, cognitive) construction grammar' (Zehentner 2023).

The constructionist approach in general handles grammatical phenomena with semiregularity particularly well (cf. Boas et al. 2024a, p. 182). Thus, it is suitable for the description of particle verb constructions, which display both word-like, idiomatic features and phrase-like, compositional features (cf. Goldberg 1995, p. 7). Indeed, several applications have been made in studying constructions with verbal particles in Swedish (Börjesson 2012; Norén 2005; Olofsson 2018; for a special treatment of constructions with a simplex verbal particle, Sjögreen 2015; for a treatment of subtypes of the VPC in our narrow sense, Martola 2007; Lyngfelt 2007; Tohno 2001, 2002). On the other hand, since constructionists tend to emphasise the importance of generalisation over the same surface form (e.g., Goldberg 1995, pp. 101–108), and since it is widely assumed that Swedish verbal particles generally occur in the pre-objective posi-

tion, the application of constructionist approaches to word order variation of Swedish verbal particles has been largely unexplored, with Martola (2007) being a notable exception.

In recent years, constructionists have increasingly incorporated relations between formally distinct structures into their analyses, conceptualised as horizontal relations among constructions. This turn is symbolically marked by Cappelle (2006), who claimed a necessity of such a device to account for the word order variation among English particle verb constructions (as in *set* NP *out* vs. *set out* NP) (for an overview, see Zehentner 2023). Valdeson's (2021) study on dative alternation is, to my knowledge, the first application of horizontal relations to the grammatical analysis of Swedish. This study contributes to the ongoing extension of constructionist approaches to horizontal relations among constructions in Swedish.

The chapter is structured as follows: the first three sections introduce the central notions of the usage-based constructionist approach, including usage-based models (Section 3.1), constructions (Section 3.2), and relations among constructions (Section 3.3). Section 3.4 introduces frame semantics, which serves as the semantic description of constructions in the present study. Section 3.5 presents how constructions are applied to licence expressions, considering in particular acceptability (Section 3.5.1) and productivity (Section 3.5.2).

3.1 Usage-based models of grammar

3.1.1 The maximalist, non-reductive, bottom-up approach

Usage-based models are motivated by the pursuit of a cognitively realistic grammar, in the sense that grammar is explained by general cognitive mechanisms, among others, categorisation, analogy and entrenchment (e.g., Langacker 1987; Bybee 2010; Diessel 2019). The usage-based model as first explicated by Langacker ([1988] 2002) is described as a maximalist, non-reductive, bottom-up approach to grammar (Langacker [1988] 2002, p. 264). The regularity in language emerges bottom-up as an abstraction from actual usage, and as a result, grammar consists of "a massive, highly redundant inventory of conventional units" (p. 264). On this view, low-level generalisations are regarded as natural in the linguistic system.

Langacker contrasts this approach to the derivational tradition represented by Noam Chomsky (e.g., 1965, 1995), or what Culicover & Jackendoff (2005) refer to as 'mainstream generative grammar', which is characterised by its minimalist, reductive, top-down approach to grammar (Langacker [1988] 2002, pp. 261–262; cf. Culicover & Jackendoff 2005). In pursuit of a distinct mental linguistic faculty innate to human beings, the derivational tradition strives to

minimise the components of grammar into the smallest possible set of necessary components, avoiding redundancy in the description. Their approach is top-down in the sense that all the well-formed sentences in the given language are derivable from these components. Also, various surface structures can be derived from underlying representations through derivational operations. Different surface forms may be related via derivation from a common underlying representation. One consequence of such a minimalist, reductive approach is that grammar is divided into two distinct components: rules and list items. In such a model, the regularity is put in the grammar as grammatical rules, whereas the irregularity is stored separately in the lexicon as listed items.

Calling such a view a "rule/list fallacy", Langacker (1987, p. 29) criticises the division between grammatical rules and listed items. The regularity (i.e., grammatical rules) and the irregularity (i.e., listed items) in the language are represented as different facets of conventional units – or 'constructions' in constructionist terms – differing merely in complexity and schematicity. Importantly, grammar seen this way is not without order, indeed, the conventional units are structured as a "schematic network" (Langacker 1987, pp. 73–75), as will be described in Section 3.3.

The usage-based model of grammar explicated by Langacker ([1988] 2002) was couched within his own theory of Cognitive Grammar. Although Cognitive Grammar has certain theoretical assumptions and terminologies original to it, many of the ideas have influenced the development of constructionist approaches, and it can even be considered one strand of usage-based constructionist approaches (Langacker 2005; Goldberg 2006, pp. 220–226; Croft & Cruse 2004, pp. 278–283; Ungerer & Hartmann 2023, pp. 15–27). As such, usage-based models have been incorporated into various constructionist approaches (see e.g., Perek 2023; Diessel 2015; Perek 2023).

3.1.2 The locus of grammar in usage-based models

The term 'usage-based' may be understood and used with various implications. In particular, a study can be usage-based at the methodological or epistemological level (Boas et al. 2024a, p. 183; Taylor 2006, pp. 573–574). In the former case, the term refers to a particular methodology, where the analyst bases her study on actual usage data. In the latter case, the term marks a deeper theoretical commitment, where the analyst attempts to explain a phenomenon in terms of usage-based models of grammar.

Additionally, the term 'usage' itself may be used to refer to usage as mentally represented or socially actualised (Langacker 2008, pp. 215–218; Croft 2009, 2024). The former case concerns how the usage of a particular pattern is represented in the mental representation. The latter concerns the actual use of

language in social interaction, situated within a conventional system of understanding in a given speech community. Relatedly, we can ask where grammar is conceived to reside (cf. Colleman & Noël 2025, pp. 497–498; Ungerer 2023, p. 19; van Trijp 2024, p. 317): is grammar conceptualised as a mental representation in the mind of individual speakers, or as an idealisation abstracted over mental representations among the population of a given speech community?

I see these different uses of the terms as reflecting various aspects of usage-based models which may be highlighted on appropriate occasions (cf. Lyngfelt et al. 2017, p. 147). The epistemological sense of the term 'usage-based' motivates the methodological validity of data – in particular corpus frequency, which is often employed by usage-based linguists as a measure of entrenchment. The frequency distribution of a given lexico-grammatical pattern in a corpus can be considered a methodologically valid measure of the degree of entrenchment of that pattern in individuals' minds, given that corpus frequency is seen as a proxy for individual exposure (cf. Beckner et al. 2009, p. 7). A caveat, however, is that corpus frequency should not be taken at face value. Frequency distributions in any given corpus are never equated with an individual speaker's exposure (Iwata 2008, pp. 6–8). Further, usage-based linguists need to keep in mind which aspect of frequency is relevant for a cognitively plausible linguistic analysis (Schmid 2010; Goldberg 2019, pp. 133–134).

Likewise, the duality of the term 'usage' as mental and social can highlight the two aspects of grammar as mental and social: while grammar resides in individuals' minds as knowledge of language, it is also social, collective knowledge, functioning as a shared resource available in social interaction in a given speech community (Beckner et al. 2009; Bybee 2010; Saussure [1916] 1960; Schmid 2020; Silvennoinen 2023; Ungerer 2023). The following quote from Langacker (2008) illustrates this duality of grammar as both mental and social:

> The regularities that we reify and collectively refer to as "a language" consist of conventional linguistic units. They are "units" in the sense of being entrenched cognitive routines, and "conventional" by virtue of representing established linguistic practice in a certain speech community. These conventional units embody the rules of a language and the restrictions imposed on its expressions. (Langacker 2008, p. 218)

That being said, what I am interested in in the present study is the more or less conventionally established linguistic system commonly conceived of as standard Swedish. Thus, I put greater emphasis on an aggregated, system-oriented perspective of grammar (van Trijp 2024; Boas et al. 2024a; Blensenius & Lyngfelt 2025; Ungerer 2023, p. 19), abstracting away individual variations, unless such variation plausibly reflects sub-group conventions. While such aggregated grammar involves idealisation, it can be understood to represent the

collectively shared knowledge of conventional language use, which language users can draw upon in communicative situations. Crucially, although individuals often speak according to the conventions, they also have the freedom to deviate from them and speak in less conventional ways (cf. Goldberg 2019, pp. 7–10; cf. Belligh & Willems 2022). This last point relates to the usage-based concept of productivity, which will be described further in Section 3.5.2.

3.2 Constructions

3.2.1 Definitions

As the labels 'constructionist approach' and 'construction grammar' suggest, the notion of 'construction' is central to the constructionist approaches. An often-cited definition of the term construction is the one provided by Goldberg (1995):

(3.1) C is a CONSTRUCTION iff$_{\text{def}}$ C is a form–meaning pair <F_i, S_i> such that some aspect of S_i is not strictly predictable from C's component parts or from other previously established constructions. (Goldberg 1995, p. 5)

The notion of construction can be understood as an expansion of the traditional notion of Saussurian sign – an arbitrary and conventional pairing of form and meaning (Goldberg 1995, p. 4). Constructions encompass not only lexical items such as *tree*, which is a typical example of a Saussurian sign, but also a wide range of linguistic units differing in complexity and abstraction, as long as they carry some degree of unpredictability in their (composition of the) meanings. This enables us to describe a whole range of grammatical patterns in terms of constructions, where the distinction between the grammar and the lexicon is blurred into a **syntax–lexicon continuum** (see Section 3.1 above). The syntax–lexicon continuum is illustrated in Figure 3.1, where grammatical patterns are sorted along two dimensions, representing schematicity (along the x-axis) and complexity (along the y-axis). On the specific side of the schematicity dimension, the bottom-left corner is occupied by a lexically specified atomic unit: i.e., words in the traditional sense (e.g., *tree*). In the top-left corner are complex but lexically specified units, such as idioms or multi-word expressions (e.g., *by and large*). On the schematic side, traditional syntactic categories (e.g., noun, preposition, etc.) occupy the bottom-right corner, while increasing complexity yields highly abstract complex patterns in the top-right corner, corresponding to phrase structures.

Later, Goldberg progressively incorporates a more usage-based and dynamic component into her approach, drawing increasing influence from cognitive psychology (Ungerer & Hartmann 2023, p. 21, fn. 9). In the expanded

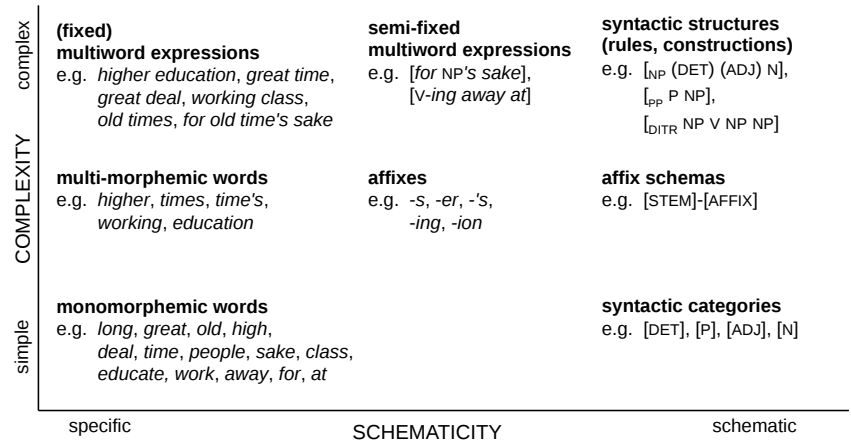

Figure 3.1. The syntax–lexicon continuum (adapted from Stefanowitsch & Flach 2017, p. 106)

definitions in Goldberg (2006, p. 9), even patterns which do not strictly contain unpredictable aspects may be considered constructions, given that they occur with sufficient frequency. Thus, frequently occurring expressions such as *I love you* are considered a construction stored and entrenched as chunks in individuals' minds, despite an apparent lack of non-predictability.

Her most recent definition advances a dynamic and emergent perspective, where a construction is described as "an emergent cluster of lossy (imperfect) memory traces that align within our high-dimensional conceptual space on the basis of shared form, function, and contextual dimensions" (Goldberg 2024, p. 222; cf. Goldberg 2019, p. 7). This definition allows for an interpretation of constructions as gradient, fluid categories that emerge from usage exemplars, rather than as discrete entities, thus avoiding the unwanted conception accompanied by the previous definitions that a construction is either stored or not, determined by a fixed threshold of unpredictability or frequency (cf. Langacker 2006, pp. 139–142; Hilpert & Diessel 2016, pp. 70–71).

As an operational definition for my study, which focuses on the conventionally established, community aspect of language, I adopt Goldberg's (2006) definition, serving as a sufficient criterion for identifying a conventional construction. At the same time, I draw upon the gradient, fluid view on constructions in Goldberg (2019), where low-frequency patterns may serve as a basis for emergent usage.

3.2.2 Argument structure constructions

An important proposal laid out in Goldberg (1995) is that the central part of clausal structures is analysed in terms of **argument structure constructions** – a special type of constructions encoding the central meaning of a clause, describing "who did what to whom" (Goldberg 2019, p. 28). Her point is effectively illustrated by the famous example in (3.2).

(3.2) *He sneezed the napkin off the table.* (Goldberg 1995, p. 9)

The clause in (3.2) depicts an event where a male person sneezes so that a napkin is moved off the table. This clausal meaning is not entirely predictable from the components of the clause. Especially since it seems implausible to ascribe the meaning component 'causing motion' solely to the intransitive verb *sneeze*, it would be reasonable to assume that at least some portion of meaning is provided by the whole syntactic pattern, composed of subject, verb, object, and an oblique, as a 'caused-motion construction'.

The presence of occurrences such as (3.2), where the verb is atypical for the given syntactic structure, is often considered a criterion for identifying them as instances of an argument structure construction due to their alleged unpredictability in composition. Occurrences with atypical verbs are also considered an indication of the construction's productivity, i.e., the possibility of extending the construction to a novel type – in this case, a novel verb, a notion which will be discussed in more detail in Section 3.5.2.

Some of the English argument structure constructions are listed in Table 3.1 accompanied by examples, one with a typical verb and one with an atypical verb. Double quotation marks indicate that the example is cited from a natural occurrence.

The notion of argument structure constructions is particularly important for the purpose of the present study, since the VPC and the POC appear to be associated with unique clausal meanings appropriately describable in terms of argument structure constructions.

3.3 Relations among constructions

Another important aspect of the constructionist approach is that constructions are related to each other and structured as a network. Grammar as a whole is then conceptualised as a network of constructions.[26] While several different

26. The set of constructions in a language (and their organisation) is often referred to as 'constructicon' (Jurafsky 1992; Hilpert et al. 2025), in analogy to 'lexicon'. Various alternative spellings or terminologies have been used for better readability, such as 'construct-i-con' (Goldberg 2003; Hilpert 2019), 'constructiCon' (Hilpert et al. 2025), and 'ConstructionNet'

Table 3.1. A partial list of English argument structure constructions, adapted from Goldberg (2019, p. 35) with modification.

Label	Form	Meaning
Caused-motion construction	Subj, V, Obj, Oblique$_{path}$ *She put the ball in the box.* "*He sneezed the bullet right out of his right nostril.*"	X causes Y to move (to/from) Z
Intransitive motion construction	Subj, V, Oblique$_{path}$ *She went down the street.* "*Skiers whooshed down the slopes.*"	X moves (to/from) Y
Double-object construction	Subj, V, Obj, Obj2 *She gave him something.* *She mooped him something.*	X causes Y to receive Z
Way construction	Subj, V, <poss$_i$ > way, Oblique$_{path}$ *She made her way into the room.* "*Heather handstands her way out of the bathroom.*"	X creates a path and moves through it (to) Z
Resultative construction	Subj, V, Obj, Predicate$_{AP}$ *He made her crazy.* *She kissed him unconscious.*	X causes Y to become Z

sets of relation types have been proposed in constructional networks (for an overview, see Diessel 2023; Hilpert et al. 2025; Sommerer & Van de Velde 2025; Ungerer & Hartmann 2023), the two major types of relations often discussed in the literature are the so-called 'vertical' and 'horizontal' relations (Sommerer & Van de Velde 2025, p. 224).

In early constructionist approaches, the vertical relation was by far the most employed relation (cf. Croft & Cruse 2004, pp. 262–265). In such analyses, constructions are organised into a taxonomic network varying in schematicity.

Recently, in response to the need for accounting for phenomena such as syntactic alternation, there has been increasing discussion within usage-based constructionist approaches about the relationships between constructions that are at comparable levels of schematicity but are not immediately related taxonomically. The recognition of horizontal relations between constructions has encouraged the reconceptualisation of the constructicon as more flexible than inheritance alone allows. Accordingly, in recent work, some researchers have extended the conception of the constructional network from an inheritance network to a multi-dimensional network of associations, where the former inheritance link is essentially subsumed as one type of association (Schmid 2020; Diessel 2019, 2023; cf. Hilpert et al. 2025).

In the following, I restrict the discussion to the two central constructional

(Goldberg 2024).

relations – vertical and horizontal – that are particularly relevant to the present study. Section 3.3.1 discusses the vertical relationship, which is classically expressed by a formal mechanism of inheritance and is understood to manifest in the processes of schematisation and categorisation in the usage-based constructionist approach. Section 3.3.2 discusses the more recently explored horizontal relationship, with a particular focus on the allostructional relations, which account for syntactic alternation phenomena. In Section 3.3.3, I discuss different approaches to word order variation in the context of argument structure constructions – in particular, English particle verb constructions – within constructional networks.

3.3.1 Vertical relations

3.3.1.1 Inheritance

The vertical relationship is expressed as **inheritance** in many constructionist approaches, where the more specific construction inherits information from, or instantiates, the more schematic construction.[27] In accommodating the usage-based, maximalist, bottom-up view of linguistic knowledge, the usage-based constructionist approach adopts a specific mode of the inheritance model: default inheritance, which allows low-level exceptions, accompanied by the full-entry model, which accepts storage of redundant information among instances (Goldberg 1995, pp. 73–74; Croft & Cruse 2004, pp. 275–278; Diessel 2023, pp. 4–6).

Default inheritance permits lower-level nodes to override specifications inherited from higher-level nodes when necessary. It contrasts with complete inheritance, which disallows lower-level nodes from contradicting specifications from higher-level nodes. Default inheritance conveniently accommodates exceptions among categories, which are common in human conceptual organisation and grammar (Croft & Cruse 2004, p. 276). For a grammatical example, consider the idiomatic expression *kick the bucket*, meaning 'to die' (Croft & Cruse 2004, pp. 263–264). Formally, this lexically fixed idiom instantiates the general transitive pattern of the verb *kick*, as in *kick a ball*. In constructionist terms, the traditional selection restriction of a verb (e.g., *kick*) is expressed as an inheritance from a verb-specific schematic construction such as [*kick* OBJECT]. Likewise, the general pattern of transitive verbs is expressed as an inheritance from a schematic argument structure construction [VERB OBJECT],

27. The inheritance relationship is often compared to a nuclear-family relationship. The more schematic construction and the more specific construction linked 'vertically' with an inheritance relationship are respectively called a 'mother' and a 'daughter' node (e.g., Sag et al. 2003; Audring 2019), or a 'parent' and a 'child' node (e.g., Diessel 2023). Likewise, the nodes that are linked 'horizontally' may be called 'sister' or 'sibling' nodes (e.g., Audring 2019).

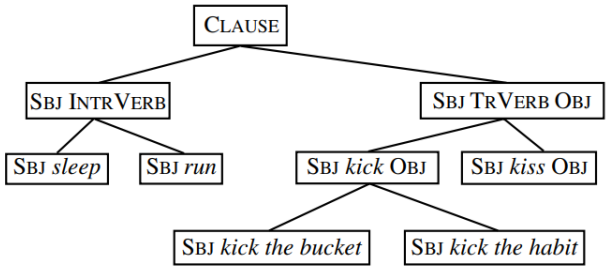

Figure 3.2. A classic taxonomic network of constructions (Croft & Cruse 2004, p. 264)

which then may abstract even higher up to the general verb-phrase construction [VERBPHRASE]. This taxonomic relation is depicted in Figure 3.2. (Note that the figure illustrates a network representation based on a clause instead of a verb phrase, thus the nodes include the subject SBJ as well.)

On the other hand, due to the unpredictability in its lexico-semantic combination – i.e., its meaning as a whole in relation to the components' meanings in isolation – the pattern *kick the bucket* 'die' must be stored as a distinct construction. Default inheritance allows such an exception in the low-level nodes.

The full-entry model allows nodes to store redundant information within the network. It is contrasted to the impoverished-entry model, which restricts information to being stored only once in the network – nodes contain only the minimal necessary information which is inheritable from other relevant nodes. For a grammatical example, take the more or less compositional idiom *kick the habit* 'give up a harmful habit'. In the impoverished-entry model, the node [*kick the habit*] would omit all the information inheritable from other existing nodes, such as the fact that it is formed as a transitive verb phrase, via inheritance from a schematic argument structure construction (cf. Jackendoff 1975, p. 662). In addition, we can consider inheritance from other nodes alongside the schematic argument structure construction as a case of 'multiple inheritance' (e.g., Goldberg 1995, p. 73). In particular, the meaning of the word *habit* in this idiom ('routinised behaviour') is conceivably identical to that in other contexts, and is thus inheritable from the node representing the word *habit* as a lexical construction. In this sense, this part of the information concerning *habit* can also be omitted in the [*kick the habit*] node. The same applies to information related to other components of the idiom, such as *kick* and *the* as lexical constructions. In contrast, in the full-entry model, such information can be redundantly stored in the [*kick the habit*] node. While the impoverished-entry model is parsimonious in terms of storage, the full-entry model achieves computational parsimony by enabling all necessary information to be directly stored and accessed at a single

node, thereby eliminating the need to retrieve information from related nodes. The full-entry model aligns more closely with usage-based models, which assume that language users retain rich, detailed memory traces of concrete usage events, and that chunks are stored as distinct units (Bybee 2010; Goldberg 2006; Hilpert 2019, pp. 67–68).

3.3.1.2 Schematisation and categorisation

In usage-based models, the taxonomic network can be viewed from two different perspectives (Diessel 2019, pp. 45–46, 2023, pp. 16–17; cf. Langacker [1988] 2002, p. 265). On the one hand, a schematic construction, represented as a node in the taxonomic network, can be viewed as emerging from actual usage through the process of abstraction or **schematisation** (Langacker 2008, p. 17). On the other hand, a schematic construction can be viewed as a basis for the **categorisation** of new instances (Langacker 2008, p. 17). These two perspectives are illustrated in Figure 3.3, where a schematic construction (or a "constructional schema" in the figure) emerges via schematisation over related instances, which in turn serves to categorise its novel instance.

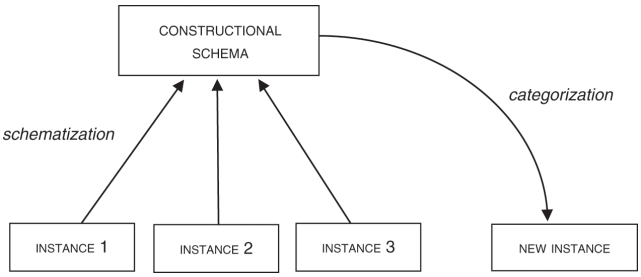

Figure 3.3. The construction as emerging through schematisation of instances and as the source of categorisation of new instances (Diessel 2019, p. 46)

The taxonomic network as described in the previous section can be understood from these two perspectives. In the first perspective, the taxonomic network is viewed as the result of schematisation, where the instances that are formally and semantically similar to each other are grouped together into one overarching category. In this sense, the taxonomic hierarchy can be seen as formed 'upward' from the instances. For example, a speaker may group expressions such as *kicking the habit*, (*try to*) *kick those unhealthy habits*, and (*hasn't*) *kicked the smoking habit*[28] into an abstract construction with the form, roughly [*kick* DET (ADJ) *habit*], storing some components as variable, such as the verbal and

28. These examples are attested in and extracted from *EnTenten* corpus from *Sketch Engine* (Kilgarriff et al. 2014, 2004), available at http://www.sketchengine.eu.

nominal inflection, the form of the determiner of the object, and the prenominal attribute of the object, etc. Also, this schematisation process may involve increasingly abstract levels. For example, the speakers may abstract two different lexically specified constructions, [*kick the bucket*] and [*kick* DET (ADJ) *habit*], into a more abstract schema [*kick* OBJECT]. Importantly, in usage-based models, the logically possible, highly abstract construction – for example, [VERB PHRASE] and [VERB OBJECT] – need not be the most relevant level for speakers in accounting for the linguistic productivity, as will be described below.

The second perspective of the taxonomic network – categorisation – can be viewed as a relation downward from the schematic construction to its instances. The categorisation relationship can be viewed on a more abstract level as providing a **motivation** for a given schema to be an instance of another, higher-order schema (Goldberg 1995, 2006, pp. 217–220). For example, the form of the idiom construction [*kick the bucket*] is likely motivated by the more abstract construction [*kick* OBJECT] – although the idiomatic meaning 'to die' of the former is not predictable from the latter, it is nonetheless likely conceived of as related to the transitive physical sense of *kick*, such as *kick a ball* or *kick a bucket*, thus inheriting some properties from the higher-order schema.

Apart from how the constructions are motivated within the constructional network, this categorisation perspective is also crucial in understanding how language users apprehend novel utterances (cf. Section 3.5.1). An actual expression, sometimes termed a 'construct' (Kay & Fillmore 1999; Fried & Östman 2004, p. 18; Goldberg 2002, p. 348), instantiates several constructions, each associated with a certain meaning or discourse function. In this way, a language user can categorise an actual expression into a linguistically anchored interpretation. For example, according to Goldberg (2013a, p. 454), an expression such as (3.3) instantiates a set of constructions in English, listed in (3.4). Note that the function of the word *what* in the expression corresponds to the direct object of the ditransitive construction. It is dislocated from the canonical, postverbal position to the sentence-initial position due to another sentence-level construction: the non-subject question construction.

(3.3) What did Mina buy Mel

(3.4) a. Ditransitive construction
b. Non-subject Question construction
c. Subject-Auxiliary Inversion construction
d. VP construction
e. NP construction
f. Indefinite Determiner construction
g. *Mina*, *buy*, *Mel*, *what*, *do* lexical constructions

3.3.2 Horizontal relations and alternation

While the vertical relationship has been the most commonly discussed relationship in constructionist approaches, constructionists have increasingly noticed the importance of the 'horizontal' relationship (e.g., Cappelle 2006; Van de Velde 2014; Audring 2019; Perek 2015; Diessel 2015, 2019; Norde & Morris 2018; Ungerer 2023; Ungerer & Hartmann 2023; Sommerer & Van de Velde 2025; Bloom 2021; Goldberg 2019; Zehentner 2019; Valdeson 2024). The horizontal relationship, also called 'sister relation' (Audring 2019) and 'lateral relation' (Bloom 2021; Diessel 2019), refers to the relationship between constructions that "are on the same level of complexity and are similar to each other in form and/or function" (Sommerer & Van de Velde 2025, p. 229). The crucial aspect researchers seek to capture with the metaphorical term 'horizontal' is the idea that the relation between linguistic entities at the same level of abstraction is relevant to linguistic knowledge. However, what constructionists include under the label 'horizontal relation' appears to vary somewhat (Sommerer & Van de Velde 2025, pp. 229–232). Some researchers, for instance, may include a paradigmatic relationship where different items can be inserted in the same syntactic context, as we see among the verbs in [SBJ *kick* OBJ] and [SBJ *kiss* OBJ], as well as the objects in *kick the bucket* and *kick the habit* as seen in Figure 3.2 (e.g., Ungerer & Hartmann 2023, p. 33).

The exact kind of horizontal relationship that is relevant in the present dissertation is the one that concerns alternation of near-synonymous, syntactically distinct constructions, or simply put, "two or more ways of saying the same thing" (Labov 1972, p. 271). This type of horizontal relation is sometimes specifically referred to as an **allostructional relation** (e.g., Zehentner 2023). In the following, I will focus on the typical phenomena discussed under the labels 'allostructional relation' or 'allostruction'.

3.3.2.1 Allostructional relations

Early constructionists were little inclined to assign theoretical significance to alternation phenomena. This orientation is represented in Goldberg's priority of surface generalisation (Goldberg 1995, pp. 103–108, 2002, 2006, pp. 19–44). In contrast to derivational approaches, which emphasise the relation between two (near-)synonymous but syntactically distinct forms (see Section 3.1.1), Goldberg prioritises generalisations across identical surface forms, rather than across different forms. Accordingly, she lays out a 'surface generalisation hypothesis', which maintains that "[t]here are typically broader syntactic and semantic generalisations associated with a surface argument structure form than exist between the same surface form and a distinct form that it is hypothesised to be syntactically or semantically derived from" (Goldberg 2002, p. 229). In a related

argument, Goldberg (1995, p. 67) posits the **principle of no synonymy**, which holds that two syntactically distinct constructions must be semantically or pragmatically distinct. To signal that constructions can be contrasted with regard to a broad range of functions, Leclercq & Morin (2023) recently reformulated this principle as the **principle of no equivalence**, which states that "if two competing constructions differ in form (i.e. phonologically, morpho-syntactically or even orthographically), they must be semantically, pragmatically and/or socially distinct" (p. 10).

The surface-oriented approach is particularly remarkable in Gries' (2003) study on particle alternation, in which he concludes that the word order variation in English transitive particle verbs actually represents two distinct constructions with different word orders, denying to posit any overarching theoretical category between the two (pp. 139–143).

More recently, however, usage-based constructionists have begun to re-evaluate the role of alternation, recognising that incorporating such relationships into the constructional network may offer valuable theoretical and descriptive insights. Notably, the particle alternation in English has played a crucial role in the discussion of allostructional relations and horizontal relations in the construction network, which was triggered by Cappelle's (2006) paper 'Particle placement and the case for "allostructions"'. Critising Gries' analysis as "extreme constructionalism" (p. 11), he argues for the need to relate synonymous transitive verb-particle pairs in English, such as *pick up the book* and *pick the book up*, which he calls **allostructions**. In his definition, allostructions are "variant structural realizations of a construction that is left partially specified" (Cappelle 2006, p. 18). In this specific case, the two variants regarding the transitive particle verb *pick up* are allostructions that instantiate a transitive particle verb construction, underspecified for word order. Aligning the analogical origin of the term 'allostruction' with *allophone*, *allomorph*, and *allosentences* (Cappelle 2006, p. 21), the overarching, underspecified construction is later termed **constructeme**[29] in analogy with *phoneme* and *morpheme*, keeping the conceptual correspondence between the terminological pair *allo-* vs. *-eme*. Cappelle's analysis is illustrated in Figure 3.4. The dashed line indicates the horizontal, allostructional relation between two allostructions, which instantiates the overarching constructeme.

While the explicit recognition of the alternation relationship as a theoretical object in the constructionist approach is attributed to Cappelle (2006), it has not been entirely absent in Goldberg's work either (cf. Cappelle 2006, pp. 149–150; Zehentner 2023). In fact, Goldberg (2006, p. 349) notes that the

29. Although the precise origin of the term 'constructeme' is somewhat unclear, it is commonly credited to Cappelle (Cappelle et al. 2021, pp. 277–278).

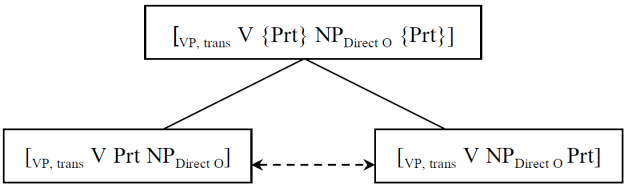

Figure 3.4. The English transitive particle verb constructions analysed as allostructions (Cappelle 2006, p. 18)

surface generalisation "should not be taken to imply that possible paraphrase relations play no role in the learning, processing or representation of language". Although she has not used the term 'allostruction', alternation relations (and paraphrase relations more generally) have played a considerable role in her theory. In particular, recognition of the paraphrase relation is a prerequisite for her constructionist explanation of the problem of language acquisition without direct negative evidence, via what she calls 'statistical pre-emption' (Goldberg 2006, 2019). Nevertheless, the value of Cappelle (2006), according to Perek (2015, pp. 153–154), is that such a relation itself can be a theoretical object reflecting an important part of language users' linguistic knowledge.

3.3.2.2 Conditions for allostructional relations

The allostructional relationship concerns the relationship between syntactically distinct patterns, or constructions that "are not (immediately) subsumed under a schema in the taxonomic network" (Diessel 2019, p. 200). Such a description encompasses various phenomena broadly referred to by the term 'syntactic alternation', or the like, in the literature. Besides particle alternation, it encompasses 'dative alternation' (e.g., *give Mary the book* vs. *give the book to Mary*), 'locative alternation' (e.g., *spray paint onto the wall* vs. *spray the wall with paint*), and 'genitive alternation' (e.g., *John's parents* vs. *the parents of John*), to name a few English examples (Belligh & Willems 2022, pp. 1–2; Diessel 2023, p. 75). Cappelle (2006) proposes to posit allostructional relations even among constructions as general as Lambrecht's (1994, p. 6) allosentences, i.e., "semantically equivalent but formally and pragmatically divergent sentence pairs, such as active vs. passive, canonical vs. topicalized, canonical vs. clefted or dislocated, subject-accented vs. predicate-accented sentences, etc.".

Warning that an overly generous inclusion would make the status of allostruction "vacuous" (De Vaere et al. 2020, p. 108), several researchers have argued that the allostructional analysis is advantageous only if it is reserved for a certain subset of syntactic alternations, where the alternants are similar enough *both* in form and in function (De Vaere et al. 2020, pp. 107–108; Zehent-

ner 2023, p. 5). Although there is still no clear consensus on which alternations should be included and excluded in the allostructional analysis, syntactic alternations considered relevant for allostructional analysis in general involve those where the alternants share the same event type and the same set of participant roles (Zehentner 2023, p. 5), and probably most crucially, the same lexical verb (cf. Perek 2015, p. 146; Blumenthal-Dramé 2017, p. 143, fn. 1).

In addition, even when we restrict our attention to the alternation phenomena involving the same lexical verb, the logical necessity for positing an allostructional relation may differ depending on the type of alternation. Two phenomena can serve as good points of comparison. First, the English particle alternation (e.g., *pick up the book* vs. *pick the book up*), and second, the English dative alternation (e.g., *give someone something* vs. *give something to someone*). These two alternation phenomena both involve alternation between two constructions that are formally and semantically similar but differ in the order of arguments: in form, the alternating constructions share the same lexical verb and the same number of arguments, and in meaning, they share the same event-level meaning. However, these two types of alternation differ in the type of syntactic elements that are involved in alternation: while the former phenomenon can be regarded as purely concerning phrasal order, the latter phenomenon involves a larger formal difference in that not only the order of arguments, but also their phrase types and grammatical functions differ and thus may be referred to as 'argument structure alternation' (cf. Dux 2020, pp. 163–164).

The allostructional relations of these two types of alternation are motivated by slightly different theoretical considerations: the allostructionhood of the latter, argument structure alternation type is motivated by the shared verb lexeme's central role as the predicate, while the former, particle alternation type seems to be motivated by its idiomatic nature. For example, Cappelle states that the need to connect the two variants of idiomatic particle verbs, such as *turn down an offer* and *turn an offer down*, is "already clear beyond any doubt" due to its idiomaticity, and such a connection is "an obvious generalization" that exists in the mind of the language user, not only linguists (Cappelle et al. 2021, p. 296). A similar assumption seems to underlie Goldberg (1995, pp. 97–98), which posits an abstract varb–particle unit unspecified for phrasal order – essentially a constructeme – over combinations such as *cut short* (e.g., *the speech*) and *break open* (e.g., *the cask*). The choice of these combinations in her argument seems to be based on their (at least partial) unpredictability in V-P combination, which demands their storage as constructions. As the contrast in treatment above indicates, particle verbs' idiomaticity is considered a sufficiently valid criterion to posit an allostructional relation (Cappelle et al. 2021, p. 297), although the posited allostructional relation should ideally be empirically validated via psy-

chological experimentation or similar methods (Zehentner 2023, p. 11).

It should be noted that allostructions are generally regarded as constructions themselves. As such, each variant of an alternation needs to also qualify as a construction. Although such an assumption is not explicitly stated in Cappelle's (2006) description of allostructions as "variant structural *realizations* of a construction that is left partially underspecified" (as in the definition above) or as "more fully specified *implementations*" (p. 18, my emphases), Zehentner (2023, p. 3) summarises Cappelle's analysis as "allostructions are modelled as separate *constructions* with distinct syntactic features" (my emphasis). Perek (2015) specifically refer to the variants of the particle alternation as "the two particle placement *constructions*" (p. 152, my emphasis). Cappelle himself, in a later interview, states explicitly that "allostructions are themselves constructions" (Cappelle et al. 2021, p. 269). This requirement of constructionhood for the alternants aligns with the general thinking among linguists on syntactic alternation. As Belligh & Willems (2022, pp. 8–9) point out, alternation is more interesting when both alternants are regarded as belonging to "normal" language usage, rather than one of them being merely "occasional". For example, paraphrase relations between sentences such as *I had my hair cut yesterday* and *I had my hair made shorter yesterday* are not usually regarded as interesting study objects in terms of alternation; the latter variant is clearly not a normal or conventional way of expressing the same thing, although there is nothing peculiar about the form or the meaning of the sentence.

In the present study, adopting one of Pijpops's (2020) usage-based definitions (cf. Diessel 2019, p. 24), the alternation will be viewed more loosely as a potential "choice point for an individual language user" (p. 286). Considering the VPC and the POC as two families of constructions grouped as such by identity in form, I will consider the VPC and the POC at some schematic level as alternants if they are sufficiently similar in form and function. By "sufficiently similar in form and function", I mean when they share the same V-P combination (i.e., the same combination of the lexical verb and the preposition) associated with the same constructional meaning in frame-semantic terms. The latter will be described later in Section 3.4. Lastly, the lexico-semantic overlaps and alternations between the VPC and the POC can be potentially analysed as involving allostructional relations, if the VPC and the POC variants can both be regarded as conventionally established and postulating a constructeme – i.e., an overarching construction underspecified for word order – is justified (Pijpops 2020, p. 290).

3.3.3 Word order specifications of constructions

Cappelle's (2006) view that the two word order variants of English transitive particle verbs represent two distinct constructions is usually taken for granted in the allostructional literature. The following quote makes plain Cappelle's view that the two word order variants *make up my mind* and *make my mind up* may be stored as two lexically specific, distinct constructions "in the mind of speakers". Since the two word order variants do not seem to differ in the degree of unpredictability, he apparently uses 'construction' in its more recent sense, where not only unpredictability but also frequency is taken into account.

> We can say both [*make up my mind*] and [*make my mind up*]; although this split variant is less frequently used, it's something we can accept as grammatical, and maybe it's even stored in the minds of speakers, or at least in the minds of *some* speakers. This would mean that there are two allostructions of a more abstract construction [*make* {*up*} *my mind* {*up*}], where the position of the particle is left unspecified. [. . .] If the two allostructions aren't stored at this low lexical level, they must surely be stored at a higher level, [. . .] such as [verb *up* NP] / [verb NP *up*] or [*make* prt NP] / [*make* NP prt] (where prt stands for any particle). (Cappelle et al. 2021, p. 269)

Aligning with Cappelle's view, usage-based constructionists often seem to assume that a difference in word order entails a difference in form at the level of the construction. This assumption is evident in the fact that the two word order variants of particle verbs are often treated as distinct constructions in the literature (e.g., Zehentner 2023, p. 3; Perek 2015, p. 152). Leclercq & Morin (2023), in discussing the theoretical compatibility of Cappelle's (2006) allostructional analysis of particle alternation and Goldberg's (1995) principle of no synonymy, state that allostructional analysis of e.g., particle alternation "fall[s] perfectly in line with [. . .] the principle of no synonymy" (p. 5) and that "[t]he main challenge with the principle [of no synonymy] is not so much to identify differences in form [. . .]" (p. 3). Since the principle of no synonymy operates at the level of constructions, they seem to assume that treating the two word order variants of the particle alternation as two distinct constructions is a straightforward analysis.

However, it is, in fact, not as straightforward as it seems that word order variations would directly justify analysing them in terms of distinct constructions, particularly when it comes to the level of argument structure constructions. The following sections discuss the relation between word order variation and argument structure constructions, taking up Goldberg's (2016) analysis of particle alternation in terms of argument structure constructions.

3.3.3.1 Argument structure constructions without specific word order

In her description of argument structure constructions, Goldberg (e.g., 2006) abstracts away form specifics "that can be attributed to other constructions" (Goldberg 2006, p. 21). Accordingly, argument structure constructions "do not necessarily specify word order", since possible word order variation can be determined by other independent constructions, such as the VP construction (Goldberg 2019, p. 39, 2002, 2006, 2013a). Thus, the expressions in (a) and (b) both instantiate the same caused-motion construction, where *to Joe* expresses the path/location and *the book* [...] expresses the theme, although the order of the elements differs. This word order variation is accounted for by the general VP construction.

(3.5) a. She *threw the book to Joe*.

b. She *threw to Joe the book she had just finished reading*.

(Goldberg 2013a, p. 453, adapted)

The word order variation of transitive particle verbs is treated in a similar manner: Goldberg (2016) treats the word order variation of transitive particle verbs not as distinct constructions, but rather as two different instances of the same construction. Specifically, she posits an anlysis in which transitive particle verbs (or the 'transitive verb-particle construction' in her terms) inherit from, or are motivated by, both the general VP construction and the caused-motion construction. Since her analysis is relatively complex, I will outline it in some detail below.

The general VP construction captures the language-specific, yet system-wide, word order tendency related to information-structural and semantic factors reported in the literature (e.g., Gries 2003; Lohse et al. 2004). The motivation from the VP construction accounts for the fact that longer, focused objects tend to follow the particle, or prefer the POC order, and the fact that generally the VPC order disallows a modified particle (e.g., **throw right away the garbage* vs. *throw the garbage right away*), both of which align with the general ordering tendency within the VP in English that heavier elements are placed later in the sentence. Furthermore, it also accounts for the fact that idiomatic V-P combinations prefer the VPC order, which can be considered to reflect the general tendency that semantically dependent units are placed closer together. The latter tendency in transitive particle verbs is exemplified in (3.6–3.7), adapted from Gries (2003, p. 15). The idiomatic V-P combination {*eke out*} is only acceptable in the VPC order in (3.6a). In (3.7b), the V-P combination {*bring down*} in the POC order is ambiguous between a literal ('bring [the plane] to lower location') and an idiomatic reading ('shot down [a fighter plane]'), while in the VPC order in (3.7a), only the idiomatic reading is possible.

(3.6) a. Fred has tried to *eke* ***out*** *a living*.
b. *Fred has tried to *eke a living* ***out***.

(3.7) a. Fred *brought* ***down*** *the plane*.
b. Fred *brought the plane* ***down***.

In addition to the general VP construction, the transitive particle verb construction is also motivated by the caused-motion construction in Goldberg's analysis. This analysis draws on the fact that the VPC has several commonalities with the caused-motion construction, including homonymy of the verbal particles with locative adverbs/prepositions (e.g., *out* and *down*), the high frequency of a locative meaning in the particle verbs, and the default POC order. Her argument for the POC order (i.e., with the object immediately following the verb) as a "default" is based on observations of particle verbs' syntactic distributions, which cannot be fully expected from the general tendency in the VP, but from the caused-motion construction: the POC order is common even when the object is longer than the particle, and the POC order is strongly preferred even when the object and the particle are equally short. The former pattern is exemplified in (3.8), in which the object *the place* is one (orthographical) word longer than the particle *up* and yet precedes the particle. The latter pattern is exemplified in (3.9), in which the object and the particle are both single words, and yet only the POC order is fully accepted.

(3.8) I'd *clean the place* ***up*** (Goldberg 2016, p. 125)

(3.9) a. She *gave it* ***up***.
b. ??She *gave* ***up*** *it*. (Goldberg 2016, p. 125)

Goldberg's (2016) analysis of the transitive particle verb construction in English is diagrammed in Figure 3.5. The downward arrows indicate construction-to-construction inheritance relations. The transitive particle verb construction inherits from both the VP construction and the caused-motion construction. Both the transitive particle verb construction and the caused-motion construction inherit from the VP construction, reflecting the general function of predication and the general word order tendency within the VP as a construction. Yet, the transitive particle verb construction also inherits from the caused-motion construction, which motivates the POC order as default and the prevalent locative meaning in the transitive particle verbs. Non-locative usages of transitive particle verbs are analysed as an extension from the locative transitive particle verb construction. As can be seen in Figure 3.5, the transitive particle verb construction is treated as an argument structure construction without order specification, attributing the word order variation ultimately to the VP construction, which in turn underspecifies word order.

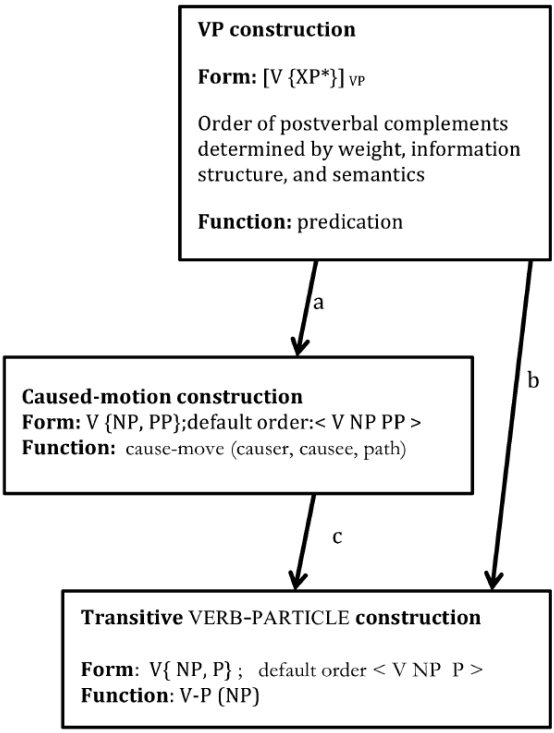

Figure 3.5. Goldberg's (2016) analysis of the English transitive particle verb construction as a construction without order specification

The difference between Cappelle's and Goldberg's analyses regarding the two variants of particle alternation seems to stem from the fact that the latter adopts the more strict definition of construction than the former, and that the latter has a broader scope, where constructions at several levels are taken into account. Goldberg (2016) arguably takes a more reductive approach to English transitive particle verbs than the more bottom-up approach taken by Cappelle (2006), since she categorically excludes from the representation of the construction features attributable to other constructions. For Goldberg, unpredictability is, in practice, the necessary condition for identifying an argument structure in her analysis. Since the within-VP word order variation can be attributed to the more general construction, i.e., the VP construction, word order specifications are not represented in the transitive particle verb construction as an argument structure construction. Another remarkable difference is that Goldberg relates the transitive particle verb construction to other argument structure constructions to account for its syntactic and semantic distribution. In particular, inheritance from the caused-motion construction accounts for the similarity of the trans-

itive particle verb construction to the caused-motion construction, in terms of word order preference and frequent locative meaning.

The two analyses are not totally incompatible in a usage-based constructionist approach. Rather, taking a serious bottom-up approach, Cappelle's analysis may be seen as a prerequisite for Goldberg's analysis, since the knowledge about the word order variability of transitive particle verbs needs to be learned from the input before it can be abstracted into a construction without word order specification, or a constructeme. This also implies that each variant of the potential alternation would be learned first as a construction with a specific word order (in the more recent sense where frequency is taken into account), as a *bring-down*-NP construction and a *bring*-NP-*down* construction, for example.

At the same time, in discussing word order variation, it is important to bear in mind the distinction between constructions and actual expressions. Confusing these two types of linguistic objects may obscure discussions of the constructional network. For example, in an interview (Cappelle et al. 2021, p. 297), Cappelle suggested a need for positing allostructional relations between different types of sentences, such as a passive construction in (3.10a) and a nominal gerund construction in (3.10b), based on the fact that they share an idiom *let the cat out of the bag* (meaning 'carelessly reveal confidential information or a secret').

(3.10) a. the cat was let out of the bag

b. the letting of the cat out of the bag (was unfortunate)

(Cappelle et al. 2021, p. 297, modified)

He argues that failing to relate these sentence types would lead us to assume that language users store them "as different idioms" depending on the sentence type. This argument is questionable. Given their assumed infrequency, it seems implausible that language users store these specific sentences as constructions. Instead, a more plausible analysis is that language users interpret these sentences by combining the idiom construction *let the cat out of the bag* with other constructions, such as a passive construction (as in 3.10a) or a nominal gerund construction (as in 3.10b). Not all actual expressions need to be learned as a construction, but they can be interpreted by combining a set of constructions.

3.3.3.2 Argument structure constructions with specific word order

The extent to which a construction should include word order specification is an empirical question that needs to be addressed case by case. In fact, there are argument structure constructions in which some specification of word order may be reasonable. For example, Goldberg (1995, p. 97) discusses the resultative construction, in which the object is followed by an element, typically an adjective, denoting a result state of the object referent. Some combinations that

may fall under the resultative construction exhibit word order variation. This contrast is exemplified in (3.11–3.12), adapted from Goldberg (1995, p. 97). Of the two verb-adjective combinations, {*cut short*} and {*hammer flat*}, the former is acceptable in both word orders with the adjective *short* either preceding or following the object (corresponding to our VPC and POC orders respectively) while the latter is only acceptable with the adjective *flat* following the object (corresponding to our POC order).

(3.11) a. He *cut* ***short*** *the speech*.
b. He *cut the speech* ***short***.

(3.12) a. *He *hammered* ***flat*** *the metal*.
b. He *hammered the metal* ***flat***.

Goldberg argues that both combinations inherit from the resultative construction, but that {*cut short*} also inherits from the particle verb construction via multiple inheritance, thereby accounting for the word order variation. This analysis assumes that the resultative construction contains stricter restrictions on word order than the particle verb construction, implying that some kind of word order specification is needed for the former construction.

Another example of word-order-specific constructions from English particle literature is what may be called the 'V-one's-*heart-out* construction', one of the constructions that are "strictly fixed in form" (Jackendoff 2002, p. 86). As shown in the example pair in (3.13), adapted from Jackendoff (2002, p. 86), only the POC order (3.13b) is accepted. Note that the length of the object does not predict this distribution, since it would predict a preference toward the VPC order, due to the object *his heart* being longer than the particle *out*. Thus, it seems reasonable to assume that this argument structure construction specifies word order, at least between the object *one's heart* and the particle *out*.

(3.13) a. *Harold *sang* ***out*** *his heart*.
b. Harold *sang his heart* ***out***.

To summarise the discussion in this section regarding the relation between word order and argument structure constructions, the status of word order at the level of argument structure constructions is not as straightforward as most usage-based constructionists probably assume. The need to stipulate word order specifications in argument structure constructions may vary depending on the researcher's scope of interest and the nature of the specific phenomenon.

The scope of my study does not extend to as general as the VP construction. As such, I will not be able to discuss the word order variation outside the verb phrase in depth. In line with this narrow scope of the study, I will take a more bottom-up approach like Cappelle (2006), focusing on the interrelation between the VPC and the POC as two distinct constructions.

3.4 Frame semantics and constructional meanings

In describing the meaning side of constructions, I will employ an approach to semantics known as **frame semantics**, developed and introduced to linguistics by Charles J. Fillmore (e.g., Fillmore 1975, 1985, [1982] 2008b; Fillmore & Baker 2015). As descendants of his earlier theory of case grammar (Fillmore 1968), frame semantics and constructionist approaches are important companions both historically and conceptually (Boas 2021; Lyngfelt 2018, p. 11; Boas et al. 2019; Matsumoto 2025). Indeed, frame semantics is sometimes described as a "sister theory" to constructionist approaches (e.g., Boas 2021; Borin & Lyngfelt 2025).

Central to frame semantics is the notion of **frame**. In the most general sense, the term 'frame' refers to "any of the many organized packages of knowledge, beliefs, and patterns of practice that shape and allow humans to make sense of their experiences" (Fillmore & Baker 2015, p. 792). The notion of frame is related to and largely overlaps with other similar terms used in linguistics and other disciplines, such as 'schema', 'script', and 'idealized cognitive model' (see Fillmore & Baker 2015, p. 792; Matsumoto 2025, p. 251; Sullivan 2023).

Frame semantics concerns the aspect of knowledge in terms of frame which is conventionally anchored to linguistic forms (Fillmore & Baker 2015, p. 794). The linguistically relevant aspect of frame, **semantic frame**,[30] is contrasted with frame in the most general sense, **cognitive frame**. While the former needs to be anchored to a specific linguistic unit, the latter need not be delivered by linguistic forms (Fillmore & Baker 2015, p. 791).[31] A semantic frame is 'evoked' by a linguistic unit that is conventionally associated with it, whereas a cognitive frame is 'invoked' by the interpreter to make sense of experiences. The notion of semantic frame is related to verbal valency – i.e., information about how many participants are involved in a given situation and in what form they are realised in a clause. As Ruppenhofer et al. (2016) define it, a semantic frame is "a script-like conceptual structure that describes a particular type of situation, object, or event along with its participants and props" (p. 5).

To illustrate the distinction between semantic frames and cognitive frames,

30. Fillmore's terminology was not consistent in referring to this kind of frame (see Sullivan 2023, pp. 4–5). Some of his terms for this particular type of frame include 'linguistic frame' (Fillmore 2008c) and 'linguistically anchored frame' (Fillmore & Baker 2015).

31. Another kind of linguistically relevant frame is an *interactional frame* (Fillmore [1982] 2008b, p. 379; cf. Ohara 2018; Lyngfelt et al. 2018a, pp. 79–80). Interactional frames concern the "framing of the actual communication situation" and "how we conceptualize what is going on between the speaker and the hearer, or between the author and the reader" (Fillmore [1982] 2008b, pp. 378–379). Although such knowledge about how interaction proceeds is needed to fully understand a text or a sequence of interaction, interactional frames are beyond the scope of my study.

Fillmore & Baker (2015) provide a famous example from Minsky (1974, p. 35), which Minsky in turn attributes to Charniak (1972).

(3.14) Mary was invited to Jack's party. She wondered if he would like a kite.

Readers familiar with contemporary American culture will immediately understand that the text in (3.14) concerns a child's birthday party, although no specific linguistic form directly indicates the type of party. To make sense of the text, the interpreter invokes a cognitive frame of a birthday party, including the typical scenario for such a party and associated participants and items, such as partygoers, the birthday celebrant, birthday gifts, cakes, the birthday song. Certainly, the linguistic material that is present hints at the birthday frame, but it is the interpreter who invokes it to make the text cohere, interpreting Mary as one of the partygoers, Jack as the birthday celebrant, and a kite as a birthday gift for a child.

On the other hand, specific linguistic items in the text (3.14) evoke respective semantic frames: the verb *invite* evokes a semantic frame involving a set of related participants: a host, a guest, and an occasion; and the noun *party* evokes a social event that has a host, guests, and an occasion.

Frame semantics has primarily been applied to lexical analysis. *FrameNet*[32] – a lexical resource developed by Fillmore and his colleagues based on the theory of frame semantics – provides a number of semantic frames and lexical items associated with them. For example, the semantic frame labelled `Apply_heat`,[33] exemplified in Ruppenhofer et al. (2016, p. 5) with a sentence *Matilde fried the catfish in a heavy iron skillet*, involves a distinct set of participants, or **frame elements** in frame semantic terms. Such frame elements include a COOK, some FOOD, and a HEATING_INSTRUMENT, realised in the example sentence as *Matilde*, *the catfish*, and *in a heavy iron skillet*, respectively. This frame is evoked in turn by a number of words, or **frame-evoking elements**, such as *bake*, *blanch*, *boil*, etc.

Idioms and multi-words may also be considered frame-evoking (Fillmore 2008a, p. 55; Ruppenhofer et al. 2016, p. 17). For example, phrasal verbs and complex predicates such as *set about*, *take up*, and *get started* are registered as lexical units bearing the frame of `Activity_start` in *FrameNet*.

This kind of frame semantic annotation was later expanded to include complex constructions – including argument structure constructions – as frame-evoking units in linguistic analysis (Willich 2022a,b) and in various related lexicographical applications under the labels 'constructicon' and 'constructicography' (Fillmore 2008a; Fillmore et al. 2012; Lyngfelt et al. 2018b, and refer-

32. Available at https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/ (last accessed 2026-03-13).

33. Henceforth, labels of semantic frames and their frame elements will be formatted with typewriter font and small capitals, respectively.

ences therein). Given that frame semantics and the usage-based constructionist approach both take a non-reductive, bottom-up view of language (Croft 2024, pp. 212–213; Lyngfelt et al. 2018a, p. 66; cf. Fillmore et al. 2012, p. 369), it is natural to incorporate a frame-semantic perspective into the analysis of argument structure constructions. An argument structure construction is itself frame-evoking, particularly when some arguments and/or some part of the clausal meaning cannot be attributed solely to its components – most notably, the lexical verb (Willich 2022a,b).

Lyngfelt et al. (2018a) annotate several Swedish constructions with a semantic frame. A particularly illuminating example in the context of our discussion is given in (3.15), which instantiates a construction with the particle *bort* 'away', or the *bort*-construction (Sjögreen 2015). Lyngfelt et al. (2018a) analyse the *bort*-construction, as in (3.15), as an argument structure construction that evokes a frame of `Removing`, where "an AGENT causes a THEME to move away from a SOURCE", with the SOURCE remaining implicit (p. 71).

(3.15) Hon *spelade* ***bort*** *sina* *sparpengar*
she gambled away POSS.REFL savings
'She gambled her savings away' (Lyngfelt et al. 2018a, p. 71, adapted)

Accordingly, in the present study, the meaning side of constructions with a REFL-PP – that is, their constructional meaning – will be described in terms of semantic frames. The overlaps between constructions with a REFL-PP will be described in terms of a shared semantic frame and shared lexical items (cf. Dux 2020, p. 164; Fillmore & Baker 2015, p. 812).

3.5 Constructions in use

In Section 3.3.1.2, I indicated that constructions function as a basis for categorising their instances. This categorisation perspective becomes particularly crucial in relating constructions to individual novel utterances. To make sense of an individual novel utterance (as a "target"), a language user needs to categorise the utterance as an instance of a construction that is an appropriate "categorising structure" for the target (Langacker 2008, p. 230). In other words, constructions, as available linguistic resources, license the utterances.

In this section, I present the theoretical assumptions of how the constructional network is used to license novel utterances in Langacker's usage-based model. Section 3.5.1 presents how utterances receive acceptability in the course of licensing. Section 3.5.2 presents the productivity of constructions, which plays an important role in the categorisation of novel utterances.

3.5.1 Acceptability and conventionality

In general, usage-based constructionists seem to share the view that the acceptability of an expression corresponds, at least partly, to the expression's similarity to the existing constructions (e.g., Divjak 2017; Flach 2020; Goldberg 2019; Langacker 1999, [1988] 2002, 2008; Robenalt & Goldberg 2015; see also Francis 2021). This section presents a usage-based model of acceptability explicated by Langacker (2008, pp. 227–237). In his model, constructions serve as a basis to apprehend expressions occurring in usage events. Acceptability is then a product of a language user categorising an utterance based on conventional constructions. As will be clarified below, this view seems to align with a more recent development in the usage-based constructionist approach by Goldberg (2019).

Note that Langacker (2008) does not use the term 'acceptability'. Instead, he speaks of expressions as "well-formed" or "conventional", as can be seen in the following quotes (my emphasis).

> At a given time, in a given speech community, a large body of conventions are firmly enough established that speakers invoke them as the basis for apprehending expressions. An expression is *accepted as conventional* to the extent that it conforms to the units invoked for this purpose. (Langacker 2008, p. 227)

> The expression is *conventional* (*well-formed*) to the extent that these [categorising] relationships are elaborative [. . .] (Langacker 2008, p. 228)

While the status of acceptability is not clear from the above quotes, his 'well-formedness' seems to correspond to 'acceptability' to a considerable extent. Compare the quotes above with the following quote from Goldberg (2019, p. 63), where she uses the term 'acceptable' in a comparable way to Langacker's 'well-formed' or 'conventional'. Langacker's 'well-formed' seems to correspond to Goldberg's 'acceptable', since they are both products of a given expression's conformity to the structure serving as the basis for categorisation.

> Any new coinage will be judged to be acceptable to the extent that it falls within a well-attested cluster (as long as there is no competing more accessible alternative [. . .]). (Goldberg 2019, p. 63)

Thus, in what follows, I treat the terms 'acceptability' and 'well-formedness' as largely interchangeable. While Goldberg's description includes an explicit reference to acceptability, my discussion will be based on Langacker's account, since conventionality plays a more prominent role in his description, which aligns better with the focus of this study. A notable difference, however, is that Goldberg elaborates a mechanism for how lexical exceptions resist otherwise

productive formulations via what she calls 'statistical pre-emption', to which I will return in the next section.

According to Langacker, an acceptability judgement on an utterance involves two processes: when an individual apprehends an expression, (i) a unit in the network is selected as a categorising structure; and (ii) the conventionality of the expression is evaluated in relation to the selected unit, perceived as the acceptability of the expression. For a given usage event where a novel expression is encountered, a conventional unit is chosen among possible candidates for interpeting the usage event, or in Langacker's terms, is selected as the "categorizing structure" for apprehending the "target" (Langacker 2008, p. 230). The degree of acceptability or well-formedness of an expression, then, correlates with how compatible it is with the relevant schema employed to categorise the target. The expression is judged unacceptable, ill-formed, or unconventional to the extent that it deviates from the chosen unit to apprehend the novel instance.

In relating acceptability to the constructional network, the first process concerning how a unit is selected is important, since it serves as a precondition for the latter process. According to Langacker, the likelihood of a given schema being selected as the categorising structure in a usage event is determined by three factors: the degree of entrenchment, the degree of overlap with the target (i.e., the utterance to be interpreted), and the influence of context (i.e., contextual priming) (Langacker 1999, pp. 105–106, 2008, p. 230). Abstracting away the third factor, the first two factors are relevant in this dissertation. The first factor, degree of entrenchment, refers to the degree to which a certain schema is stored as an established unit in the network. The second factor, degree of overlap, concerns to what extent the properties of the categorising structure match with those of the target. Due to this second factor, the more specific, lower-level schema has an inherent advantage over the more general, higher-level one, because the more specific the schema is, the greater its degree of overlap with the target is. In short, these two factors determine which level of schema is the most appropriate conventional unit for categorising a given expression: the degree of entrenchment highlights the role of frequency, while the degree of overlap highlights the importance of lower-level generalisations.

Langacker exemplifies this categorisation process as follows (Langacker 2008, pp. 235–237; cf. Langacker 1987, pp. 412–414): in Luiseño, a Uto-Aztecan language, suffixes (or "postpositions") are attached to a nominal to express a sort of locational relation where the nominal is the landmark. The postposition (e.g., *-yk* 'to') attaches directly to a nominal when the nominal is inanimate or pronominal, such as *ki-yk* 'to (the) house' and *po-yk* 'to him/her/it'. However, when the nominal is animate and lexical, the postposition does not attach to the lexical nominal, as indicated by the unacceptability of an expression such as **hunwi-yk* (lit. 'bear-to'). Instead, the conventional formulation is

hunwut po-yk, where the lexical nominal is followed by the pronominal pattern, *po-yk* 'it-to', co-referring to the referent of the lexical nominal. The distribution of the Luiseño postpositions is summarised in (3.16), together with abbreviated structural descriptions, where 'P' stands for postposition, 'N' for nominal, and 'an', 'inan', and 'pron' for the type of the nominal: i.e., animate, inanimate, and pronominal. The asterisks in (3.16d) indicate unacceptability of the expression in question.

(3.16) a. [N_{inan}-P]
ki-yk ; paa-ngay ; too-tal
house-to ; water-from ; rock-with
'to (the) house'; 'from (the) water'; 'with (a) rock'

b. [N_{pron}-P]
po-yk ; chaamo-ngay ; poomo-to
PRON.3RD.SG-to ; PRON.1ST.PL-from ; PRON.3RD.PL-by
'to him'; 'from us'; 'by them'

c. [N_{an} [N_{pron}-P]]
hunwut po-yk ; nawitmal po-ngay
bear PRON.3RD.SG-to ; girl PRON.3RD.SG-from
'to (the) bear'; 'from (the) girl'

d. *[N_{an}-P]
*hunwu-yk ; *nawitma-ngay
bear-to ; girl-from

In the context of alternation, the most relevant contrast is that between expressions involving animate lexical nominals in (3.16c–3.16d), i.e., *hunwut po-yk* 'to (the) bear' vs. **hunwu-yk*. The two structures can be seen as a potential alternating pair, which here happen to be non-alternating.

Why is an expression like *hunwu-yk* unacceptable, despite the fact that a more general schema [N-P] may adequately categorise it? The reason is that such an expression has not occurred due to the presence of the other conventional way of speaking, *hunwut po-yk*, leaving the potential general schema inaccessible. A more specific, lower-level schema [N_{an} [N_{pron}-P]] happens to have been the more frequent, and therefore more entrenched, option than the general, top-level schema [N-P] for this specific context of expressing the content 'to (the) bear'. Its greater degree of overlap with the actually occurring expression (i.e., *hunwut po-yk*) gives the specific schema priority in conventionalisation. Thus, although the general schema [N-P] would be purely structurally speaking the most appropriate option for categorising the expression *hunwu-yk* 'to (the) bear', this schema is inaccessible, blocked by more specific, conventional schema such as [N_{an} [N_{pron}-P]], [N_{pron}-P], or [N_{inan}-P], for categorisation. Since the expression *hunwu-yk* is not fully compatible with either of these more

accessible, specific schemas, the expression *hunwu-yk* is rendered nonconventional and therefore unacceptable.

Figure 3.6 illustrates this process, where the rounded boxes on the bottom line represent expressions, and the square boxes represent schemas in the constructional network that categorise/sanction the expressions. In Langacker's notation, solid arrows, directed from a node A to another node B (A $\rightarrow$ B), indicate that B elaborates A, being fully compatible with A's specifications. Dashed arrows directed from A to B (A $\dashrightarrow$ B) indicate that B extends A, conflicting with A's specifications in some aspect (Langacker 2008, pp. 17–18). Dotted boxes indicate the inaccessibility of the top-level schema [N-P] relative to the lower-level schema, despite it being fully compatible with the expression *hunwu-yk*.

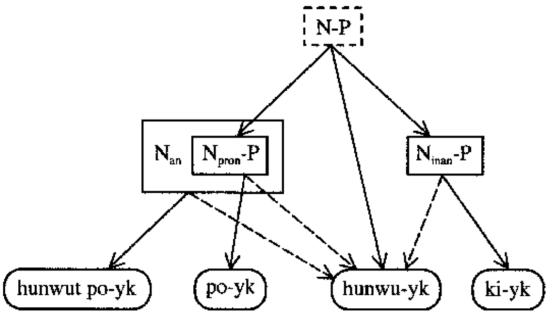

Figure 3.6. Illustration of how utterances are judged in Langacker's usage-based model (Langacker 2008, p. 236)

In short, according to Langacker's model, acceptability depends on (i) at which level of schematicity a construction is conventionalised; and (ii) how similar the expression is to the conventional construction. These two factors are closely connected to productivity (cf. Langacker 2008, pp. 244–245), which is the topic of the next section.

3.5.2 Productivity

The construction's role in categorising new instances connects to the important notion of linguistic productivity. Since some constructions can be combined with a range of lexical items, constructions are understood to be a basis for linguistic **productivity**. The term 'productivity' may be used to refer to different, yet interrelated, facets of the grammar that allow language users to produce and comprehend novel utterances (for an exposition of the different senses of productivity, see e.g., Haspelmath & Sims 2010, pp. 114–131; Plag 1999, pp. 5–35; Bauer 2001, pp. 1–99; for productivity in discussions of argument structure constructions, see Barðdal 2008, pp. 19–24; Zeldes 2012, pp. 17–45;

Olofsson 2018, pp. 41–62). In the context of argument structure constructions, it specifically concerns the **extensibility** of a construction, defined as "how extendable already existing argument structure constructions of a language are to new types" (Barðdal 2008, p. 29). With "new types", it typically refers to novel verb lexemes, instantiated as the predicate of the argument structure construction, in which those verb lexemes have never been witnessed. Productivity is also related to the notion of schematicity, in the sense that schematic constructions can be combined with a wider range of lexical items than less schematic constructions (cf. the syntax–lexicon continuum above in Figure 3.1).

Several factors have been proposed to influence a given construction's productivity. Olofsson (2018, pp. 57–61) summarises six factors of syntactic productivity handled in constructionist literature: (i) type frequency, (ii) token frequency, (iii) semantic variability, (iv) similarity, (v) context, and (vi) statistical pre-emption. As I see it, the first three factors pertain to the past usage of the given construction, while factors (iv) and (v) pertain to the individual application of the given construction in a usage event, i.e., how a new expression is categorised by the construction. The last factor is relevant when competition between two synonymous constructions occurs.

The first two factors concern two measures of frequency involving the type–token distinction. **Type frequency** refers to the number of distinct types that have been observed.[34] **Token frequency** refers to the number of times an instance of a given type has been observed. These two measures of frequency are often related to entrenchment and productivity of a given linguistic pattern (Croft & Cruse 2004; Langacker 1987). Type frequency is considered to reflect a construction's schematicity and thus productivity (Clausner & Croft 1997; Croft & Cruse 2004; Goldberg 1995). Token frequency, on the other hand, is often said to resist against productivity on a more schematic level, since a type with a high token frequency tends to be conserved and resist broader generalisations (Braine & Brooks 1995; Robenalt & Goldberg 2015; Stefanowitsch 2008).

An English example of a pattern with a high token frequency is *good morning*, used as a way of greeting in the morning. Due to its high token frequency, the construction *good morning* is entrenched in language users' minds as a construction, resisting against other formulations to mean the same thing, such as *happy morning* or *nice morning*. An example with a pattern with a high type

34. What counts as distinct types may vary depending on the context of the discussion (Lyons 1977, pp. 13–18). Consider a set of five verb occurrences: {*am*, *are*, *is*, *is*, *were*}. On the basis of specific word form, there are four distinct types, each occurring with single token frequency, except for the word form *is* which occurs twice. In contrast, if the basis is on a lexeme level, there is only one distinct type – a verb lexeme, *be*, occurring with five token frequency realised in different forms.

frequency is the double-object construction in English, exemplified in *John gave Bill a book*, *Peter sent Mary a letter*. Due to attested occurrences with several other verbs, an expression with a novel verb such as *you can WhatsApp me the pics* is accepted with ease (Hoffmann 2022, pp. 27–29).

Besides frequency, **variability** has been also pointed out as an important factor (Barðdal 2008; Goldberg 2006, 2019). Regarding argument structure constructions, a construction that occurs with verbs of a more varied semantic range is more schematic and is thus more likely to accommodate uses with novel verbs of various semantic types. Type frequency is interrelated with variability – since counting two instances as two distinct types within a given category presupposes non-identity of these instances; high type frequency entails some degree of variability. Goldberg (2019, p. 65) argues that variability is a more crucial factor for productivity than type frequency, although they are often conflated.

Similarity concerns how similar a novel instance is to the construction's previous instances (Bybee 2010; Bybee & Eddington 2006; Suttle & Goldberg 2011; Zeschel 2010). The more similar the novel instance is to the construction's previous instances, the more likely it is that the instance is accepted as such (cf. Section 3.5.1). For example, in their study of the two Spanish verbs of 'becoming', i.e., *ponerse* (*nervioso*) 'get (nervous)' and *quedarse* (*sorprendido*) 'be(come) (surprised)', Bybee & Eddington (2006) showed that expressions with these verbs are more readily accepted when combined with adjectives semantically similar to those that frequently co-occur with the respective verbs, compared to when combined with adjectives that are less semantically similar to them.

Context may also play a role in productivity, in the sense that it can affect the acceptability of sentences (Boas 2011; Langacker 2008; Olofsson 2016). For example, as opposed to the more conventional expression *Ed hammered the metal flat*, the English resultative expression ?*Ed hammered the metal safe* is unacceptable without context. The acceptability of the latter improves with a preceding context that makes it sensical, such as (3.17) (Boas 2011, p. 1275).

(3.17) The door of Ed's old Dodge had a piece of metal sticking out. When getting out of the car, Ed had cut himself on the metal and had to go to the hospital to get stitches. The next day, *Ed hammered the metal safe*.

Individual variety among language users may be included as one contextual factor, as will be described below.

Besides the factors above, which mostly concern constructions in isolation, Goldberg (2006, 2019) includes another factor, **statistical pre-emption**, which takes into account the construction's relation to other competing constructions and their token-frequency distribution. The English double-object sentence *explain me something* is a typical example, which is perceived as odd

by native speakers. Importantly, there are no apparent structural, semantic, or information-structural conditions that hinder this double-object formulation, as similar sentences, such as *tell me something*, are acceptable. Goldberg explains the reduced acceptability of ?*explain me something* by the fact that the alternative formulation with a caused-motion construction, i.e., *explain something to me*, is more frequent, making the latter the conventional way of expressing the content. Since the specific lexeme *explain* has not occurred in the double-object construction under otherwise favourable conditions, such a formulation has been statistically pre-empted in favour of the caused-motion alternative.

While productivity has often been attributed to the grammar itself, there is growing recognition of the creative role of individual language users in the formation of novel instances (Olofsson 2018, p. 11; cf. Goldberg 2019; Hoffmann 2018, 2020). This language-user perspective is reflected in the two aspects of productivity that Olofsson (2018, pp. 41, 61) calls 'structural productivity' ('strukturell produktivitet') and 'usage-based productivity' ('bruksbaserad produktivitet'). The former refers to productivity as an extending possibility provided by the grammatical pattern, while the latter refers to productivity as exploited by individual language users. Olofsson (2018, p. 41) cites Malmgren (2001) on the latter, usage-based (or probably more appropriately, user-based) productivity, which nicely illustrates the ambiguity of the term 'productivity' in this respect:

> One must of course keep in mind that expressions such as *productive suffixes* is metaphorical (or perhaps metonymical). It is not the suffixes that are productive, but rather the language users, or at least some language users. (Malmgren 2001, pp. 302–303)[35]

This view clearly resonates with Langacker's view on the role of the language user in usage-based models:

> It is not the linguistic system per se that constructs and understands novel expressions, but rather the language user, who marshals for this purpose the full panoply of available resources. (Langacker 1999, p. 99)

This study does not focus on individual language users, but rather on modern standard Swedish, conceptualised as a network of conventional constructions. Accordingly, 'productivity' in this study refers to, following Barðdal (2008) (as described in the beginning of the present section), the likelihood or potential of a construction, at a given level of schematicity, to extend its usage to novel

35. In the original: "man måste förstås hålla i minnet att uttryck som *produktiva suffix* är metaforiska (eller kanske metonymiska). Det är inte suffixen som är produktiva utan språkbrukarna, eller åtminstone vissa språkbrukare" (Malmgren 2001, pp. 302–303).

lexical items as its components, especially regarding the lexical verb. At the same time, it is important to keep the role of language users in mind, since constructions do not extend without language users: an extended instance of a construction is perceived as acceptable by a substantial number of language users within the speech community, to the degree that it is similar to previously attested instances of the construction.

4 Empirical data

As stated in Section 1.1, the overall aim of this dissertation is to identify the lexico-semantic range of and the overlaps between the VPC and the POC, viewed as two formally distinct constructions involving a REFL-PP. Building on usage-based constructionist assumptions, the study focuses on how these two constructions are characterised as formally distinct constructions, and how their possible overlap can be accounted for within the constructional network as an aggregated knowledge representation.

The research questions to be addressed in this dissertation are repeated below.

RQ1 How are the VPC and the POC distributed lexico-semantically?

RQ2 To what extent do the VPC and the POC overlap lexico-semantically, and to what extent are the overlaps similar in usage?

RQ3 How and at which level of schematicity are the VPC and the POC related?

Each of these questions gradually lays the groundwork for the next. The first question (RQ1) aims to map the lexico-semantic distribution of each construction in naturally occurring usage from a corpus. The second question (RQ2) zooms in on the potential lexico-semantic overlaps, exploring how similar or different the two constructions are in usage. These two, primarily empirical questions, together aim to highlight the characteristics of each construction. They will serve as a point of departure for the third, more theoretical question (RQ3), which investigates how the two constructions are related within the constructional network.

In addressing these questions, particularly the more empirical questions RQ1 and RQ2, I employ two types of empirical data: (i) corpus data and (ii) acceptability judgement data. These two types of data together serve complementary roles in revealing conventional constructions, each with distinct strengths and weaknesses (cf. Belligh & Willems 2022).

The corpus data provide a broad mapping of conventionally established usage patterns, offering detailed information about the frequency distribution of common grammatical patterns. Patterns occurring with high frequency are generally a reliable indication of their conventionality. However, the drawback is that the picture offered by corpus data regarding sentence types occurring with low or zero frequency is inconclusive: a scarcity or an absence of a given

sentence type may either be due to that sentence type's ill-formedness with respect to linguistic convention, or it may be merely due to the nature of the corpus (Newmeyer 2003; Schütze 2011). This is particularly crucial, given that several cases have been observed where the acceptability of comparable sentence types differs, yet they occur with similar infrequency or not at all in the corpus (Bader & Häussler 2010; Kempen & Harbusch 2008; Divjak 2017; Flach 2020; see Francis 2021, Chapter 5 for an overview).

Acceptability judgement data, on the contrary, are more informative than corpus data regarding rare or non-occurring sentence types. In contrast to corpus data, in which the well-formedness of rare or non-occurring sentences remains undetermined, acceptability judgement data can inform us about the *degree* of well-formedness, when judgements are provided on a scale. Furthermore, acceptability judgement data are more informative in that a larger number of data points can be collected from a broader group of people for specific rare or non-occurring sentence types, which are, by definition, limited in corpus data. On the other hand, a drawback is that the coverage of investigable sentence types is limited compared to corpus data, since the required effort in preparing and carrying out an experiment increases exponentially with broader coverage.

Due to their difference in practical coverage and kind of information they provide, these two types of data play complementary roles in my study. The corpus data primarily provide a broad mapping of the lexico-semantic distribution of each construction (RQ1), while also offering information about how the variants of the potential overlaps tend to be used (RQ2). Conversely, the acceptability judgement data allow for a closer examination of the potential lexico-semantic overlaps identified in the corpus, focusing on language users' perceptions of the variants (RQ2). The mixed-methods approach taken in the present study provides a more robust empirical foundation for analysing linguistic conventions.

In the following sections, I describe how the two main empirical data sets were acquired.

4.1 Corpus data

The corpus data primarily serve to identify the lexico-semantic distribution of each construction in naturally occurring usage. This type of data aligns with the usage-based view on grammar adopted in this dissertation, where grammar is theorised as a network of constructions that emerges from past language use. The patterns found in the corpus data are assumed to reflect the grammar that is commonly shared among the population of language users in the form of constructions, at least to some extent. The use of corpus data consisting of texts

produced by various individuals aligns with my aggregate orientation towards grammar, where I focus on the general patterns of usage shared among language users.

Like other usage-based constructionist studies, token and type frequencies in the corpus are used as important measurements regarding the conventional usage of the constructions with a REFL-PP in this study, which are assumed to be stored in the minds of language users, as a socially shared resource (see Section 3.1.2).

Token frequency is an indicator of the conventionality of a given type: a high token frequency for a given type indicates that the type is conventionally established within the speech community. Type frequency of a given category, together with variability within that category, is an indicator of productivity: a high type frequency of a given pattern and the variety observed among these types indicate the pattern's productivity, in the sense that the pattern can be extended to novel types.

4.1.1 The sample set

The sample set is *Bloggmix 2016* (Språkbanken Text 2024), one subset of the corpora distributed by *Språkbanken Text*. This specific corpus contains appr. 17.7 million tokens,[36] collected from the most popular Swedish blogs around 2016. The motivation for the choice of a blog corpus is that it is a corpus that is not too stylistically distant from the daily usage of Swedish speakers (cf. Wiktorsson 2018), while being large enough to provide a reasonable number of occurrences of the constructions under investigation.

4.1.2 Data extraction method

I extracted data using *Korp* (Borin et al. 2025),[37] provided by *Språkbanken Text*. *Korp* is a web interface where users can search in the corpora offered by *Språkbanken Text* and view the search hits in the concordance format (i.e., a format where each search hit is presented centred in a single row, with its surrounding context, as in Figure 4.1).

To extract relevant occurrences from the sample set, I used a search query via *Korp*'s advanced search function (for an accessible introduction in Swedish,

36. The term 'token' here is an NLP term. In the corpora from *Språkbanken Text*, the token count of a corpus is essentially the sum of all orthographical words and punctuation marks within it. For example, the sentence "Snart dukar svärfar fram middagen, västkusträkor med tillbehör." from Bloggmix 2016 is analysed as containing 10 tokens including the comma and the period. Compounds, such as *västkusträkor* 'west coast shrimps', are counted as one token.

37. *Korp* is available at https://spraakbanken.gu.se/korp/ (last accessed 2026-02-09).

see Hjortstam 2018). The search queries I used for extracting the VPC and the POC occurrences, which I refer to as the 'VPC query' and the 'POC query', are represented in (4.1a) and (4.1b), respectively.[38] The labels 'V', 'N', and 'Det' represent a word tagged as (auxiliary or lexical) verb, (common) noun, and determiner. The label 'P' represents prepositional words (i.e., *av*, *i*, *med*, and *på*), and 'X' represents any word (excluding prepositions). The label 'Refl.Obj.3rd' represents the forms spelt *sig* or *sej*, indicating the reflexive pronoun in third person objective. Parentheses indicate that the surrounded part is optional.

(4.1) a. V–(Adv)–P–Refl.Obj.3rd–(Det)–(X)–N
b. V–(Adv)–(Det)–(X)–N–P–Refl.Obj.3rd

The queries extract sentences containing a verb (V) followed by an optional adverb (Adv), then a REFL-PP (P–Refl.Obj.3rd) and a nominal component consisting of a lexical head with an optional determiner and/or prenominal word of any category (Det–X–N), with the REFL-PP and the nominal component appearing in either of two possible orders.

The search results were then downloaded as comma-separated files for further annotation as described in the next section. The data were annotated using a spreadsheet application, *Microsoft Excel*, and an integrated development environment, *RStudio* (Posit team 2024). Figure 4.1 shows a portion of the acquired concordance, displayed using *Microsoft Excel*.

left conte	match	right_context
Hon blev förvirrad av att bara få	ta av sig skorna	och mössa men behålla jackan på s
a dagen utan att kladdas ut eller	fläcka av sig på ögonlocken	!
n om du har en mascara som lätt	kladdar av sig på ögonlocken	:) Kraam !
digt noga att eyelinervingen har	färgat av sig pyttelite	i hudvecket från globlinjen , men c

Figure 4.1. A screenshot of a portion of the downloaded data, displayed using *Microsoft Excel*

4.1.3 Delimitation and exclusion

The above search queries are limited in that they extract only a subset of all possible occurrences of the VPC and the POC. Furthermore, due to irrelevant matches and differing conditions across the queries, certain data were excluded.

38. The exact VPC and POC queries are reproduced in (i) and (ii), respectively.

(i) `[pos="VB"][pos="AB"]{0,1}[(word="på"|word="av"|word="med"|word="i")] [(word="sig"|word="sej")][pos="DT"]{0,1}[pos!="PP"]{0,1}[pos="NN"]`

(ii) `[pos="VB"][pos="AB"]{0,1}[(word="på"|word="av"|word="med"|word="i")] [(word="sig"|word="sej")][pos="DT"]{0,1}[pos!="PP"]{0,1}[pos="NN"]`

In the following, I outline these limitations and the rationale behind the exclusions.

First, the form of the reflexive pronoun in the REFL-PP is limited to the third-person form *sig* (or an informal orthographical variant *sej*) in my sample. Including first- and second-person forms results in an exceedingly high number of irrelevant matches, since the reflexive pronoun in that case is homonymous with the non-reflexive pronoun (see Table 4.1). Therefore, this study focuses exclusively on occurrences with a third-person reflexive pronoun. This limitation entails that occurrences of the VPC and the POC in this data set are restricted to clauses with third-person subjects (whether expressed or unexpressed), including subjectless infinitival clauses.

Table 4.1. Paradigm of personal pronouns and reflexive pronouns in the objective form (in standard orthography)

	Reflexive		Non-reflexive	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st	*mig*	*oss*	*mig*	*oss*
2nd	*dig*	*er*	*dig*	*er*
3rd	*sig*		*honom/henne/den/det*[39]	*dem*

Second, since the VPC query imposed a stricter restriction than the POC query within the window of the matched strings, I excluded some matches from the POC query to keep the comparison fair. Specifically, the two queries differed in what kind of items may intervene between the lexical verb and the following REFL-PP. While the VPC query allowed only one adverbial word to occur between the verb and the REFL-PP, the POC query was more generous, permitting a word of any category to occur in the position indicated as '(X)' in (4.1b). This difference allowed the POC query to include within the matched window (i) occurrences with a subject intervening before the object due to subject–verb inversion (e.g., [*sedan*] *åt jag soppa*; lit. '[then] ate I soup'), as well as (ii) occurrences with a verbal chain where an auxiliary verb and an infinitive verb are placed side by side (e.g., *skulle äta soppa* 'would eat soup'). To balance this skew, I excluded all results of these types from the POC query. Examples of matches excluded by such criteria are *tog han med sig det hem* 'took he with REFL to.home' (due to subject–verb inversion) and *måste ha öronen med sig* 'must have ear-DEF with REFL' (due to the non-initial position of the lexical verb *ha*). In the former example, the inversion caused the POC query to extract an instance of the VPC. Note that this exclusion criterion only concerns the

39. Third-person singular pronouns have four standard forms depending on the referent's animacy and natural or grammatical gender (Teleman et al. 1999, vol. 2, pp. 276–280).

matched string. Thus, sentences with subject–verb inversion or a verbal chain were not excluded if they appeared in the surrounding context, that is, outside the matched string.

Third, there were a couple of limitations in the type of object NP that was extracted, aligning with the scope of the study as stated in Section 1.2. Specifically, the search queries captured only cases in which the object NP consisted of a lexical head. They therefore excluded occurrences with an object NP with a pronominal head (e.g., *ta på sig den* 'take on oneself it') or non-headed NP (e.g., *den röda* 'the red [one]').

Fourth, somewhat related to the previous point, the length of the object NP was also restricted. Both the VPC and the POC queries excluded occurrences with object NPs containing a prepositive attribute of two or more orthographical words. Thus, while the queries retained NPs like *en röd klänning* 'a red dress' or *den röda klänningen* 'the red dress', they excluded longer NPs such as *en fin röd klänning* ('a fancy red dress') or *den fina röda klänningen* ('the fancy red dress'). Additionally, the POC query imposed a further restriction with regard to the postpositive attributes of the object NP: POC occurrences with a postpositive attribute, such as relative clauses, infinitive phrases, preposition phrases, and adjective phrases, were generally excluded, whereas the VPC query imposed no such restriction.

Fifth, I excluded occurrences in which any internal argument – among others, the object NP – was 'extracted', i.e., was not present inside the VP, by, for example, topicalisation or relativisation. This is because sentences with extraction make it less clear whether the VPC or the POC is involved. For example, a sentence with a topicalised object such as *Tröjan tog han på sig* (lit. 'shirt-DEF took he on REFL') can be analysed as involving either the VPC (as in *han tog på sig tröjan*) or the POC (as in *han tog tröjan på sig*).

Sixth, the search queries excluded occurrences with a sentence adverbial following the lexical verb when that sentence adverbial consisted of more than one word. Thus, occurrences with an adverbial exceeding one word were, in general, not included, such as *inte särskilt* 'not particularly' or *aldrig någonsin* 'never ever'. On the other hand, the search queries extracted occurrences with one-word adverbials such as negation adverbs (e.g., *inte* 'not', *knappast* 'hardly', *aldrig* 'never'), focus adverbs (e.g., *bara* 'only', *just* 'just'), and modal adverbs (e.g., *nog* 'probably', *förhoppningsvis* 'hopefully'), Occasionally, the POC query extracted occurrences with sentence adverbials of more than one word. I excluded these hits to match the restriction of the VPC query.

Seventh, I collapsed doublets – i.e., groups of observations that were identical in both the matched string and its contexts – into a single occurrence. This procedure resulted in the largest reduction of my corpus data. Among 9478 hits returned by the search queries, well over 80 % were excluded, reducing the

dataset to a total of 1575 observations, mostly due to doublets.[40]

4.1.4 The coding scheme

To map the lexico-semantic distribution of the VPC and the POC in the corpus, I annotated the occurrences by several variables for both qualitative and quantitative analyses of the corpus data.

In coding these variables, I consulted online dictionaries provided by *NE Nationalencyklopedin AB*[41] as auxiliary resources to assess the conventionality of particular combinations. I primarily consulted *Svenskt Språkbruk* (henceforth *SSB*), a dictionary which lists the common usage of words in terms of valency, collocation, and idioms. When necessary, the lexical information from *SSB* was supplemented with a Swedish–Swedish dictionary, *Svensk Ordbok* (henceforth *SO*). For English translations of lexical items and idioms, I largely consulted a Swedish–English dictionary, *Engelsk ordbok* (henceforth *EO*).

All statistical analyses were performed with R Statistical Software (R Core Team 2022). I used ChatGPT (OpenAI) to adjust and debug code for plotting relevant figures in Chapter 6. I did not use generative AI to analyse my data.

The following sections describe the specific variables employed in this study.

Preposition and construction The variables `p` and `cxn` register the prepositional item (viz., *av*, *i*, *med*, or *på*) and the word order as construction type (viz., the VPC or the POC) that a given observation involves.

Lemma form of the lexical verb and the object noun The variables `vLemma` and `objLemma` encode the lemmas, or the base forms, of the lexical verb and the head of the object. Apart from registering which lexical items appear as verb and object in a given subconstruction, these variables are used to count the type frequency of a given subconstruction in terms of verb and object, offering a quantitative measure of its lexical variability indicating the subconstruction's productivity. High token frequency of a given type was also considered as an indicator of the type's conventionalised status (see Section 3.5.2).

Morphosyntactic features of the object The three variables, `objNum`, `objDef`, and `objLength`, encode morphosyntactic features of the object.

The `objNum` variable encodes the number feature of the object: singular (`sg`) or plural (`pl`) for an object headed by a countable noun, and uncountable

40. Some doublets may reflect actual repeated use of an identical formulation.

41. Available at https://www.ne.se/ordb%C3%B6cker/ (last accessed 2026-02-10).

(uc) for an object headed by an uncountable noun. An object unspecified for number but headed by a lexically countable noun, such as a bare noun object (e.g., *hund* 'dog' in *ha hund* 'have dog') is coded with the value ambiguous (amb).

The objDef variable registers the definiteness feature of the object: viz., definite (def) or indefinite (ind).

The objLength variable encodes the orthographic length of the object. In Swedish orthographical norms, nominal compounds are written as one orthographic word with an exception for phrasal compounds (e.g., *berg- och dalbana* 'roller coaster'). In principle, I followed this norm in the formal register and counted any compound as consisting of a single orthographic word. Since the POC query only extracts occurrences with an object containing up to three words, a fair comparison between the VPC and the POC in terms of the objLength variable is only possible within the window up to three words. Thus, the objLength variable encodes only up to three words for all observations.

Clausal meaning The most important variable for my study is cSem, which encodes the semantic classification of occurrences of the VPC and the POC into subclasses in terms of their (frame-semantic) clausal meaning. In most cases, the value of this variable serves as an index for the identified **subconstructions**, that is, recurring meaning types observed within the occurrences of the VPC or the POC. This variable serves as the primary basis for the subsequent lexico-semantic descriptions of the constructions.

Since the meanings expressed in the occurrences of constructions with a REFL-PP were diverse and could be classified in multiple ways, this semantic annotation involves relatively subjective judgements compared to the other annotations, which affects reliability of the classification. To reduce subjective classification and ensure the reliability of the classification, I used *FrameNet* frames as a reference whenever possible. In Chapter 5, frames available at *FrameNet* are, upon first mention, indexed with URLs linked to the relevant *FrameNet* pages. However, when available frames were perceived as insufficient for describing a distinct clausal meaning expressed by an occurrence in my corpus, I prioritised accuracy in the semantic description and created my own frame in order to better capture the meaning, rather than relying entirely on existing *FrameNet* frames.

In principle, I grouped multiple occurrences into a single situational type when they were perceived as instances of the same pattern at some level. In assigning an appropriate label to a situation type, the same semantic labels used in *FrameNet* were employed in cases in which a corresponding frame was already registered in *FrameNet*. As the current list of frames in *FrameNet* is not

comprehensive enough and is often too coarse for the purpose of the present study, new labels were established when appropriate.

While the variable `cSem` was used to annotate the occurrences with a distinct frame-semantic clausal meaning, another variable related to semantic category of the object (`objCat`) was used to (i) help identify a frame-semantic clausal meaning or (ii) encode subgroups within the related occurrences, serving as another layer of semantic classification. I elaborate the role of the variable `objCat` below.

In the first case, `objCat` was used to identify a (frame-semantic) clausal meaning, since the semantic category of the object NP often reflects the clausal meaning. For example, consider the contrast between *trampa av sig skorna* (lit. 'tramp off oneself shoes-DEF') and *skölja av sig smuts* (lit. 'rinse off oneself dirt'). These expressions are perceived as relating to distinct situation types – namely, undressing and grooming, respectively. Setting aside the verb, this perceived difference may be attributed to the object NP's ontological category. Shoes are typically considered clothing, thus more naturally associated with the undressing frame. In contrast, dirt would hardly be considered clothing in the usual context, but rather something undesirable on the body, hence, it is more naturally associated with the grooming frame.

At the same time, it is important to note that the clausal meaning and the ontological category of the object NP do not necessarily correlate. For instance, the word *snö* 'snow' may not necessarily be associated with something undesirable to the same extent as the word *smuts* 'dirt'. Nevertheless, an expression such as *stampa av sig snön* (lit. 'stamp off oneself snow-DEF') would still be classified under the grooming frame. Moreover, in an unusual context where snow is regarded as body decoration – such as when a child forms a block of snow around her/his feet like shoes – the same expression may instead evoke an undressing frame. In such cases, priority is given to the meaning holistically expressed by the construction rather than by the object NP, a reasonable explanation for this is that the semantic role of the object NP is coerced by the construction's more prevalent pattern.

In the second case, the `objCat` variable was used to identify subgroups within a given situational type, serving as an additional layer of classification. This helped avoid overly fine-grained classification in terms of `cSem` where there was uncertainty in grouping occurrences into a single clausal meaning. In such cases, `objCat` helped distinguish subgroups that fell under a single, rather general clausal meaning coded by `cSem`.

Semantic type of the verb The variable `vType` encodes the semantic type of the verb into three broad classes: 'stative' (`stat`), 'generic(-causative)' (`gen`), and 'specific'. The type 'specific' is further divided into 'motion-causative' (`cm`)

and 'other' (`other`), depending on whether the verb has a conventional usage in the Caused-Motion Construction or not. The Caused-Motion Construction here is understood as a structure in which a theme object NP is followed by a directional adverbial, roughly represented as [V–NP_{OBJ}–$XP_{directional}$] (Podolšak 2025, pp. 153–155; Jansson 2005, p. 20). An example of the Caused-Motion Construction is provided in (4.2).

(4.2) Andersson skallade bollen i mål
A. headed ball-DEF in goal
'A. headed the ball into the goal' (Jansson 2005, p. 20, adapted)

Under this definition, some subtypes of the POC can be considered a subtype of the Caused-Motion Construction, to the extent that the post-objective REFL-PP can be interpreted as a directional adverbial. The motivation for the category 'motion-causative' is that constructions with a REFL-PP are formally and semantically similar to the Caused-Motion Construction. (Cf. Lyngfelt 2007, p. 108, who refers to the REFL-PP as locative.) The remaining categories are more or less residual categories, in which verbs cannot be categorised as motion-causative proper, due to their stative, generic, or other semantic characteristics.

My principle for classifying verbs as motion-causative was rather generous: I classified any verb that conventionally appears in the Caused-Motion Construction as motion-causative. In assessing the verb's conventional motion-causativeness, I primarily consulted the phraseological dictionary *SSB*. When necessary, the lexical information from *SSB* was supplemented by another dictionary, *SO*.

Each lexical verb appearing in the corpus was looked up in both dictionaries to determine whether it was attested in a Caused-Motion Construction. If any example within the verb entry showed the verb used in such a construction, it was coded as motion-causative. As an exception, caused-motion uses that were listed as idioms were excluded to avoid counterintuitive coding. For example, the *SSB* entry for the verb *sova* 'sleep' includes an idiomatic example *sova ruset av sig* ('sleep oneself sober'; lit. 'sleep the booze off of oneself'), instantiating a Caused-Motion Construction. However, coding *sova* as a conventional motion-causative verb based on this would be unnatural, thus the verb was coded as *other*.

4.2 Acceptability judgement data

As described at the beginning of this chapter, the acceptability judgement data were collected to complement the corpus data in answering RQ2 regarding the overlaps between the VPC and the POC.

This type of data illuminates the well-formedness or the conventionality (see Section 3.5.1) of patterns in the lower range of frequencies. While high frequency of a given lexico-semantic combination typically indicates high conventionality, low or zero frequency of a given combination is not an informative marker of low conventionality; the combination may simply not have occurred in the corpus though it is conventional, or it may have occurred despite its unconventionality.

Accordingly, the specific objective of using the acceptability judgement data in the present study is to investigate the degree to which the potential overlap between the VPC and the POC is conventional. The set of combinations tested in the acceptability judgement study focused on those that exhibited some degree of overlap between the two constructions.

To this end, I employed what Sprouse (2023, p. 4) calls a 'formal method' for eliciting acceptability judgements involving "more conditions, more items per condition, more participants, and more complex analysis processes", following the designs proposed in the literature (e.g., Cowart 1997; Schütze 1996). The choice of a formal method for eliciting acceptability, rather than a more informal method, such as introspection, casual consultation with native speakers, or questionnaires, was intended to ensure data reliability and to confidently detect more subtle differences in acceptability. I use the label 'experiment' rather than 'questionnaire' because the elicitation method was designed to control for several variables. Informal methods were used in the early stages to narrow down appropriate test items.

In the following, I outline the experimental design and the procedures used to gather and analyse the acceptability data. Since part of the experimental design – in particular, the choice of target items – depends on the results of the corpus study, the outline anticipates some of these results. I leave certain details about the target items for Chapter 6, where the overlaps are discussed centrally.

4.2.1 Construction of the experimental items

Based on the overlaps identified as recurrent in the corpus, I selected a set of lexico-semantic combinations for the acceptability judgement experiment, as described further in Section 6.3. The primary objective of the experiment was to examine whether sentence pairs with these lexico-semantic combinations, which contrasted minimally in word order (such as *Elin hade med sig bagaget* and *Elin hade bagaget med sig*), differed significantly in acceptability.

Aside from three practice items, each participant saw a total of 42 sentences, 16 of which were target items and 26 filler items.

The experimental items were constructed to share a common structural fea-

ture. First, they contained a single-word subject, specifically, a typical Swedish first name (i.e., a proper noun). Some proper nouns recurred multiple times within the same list. Second, the items were similar in syntactic complexity, all structured as a simple main clause with subject–verb order, consisting of a simple predicate in the past tense. Consequently, all the items began with a one-word proper-noun subject followed by a lexical verb in the past tense. Third, the length of the items was kept relatively short. The number of words in each filler item was between three and seven, and all the target items contained exactly five words. An example of a set of experimental items is found in Appendix 3.

Below, I describe in detail how the target, filler, and practice items were constructed.

Target items The target items were constructed based on verb–object combinations attested in my corpus data. A set of target items consisted of eight pairs of sentences that differed only in word order, such as *Elin hade med sig bagaget* and *Elin hade bagaget med sig*. To control for the lexical effects of the object noun, four different sets were generated systematically by rotating the verb–object combinations using a Latin square procedure, thereby ensuring that no set contained identical combinations. Each participant was assigned one of these four sets of target items.

Filler items After the construction of the sets of target items, the 26 filler items were added to each set. The fillers were similar to the target items in terms of length (in the number of words) and degree of structural complexity. The same list of filler items was used for all the participants. To make sure that acceptability varied across the experimental items, the fillers were designed to elicit various ratings of acceptability, preliminarily divided into three discrete categories: high, intermediate, and low. These fillers were added so that the entire list included approximately the same number of items from each expected rating category. The acceptability of the experimental items was estimated roughly. For the target items, ratings were estimated from their frequency in the corpus. For the filler items, ratings were estimated based on collocational or semantic deviation. The design for the number of items per rating category is presented in Table 4.2.

As the target items neither involved extreme syntactic nor semantic deviation, the variation in ratings among them was expected to be relatively small. So as not to obscure the expected small effects among the target items, the fillers were designed to avoid major syntactic violations. The low-acceptability filler items deviate primarily at the collocational or semantic level. Specifically, the following principles were applied: (i) low-acceptability fillers contained a remarkable deviation from the head verb's expected valence pattern, so they are

Table 4.2. Distribution of the items in the experiment

Acceptability	Target items	Filler items	Total
High	10	4	14
Intermediate	2	12	14
Low	4	10	14
Total	16	26	42

hardly sensical; (ii) intermediate-acceptability fillers contain a minor deviation from the lexical verb's expected valence pattern, while still being relatively sensical. Some of the fillers are exemplified below in (4.3–4.4):

(4.3) Examples of fillers expected to elicit low ratings

a. Bengt drack termosen kaffet. (lit. 'B. drank Thermos-DEF coffee-DEF')
b. Cecilia ställde på pallen. (lit. 'C. put on stool-DEF')
c. Kerstin åkte hunden. (lit. 'K. rode dog-DEF (as a vehicle)')

(4.4) Examples of fillers expected to elicit intermediate ratings

a. Patrik sparkade pojken bollen. (lit. 'P. kicked the boy the ball')
b. Jan hällde i koppen kaffet. (lit. 'J. poured in the cup the coffee')
c. Maria tog för sig tårtan. (lit. 'M. helped oneself the cake')

Practice items Three practice items were designed to elicit various ratings of acceptability in a similar way to the filler items, so that participants could use a broad range of the scale during the practice. The first item is expected to elicit a high rating, the second an intermediate rating, and the third a low rating. They are reproduced in (4.5–4.7) in the order discussed above.

(4.5) Elin tyckte det var en bra idé. (lit. 'E. thought it was a good idea')

(4.6) Jonatan brukade vara en lärare. (lit. 'J. used.to be a teacher')

(4.7) Matilda flyttade hemlandet ifrån. (lit. 'M. moved homeland-DEF from')

4.2.2 Ordering of the experimental items

The filler items were added to each of the four sets of target items to create the full list of experimental items. All lists were pseudo-randomised using *Microsoft Excel*. This was done by first running a randomising function several times, then manually adjusting the order. The manual adjustment ensured that target items were not presented consecutively and target items of a similar type did not occur in close proximity.

Furthermore, to control for order effects, three additional lists were generated from each pseudo-randomised list, in which blocks of experimental items were ordered differently. In addition to the original list, the three other lists were generated (i) by reversing the order of the original list; (ii) by splitting the original list into two blocks and swapping the block order; and (iii) by splitting the reversed list into two blocks and swapping them. Table 4.3 illustrates this counterbalancing procedure.

Table 4.3. Illustration of the counterbalancing of order

Original order	1	2	3	4
Reverse	4	3	2	1
Split & swap	3	4	1	2
Reverse & split & swap	2	1	4	3

As a result, a total of 16 lists of experimental items was obtained.

4.2.3 Participants

For the present experiment, I recruited 209 participants online. An announcement was published on the homepage of the Department of Swedish Language and Multilingualism at Stockholm University and was spread via its social media accounts, explicitly stating the requirement that the participants be native speakers of Swedish who have not studied linguistics ("språkvetenskap"). Though, on the information sheet (see Section 4.2.4 below and the information sheet in Appendix 2), I indicated that studies in linguistics specifically concerned syntax/semantics ("syntax/semantik"). The number of participants was determined based on my a priori power analysis, which, roughly stated, estimates an adequate sample size for detecting a significant effect (difference) between the contrasted experimental conditions.[42]

42. For my a priori power analysis for a two-tailed paired samples *t*-test, I set the statistical power (the probability of a true positive, i.e., of detecting a significant difference given that there truly is a difference between groups in the population) to 80 %, the α-level (the probability of a false positive, i.e., falsely detecting a significant difference when there does not exist any difference between groups in the population) to 5 %, and the effect size (i.e., the magnitude of difference) to 0.2 in Cohen's *d*.

For the power analysis, I used the R package *pwr* (Champely 2020). The code used for the analysis is `pwr.t.test(d = 0.2, sig.level = 0.05, power = 0.8, type = "paired", alternative = "two.sided")`. The power analysis with the above values returned approx. $n = 198$. For the case of dropouts or data loss, 11 extra participants, or ca 5% of the calculated *n*, were added to the above calculation, which returned a total of 209 participants for recruitment to the experiment.

In estimating the yet unknown effect size, I referred to Appendix A of Sprouse et al. (2013), where effect sizes from 296 different contrastive pairs sampled from the theoretical linguistic

Participants were evenly distributed across the 16 lists described in the preceding subsection. As a result, 13 to 14 participants were assigned to each list.

A plurality of participants (ca. 50 %) were in the middle age spans (30–39 and 40–49). Other age spans, 20–29, 50–59 and 60–69 were also represented fairly well, accounting for 14–18 % of the participants each. A relatively small percentage of participants (ca. 3 %) were aged 70–79.

A large portion of the participants were from well-populated regions in the southern half of Sweden. A plurality of the participants, ca. 35 %, were from the metropolitan area around Stockholm (Södermanland, Uppland, Västmanland). Circa 15 % were from the metropolitan area around Gothenburg (Västergötland, Halland, Bohuslän), and circa 15 % were from Southern Sweden (Småland, Skåne, Blekinge). Eight participants (3.8 %) answered the question about their native province with an ambiguous response or multiple areas. One participant was from Finland (Österbotten).

All the participants confirmed that they were native speakers of Swedish. All but one participant confirmed that they had never studied linguistics ("språkvetenskap"). I have included all data points from all participants in my analysis, except those from the practice items.

4.2.4 Experimental procedure

The experiment was conducted online using a program built on *PsychoPy* (Peirce et al. 2019) and run entirely on a web browser through the online experiment platform *Pavlovia*.[43]

Before the experiment, participants were presented an information sheet page.[44] The information sheet included, among other things, the project overview, the general description of the experimental task, including the estimated time required for participation (5–7 min.), the voluntary nature of participation

journal *Linguistic Inquiry* observed through their formal experiments are reported. Considering the characteristics of the phenomenon of our interest, the effect size was expected to be rather small. As a reference point, I chose a contrastive pair concerning word order variation in a simple clause cited from Bowers (2002, p. 188), labelled '33.2.Bowers.7b' in Appendix A of Sprouse et al. (2013). This contrastive pair from Bowers (2002) involves placement of a manner adverbial in a simple main clause: i.e., *the ball perfectly rolled down the hill* vs. *the ball rolled perfectly down the hill*. The sample effect size for this pair, reported from their experiment using a 7-point Likert scale task, was 0.17 in z-scores, which translates approximately to Cohen's d in this case. Given this effect size, I set the expected effect size to 0.2 in Cohen's d. An effect size of 0.2 in Cohen's d is also a good reference point, since it is the proposed bottom border of a small effect size (Cohen 1977).

43. https://pavlovia.org (last accessed 2026-02-10).

44. Hosted at *VESPR Portal* (Morys-Carter 2022).

without compensation, and the possibility of withdrawing consent and ending participation at any time during the experiment by pressing the escape key; the anonymous nature of data collection; and the qualification criteria – i.e., having Swedish as one's mother tongue and not having studied linguistics (here specified as syntax/semantics). By clicking the button to continue to the experiment, participants agreed that their responses could be used for the project. The information sheet is reproduced in the Appendix 2.

Upon viewing the experiment instructions, the browser changed to full-screen mode. A dialogue box appeared on the screen for participants to indicate their age (from a multiple-choice list of age spans), the province ("landskap") where they grew up (as a free entry field), whether their mother tongue ("modersmål") was Swedish (as a binary-choice field), and whether they had studied linguistics ("språkvetenskap") or not (as a binary-choice field).

During the instructions, participants were instructed that they should rate each sentence in the experiment on a 5-point scale according to how natural ("naturligt") it sounded in Swedish to them. They were asked to rate the sentences as quickly as possible, without thinking too much about the content. Then they completed three practice items with varying grammaticality to become familiar with the rating task. When completing the practice items, they could see explicit labels for all five scale points, which were (from left to right): 1 – totally unnatural ("helt onaturligt"); 2 – pretty unnatural ("hyfsat onaturligt"); 3 – somewhat unnatural but acceptable ("något onaturligt men acceptabelt"); 4 – pretty natural ("hyfsat naturligt"); 5 – totally natural ("helt naturligt"). The ratings on the practice items were not included in the analysis.

A note on the terminological choice may be in order. Throughout the experiment, the participants were asked how 'natural' the presented expressions were perceived to be, instead of how 'acceptable' or 'grammatical' they were.[45] The reason for not using the terms 'acceptability' and 'grammaticality' is because the participants, as non-linguists, may not be familiar with these terms and may vary greatly in how they interpret them, and accordingly, in their way of rating the sentence (cf. Schütze 1996, p. 130). In contrast, the term 'natural' is more familiar and intuitive to the participants, thus introducing fewer complications in the performance of the tasks. I assume that the resulting ratings correspond well to what linguists associate with the term 'acceptability', at least in the present case where the target expressions are relatively simple and are relatable to the participants' daily language use.

After the practice, participants completed the main task, in which they rated

45. The Swedish words corresponding to the English words *natural*, *acceptable*, and *grammatical* are *naturlig*, *acceptabel*, and *grammatisk*. The range of usage of these words seems largely comparable to the English correspondences. Therefore, I use the English correspondences to refer to the Swedish words in this paragraph.

the 42 experimental items one by one. During the main task, the labels on the scale were reduced so that only the extremes of the scale were labelled on the 5-point scale (i.e., totally unnatural and totally natural). A screenshot of an example from the main task is shown in Figure 4.2.

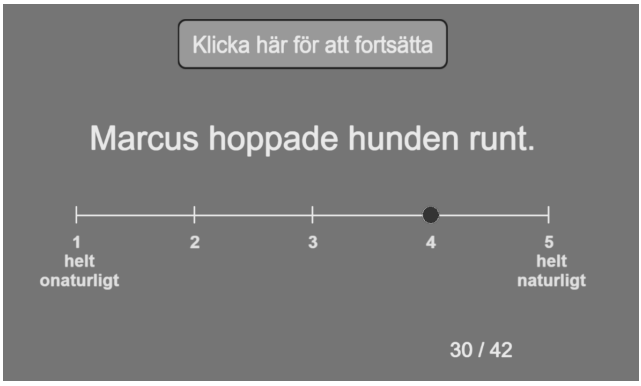

Figure 4.2. Screenshot of the main task

All the items, including practice items, were presented in written form. Participants rated each sentence (in both the practice and the main task) by clicking on a scale placed horizontally in the middle of the screen, after which a red point appeared on the number they selected. Participants then proceeded to the next item by clicking on a continue button that appeared above the scale after the rating was given. Participants could not return to previous items.

4.2.5 Statistical analysis

The acceptability judgement data were analysed primarily quantitatively. In analysing the data, I treat the 5-point Likert scale as an interval level of measurement: i.e., an equal number of steps on the scale represents an equal distance. Under this assumption, a difference between points 2 and 4 is equal to that between points 3 and 5, for example.[46]

In addressing the main objective of the acceptability judgement study, statistical analyses were applied to examine whether there was a significant difference in the acceptability rating of the VPC and the POC for a given V-P com-

46. While it may be questionable whether all participants use the Likert scale in such a way (cf. Cowart 1997, pp. 70–72; Eiselen & Huyssteen 2023), assuming the Likert scale to represent interval data provides a convenient way of comparing acceptability between conditions by using standard statistical measures such as mean, standard deviation, and *t*-statistics. Also, analyses based on this assumption do not seem to cause drastically misleading results. Rather, they largely converge with results from other types of acceptability judgement tasks (Sprouse & Almeida 2017; Sprouse et al. 2013).

bination. In particular, paired samples *t*-tests were conducted to evaluate the significance of observed differences in the mean acceptability scores between each condition.

I also explored effect-size statistics related to other variables, though their interpretation is more tentative.

All statistical analyses were performed with R Statistical Software (R Core Team 2022). I used ChatGPT (OpenAI) to adjust and debug code for plotting relevant figures in Chapter 6. I did not use generative AI to analyse my data.

5 The lexico-semantic distribution of the VPC and the POC

This chapter aims to answer the first empirical question (RQ1): *how are the VPC and the POC distributed lexico-semantically?* To this end, the chapter provides a detailed lexico-semantic description of the VPC and the POC. As described in Section 4.1.4, the meanings of the constructions are described in terms of semantic frames, which also serve as the labels of the subconstructions. Furthermore, the lexical variation of the subconstructions will be included in the description as an index of their productivity.

Each subconstruction is in principle presented in the following format. First, a rough frame-semantic description is presented. This is followed by frequency information and the semantic types of the co-occurring lexical items – mostly regarding the verbs – which provides an index for the conventionality and productivity of a given group of occurrences as a construction. The possible semantic types of the verbs encompass four broad classes: stative, generic, motion-causative, or other, as described in Section 4.1.4. In addition, frequency information for other components, such as the object NP, is included when relevant to the description.

The order of the presentation of subconstructions is as follows. Subconstructions of the VPC type are presented first, followed by those of the POC type. The subconstructions within the VPC and the POC types are sorted based on the preposition – *av*, *i*, *med*, and *på* – and are presented in alphabetical order as P-specific subconstructions. Further, these P-specific subconstructions, each associated with a distinct clausal meaning, are presented from those that are more lexically variable and less dependent on specific verbs, or productive patterns, to those that are lexically invariable and are distinctively associated with a specific verb, or lexically specific patterns.

Table 5.1 provides overall frequency information for the VPC and the POC with a specific preposition in the corpus. The 'VPC' and 'POC' columns summarise their token frequency, with the specific preposition specified in the 'P' column. The column and row headed with 'Σ' provide the column and row summaries.

Following the structure outlined above, Section 5.1 presents the description of the VPC type with each preposition (i.e., *av*-VPC, *i*-VPC, *med*-VPC,

Table 5.1. The frequency of constructions with a REFL-PP with each preposition

P	VPC	POC	Σ
av	122	30	152
i	247	43	290
med	438	85	523
på	417	193	610
Σ	1 224	351	1 575

and *på*-VPC) in a separate subsection, and the final subsection (Section 5.1.5) summarising the characteristics of the VPC as a family of constructions. In a parallel manner, Section 5.2 presents the description of the POC type with each preposition (i.e., *av*-POC, *i*-POC, *med*-POC, *på*-POC) in a separate subsection, followed by a final subsection (Section 5.2.5) summarising the characteristics of the POC as a family of constructions. Section 5.3 provides concluding remarks. The lexico-semantic overlaps are discussed further in the next chapter.

5.1 The lexico-semantic distribution of the VPC

This section describes the lexico-semantic distribution of the VPC type in terms of subconstructions as identified in the corpus. It is organised in the following manner: *av*-VPCs (Section 5.1.1), *i*-VPCs (Section 5.1.2), *med*-VPCs (Section 5.1.3), *på*-VPCs (Section 5.1.4), and a summary (Section 5.1.5).

5.1.1 *Av*-VPCs

A semantic commonality among all the subconstructions of the *av*-VPC is that the theme referent which originally attached to the agent referent's domain of bodily contact becomes separated from and leaves the domain.

Among the constructions with a REFL-PP investigated in this study, the *av*-VPC is the only construction described in *Svenskt konstruktikon* (a database of constructions in Swedish) to date (last accessed 2026-03-17).[47] The meaning of this construction is described as "someone [as Agent] removes something [as Theme] from the body" (in the original: "[n]ågon avlägsnar något från kroppen". *Svenskt konstruktikon* connects this construction to a *FrameNet* frame

47. Two entries describe subconstructions of the VPC with a preposition *ur* 'out of', a pattern which falls outside the scope of the present study. These entries concern a frame of `Statement`, as in [*v*]*ilken kommentar han slängde ur sig* 'what a comment to blurt out!', and a frame of `Creating`, as in [*d*]*e vräker ur sig 150 titlar om året* 'they churn out 150 titles a year'.

of Removing.[48] The *FrameNet* frame of Removing is more general than the current case in that the former includes non-reflexive cases – i.e., the source of the theme need not be the agent's body in the *FrameNet* definition (as in "the waiter removed the dishes from the table").

The majority of the occurrences of the *av*-VPC are associated with the frame of Undressing. Several occurrences falling outside this category form a rather heterogeneous, but loosely related set of groups, involving Grooming and other frames, which I label as Working_off, Freeing_self, and Removing_body_part. The following subsections describe these groups in the order they are mentioned here.

5.1.1.1 Undressing

The majority of the *av*-VPC occurrences are associated with a frame of Undressing, in which according to *FrameNet* "[a] WEARER removes an item of CLOTHING from a BODY_LOCATION (the part of the body that the CLOTHING is prototypically worn on)".[49] Typically, they contain a theme NP that belongs to the ontological categories of clothes or accessories.

Examples of the Undressing subconstruction are given in (5.1–5.2). In (5.1), *skorna* 'the shoes' corresponds to the CLOTHING to be removed from the WEARER expressed as the subject of the matrix clause (i.e., [*h*]*on* 'she').

When the verb does not fall into the generic type, it often specifies the MEANS or MANNER of undressing. In (5.2), *en sko* corresponds to the CLOTHING to be removed, from the subject Mille as the WEARER. The lexical verb *trampat* 'stamped', describes the MEANS of undressing.

(5.1) Hon blev förvirrad av att bara få *ta* ***av sig*** *skorna* *och mössa*
she got confused of to just get take off REFL shoes-DEF and hat
men behålla jackan på sig
but keep jacket-DEF on REFL
'She got confused by just being allowed to take off her shoes and hat but keep the jacket on'

(5.2) Mille har *trampat* ***av sig*** *en sko* [...]
M. have stamped off REFL a shoe
'M. has kicked off a shoe [...]'

The verbs attested in this subconstruction in my blog corpus are summarised in Table 5.2, where the 'Verb' column summarises the co-occurring verbs in

48. The construction is labelled in *Svenskt konstruktikon* as "V_av_sig.transitiv". The *FrameNet* entry of Removing is found at https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/frames/Removing (last accessed 2026-02-08).

49. https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/frames/Undressing (last accessed 2026-02-08).

lemma form, the 'Verb type' column their semantic type, and the 'n' column their token frequency within this class of occurrences.

Table 5.2. Verbs co-occurring with the `Undressing` frame in the *av*-VPC

Verb	Verb type	n
ta 'take'	generic	54
få 'get'	generic	6
klä 'dress'	other	5
hänga 'hang'	motion-causative	3
slänga 'throw'	motion-causative	3
slita 'tear'	motion-causative	3
kasta 'throw'	motion-causative	2
sparka 'kick'	motion-causative	2
trampa 'tramp'	other	2
dra 'draw'	motion-causative	1
kränga 'turn inside out'	other	1
lyfta 'lift'	motion-causative	1
tvätta 'wash'	other	1
Σ		83

In the corpus, the `Undressing` subconstruction occurs with a total of 13 distinct verbs, which indicates its considerable degree of productivity. The generic causative verb *ta* 'take' [54] is by far the most frequent verb in this subconstruction, followed by another generic causative verb *få* 'get' [6]. The verb *klä* 'dress, clothe' in 3rd place is the only verb that in itself related to a general frame of what I label as `Wearing_scenario`[50] in this subconstruction, although the verb *klä* in isolation is not associated with an act of undressing, but rather that of dressing (e.g., *klä barnen* 'dress the children') (cf. Tohno 2019, p. 21). Compared to occurrences with other verbs, the occurrences with the verb *klä* typically denote situations in which the piece/pieces of clothing that are taken off cover a large part of the former wearer's body, as in (5.3).

(5.3) Det var några ungar som lekte Tarzan i kuddrummet och de
it was some kids that played Tarzan in pillow-room-DEF and they
klädde ***av*** ***sig*** *kläderna*
dressed off REFL clothes-DEF
'There were some kids playing Tarzan in the pillow room, and they took off their clothes'

After these more generic verbs come motion-causative verbs (*hänga* 'hang', *slänga* 'throw', *slita* 'tear, pull', *sparka* 'kick', *etc.*) and a couple of transitive

50. There is currently (as of 2026-02-08) no entry in *FrameNet* that embraces both `Dressing` and `Undressing` as sharing a semantic field concerning placing an entity on a sentient's body part as a garment.

verbs of other sorts (*kränga* 'turn inside out' and *tvätta* 'wash'). Their semantic contribution in this subconstruction is to specify the manner of the act of taking off the clothing. The specified manner may be interpreted as involving the means of undressing. For example, the verb *slita* 'tear, pull' in the expression *slita av sig jackan* (lit. 'pull off REFL jacket-DEF') may be interpreted as contributing MEANS (a wearer takes off one's jacket by pulling it quickly/violently) or MANNER of undressing. The verb may also be associated with the means of moving the CLOTHING in the later phase of undressing, sometimes with an implication or an entailment of the CLOTHING's specific RESULT-state. An example of the former is the verb *slänga* 'throw', where the act of throwing the clothing may take place after the completion of taking it off of one's body. The verb *hänga* 'hang' is an example of the latter, where it entails the resulting state of the clothing hanging on a hook or the like.

None of the verbs, not even the most typical ones, are typically associated with `Undressing` in isolation. Furthermore, the constructional components other than the verb, such as the sequence *av*-REFL 'off oneself' and the theme object's head noun, typically denoting the entity type CLOTHING, seem to jointly motivate the construction's association with the `Undressing` frame. Accordingly, the association between the form and the clausal meaning of the `Undressing` construction is motivated by constructional components rather than entirely by the verb, and the clausal meaning is evoked by the construction as a whole rather than by the verb.

5.1.1.2 Working off

Quite a small group of occurrences are associated with what I refer to as the `Working_off` frame, where a subject AGENT – more or less metaphorically – gets rid of its more or less temporal UNDESIRABLE_STATE expressed by the object, by engaging in a specific activity denoted by the verb as a MEANS of getting rid of it.[51] Examples of `Working_off` occurrences are provided in (5.4–5.5). In (5.4), the subject referent (which is a horse) gets rid of its excess energy by running. In (5.5), the omitted subject referent, which is a horse, removes the

51. This group of occurrences can be related to the construction entry in *Svenskt konstruktiokon*, labelled "V_av_sig.frigöra", whose meaning is described as "someone performs an action in order to free themselves from discomfort or otherwise achieve a greater degree of well-being" ("[n]ågon utför en handling för att frigöra sig från ett obehag eller för att på annat sätt uppnå ett större mått av välmående").

Most examples in this construction entry lack a theme object, such as in [*o*]*ch bara att få prata av sig är skönt!* 'and just talking (it) out feels so good!', except for one example in which a theme object is expressed, as in [*d*]*et hade varit svårt att skaka av sig den hemska upplevelsen kvällen innan* [. . .] 'it would have been hard to shake off the terrible experiences of the night before'.

muscle soreness in its body by exercising a trot.

(5.4) Jag longerade henne först så hon fick *springa* ***av sig*** *den värsta energin*.
I lunged her first so she got run off REFL DEF worst energy-DEF
'I lunged her first so she could run off the excess energy'.

(5.5) *Skritta* ***av sig*** *träningsvärken från igår*, alltid skönt.
trot off REFL muscle.soreness-DEF from yesterday always nice
'Trot off the muscle soreness from yesterday, always nice'.

The verbs that occur in this subconstruction is summarised in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3. Verbs co-occurring with the `Working_Off` frame in the *av*-VPC

Verb	Verb type	n
springa 'run'	other	7
leka 'play'	other	3
skritta 'go at a walking pace'	other	1
skriva 'write'	other	1
Σ		12

The `Activity` evoked by the verbs constitutes a sort of recreational activity within this frame, such as running, playing, or writing. The verbs co-occurring in this subconstruction are not themselves associated with removal, which is a type of motion causation, as indicated by their verb type being of 'other' in Table 5.3. Furthermore, the verbs diverge from their ordinary selectional restrictions, in the sense that the theme object which realises UNDESIRABLE_STATE does not correspond to the verb's ordinary selected object. Two verbs are associated with self-motion, i.e., *springa* 'run' [7] and *skritta* 'go (proceed) at a walking pace' [1] in this subconstruction. Verbs denoting other kinds of activity are also found, such as *leka* 'play' [3] and *skriva* 'write' [1]. Most often, the theme object denotes an abstract entity or a mental state such as *energi* 'energy', *oro* 'anxiety', and *sorg* 'sorrow', though there are also occurrences with a more physical state such as *träningsvärk* 'pain/stiffness after training'. The verbs of self-motion and the verb *leka* 'play' are typically intransitive, and the verb *skriva* 'write' is typically transitive where its ordinary object encodes the resulting product of writing, such as letters or documents. Although the token and type frequency of this subgroup are not particularly high, the semantic variability of the verbs suggests that this subgroup may accommodate novel verbs to a certain degree, i.e., it represents a more or less productive construction.

5.1.1.3 Grooming

An additional group of occurrences concerns the situation of self-grooming where an agent removes from their body something typically undesirable and alienable, such as hair or dirt. The `Grooming` frame is defined in *FrameNet* as an eventive frame where "an AGENT engages in personal body care by grooming either a PATIENT or a BODY_PART. An INSTRUMENT can be used in this process as well as a MEDIUM".[52]

Although the THEME or removed entity is not included in this *FrameNet* definition, it is necessarily realised as an object in the present subconstruction. The lexical verb often specifies the MEANS of removal.

An example of the `Grooming` subconstruction is provided in the sentence in (5.6). The highlighted sequence describes an event in which the unexpressed subject AGENT removes the THEME object, salt, as a result of bathing.

(5.6) Det känns alltid lite skönt att *bada* ***av*** ***sig*** *allt salt* och hänga lite
it feels always a.bit nice to bathe off REFL all salt and hang a.bit
runt poolen [...]
around pool-DEF
'It always feels a bit nice to bathe off all the salt and hang around the pool a bit'

Table 5.4 summarises the verbs occurring in the `Grooming` subconstruction.

Table 5.4. Verbs co-occurring with the `Grooming` frame in the *av*-VPC

Verb	Verb type	n
klippa 'cut'	motion-causative	10
raka 'run'	other	2
tvätta 'wash'	other	2
bada 'bathe'	other	1
få 'get'	generic	1
rysta 'shake'	other	1
skaka 'shake'	other	1
trampa 'tramp'	other	1
Σ		19

The verb also implies the INSTRUMENT or the MEDIUM used in the action and the type of THEME: the verb *klippa* 'cut' entails the use of scissors and the removal of hair (typically on the head), the verb *raka* 'shave' entails the use of a razor/shaver and the removal of hair, the verbs *tvätta* 'wash' and *bada* 'bathe' entail the use of water as the medium. Some verbs, such as *trampa* 'tramp', *rysta* 'shake', and *skaka* 'shake', encode MEANS or a means-like MANNER of

52. https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/frames/Grooming (last accessed 2026-02-08).

removing dirt or the like. For example, occurrences with the verb of shaking express the removal of dirt or water, by the means-like manner of shaking a body part (or alternatively, shaking using a foot/feet as the INSTRUMENT of removal). One occurrence with a generic verb *få* 'get', reproduced in (5.7), is also included in this group. The theme object of this occurrence, i.e., sand, can be conceived of as dirt, and is thus considered as related to grooming.

(5.7) Snabbt som fan in i duschen och *få* ***av sig*** *allt sand* [...]
quickly as hell in in shower-DEF and get off REFL all sand
'As fast as hell into the shower and get all the sand off'

5.1.1.4 Isolate or ambiguous occurrences

This subsection describes individual occurrences of the *av*-VPC that did not fall easily into the prominent lexico-semantic combinations outlined above. As most of the lexico-semantic combinations discussed below are also absent from the reference dictionary, the proposed groupings should be regarded as provisional.

Removing own body part One occurrence with the verb *hugga* 'chop' and one occurrence with the verb *plocka* 'pick' contain a theme object representing the agent's rather inalienable body part. The occurrences with *hugga* and *plocka* are reproduced in (5.8) and (5.9), respectively. In the former, the object refers to a hand, which is an inalienable body part, and separating it from the body is usually considered undesirable for the agent. In the latter, the object refers to roe attached to the body of the subject (a crayfish). While roe for a crayfish may be more alienable than a hand for a human, the context indicates that separating it from the body at the moment of reference is considered undesirable, at least for the speaker.

(5.8) Men sedan tänker jag på de som skulle *hugga* ***av sig*** *ena handen*
but then think I on them that would hew off REFL one hand-DEF
[...]

'But then I think about those who would chop off their own hand'

(5.9) Om honan blir stressad kan hon *plocka* ***av sig*** *rommen*
if female-DEF gets stressed can she pick off REFL roe-DEF
'If the female [crayfish] gets stressed, she can shed her roe'

While these occurrences could be included in the subconstructions described above, their clausal meaning seems oddly different from the subconstructions presented above. I tentatively group these occurrences into a distinct group

which I label as `Removing_own_body_part`, where an agent removes a body part from their own body.

Hair object Several occurrences of the *av*-VPC co-occur with an object denoting hair, where it can be interpreted as either an alienable or a less alienable entity. The theme object *håret* 'the hair' in the following examples would be interpreted as associated with different frames. In the sentence in (5.10), the separation of hair fulfils a function of arranging one's appearance, making it appropriate to classify it as related to the frame of `Undressing`. In contrast, in the sentence in (5.11), the intention behind the separation of hair is not to arrange one's appearance, but rather to harm oneself, which better aligns with the frame of `Removing_own_body_part` than `Undressing`.

(5.10) Jag tror ingen har missat att Kissies har *klippt* ***av sig*** *håret*
I think nobody have missed that K. have cut off REFL hair-DEF
?!

'I think nobody has missed that K. has cut off her hair?!'

(5.11) Det är klart att det kan vara fruktansvärt jobbigt ibland, man vill
it is clear that it can be terribly tough sometimes, one want
slita ***av sig*** *håret* [...]
tear off REFL hair-DEF
'It's clear that it can be terribly tough at times, one wants to tear out one's hair'

This difference in interpretation stems from the hair's in-between status as both alienable and inalienable. On the one hand, one can easily displace one's hair using a cutting or shaving instrument. On the other hand, if multiple hair strands are *pulled* out, unbearable pain occurs to the original hair owner. This in-between status regarding alienability can be related to hair as clothing vs. body part: hair may be construed either as a type of clothing (or possibly dirt if the hair is construed as something particularly undesirable to its owner) when seen as an alienable entity, or as a body part when seen as an inalienable part of the agent's body. In grouping these occurrences with a hair object, I consulted the co-occurring context, as illustrated in the contrast between the sentences in (5.10–5.11).

Shaking Three occurrences with verbs of shaking (i.e., *skaka* and *ruska*) exhibit a usage distinct from those involving undressing and grooming. In these occurrences, the shaking event is conceived of as metaphorical rather than physical. These occurrences express a type of event involving overcoming or abandoning an entity – concrete or abstract – perceived as undesirable for

the subject referent. For example, the emphasised part of the sentence in (5.12) expresses a situation in which the art students overcome the consequences of a fire (that occurred at their art school). No physical shaking is assumed to be involved in the described situation.

(5.12) Men själv undrar jag hur de konststuderande ska bära sig åt
but self wonder I how ART art-students shall carry REFL toward
för att "*skaka* ***av sig***" *branden*
for to shake off REFL fire-DEF
'But I myself wonder how the art students are supposed to "shake off" the fire'

The phraseological dictionary *SSB* lists this metaphorical usage under the idiomatic entry *skaka av sig*, describing its meaning as "freeing oneself" ("frigöra sig"), which suggests that this metaphorical use of the verb *skaka* in the *av*-VPC seems to be more or less conventional. Therefore, I classified these metaphorical occurrences as involving the distinct frame of `Freeing_self`.

While it may hardly represent established usage, an individual occurrence with the verb *sparka* with an abstract object, reproduced in (5.13), might possibly be included in this category. The act of kicking denoted by the verb is metaphorical, as indicated by the abstractness of the anaphorically referred subject (which in turn refers to a part of a story) and the abstract object (which refers to another part of the story). Acknowledging the difficulty in classifying this occurrence within any existing group, I included it tentatively as an instance of `Freeing_self`.

(5.13) [...] den här berättelsen växer för mycket till att bli sin
this story-DEF grows too much to to become POSS.REFL
egen ... den försöker *sparka* ***av sig*** *skilsmässohistorien*
own it tries kick off REFL divorce-story-DEF
'This story grows too much and becomes its own, it tries to kick away the divorce plot'

5.1.2 *I*-VPCs

Most occurrences of the *i*-VPC involve the frame of `Ingesting`, forming a highly lexically variable group. Lexical exceptions concern occurrences with the verbs *suga* 'suck, absorb' and *ha* 'have'. The former involves metaphorical usages associated with the frames of `Basking` and `Memorising`, while the latter constitutes a single isolated occurrence associated with the distinct frame of `Containing_substance`. Each group is described below in the order they are mentioned here.

5.1.2.1 Ingesting

A large group of occurrences of the *i*-VPC is associated with the frame `Ingesting`,[53] described in *FrameNet* as an eventive frame where "[a]n INGESTOR consumes food or drink (INGESTIBLES), which entails putting the INGESTIBLES in the mouth for delivery to the digestive system".[54] Examples are given in (5.14–5.15) below. In both examples, the object – homemade smoothie in (5.14) and cream and jam in (5.15) – expresses the INGESTIBLES, an entity consumed by the subject INGESTOR.

(5.14) Hon *fick* ***i*** ***sig*** *hemmagjord smoothie* [...]
she got in REFL homemade smoothie
'She consumed homemade smoothie'

(5.15) Zoe *vräkte* ***i*** ***sig*** *grädde och sylt* [...]
Z. heaved in REFL cream and jam
'Zoe devoured cream and jam'

A total of 34 distinct verbs with a great semantic variety occur in this `Ingesting` group, indicating the subconstruction's relatively high degree of productivity. Besides one generic verb *få* 'get', several other verbs encoding the MANNER of ingestion occur. Those manner-coding verbs include motion-causative verbs, such as *stoppa* 'stuff', *trycka* 'push', and *slänga* 'throw', and onomatopoetic verbs typically associated with the `Ingesting` frame, such as *mumsa* 'munch', *smaska* 'smack', and *knapra* 'nibble'.

Denominal verbs were also attested, such as *sleva* (< *slev* 'ladle'), *hinka* (< *hink* 'bucket'), *pumpa* (< *pump* 'pump'), and *bälga* (< *bälg* 'bellow'), all marking emphasis on the excessive manner of ingestion ('consume in such an excessive way as if using an instrument X') rather than the means ('consume using an instrument X').

Some verbs were associated with a specific form of INGESTIBLES. For example, *hälla* 'pour', *sörpla* 'slurp', and *hinka* (< *hink* 'bucket') are associated with liquid ingestibles, whereas *mumsa* 'munch', *proppa* 'stuff', and *klämma* 'squeeze' are associated with solid ingestibles.

Also, a certain group of occurrences, concerning especially the generic verb *få* 'get' such as in (5.16), could be more properly characterised as being associated with the more general frame of `Ingest_substance`, defined in *FrameNet* as an event where "an Ingestor takes a Substance into his or her body".[55]

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53. The corresponding frame entry is named "Ingestion" in *FrameNet*.

54. https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/frames/Ingestion (last accessed 2026-02-08).

55. https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/frames/Ingest_substance (last accessed 2026-02-08).

(5.16) det är viktigt att de *får* ***i*** ***sig*** *d-vitamin*
it is important that they get in REFL vitamin.D
'it is important that they get vitamin D'

The verbs co-occurring in the `Ingesting` subconstruction are summarised in Table 5.5.

5.1.2.2 Distinct combinations with a specific verb

***Suga* 'suck, absorb'** A total of seven occurrences with the specific combination of the verb *suga* 'suck, absorb' and the *i*-VPC are found with a metaphorical usage. Six of these seven occurrences contain a theme object that is unambiguously related to sunlight. As a whole, the clause denotes a situation of `Basking`.[56] The lexical head that instantiates the frame element SUNLIGHT varies. Those are: *ljuset* 'the light', *solsken* 'sunshine', *solljus* 'sunlight', and *D-vitamin* 'vitamin D' (which the human body produces as a result of being exposed to the sunlight). An example is given in (5.17).

(5.17) Bäst var ju självklart att få *suga* ***i*** ***sig*** *en massa solsken*
best was indeed obviously to get suck in REFL a lot.of sunshine
'Best was, of course, to soak in a lot of sunshine'

One occurrence with the verb *suga* involves another type of metaphorical usage, where the theme object is the abstract noun *information* 'information'. The clause as a whole then expresses a type of event corresponding to the *FrameNet* frame of `Memorising`, where "[a] COGNIZER applies oneself to commit a PATTERN to memory, so that the COGNIZER would recognize future examples of the PATTERN or be able to reproduce it".[57] An example from the corpus of this V-P combination with the `Memorising` frame is given in (5.18).

(5.18) att de likt en svamp bara *suger* ***i*** ***sig*** *information*
that they like a sponge just absorb in REFL information
'that, like a sponge, they simply absorb information'

The latter metaphorical usage of the V-P combination {*suga i*} is listed in the phraseological dictionary *SSB* as a subsense involving acquisition of knowledge ("tillägna sig"), which suggests that this metaphorical meaning is conventionally associated with this specific V-P combination.

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56. Basking is my own frame. In Sweden, being exposed to the sunlight is highly appreciated, as the sunlight is not strong enough during winter, leading to vitamin D deficiency.

57. https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/frames/Memorization (last accessed 2026-02-08).

Table 5.5. Verbs co-occurring with the `Ingesting` frame in the *i*-VPC

Verb	Verb type	n
få 'get'	generic	125
stoppa 'put, stuff'	motion-causative	12
mumsa 'munch'	other	11
trycka 'press, squeeze'	motion-causative	10
slänga 'throw, chuck, sling'	motion-causative	9
sätta 'put, place, set'	motion-causative	9
smaska 'slurp'	other	7
hälla 'pour'	motion-causative	6
proppa 'cram, stuff'	motion-causative	6
vräka 'heave, toss, throw'	motion-causative	6
slicka 'lick'	other	5
sleva 'shovel down'	other	4
kasta 'throw, chuck, fling'	motion-causative	3
dra 'draw, pull, drag'	motion-causative	2
glufsa 'gobble down'	other	2
slafsa 'gobble'	other	2
smålla 'bang, knock'	motion-causative	2
tugga 'bite, chew'	other	2
beta 'graze'	other	1
bälga 'swill, gulp down'	other	1
gnaga 'gnaw'	other	1
hetsa 'rush, urge'	other	1
hinka 'guzzle, knock back'	motion-causative	1
kladda 'daub'	other	1
klämma 'squeeze'	motion-causative	1
knapra 'nibble'	other	1
nafsa 'snap'	other	1
packa 'pack'	motion-causative	1
pumpa 'pump'	motion-causative	1
sluka 'swallow'	other	1
slurpa 'slurp'	other	1
smeta 'daub'	motion-causative	1
stjälpa 'tip over, pour'	motion-causative	1
sörpla 'slurp'	other	1
Σ		239

***Ha* 'have'** One occurrence was found with a generic stative verb *ha* 'have', reproduced in (5.19).

(5.19) [. . .] de andra som funkar *har* alltid ***i*** ***sig*** *farligt*
the others that work have always in REFL dangerous
luminiumklorid[59] [. . .]
aluminium.chrorid
'the others [deodorants] that work always have dangerous aluminum chloride in them'

This occurrence expresses a situation which was found more frequently in the POC variant, where an inanimate ENTITY contains a SUBSTANCE as an ingredient. I will describe this frame in more detail in the section where the corresponding *i*-POC is handled (cf. Section 5.2.2.1). The discussion of this occurrence as a lexico-semantic overlap will be discussed later in Section 6.1.2 in some detail.

5.1.3 *Med*-VPCs

The overwhelming majority of occurrences of the *med*-VPC involve the frame of `Bringing`. Exceptions include a metaphorical usage with the verb *föra* 'carry' associated with `Causing` and a usage with the verb *dela* 'share' associated with `Sharing`.

5.1.3.1 Bringing

The `Bringing` frame concerns an event where an AGENT continuously causes and controls a THEME's motion by the AGENT's own motion on a shared PATH. FrameNet defines the `Bringing` frame as follows:

> This frame concerns the movement of a THEME and an AGENT and/or CARRIER. The AGENT, a person or other sentient entity, controls the shared PATH by moving the THEME during the motion. In other words, the AGENT has overall motion in directing the motion of the THEME. The CARRIER may be a separate entity, or it may be the AGENT's body. The CONSTANT_LOCATION may be a subregion of the AGENT's body or (a subregion of) a vehicle that the AGENT uses.[60]

Examples of the `Bringing` subconstruction are presented below in (5.20–5.22). A locational relation such as PATH, GOAL, or SOURCE is often expressed as an adverbial, such as *hem* 'to home' in (5.20), though it can be implicit as

59. A misspelling of *aluminiumklorid* 'aluminium chloride'. The context is about deodorants that are said to contain a toxic substance, aluminium chloride.

60. https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/frames/Bringing (last accessed 2026-02-08).

in (5.21) and (5.22). The verb can denote MEANS or MANNER when it is motion-causative, but also a precondition for the event of bringing to occur. This is exemplified in (5.22), where the act of shopping denoted by the verb constitutes a precondition for bringing sushi to another location.

(5.20) Hon *tog* även ***med sig*** *en kompis* hem efter skolan som
she took also with REFL a friend to.home after school-DEF who
stannade kvar på middag och fika
stayed still.there on dinner and coffee
'She also brought a friend home after school who stayed for dinner and coffee'

(5.21) Tomten *hade* såklart ***med sig*** *en del* *paket* *till* *barnen*
Santa had of.course with REFL a fraction packages to children-DEF
också
also
'Santa, of course, brought some presents for the children as well'

(5.22) Jag bad William *handla* ***med sig*** *sushi* och swishade åt honom
I asked W. shop with REFL sushi and swished to him
'I asked William to pick up sushi and sent him money via Swish'

A total of 20 distinct verbs occur in the `Bringing` subconstruction, which, together with the semantic variety of the verbs, indicates a considerable degree of productivity. Verbs co-occurring in this subconstruction are summarised in Table 5.6.

The verbs co-occurring most frequently in this `Bringing` subconstruction are the generic verbs *ha* 'have' , *ta* 'take', and *få* 'get'. Other co-occurring verbs consist of various types of motion-causative verbs, such as *släpa* 'drag', *bära* 'carry', *plocka* 'pick', and *dra* 'pull'. Two groups of non-caused motion verbs also co-occur: those indicating acquisition by the subject receiver, such as verbs of trading *köpa* 'buy', *handla* 'shop', and *låna* 'borrow', and those indicating invitation towards the subject agent, such as verbs of communication *ringa* 'phone', *locka* 'lure', etc. Examples with a trading verb *handla* and a communication verb *locka* are provided in (5.22) above and (5.23), respectively.

(5.23) [...] vad man ska göra om någon försöker *locka* ***med sig*** *ett*
what one shall do if someone tries lure with REFL a
barn
child
'what to do if someone tries to lure a child to come along with them'

Verbs differ in their variation regarding the animacy of the theme object. The variation is greater with the generic verbs *ha*, *ta*, and *få*. Verbs that are semantically more specific tend to be associated with an inanimate theme. The specific verbs' association with an inanimate theme probably depends on the fact that

Table 5.6. Verbs co-occurring with the `Bringing` frame in the *med*-VPC

Verb	Verb type	n
ha 'have'	stative	164
ta 'take'	generic	139
få 'get'	generic	55
köpa 'buy'	other	16
släpa 'drag, haul'	motion-causative	8
bära 'carry'	motion-causative	7
plocka 'pick, gather'	motion-causative	7
dra 'draw, pull, drag'	motion-causative	5
handla 'shop'	other	5
packa 'pack'	motion-causative	5
föra 'convey, carry'	motion-causative	4
kånka 'lug'	motion-causative	3
sno 'wind, twist'	motion-causative	3
låna 'borrow'	other	2
hämta 'fetch'	other	1
locka 'tempt, attract'	motion-causative	1
ringa 'make a call'	other	1
rycka 'jerk, tug'	motion-causative	1
slita 'tear, sever'	motion-causative	1
transportera 'transport, convey'	motion-causative	1
Σ		429

the type of action denoted by these verbs typically involves the carriage of inanimate entities. For example, the verb *packa* 'pack' usually involves placing inanimate entities into a container. Accordingly, the occurrences with this verb in the `Bringing` subconstruction typically contain an inanimate theme object, such as breakfast (*frukost*), training clothes (*träningskläder*), and kitchen (*kök*, as in 5.24). By the same token, trading verbs such as *köpa* 'buy', *handla* 'shop', and *låna* 'borrow' typically occur with an inanimate theme object.

(5.24) Man *packar* alltså ***med sig*** *sitt* *kök* när man flyttar [...]
one pack that.is with REFL one's kitchen when one move
'So you bring your kitchen along when you move'

5.1.3.2 Distinct combinations with a specific verb

In addition to its concrete `Bringing` usage, the verb *föra* 'carry' is associated with an abstract or metaphorical type of bringing, typically indicated by an inanimate or abstract CARRIER. In (5.25), the abstract subject, *julen* 'Christmas', a festive holiday of the year, is the cause for the speaker to feel anxiety and grief.

(5.25) Julen är ingen underbar högtid för mig längre, då den mest
Christmas is no wonderful holiday for me longer as it mostly
för ***med sig*** *ångest och sorg*
bring with REFL anxiety and grief
'Christmas is no longer a wonderful holiday for me, as it mostly brings anxiety and grief'

The frame evoked by this usage is a more general frame of `Causing`, which may correspond to the `Causation` frame in *FrameNet*, defined as a situation where "[a] CAUSE causes an EFFECT".[61]

The combination with the verb *dela* 'share' is exclusively associated with its own distinct frame. The V-P combination {*dela med*} in the VPC is associated with the frame of `Sharing`, which is defined by *FrameNet* as "PROTAGONIST_1 and PROTAGONIST_2, collectively PROTAGONISTS, allow one another to partake jointly the use of an ENTITY".[62] An example of this combination is given in (5.26).

(5.26) [...] dessutom har hon *delat* ***med sig*** *5 recept* ur boken
moreover have she shared with REFL 5 recipes out.of book-DEF
här !
here
'Moreover, she has shared 5 recipes from the book here!'

The normative use of this specific V-P combination with {*dela med*} usually marks the shared ENTITY with the preposition *av* 'of', such as in *dela med sig* ***av*** *ngt åt ngn* 'give sb a little (bit) of sth'; lit. 'share with REFL of sth for sb' (*EO*; my emphasis). All of the reference dictionaries consulted (*SSB*, SO, and *EO*) only list this usage rather than the preposition-less variant as in (5.26). Although the latter, preposition-less, variant seems rare and less normative, it is occasionally used, which is indicated by the three occurrences of this variant in the corpus.

5.1.4 *På*-VPCs

The majority of occurrences of the *på*-VPC are associated with the frame of `Dressing`. Additionally, a considerable number of occurrences involve other frames, such as `Amassing`, `Taking_accountability`, and `Incurring`. The latter two, together with less frequent occurrences of the `Affording` frame, involve metaphorical usages with the verbs *ta* 'take', *dra* 'pull', and *kosta* 'cost'.

61. https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/frames/Causation (last accessed 2026-02-08).

62. https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/frames/Sharing (last accessed 2026-02-08).

5.1.4.1 Dressing

A large part of *på*-VPC occurrences are associated with the eventive frame of `Dressing`. `Dressing` is defined in *FrameNet* as a situation in which "[a] WEARER puts on an item of CLOTHING, which then occupies the BODY_LOCATION".[63]

Three VPC occurrences associated with `Dressing` are reproduced in (5.27–5.29). The first two describe an event where the subject WEARER (whether expressed or unexpressed) puts on an item of CLOTHING, i.e., running shoes (*löparskor*) in (5.27) and a blazer (*kavaj*) in (5.28). The last example in (5.29) involves a similar type of situation, though it describes the state of wearing pyjamas (*pyjamas*) as clothing, rather than the action of putting them on.

(5.27) Så han *tog* ***på sig*** *löparskorna*.
so he took on REFL runner.shoes-DEF.
'So he put on his running shoes'

(5.28) Alltid bra att kunna *slänga* ***på sig*** *en kavaj* och ha klackar redo [...]
always good to be.able.to throw on REFL a blazer and have heels ready
'Always good to be able to throw on a blazer and have heels ready'

(5.29) Pojkarna *hade* ***på sig*** *pyjamas* [...]
boys-DEF had on REFL pajamas
'The boys were wearing pyjamas'

A total of 15 distinct verbs, varying in semantic type, occur in the `Dressing` construction, indicating the subconstruction's degree of productivity. The verbs co-occurring in this `Dressing` subconstruction are summarised in Table 5.7. The generic verbs *ta* 'take', *ha* 'have', and *få* 'get', and a caused-position verb *sätta* 'put' are used to express a general caused-state of being/getting dressed and are combined with various types of CLOTHING.

The verb *klä* 'dress' is the only unambiguously clothing verb co-occurring in this subconstruction, which otherwise takes a WEARER object, such as in *klä barnen* (*i varma kläder*) 'get the children dressed (in warm clothes)', or reflexively *klä sig* (*i kostym*) 'get dressed (in a suit)'.

Other verbs somewhat modify the manner of causation: *dra* 'draw, pull' mostly for applying continuous force on a THEME, such as pants, shoes, socks, or other pieces of clothing that require some continuous pulling onto one's body part; *slänga* 'throw' and *kasta* 'throw' for quickly executing dressing, typically

63. https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/frames/Dressing (last accessed 2026-02-08).

Table 5.7. Verbs co-occurring with the `Dressing` frame in the *på*-VPC

Verb	Verb type	n
ta 'take'	generic	71
ha 'have'	stative	61
sätta 'put, place, set'	motion-causative	44
få 'get'	generic	41
dra 'draw, pull, drag'	motion-causative	36
snöra 'lace (up)'	other	10
klä 'dress, clothe'	other	7
slänga 'throw, chuck, sling'	motion-causative	7
knyta 'tie, fasten, knot'	other	4
kasta 'throw, chuck, fling'	motion-causative	2
bylta 'make into a bundle'	other	1
hänga 'hang'	motion-causative	1
klistra 'paste'	motion-causative	1
spruta 'splash, squirt'	motion-causative	1
spänna 'stretch, tighten'	motion-causative	1
Σ		288

for a piece of clothing that is easy to put on, such as a jacket, a coat, a scarf, or a hat.

The denominal verb *bylta* (< *bylte* 'bundle, pack') indicates a result state of clothing, where the wearer carries an expanded bundle of clothes. The other verbs are used with a specific type of clothing that requires a specific way of putting it on indicated by the verb: *snöra*, *knyta* 'tie' for shoes; *klistra* 'paste' for detachable eyelashes; and *spruta* 'spray' for perfume.

5.1.4.2 Amassing

A smaller group of the *på*-VPC occurrences is associated with `Amassing`, a subframe of `Getting`. `Amassing` is defined in *FrameNet* as an eventive frame where "[a] RECIPIENT (who may or may not be agentive) ends up in possession of a MASS_THEME (which may be conceptualized as a single mass entity, or may be a group of individual entities)".[64]

Examples are provided in (5.30–5.32). In (5.30), the referent of the relativised subject, a place, functions as a RECIPIENT, where the object referent, *mycket skräp* 'a lot of clutter', is collected as a MASS_THEME. Likewise, in (5.31), the unexpressed subject which is the RECIPIENT collects unspecified things (*saker*) as a MASS_THEME as a result of one or several acts of buying, denoted by the verb. In the rather unusual formulation in (5.32), the verb *gosa* 'cuddle'

64. https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/frames/Bringing (last accessed 2026-02-08).

indicates the means by which the subject referent (possibly unintentionally) acquires lice on the body, by cuddling a cushion or the like.

(5.30) Hallen är verkligen ett ställe som *samlar* ***på sig*** *mycket skräp*
hallway-DEF is truly a place that collect on REFL a.lot.of clutter
'The hallway is truly a place that tends to accumulate a lot of clutter'

(5.31) Att *köpa* ***på sig*** *saker* rent generellt går helt på tvären med
to buy on REFL things purely generally go completely crossways with
en minimalistisk livsstil [...]
a minimalistic lifestyle
'Buying things in general goes completely against a minimalist lifestyle'

(5.32) [...] det är lite sådär eftersom den är utsatt för lössattacker och
it is a.bit so-so because it is exposed to lice-attacks and
jag då tänker att han *gosar* ***på sig*** *massa löss*
I then think that he cuddles on REFL lots lice
'It's kind of so-so since it's prone to lice attacks, and then I think that he ends up with lots of lice by cuddling'

Verbs co-occurring in the `Amassing` subconstruction are summarised in Table 5.8.

Table 5.8. Verbs co-occurring with the `Amassing` frame in the *på*-VPC

Verb	Verb type	n
samla 'collect'	other	21
lägga 'lay'	motion-causative	15
köpa 'buy'	other	13
plocka 'pick, gather'	motion-causative	7
spara 'save'	other	3
handla 'shop'	other	2
få 'get'	generic	1
gosa 'cuddle'	other	1
muskla 'muscle'	other	1
Σ		64

Verbs occurring in this subconstruction show some variation regarding the type of mass associated specifically with them. I include these subgroups in the general `Amassing` construction, since they have in common that what is acquired is a mass.

One such subgroup concerns what we may label as `Body_amassing`,[65] a type of `Amassing`, in which what is acquired by the RECIPIENT becomes an

65. My own frame.

inalienable BODY_MASS of the RECIPIENT, as in (5.33–5.35). The objects in these examples, i.e., *fett* 'fat' in (5.33) and *vätska* 'fluid' in (5.34), both describe a mass attached as an inalienable part of the subject RECIPIENT. In (5.35), the denominal verb *muskla* (< *muskel* 'muscle') indicates the type of body mass to be amassed, i.e., muscle mass.

(5.33) Kroppen *lägger* ***på sig*** *fett* av massor av anledningar
body-DEF lay on REFL fat of lots of reasons
'The body accumulates fat for lots of reasons'

(5.34) Kvinnor med PCO[66] brukar ha lättare för att *samla* ***på sig*** *vätska*
women with PCO tend.to have easier for to gather on REFL fluid
'Women with PCO usually retain fluid more easily'

(5.35) Hon behöver som tidigare nämnt gå upp lite i vikt samt
she needs as previously mentioned go up a.bit in weight and
muskla ***på sig*** *en massa* [...]
muscle on REFL a lot
'As previously mentioned, she needs to gain a bit of weight and build a lot of muscle'

The verbs co-occurring with the frame of `Body_amassing` include *lägga* 'lay' [15], *samla* 'collect' [6], and *muskla* (a denominal verb derived from the noun *muskel* 'muscle') [1].

The verb *lägga* 'lay' is exclusively associated with `Body_amassing` when used in the *på*-VPC: among the 15 occurrences of *lägga* in the *på*-VPC, seven occurrences contain a theme object headed by a word associated with weight, such as *kilo* 'kilos' [5] and *vikt* 'weight' [2], encoding the weight gained. The other eight occurrences contain a theme object headed by a noun denoting a body substance, such as *fett* 'fat' [1], *hull* 'flesh' [1], *muskel* 'muscle' [1], *vätska* 'fluid' [1], and *väta* 'fluid' [1]. Similarly, the verb *samla* 'collect' occurs with a theme object headed by noun such as *fett* 'fat' [2] and *vätska* 'fluid' [2]. The denominal verb *muskla* is seemingly less normative, considering the lack of an entry in the reference dictionaries.

In addition to the ordinary physical `Amassing` and `Body_amassing` frames described above, the verb *samla* 'collect' is associated with another metaphorical frame related to `Amassing`, indicated by its collocation with an abstract object, as in (5.36). Five out of 21 occurrences with *samla* 'collect' involve an abstract usage with a theme object headed by nouns associated with knowledge, such as *erfarenhet* 'experience' and *kunskap* 'knowledge'. As such, these occurrences concern situations in which the subject accumulates knowledge through experience.

66. "PCO" here presumably refers to a polycystic ovary syndrome.

(5.36) Sedan 1991 har hon *samlat* ***på sig*** *en gedigen erfarenhet inom*
since 1991 has she collected on REFL a solid experience in
detta område [...]
this area
'Since 1991, she has gained extensive experience in this area'

One occurrence with the generic verb *få* 'get', reproduced in (5.37), is ambiguous. The sentence describes a situation where the stomach of a pregnant woman is exposed to sunlight, causing the baby to kick. Although this example partly resembles those involving `Getting_exposed_to_spill`, discussed later in Section 5.2.4.3, I interpret this occurrence as an instance of `Amassing`, in which a prolonged exposure to sunlight causes the stomach to become warm, or 'amass' the energy.

(5.37) först när magen *fått* ***på sig*** *en hel del sol* så började hon
first when belly-DEF gotten on REFL a whole part sun then began she
sparka och protestera mot värmen
kick and protest against heat-DEF
'Only after her belly had gotten quite a bit of sun did she start kicking and protesting against the heat'

5.1.4.3 Distinct combinations with a specific verb

***Ta* 'take' and *dra* 'draw'** The V-P combinations {*ta på*} and {*dra på*}, both frequently co-occurring in the `Dressing` subconstruction, are also associated with other frames when occurring in the VPC.

The former combination with the verb *ta* 'take' is specifically associated with the frame of `Taking_accountability`, where the AGENT assigns oneself ACOUNTABILITY. `Taking_accountability` is my own general frame covering two subframes `Taking_responsibility` and `Taking_blame`, where the taken ACCOUNTABILITY may concern either the AGENT's carrying out some specific DUTY in the future or having committed a MISDEED in the past.

No frame entry was found in *FrameNet* directly corresponding to `Taking_accountability`. The closest *FrameNet* entry for my frame of `Taking_responsibility` may be `Commitment`, which is defined as a communicative event where "[a] SPEAKER makes a commitment to an ADDRESSEE to carry out some future action".[67] Examples of occurrences expressing `Taking_responsibility` and `Taking_blame` are presented in (5.38) and (5.39), respectively.

67. https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/frames/Commitment (last accessed 2026-02-08).

(5.38) `Taking_responsibility`

Hon *tar* ***på*** ***sig*** *rollen* *som* *städerska* varje gång någon av
she take on REFL role-DEF as cleaning.lady every time some of
tjejerna i huset löper
girls-DEF in house-DEF be.in.heat

'She takes on the role of cleaning lady every time one of the girls in the house is in heat'

(5.39) `Taking_blame`

ISIS har *tagit* ***på*** ***sig*** *de* *förfärliga* *terrordåden* *i* *Bryssel*
ISIS have taken on REFL ART terrible terrorist-acts-DEF in Brussels

'ISIS has claimed responsibility for the terrible terrorist acts in Brussels'

The frame of `Taking_responsibility` is indicated by a theme object headed by a noun associated with responsibility (*ansvar* 'responsibility' [8]), duty (*uppdrag* 'task' [3], *uppgift* 'task' [3], *utmaning* 'challenge' [2], *städjour* 'cleaning duty' [1], *jobb* 'job' [1]), or role (*roll* 'role' [3], *ledarroll* 'leader role' [1], *storebror-ansvar* 'older-brother responsibility' [1]). The frame of `Taking_blame` is indicated by a theme object headed by a noun associated with accountability for a misdeed such as *skuld* 'fault, blame' [4], *brott* 'crime' [1], and *synd* 'sin' [1], or with a misdeed itself such as *attentat* 'attack' [2], *dåd* [1], *illdåd* 'outrage' [1], and *terrordåd* 'terrorist act' [1]. Together, 38 occurrences are classified as involving `Taking_accountability`.

Proceeding to the combination with the verb *dra* 'draw', its abstract/metaphorical usage in the *på*-VPC is exclusively associated with a theme object comprising something undesired by the subject, typically disease or wounds. While no appropriate frame is found in *FrameNet*, we may call the frame associated with this subconstruction a frame of `Incurring`. This subconstruction is exemplified in (5.40).

(5.40) [...] varför fortsätta och riskera att *dra* ***på*** ***sig*** *skador* *som* *han* *får*
why continue and risk to pull on REFL injuries that he get
leva *med* *resten* *av* *livet* ?
live with rest-DEF of life-DEF

'why continue and risk incurring injuries that he will have to live with for the rest of his life?'

The objects show quite a bit of variation in form: almost all the (lemmas of the) nouns heading the object occur only once in this syntactic context, i.e., are hapax legomena, except for the noun *skada* 'injury' [5]. Those hapax legomena include nouns denoting disease, such as *cancer* 'cancer', *influensa* 'flu', *könssjukdom* 'venereal disease', *lunginflammation* 'pneumonia', and *smitta* 'infection, contagion', as well as those denoting wounds, such as *hjärnskada* 'brain damage', *hjärnskakning* 'concussion', *sår* 'wound', and *sårskada* 'wound'.

The few occurrences with other types of nouns, such as *uppmärksamhet* 'attention' [2], *kritik* 'criticism' [1], and *stämningar* 'writ of summons' [1], may be properly included in this group, as they may be interpreted (from the speaker's point of view) as unwanted by the subject in the actual context. For example, international attention from terrorists in the example (5.41) is clearly undesirable for the speaker, as understood from the usual context of discourse and as indicated by the preceding context ("I have never understood why") which implies the speaker's negative stance. It seems that the V-P combination {*dra på*} is strongly associated with a negative stance of the speaker toward the theme object being attained by the subject (except when it evokes the `Dressing` frame).

(5.41) [. . .] själv så har jag aldrig förstått [. . .] varför de nödvändigtvis
self so have I never understood why they necessarily
vill *dra* ***på*** ***sig*** *internationell uppmärksamhet från terrorister*
want.to pull on REFL international attention from terrorists
[. . .]

'personally, I have never understood why they necessarily want to attract international attention from terrorists'

***Kosta* 'cost'** The combination with the verb *kosta* 'cost' is associated with a distinct frame, which I label as `Affording`, where an AGENT lets oneself provide some PRODUCT for oneself or others, which requires some, often economic, effort on the part of the agent. In the sentence in (5.42), the speaker is discussing the value of writing prefaces to books, either for the sake of herself or other people (e.g., readers).

(5.42) Jag tycker att man borde *kosta* ***på*** ***sig*** *förord* oftare, faktiskt !
I think that one should cost one REFL prefaces more.often actually
'I think one should indulge in prefaces more often, actually!'

These occurrences can be related to the *FrameNet* frame of `Expensiveness`, defined as an event in which "[a] PAYER gives up [. . .] the use of an ASSET (generally money) in order to achieve an INTENDED_EVENT [. . .] often more specifically described as gaining possession of some GOODS or receiving a Service".[68] While the *FrameNet* frame of `Expensiveness` correspond neatly to the ordinary usage of the verb *kosta*, occurrences such as (5.42) differ from `Expensiveness` in that they focus more on the act of providing/giving oneself something with some effort, rather than the commercial transaction itself.

68. https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/frames/Expensiveness (last accessed 2026-02-08).

***Känna* 'feel'** One occurrence with the verb *känna* 'feel' involves the frame of `Expecting`, or `Expectation` in *FrameNet*, defined as "a COGNIZER" believes "that some PHENOMENON will take place in the future".[69] The reference dictionaries consulted only list a usage with a clausal object, as in *han kände på sig att något skulle gå på tok* 'he sensed that something was going to go wrong' (an example from *SO*), and is, as such, a subject for exclusion in the present study. This is not the case for the occurrence reproduced in (5.43), in which the object consists of a noun phrase instead of a clause.

(5.43) Jag tror definitivt på att man kan *känna* ***på sig*** *saker* men det
I believe definitely on that one can feel on REFL things but it
har väl mer med intuition och magkänsla att göra
has well more with intuition and gut-feeling to do
'I definitely believe that you can have a sense of things, but that probably has to do more with intuition and gut feeling'

5.1.5 The VPC as a family of constructions

In general, the VPC is highly variable in co-occurring verbs. This variability is apparent in Table 5.9, where the ten verbs most frequently co-occurring with the VPC are listed. The VPC's frequency in verb type contrasts remarkably with that of the POC: while the VPC as a whole co-occurs with 85 distinct verbs, the POC co-occurs with only 18 distinct verbs, as is described later in the chapter.

Table 5.9. The ten verbs most frequently co-occurring with the VPC

Rank	Verb	n
1	*ta* 'take'	303
2	*få* 'get'	229
3	*ha* 'have'	226
4	*dra* 'pull'	66
5	*sätta* 'put'	53
6	*köpa* 'buy'	29
7	*samla* 'collect'	21
8	*slänga* 'throw'	19
9	*lägga* 'put'	15
10	*plocka* 'pick'	15
	⋮	
Σ (85 verb types)		1 225

69. https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/frames/Expectation (last accessed 2026-02-08).

This lexical variability of the VPC is characterised by the presence of groups of occurrences with high lexical variability, conceptualised as P-specific constructions with various levels of productivity. The *i*-VPC and the *med*-VPC are each represented by a single productive subconstruction: i.e., the `Ingesting` construction (e.g., *få i sig mat* 'eat food') and the `Bringing` constructions (e.g., *ta med sig väskan* 'bring the bag'), respectively. The *av*-VPC and the *på*-VPC are each represented by one highly frequent, productive subconstruction – the `Undressing` construction (e.g., *ta av sig kläder* 'take off clothes') and the `Dressing` construction (e.g., *ta på sig kläder* 'put on clothes'), respectively – but they also include less frequent, but still productive, subconstructions, such as the `Working_off` construction (e.g., *springa av sig energi* 'run off energy') and the `Amassing` construction (e.g., *samla på sig skräp* 'collect garbage'). Alongside these variably productive constructions, there exist a few groups of occurrences with a specific verb that fall outside of the productive constructions. These groups include occurrences involving {*suga i*} (e.g., *suga i sig solsken* 'soak in sunshine' associated with `Basking`), {*föra med*} (e.g., *föra med sig ångest* 'bring anxiety' associated with `Causing`), {*ta på*} (e.g., *ta på sig rollen* 'take on the role' associated with `Taking_responsibility`), among others. Many of these verb-specific distinct groups can be conceptualised as V-P specific constructions, especially when they occur multiple times or when they are found in a dictionary description.

Regarding meaning, the VPC generally displays some form of resultativeness, in that the referent of the object or the subject undergoes a certain distinctive change of state or position indicated by the REFL-PP (cf. Larsen 2014, p. 220). This aligns with descriptions from the literature, which often regard constructions involving (predicative) verbal particles (including the REFL-PP) as resultative (e.g., Svenonius 2003; Toivonen 2003). The following examples, repeated from the sections above, illustrate the resultativeness of the VPC: they all depict events where the action of the subject referent, often specified by the lexical verb, results in the object referent's change of state, with the endpoint state described by the REFL-PP. The REFL-PP *av sig* in (5.44), repeated from (5.2), describes the state where the shoes are no longer worn on the human body. Likewise, *i sig* in (5.45), repeated from (5.15), describes the state of 'ingested'; *med sig* in (5.46), repeated from (5.24), describes the state of being brought; and *på sig* in (5.47), repeated from (5.28), describes the state in which the garment is worn on the human body.

(5.44) Mille har *trampat* ***av sig*** *en sko* [...]
M. have stamped off REFL a shoe
'M. has kicked off a shoe'

(5.45) Zoe *vräkte* ***i*** ***sig*** *grädde och sylt* [...]
Z. heaved in REFL cream and jam
'Zoe devoured cream and jam'

(5.46) Man *packar* alltså ***med*** ***sig*** *sitt kök* när man flyttar [...]
one pack that.is with REFL one's kitchen when one move
'So you bring your kitchen along when you move'

(5.47) Alltid bra att kunna *slänga* ***på*** ***sig*** *en kavaj* och ha klackar redo
always good to can throw on REFL a blazer and have heels ready
[...]

'Always good to be able to throw on a blazer and have heels ready'

Additionally, some sort of holistic effect is typically involved. The result brought about – i.e., a change in the object's state or location – entails a distinctive impact on the subject in some way. For example, by the act of ingesting, as in the `Ingesting` construction (Section 5.1.2.1), the edible or substance ingested constitutes the subject's nourishment or harm to health. The act of accumulating things, as in the `Amassing` construction ('collect on oneself things'; Section 5.1.4.2), results in a remarkable expansion of the subject's property. By the act of bringing (as in the `Bringing` construction; Section 5.1.3.1), both the subject and the object together undergo a notable change in location. Likewise, the act of removing clothes (as in the `Undressing` construction; Section 5.1.1.1), the act of covering a part of the body with a garment (as in the `Dressing` construction; Section 5.1.4.1), and the act of removing a body part or hair in a certain way ('cut/tear off oneself the hair'; Section 5.1.1.4) all yield salient the subject's appearance or functionality.

However, not all instances of the VPC are resultative, rather, some are stative. Two remarkably frequent combinations are those involving the `Bringing` construction (Section 5.1.3.1) and the `Dressing` construction (Section 5.1.4.1) combined with the stative verb *ha* 'have'. Examples of such instances are presented below in (5.48) and in (5.49), repeated from (5.21) and (5.29), respectively. These two instances, which have a stative interpretation despite their highly physical, non-metaphorical sense, constitute surprising exceptions to the general characteristics of the VPC. These stative exceptions appear to be attributable to the specific lexical verb *ha* 'have' (cf. Shibata 2019, p. 122). The stative instances with *ha* are among the most frequent combinations in subconstructions of the VPC involving `Bringing` and `Dressing`: *ha* is the most frequent verb in the `Bringing`-VPC, accounting for 38 % of occurrences (163 out of 428), and the second most frequent in the `Dressing`-VPC, accounting for 21 % of occurrences (61 out of 288). The high token frequency of the stative VPC within these narrow contexts is surprising, given the prevailing assump-

tion that (non-idiomatic) verbal particles are infrequent in stative contexts (e.g., Strzelecka 2003, p. 271).

(5.48) Tomten *hade* såklart ***med sig*** *en del* *paket* *till* *barnen*
Santa had of.course with REFL a fraction packages to children-DEF
också
also
'Santa, of course, brought some presents for the children as well'

(5.49) Pojkarna *hade* ***på sig*** *pyjamas* [...]
boys-DEF had on REFL pajamas
'The boys were wearing pyjamas'

One may possibly argue that the apparent stative examples (5.48) and (5.49) are actually resultative, in analogy to Strzelecka's (2003) stative simplex particle verbs (such as *hålla in hästen* 'rein in the horse'), possibly involving what Goldberg & Jackendoff (2004, p. 544) call "forced maintenance of a state" (see Section 2.2.2.1). That is, they could be considered resultative in the sense that the state of the subject referent (i.e., wearing a shirt or having a friend along) was brought about at some prior point in time and thus constitutes an enduring result state. Nevertheless, since there does not seem to be dynamicity or any sort of exertion of force in the VPC sentences such as (5.48–5.49), it seems more reasonable to treat these instances as purely stative. Consequently, they should be analysed as verb-specific exceptions to the prototypical resultative semantics of the VPC.

In sum, the VPC consists of several variable constructions as well as V-P specific constructions. It is prototypically resultative in semantics, though there are a few lexical exceptions that are associated with stative semantics, notably combinations with the verb *ha*: i.e., {*ha med*}, associated with `Bringing`, and {*ha på*}, associated with `Dressing`.

A table summarising the subconstructions of the VPC is provided in Appendix 1.

5.2 The lexico-semantic distribution of the POC

This section describes the lexico-semantic distribution of the POC identified in the corpus. The subconstructions are presented in the following order: *av*-POCs (Section 5.2.1), *i*-POCs (Section 5.2.2), *med*-POCs (Section 5.2.3), and *på*-POCs (Section 5.2.4). Section 5.2.5 provides a summary.

5.2.1 *Av*-POCs

Occurrences of the *av*-POC are clustered into small groups. One group, involving the `Do_to_excess` frame, comprises a semantically diverse range of verbs and can thus be considered as instantiating a productive subconstruction. Other groups, such as `Killing_self` and `Making_sound`, were highly specific in their verb–object combinations. One occurrence with the verb *slita* suggested a possible overlap with the VPC.

5.2.1.1 Doing to excess

Several *av*-POC occurrences involve hyperbolic expressions, where the theme object was of the semantic type `Body_parts`, most often those denoting the buttocks. The clause expresses an exaggerated meaning, which can be described roughly as 'the subject does or experiences something denoted by the verb to an excessive degree, as if the subject's body part could come off'. This group of occurrences involves what I label as the `Doing_to_excess` frame. Examples of this subconstructions are given in (5.50–5.51).

(5.50) [...] då blir det svårt att inte *frysa* *arslet* ***av*** ***sig***
then become it difficult to not freeze arse-DEF off REFL
'Then it becomes difficult not to freeze one's arse off'

(5.51) [...] de *sprang* *arslet* ***av*** ***sig*** så fort vi närmade oss
they ran arse-DEF off REFL so soon we approached onself
'They ran their arses off as soon as we approached'

The POC expression in (5.50) conveys that the unexpressed subject referent freezes or feels cold excessively, and that in (5.51) conveys that the subject runs excessively. As can be seen from these examples, in which the object is identical in form, i.e., *arslet* 'the arse', the form of the object is limited to a one-word definite singular. Furthermore, the referentiality of the theme object is perceived to be somewhat bleached: it is rather uncommon that such an expression depicts a situation where the indicated body part actually comes off. In other words, the object is not perceived as referential, but functions rather as a part of the hyperbolic formulation.

The object is typically headed by the noun *arsle* 'arse' – a profane word denoting the human buttocks – occurring four times in this subconstruction. Some variation in the lexical item of the object head is observed, though it is most often related to the buttocks, such as another profane word *röv* 'arse', as well as less vulgar colloquial words such as *rumpa* 'tail, rump' and *stjärt* 'tail, bottom'.

The verbs that occur in this subconstruction are summarised in Table 5.10. All the co-occurring verbs except *frysa* 'be/feel cold' are syntactically intransitive

Table 5.10. Verbs co-occurring with the `Doing_to_excess` frame in the *av*-POC

Verb	Verb type	n
frysa 'be/feel cold'	other	7
jobba 'work'	other	2
slita 'toil'	other	1
springa 'run'	other	1
Σ		11

activity verbs, evoking a frame of an action carried out by the subject. In the case of the intransitive perception verb *frysa* 'be/feel cold', what is construed to be intense is the degree and the duration of coldness perceived by the experiencer subject. Whereas most of the verbs occur with an object headed by the noun *arsle* 'arse', the verb *frysa* 'be/feel cold' shows the most variability in the type of its object, occurring with two noun lemmas denoting other body parts than the buttocks. Out of seven occurrences with the verb *frysa*, two occurrences involve the object *fingrarna* 'the fingers', one occurrence involves the object *näsan* 'the nose', and the remainder, four occurrences, involve the object denoting the buttocks, though with four different lemmas: *arsle*, *rövar*, *rumpa*, and *stjärt*. An example of the combination {*frysa fingrarna*} is provided in (5.52).

(5.52) [...] inte lätt att fota med en mobil i snöyra när man
not easy to photograph with a mobile in snowstorm when one
håller på att ***frysa fingrarna av sig***
hold on to freeze fingers-DEF off REFL
'it's not easy to take photos with a mobile phone in a snowstorm when you're about to freeze your fingers off'

Possibly, the combination with the verb *frysa* 'feel cold' forms a distinct – although closely related – verb-specific subconstruction, which may be labelled as `Perceiving_cold_to_excess`.

The combinations of the verb and the object noun attested in the corpus are summarised in Table 5.11.

Two idiom entries in the phraseological dictionary *SSB*, *frysa arslet av sig* ('freeze one's arse off') and *jobba arslet av sig* ('work one's arse off'), indicate that the noun phrase *arslet* 'the arse' forms a conventionally established unit at least with the verbs *frysa* and *jobba*. Regarding the verb *springa* 'run', the corpus did not attest the idiomatic combination registered in the reference dictionaries, *springa benen av sig* with *benen* 'the legs' as the object (meaning 'run one's legs off'). Instead, the sole occurrence with the verb *springa* in my blog corpus was with an object *arslet* 'the arse', as shown in (5.51) above.

Although the number of occurrences of the `Doing_to_excess` subcon-

Table 5.11. V-N combinations in the `Doing_to_excess` subconstruction

Verb	Object head	n
frysa 'freeze'	*finger* 'finger'	2
frysa 'freeze'	*arsle* 'arse'	1
frysa 'freeze'	*näsa* 'nose'	1
frysa 'freeze'	*röv* 'arse'	1
frysa 'freeze'	*rumpa* 'tail, rump'	1
frysa 'freeze'	*stjärt* 'tail, bottom'	1
jobba 'work'	*arsle* 'arse'	1
jobba '*work*'	*röv* '*arse*'	1
slita 'toil'	*arsle* '*arse*'	1
springa 'run'	*arsle* '*arse*'	1

struction is relatively small compared to other high-frequency subconstructions in my material, the semantic variability of the co-occurring verbs suggests that this subconstruction may be used readily with novel verbs, as long as the verb is associated with an activity and the object is associated with the buttocks.

5.2.1.2 Distinct combinations with a specific verb

Three lexically distinct verb-object specific combinations are attested as instances of the *av*-POC, involving {*ta livet*}, {*göra väsen*}, and {*sova ruset*}, as discussed below.

The combination {*ta livet*} The verb-object combination {*ta livet*} 'take life-DEF' is associated with the frame of suicide, which I label as `Killing_self`. This subconstruction is fixed regarding the verb and the form of the object, showing no variety in the type of the verb or the object (apart from the tense of the verb). All of 15 occurrences in the corpus included the verb *ta* 'take' and an object of the form *livet* 'life-DEF'.

The combination {*göra väsen*} The verb-object combination {*göra väsen*} 'make noise' occurs twice in the corpus. In accordance with the description in the reference dictionaries *SO* and *SSB*, this combination occurs exclusively in the context of negative polarity. Clauses with this combination, including a negative polarity item, describe an entity's (typically a person's) attribute or characteristic of being rather unremarkable or quiet, as in (5.53).

(5.53) Han var så rar som inte *gjorde någon väsen* ***av sig*** när vi
he was so kind that not did any noise off REFL when we
tvättade av honom [...]
washed off him
'He was so kind that he didn't make a peep when we washed him'

The combination {*sova ruset*} One occurrence with the verb–object combination {*sova ruset*} 'sleep intoxication/booze', reproduced in (5.54), was attested in the corpus. While this combination is related to `Doing_to_excess` in that the subject does something (i.e., sleeps) to the degree that she/he gets sober, it does not necessarily convey the same nuance of 'excessiveness' in the act of sleeping. Moreover, the object is not associated with a body part. Considering also that this combination is listed by two of the reference dictionaries (i.e., *EO* and *SSB*) under the entry *rus*, this occurrence can be considered an instance of a distinct lexically specific construction, involving a distinct frame which I label as `Sleeping_off`.

(5.54) jag kan sno alla hennes affärshemligheter när hon *sover*
I can steal all her business-secrets when she sleeps
ruset ***av sig*** [...]
intoxication-DEF off REFL
'I can steal all her business secrets while she sleeps off the intoxication'

5.2.2 *I*-POCs

Occurrences of the *i*-POC are grouped into two groups, involving frames of `Containing` and `Ingest`.

5.2.2.1 Containing

The majority of the *i*-POC occurrences (39 out of 42) involve a frame where an ENTITY contains a SUBSTANCE as its ingredient or containment. This contrasts with the *i*-VPC, which was strongly associated with the `Ingesting` frame.

The head of the object varies considerably. Of the 35 distinct noun lemmas occurring as the head of the object, 32 lemmas occur only once in this subconstruction, with the most frequent item (*hål* 'hole') occurring only three times. Furthermore, the contained element encoded as the object varies in concreteness: it can be a substance (such as *koffein* 'caffeine' in 5.55), an appearance (such as *hål* 'holes' in 5.56), or an abstract/metaphorical containment of a personal/evaluative trait (such as *en författare* in 5.57, describing authorhood). The

containment may also vary in temporal persistence. The duration of containment may be occasional, but typically, the containment is of a more persistent or characterising sort rather than trivial. Thus, this group of occurrences concerns a frame that is more abstract than the *FrameNet* frame of `Containing`, defined as "a CONTAINER holds within its physical boundaries the CONTENTS".[70] Rather, the closest correspondence found in *FrameNet* may be – particularly when the subject is an animate entity, as in (5.57) – the frame element entry PERSISTENT_CHARACTERISTIC, contained in the definition of the `People` frame: "[t]hey [the PERSON, SS] may have an AGE, DESCRIPTOR, ORIGIN, PERSISTENT_CHARACTERISTIC, or ETHNICITY".[71]

(5.55) Vissa NOCCO's *har koffein* ***i sig*** [...]
some NOCCO's have caffeine in REFL
'Some NOCCO's[72] have caffeine in them'

(5.56) [...] två ponchos [...] som tyvärr *fått hål* ***i sig*** [...]
two ponchos that unfortunately gotten holes in REFL
'two ponchos that unfortunately have gotten holes in them'

(5.57) Alla människor *har en författare* ***i sig*** [...]
all people have a author in REFL
'Every person has an author within themselves'

The verbs co-occurring in this subconstruction are the generic verbs *ha* 'have' [33], *få* 'get' [3], and *känna* 'feel' [2].

Note that some occurrences may be alternatively interpreted as an instance of a simple transitive construction with *i sig* 'in REFL' as a contrastive adverbial. *I sig* as a contrastive adverbial has been described by Månsson (2017) and is registered in *Svenskt konstruktikon*. This construction, labelled as the "X_i_sig" construction in *Svenskt konstruktikon*, is defined as indexing "the most characteristic properties of the mentioned concept, typically in contrast to other associated properties or facts".[73] For example, in (5.58), the sequence *i sig* highlights the prominent property of the profit in the context, contrasting it with other facts that reside outside the profit.

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70. https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/frames/Containing (last accessed 2026-02-08).

71. https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/frames/People (last accessed 2026-02-08).

72. A name of an energy drink.

73. In the original: "[a]vser de mest karakteristiska egenskaperna hos [det åsyftade], typiskt i kontrast mot [andra tillhörande egenskaper eller omständigheter]" (*Svenskt konstruktikon*).

(5.58) Problemet är inte *vinsten* ***i*** ***sig*** utan bristfälliga regelverk och
problem-DEF is not profit-DEF in REFL but deficient regulations and
undermåliga kontroller
inadequate controls
'The problem is not the profit itself, but the inadequate regulations and poor oversight' (Månsson 2017, 13, adapted)

Differences in meaning between *i sig* as an argument of the *i*-POC and as a contrastive adverbial are subtle, and the distinction is hard to draw. A possible formal difference is that the latter realises only with the word form *sig*, with an accent on the reflexive pronoun as /i ˈsɛj/ (Månsson 2017, p. 5; Teleman et al. 1999, vol. 3, p. 328), while the REFL in the former seems to agree with the subject and lacks an accent. However, in my dataset, where the form of REFL is limited to *sig* and where no prosodic information is available, such formal differences cannot be used as a criterion.

With this caveat in mind, and given the difficulty in grouping these occurrences, they are grouped under the label `Containing_characteristics`, or simply `Containing`.

5.2.2.2 Ingesting

Three occurrences of the *i*-POC involve the `Ingesting` frame, which is described in Section 5.1.2.1 above as a frame strongly associated with the *i*-VPC. All of the three occurrences involved the generic verb *få* 'get'. One of these few occurrences is reproduced in (5.59) below:

(5.59) Snyggt sätt att *få* *godis* ***i*** ***sig*** … hahaha mums !
stylish way to get candy in REFL hahaha yum
'A nice way to eat candy… hahaha delicious!'

This group of occurrences will be discussed further in Section 6.1.3, where I compare the lexico-semantically overlapping occurrences of the VPC and the POC.

5.2.3 *Med*-POCs

The majority of the occurrences of the *med*-POC involve, as with the *med*-VPC, the frame of `Bringing`. In addition, two somewhat distinct groups of occurrences with the verb *ha* 'have' are observed, associated with two distinct frames: `Persistent_characteristic` and `Be_observant`.

5.2.3.1 Bringing

Most occurrences of the *med*-POC are associated with the `Bringing` frame, which is also the case with the *med*-VPC, as described in Section 5.1.3.1 above. An example of a `Bringing` occurrence with the *med*-POC is given in (5.60).

(5.60) Min kompis *hade en kompis* ***med sig***
my friend had a friend with REFL
'My friend had a friend with them'

The verbs occurring in the POC variant of the `bringing` subconstruction are summarised in Table 5.12.

Table 5.12. Verbs co-occurring in the POC with a frame of `Bringing`

Verb	Verb type	n
ha 'have'	stative	59
få 'get'	generic	11
ta 'take'	generic	7
behöva 'need, want, require'	stative	1
bära 'carry'	motion-causative	1
shoppa 'shop'	other	1
välja 'choose'	other	1
Σ		81

A total of seven verbs occur in this subconstruction. The most frequent verbs in this subconstruction are the generic verbs *ha* 'have' [59], *få* 'get' [11], and *ta* 'take' [7]. The remaining four verbs which each occur only once in this group include the motion-causative verb *bära* 'carry' and the non-motion-causative verbs *behöva* 'need', *välja* 'choose', and *shoppa* 'go/be out shopping'. The occurrence with the verb *shoppa* 'go shopping' is reproduced in (5.61).

(5.61) Man vill ju *shoppa en del saker* ***med sig*** hem
one want.to you.know shop a part things with REFL home
'One wants to shop for some things to bring home'

Notably, some *med*-POC occurrences with the verb *ha* 'have' communicated a meaning that slightly diverged from the typical `Bringing` event. At least two occurrences included a theme object expressing a role corresponding to `Persistent_characteristic` of the subject (see Section 5.2.2.1), rather than an occasionally carried theme. Examples of the latter are given in (5.62–5.63). The object in (5.62), *utseendet* 'the look/appearance', is likely a native trait of the subject *killar* 'the guys'. Likewise, the object in (5.63), *tryggheten* 'the confidence', can be interpreted as an inherent trait of the generic human subject *man*, needed for taking care of a horse with a certain temper. While these

occurrences with native traits could be classified into a distinct group involving some kind of metaphorical bringing, I include them under the `Bringing` group of the *med*-POC due to their infrequency and the difficulty in distinguishing them.

(5.62) [. . .] killar som är charmiga och *har utseendet* ***med sig*** idag
guys that are charming and have look-DEF with REFL today
'Guys who are charming and have their looks going for them today'

(5.63) För det är svårt att ta över en häst som honom så man
because it is difficult to take over a horse like him so one
behöver tryggheten ***med sig*** att luta sig mot
needs security-DEF with REFL to lean REFL on
'It is difficult to take over a horse like him, so one needs a sense of security to fall back on'

Further, two occurrences instantiate a lexically fixed combination *ha ögonen med sig* ('be observant'; lit. 'have eyes-DEF with REFL'), as registered in the reference dictionaries (i.e., *EO*, *SO*, and *SSB*) as an idiom entry. In (5.64), the object *ögonen* 'the eyes' does not have any concrete referent; instead, it refers metaphorically or metonymically to cautiousness associated with 'eyes', directed towards the subject's environment. This specific lexical combination can be described as a lexically specific construction associated with a distinct frame, which I label `Being_observant`.

(5.64) I dessa gränder kan vad som helst hända om man bara är nyfiken
in these alleys can anything happen if one just is curious
och *har ögonen* ***med sig***
and has eyes-DEF with REFL
'In these alleys, anything can happen if you're just curious and keep your eyes open'

5.2.4 *På*-POCs

Similar to the *på*-VPC, the majority of the occurrences of the *på*-POC are associated with the frame of `Dressing`. Two additional distinct groups are observed, which involve `Time_period_of_action` and `Carrying_by_chance`. Further, two occurrences involve fixed verb–object combinations, {*lägga band*} and {*slå knut*}, which I label `Restraining_self` and `Making_effort`, respectively.

5.2.4.1 Dressing

Most of the *på*-POC occurrences are associated with the `Dressing` frame, whose definition is presented earlier in a section on the *på*-VPC (Section 5.1.4.1).

Two POC occurrences with the `Dressing` frame are reproduced in (5.65–5.66).

(5.65) De *hade* också *pyjamas* ***på sig*** och ändå ville följa med
they had also pyjamas on REFL and still wanted.to follow with
'They were also wearing pyjamas and still wanted to come along'

(5.66) [...] han *behöver* verkligen *tröjor* ***på sig*** för han skakar som
he need really sweaters on REFL because he shake like
fasiken
devil-DEF
'he really needs to wear a sweater because he's shaking like crazy'

Notably, in contrast to the VPC variant of `Dressing`, which frequently occur with non-stative verbs, most occurrences of the POC counterpart involve a stative verb: the generic stative verb *ha* 'have' is by far the most frequent verb, followed by the generic causative verb *få* 'get' and other stative verbs *behöva* 'need' and *behålla* 'keep'.

The verbs that occur in the POC variant of the `Dressing` subconstruction are summarised in Table 5.13. Just like the other groups of the *på*-POC that will be described below, the co-occurring verbs are limited in variety, both in terms of type frequency (a total of four distinct lemmas) and semantic type (predominantly stative).

Table 5.13. Verbs co-occurring in the POC with a frame of `Dressing`

Verb	Verb type	n
ha 'have'	stative	92
få 'get'	generic	5
behöva 'need'	stative	2
behålla 'keep'	stative	2
Σ		101

5.2.4.2 Time period of action

One of the distinctive frames associated with the *på*-POC is `Time_period_of_action`, which *FrameNet* defines as follows: "LUs [lexical units, SS] in this frame denote a period of time in which an ACTION is possible or required. The DURATION of this time period need not be exact. An AGENT who performs the ACTION may also be mentioned".[74]

For example, the sentence in (5.67) expresses a situation in which the subject Freja needs a certain period of time to feel comfortable. The object, *lite*

74. https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/frames/Measure_duration (last accessed 2026-02-08).

tid ‘some time’, encodes the time DURATION for the AGENT to execute some ACTION, or another type of ENTITY to come to a certain STATE. The object is frequently followed by a subjectless infinitival clause that specifies the ACTION that is to be carried out within the DURATION of time, in this case, *att känna sig bekväm* ‘(for Freja) to feel comfortable’.

(5.67) Freja brukar ju vara lite blyg och vill gärna *ha lite*
F. AUX you.know be a.little shy and wants willingly have little
tid ***på sig*** att känna sig bekväm
time on REFL to feel REFL comfortable
‘Freja is usually a bit shy and likes to have some time to feel comfortable’.

The object is frequently headed by the noun *tid* ‘time’ denoting an unspecified time window, as in (5.67). It can also be headed by a quantified time period such as *tre år* ‘three years’ in (5.68). The time window could also be coded by a quantified noun other than a time noun, such as *tre plattor* ‘three albums’ in (5.69), representing a time window for the singers needed to find their own style.

(5.68) Man *har tre år* ***på sig*** att göra en anmälan [...]
one have three years on REFL to make a report
‘One has three years to make a report’

(5.69) Både Geoff Tate och Joey Tempest *behövde tre plattor* ***på sig*** att
both G. T. and J. T. needed three albums on REFL to
hitta rätt [...]
find right
‘Both Geoff Tate and Joey Tempest needed three albums to find the right path’

The verbs co-occurring in this `Time_period_of_action` group are either semantically generic (i.e., *ta*, *få*) or stative (i.e., *ha*, *behöva*), as is evident from the summary of co-occurring verbs in Table 5.14.

Table 5.14. Verbs co-occurring with the `Time_period_of_action` frame

Verb	Verb type	n
ha ‘have’	stative	21
ta ‘take’	generic	13
få ‘get’	generic	6
behöva ‘need’	stative	5
Σ		45

5.2.4.3 Carry by chance

The final group of occurrences concerns what may be loosely described as the concrete/metaphorical attachment of a concrete/abstract entity to the subject's body. There are subtle semantic variations within this group, and the group may be subdivided into smaller subgroups. However, they generally have in common that the attached entity is construed as occasional rather than an inherent part of the location to which it is attached. Although I grouped these occurrences under the broad label of `Carry_by_chance`, I present a tentative subgrouping within this group of occurrences below. Since I could not find any appropriate frame entries from *FrameNet*, the frames I propose in this section are all preliminary.

First, when the subject is an animate AGENT and the object is a concrete, inanimate ENTITY, then the situation expressed by the clause often resembles that of the `Bringing` frame described in Section 5.1.3.1. One slight difference is that the occasional state of 'having' in this case is not brought about intentionally or to fulfil a specific purpose (as in the English 'bring something somewhere'), but rather by chance or without any specific reason. An example of this type is presented in (5.70). The sentence describes when the referents of the subject *folk* 'people' happen not to have cash at the specific moment of reference.

(5.70) [...] när folk inte *har kontanter* ***på sig*** och närmaste bankomat
when people not have cash on REFL and nearest ATM
är nere i byn [...]
is down in village-DEF
'when people don't have cash on them and the nearest ATM is down in the village'

When both the subject and the object are concrete and inanimate, then the clause expresses a situation in which some ENTITY is saliently attached to another ENTITY at the specific OCCASION referred to by the clause. In (5.71), the referent of the subject *listen* 'the moulding' happens to be covered by a strip of tape, hence appearing different from how it usually does for the moment.

(5.71) Listen ni ser på bilden *har en tejpremsa* ***på sig***, så den
moulding-DEF you see on picture-DEF have a tape-strip on REFL so it
är så klart inte gulbrun utan helt genomskinlig
is of.course not yellow-brown but totally transparent
'The moulding you see in the picture has a strip of tape on it, so of course it isn't yellowish-brown, but completely transparent'

In both cases described above, attachment may be persistent rather than occasional, which provides a distinctive appearance to the entity as an attached location. For example, in (5.72), the dollar signs (*dollartecken*) may be engraved on the glasses, rather than being applied as a sticker.

(5.72) [. . .] glasögon som *har* *dollartecken* ***på*** ***sig*** [. . .]
glasses that have dollar-signs on REFL
'glasses that have dollar signs on them'

Since the distinction between these occurrences is subtle, I label occurrences such as (5.70–5.72) as `Carrying_by_chance`, regardless of the actual duration of attachment and the subject's animacy.

Second, in some occurrences, the THEME_ENTITY was undesirable for the LOCATION, such as a liquid, a colouring substance, or a colour spot. In (5.73), it is immediately clear by the context that getting water on the body is undesirable for the subject referent. Such occurrences may be regarded as involving a specific subtype of `Carrying_by_chance`, which may be labelled as `Getting_exposed_to_spill`.

(5.73) [. . .] han [. . .] tyckte det var äckligt när han *fick* *vatten* ***på***
he thought it was disgusting when he got water on
sig [. . .]
REFL
'he thought it was disgusting when he got water on himself'

Finally, some occurrences contain an object headed by a noun denoting eyes or gaze, typically the word *ögonen* 'the eyes', as in (5.74). The clause then expresses a situation in which the EXPERIENCER metaphorically or metonymically 'gets the eyes', i.e., getting attention by some other person, typically by collective OBSERVERS. Such a situational frame may be called `Getting_attention`. The clausal meaning described by this type of the *på*-POC is similar to the one described by a type of the *på*-VPC with {*dra på*} 'pull on', presented in Section 5.1.4.3 (e.g., *dra på sig uppmärksamhet* 'attract attention'; see the example 5.41). However, these two differ in the lexical combinations associated with the corresponding meaning. That is, the meaning of 'getting attention' is associated with two distinct V-P combinations for the POC variant and the VPC variant – i.e., {*få på*} in the POC variant vs. {*dra på*} in the VPC variant. Since they require different lexical combinations to evoke this apparently similar meaning, they do not constitute a lexico-semantic overlap in this regard.

(5.74) En världsmittback, tillika kapten, *får* såklart *ögonen* ***på*** ***sig***
a world-centre-back also captain get naturally eyes-DEF on REFL
'A world-class defender, also the captain, naturally gets attention'

Table 5.15 summarises these closely related occurrences, grouped together under the label `Carry_by_chance`, in which the type of the object induces slightly different clausal meanings. When the object is conceived of as liquid or a colouring substance, the clause evokes the specific frame of `Getting_exposed_to_spill`. When the object is associated with eyes or gaze, then it evokes the

specific frame of Getting_attention. Otherwise, it evokes the general frame of Carry_by_chance.

Table 5.15. Verbs co-occurring with subtypes of the Carry_by_chance frame

Frame	Verb	Verb type	n
Carry by chance	*ha*	stative	14
Carry by chance	*få*	generic	3
Getting exposed to spill	*ha*	stative	1
Getting exposed to spill	*få*	generic	4
Getting attention	*ha*	stative	3
Getting attention	*få*	generic	3

5.2.4.4 Distinct combinations with a specific verb

Two occurrences of the *på*-POC involve non-generic verbs and objects which apparently lack a referent: *lägga band på sig* [1] ('restrain oneself'; lit. 'put band on REFL') and *slå knut på sig* [1] ('bend over backwards'; lit. 'tie knot on REFL'). While these combinations occur only once each in the corpus, they are listed in all the reference dictionaries I consulted, indicating their status as conventionally established idioms. As such, they can be regarded as instantiating fully lexically specific constructions.

5.2.5 The POC as a family of constructions

Compared to the VPC, the POC is more restricted in lexical variability, occurring with only 18 distinct verbs. This restrictedness applies both to the verb and the object.

First, the overwhelming majority of POC occurrences are with generic verbs, notably the stative verb *ha* 'have'. This lexico-semantic tendency is evident in Table 5.16, in which ten verbs most frequently co-occurring with the POC are listed. The verb *ha* 'have' is the most frequent verb among all the POC occurrences, occurring in a full 68 % of all the POC instances in my corpus data (233 out of 341). By comparison, the same verb accounts for only 18 % of all VPC occurrences (226 out of 1225). This lexical bias toward the stative verb *ha* also indicates the POC's tendency toward stative semantics. A notable exception to this distribution is the Doing_to_excess *av*-POC (e.g., *frysa arslet av sig* 'freeze one's arse off'), which occurs most frequently with the verb *frysa* 'freeze' but also with three other verbs *jobba* 'work', *slita* 'toil', and *springa* 'run', all associated with physical strain.

Second, the POC tends to be restricted not only in co-occurring verbs, but also in the form of the object. The subconstructions that indicate such formal

Table 5.16. The ten verbs most frequently co-occurring with the POC

Rank	Verb	n
1	*ha* 'have'	225
2	*få* 'get'	39
3	*ta* 'take'	35
4	*behöva* 'need'	8
5	*frysa* 'freeze'	7
6	*behålla* 'keep'	2
7	*bära* 'carry'	2
8	*göra* 'do'	2
9	*jobba* 'work'	2
10	*känna* 'feel'	2
	⋮	
Σ (18 verb types)		341

restrictiveness on their object are summarised below. Many occurrences of the POC contain (more or less) a lexically specific, typically one-word, object either in (i) definite form or (ii) indefinite form. Apart from these highly object-specific constructions, some POC subconstructions occur with a lexically variable object, which is however restricted in that it occurs (iii) dominantly with an indefinite object or (iv) a quantified object. This restrictiveness in the form of the object may have a semantic bearing. In fact, the object of many of the POC subconstructions seems to lack referentiality. This lack of referentiality is evident in the constructions with one-word objects, such as *arslet* 'the buttocks' in *jobba arslet av sig* 'work one's arse off' (the `Doing_to_excess` construction) and *band* 'tie' in *lägga band på sig* (the `Restrain_self` construction), but partly also on more lexically variable constructions: objects such as *koffein* 'caffeine' in *ha koffein i sig* and *kontanter* 'cash' in *ha kontanter på sig* seem to specify the *type* of entity, rather than referring to specific entities.

(i) **The object is a lexically specific definite one-word NP.** ([V-N_{DEF}-PP])
`Doing_to_excess` (*jobba arslet av sig* 'work one's arse off'; Section 5.2.1.1), `Killing_self` (*ta livet av sig* 'kill oneself'; Section 5.2.1.2), and `Getting_attention` (*få ögonen på sig* 'get attention'; Section 5.2.4.3).

(ii) **The object is an indefinite one-word NP.** ([V-N_{INDF}-PP])
`Making_noise` (*göra väsen av sig* 'make noise'; Section 5.2.1.2) and `Restrain_self` (*lägga band på sig* 'restrain oneself'; Section 5.2.4.4).

(iii) **The object is dominantly an indefinite NP.** ([V-NP_{INDF}-PP])
`Containing` (*ha koffein i sig* 'contain caffeine'; Section 5.2.2.1) and

`Carry_by_chance` (*ha kontanter på sig* 'have cash on oneself'; Section 5.2.4.3).

(iv) **The object is an indefinite quantified NP.** ([V-QUANT-N_{INDF}-PP]) `Time_period_of_action` (*ha tre år på sig* 'have three years'; Section 5.2.4.2).

In sum, while the POC consists of relatively non-productive subconstructions with limited lexical variability, it may be regarded as a family of constructions, characterised by features such as a restriction to generic verbs – particularly *ha*, which induces stative semantics – and a restriction on the form of the object, which often accompanies reduced referentiality of the object.

A table summarising the subconstructions of the POC is provided in Appendix 1.

5.3 Conclusion

The present chapter addressed the first research question (RQ1): *how are the VPC and the POC distributed lexico-semantically?* By classifying occurrences according to clausal meaning, I mapped the lexico-semantic distribution of the VPC and the POC in terms of subconstructions, identifying which verb, and in some cases, object noun, is associated with which clausal meaning.

The VPC consists of subconstructions that exhibit relatively high lexical variability in the verb slot, indicating their productivity. Prominently productive P-specific constructions include the `Undressing` *av*-VPC, the `Ingesting` *i*-VPC, the `Bringing` *med*-VPC, and the `Dressing` *på*-VPC. Alongside these productive constructions exist constructions with more restricted verb variability, as well as V-P specific constructions in which the verb, alongside the preposition, is lexically fixed. Semantically, the VPC is prototypically resultative. This is demonstrated by the fact that most instances of the VPC involve the subject undergoing a change of state or position denoted by the REFL-PP. A notable exception to the resultative semantics is the combination with the stative verb *ha* within the `Bringing`- and `Dressing`- VPCs.

In contrast, the POC consists of subconstructions that are highly limited in variability, and are thus less productive. They tend to be highly specific in their V-P combination, involving a small range of verbs. In general, the POC co-occurs frequently with generic verbs, including the notably frequent stative verb *ha* 'have'. A noteworthy exception to this co-occurring tendency with generic verbs is the `Doing_to_excess` construction, which co-occurs with specific action verbs (e.g., *jobba arslet av sig* 'work one's arse off'). Most POC subconstructions also exhibit specificity in the form of the object, which may

be associated with reduced semantic referentiality of the object. Notably, the object in POC subconstructions is often lexically fixed and consists typically of a single word, – as prominently seen in fully lexically specific idioms such as *göra väsen av sig* ('make noise') or *lägga band på sig* ('restrain oneself') – or, while lexically more flexible, remains restricted by formal features such as definiteness or quantification, depending on the specific subconstruction. Semantically, the POC is prototypically stative, which is evident from the overwhelming co-occurrence with the stative verb *ha*. A notable exception to the stative semantics is, again, the `Doing_to_excess` construction.

Regarding lexico-semantic overlaps, the VPC and the POC largely consist of distinct combinations. Each is associated with combinations of lexical items and frames distinct to it, making the range of lexico-semantic overlaps fairly limited.

The V-P combinations that are uniquely associated with either the VPC or the POC can be considered to represent argument structure constructions with specific word order. In this sense, the VPC and the POC mostly consist of argument structure constructions with specific word order. Constructions specified for the VPC order include productive constructions such as the `Undressing` construction (e.g., *ta av sig kläder*) and the `Amassing` construction (e.g., *samla på sig skräp*), as well as lexically specific constructions such as the `Absorbing` construction (*suga i sig solsken*) and the `Taking_responsibility` construction (*ta på sig rollen*). Constructions specified for the POC order include the `Doing_to_excess` construction (e.g., *jobba arslet av sig*), the `Killing_self` construction (e.g., *ta livet av sig*), the `Time_period_of_action` construction (e.g., *ha tre år på sig*), the `Carrying_by_chance` construction (e.g., *ha kontanter på sig*), among others, which are mostly lexically specific.

On the other hand, overlaps observed in the corpus can be considered sufficiently similar in form and function to analyse them in terms of alternation (see Section 3.3.2.2). As such, they fulfil the prerequisites for analysing them in terms of allostructional relation, and thus as constructions underspecified for word order. The observed overlaps include those involving `Removing_body_part`, `Containing`, `Ingesting`, `Bringing`, and `Dressing`, as will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

However, an allostructional relation is not equally plausible for all the observed lexico-semantic overlaps, as some may result from rare, nonconventional usage. Furthermore, those that may be analysable as allostructions may carry specific usage conditions depending on whether they involve the VPC or the POC, which need to be taken into account when discussing their interrelation. The following chapter focuses on these lexico-semantic overlaps to discuss whether difference in word order (i.e., the VPC or the POC order) involves any remarkable difference in meaning or usage in broader terms.

6 The lexico-semantic overlaps

With an aim to address the second research question (RQ2) – *to what extent do the VPC and the POC overlap lexico-semantically, and to what extent are the overlaps similar in usage?* – this chapter compares the lexico-semantic overlaps between the VPC and the POC observed in the corpus, i.e., specific pairings of a V-P combination and a frame-semantic constructional meaning shared by both constructions.

The lexico-semantic overlaps in the corpus are summarised in Table 6.1, which reports token frequency of a lexico-semantic combination with a specific preposition (in the 'P' column), a specific verb (in the 'Verb' column), and a specific constructional meaning (in the 'Frame' column). The 'Verb type' column indicates the verb type: stative, generic-causative ('generic'), and motion-causative ('cause-motion'). The columns 'VPC' and 'POC' indicate the frequency of occurrences of the lexico-semantic combinations in the VPC and the POC, respectively.

Table 6.1. Summary of lexico-semantic combinations occurring in both the VPC and the POC

P	Verb	Verb type	Frame	VPC	POC
av	*slita*	cause-motion	Removing body part	2	1
i	*ha*	stative	Containing	1	40
	få	generic	Ingesting	125	3
med	*ha*	stative	Bringing	164	59
	ta	generic	Bringing	139	7
	få	generic	Bringing	55	11
	bära	cause-motion	Bringing	7	1
på	*ha*	stative	Dressing	61	92
	få	generic	Dressing	41	5

As can be seen from the table, the number of lexico-semantic combinations that overlap between the VPC and the POC is relatively small. All the verbs except *slita* 'tear' and *bära* 'carry' are highly generic. Also, occurrences with the stative verb *ha* 'have' are prominent in the POC, as seen in the overlaps involving the frames `Containing`, `Bringing`, and `Dressing`. In the following

sections, I discuss these lexico-semantic overlaps to examine whether and to what extent they represent conventional use, and if so, to what extent they can be considered equivalent.

Since this dissertation adopts the aggregate, system-oriented perspective of grammar (cf. Section 3.1.2), I focus primarily on more or less conventional usage. For methodological reasons, I divide the observed overlaps into two categories: occasional overlaps and recurrent overlaps. The occasional overlaps are those in which one of the variants (i.e., the VPC or the POC) was observed only a few times with a limited variety in both token and type. Such overlaps are less likely to reflect conventional usage, making them occasional and incidental. In contrast, the recurrent overlaps are those in which both variants are observed multiple times with some variety in type, making them more likely to be considered conventional.

The occasional overlaps in this study include the lexico-semantic combinations {*slita av*} 'tear off', related to `Removing_body_part`, {*ha i*} 'have in', related to `Containing`, and {*få i*}, related to `Ingesting`. The recurrent overlaps include the set of lexico-semantic overlaps involving `Bringing` and `Dressing`. Although the occasional overlaps will be discussed to some extent, the majority of the discussion will be devoted to the recurrent overlaps.

The chapter is organised as follows. First, a relatively brief section, Section 6.1, discusses the occasional overlaps specified above, comparing their occurrences in the corpus. Second, the latter part of the chapter discusses the recurrent overlaps involving `Bringing` and `Dressing`. Section 6.2 and Section 6.3 discuss the data from the corpus and the acceptability study, respectively. Finally, the chapter closes with a conclusion in Section 6.4.

6.1 Usage comparison of the occasional overlaps

This brief section will discuss the occasional overlaps, which were attested at most only a few times in one of the variants, namely, {*slita av*} 'tear off', related to the frame of `Removing_body_part` (Section 6.1.1), {*ha i*} 'have in' related to `Containing` (Section 6.1.2), and {*få i*} 'get in' related to `Ingesting` (Section 6.1.3).

6.1.1 The combination {*slita av*} 'tear off'

Judging from the corpus data, the *av*-VPC and the *av*-POC hardly overlap. Only one pair of occurrences is attested in which the same V-P combination expresses roughly the same situation type, that is involving the removal of one's body part. This pair is shown in (6.1) and (6.2), the former of which is repeated

from (5.11). Both sentences express a situation of an agent pulling out their (head) hair.

(6.1) Det är klart att det kan vara fruktansvärt jobbigt ibland, man vill
it is clear that it can be terribly tough sometimes one wants
slita ***av sig*** *håret* [...]
tear off REFL hair-DEF
'It's clear that it can be terribly tough at times, one wants to tear out one's hair'

(6.2) Somliga har inget jobb alls och *sliter håret* ***av sig*** för att få
some have no job at.all and tear hair-DEF off REFL for to get
ett jobb [...]
a job
'Some have no job at all and tear their hair out to get a job'

Although the above pair expresses a seemingly identical situation type, we may construe a contrast between them regarding aspect, or how the act of pulling extends over time. While the former formulation with the VPC in (6.1) has more focus on the completion phase of the event of the agent pulling out their hair, the latter with the POC in (6.2) may be more readily interpreted as a continuous iterative action of pulling out hair as a manner of job-seeking – one that persists while the agent tries hard to get a job. In this interpretation, the focus is metonymically shifted to the agent's effort to achieve a goal (i.e., getting a job) rather than the act of pulling hair out itself. Compare the constructed example in (6.3), in which the POC sentence in (6.2) is rephrased with the VPC. The metonymical manner reading of tearing hair out is not as readily available in (6.3) as in (6.2). Instead, the more available interpretation of the sentence in (6.3) would be that 'some pull their hair out as a means of getting a job'.

(6.3) Somliga *sliter* ***av sig*** *håret* för att få ett jobb

The latter continuous/metonymical reading can be related to the hyperbolic usage of the `Doing_to_excess` subconstruction described in Section 5.2.1.1, such as *frysa fingret av sig* and *slita arslet av sig*. In this sense, the continuous/metonymical reading of the sentence in (6.2) may be affected by an association with the `Doing_to_excess` subconstruction. Although the above reasoning remains speculative, I assume that this apparent paraphrase pair involves a slight semantic difference induced by the subconstructions instantiating them.

6.1.2 The combination {*ha i*} 'have in'

The V-P combination {*ha i*} with the frame of `Containing` occurs frequently in the POC, amounting to a total of 40 occurrences in the corpus. In contrast, only a single VPC occurrence is attested, which is reproduced in (6.4), repeated from (5.19).

(6.4) [. . .] de andra som funkar *har* alltid ***i*** ***sig*** *farligt* *luminiumklorid*
the others that work have always in REFL dangerous aluminium.chrorid
[. . .]

'the others [deodorants] that work always have dangerous aluminium chloride in them'

Interestingly, the occurrence in (6.4) is immediately preceded by another occurrence with the same V-P combination associated with the `Containing` frame, though with the POC, reproduced in (6.5). Both sentences in (6.4–6.5) seem to express the same situation type, where the subject referent, a deodorant product(s), contains some substance denoted by the object, in this case, a poisonous substance (such as aluminium chloride).

(6.5) [. . .] världens bästa deo som [. . .] inte *har* *några* *gifter* ***i***
world-DEF-POSS best deodorant that not has any toxins in
sig [. . .]
REFL

'the world's best deodorant that [. . .] doesn't contain any toxins [. . .]'

The pair of examples in (6.4–6.5) suggests that the V-P combination {*ha i*} with the frame of `Containing` may be used in both the *i*-VPC and the *i*-POC. However, this sole occurrence stands out against the overall characteristics of the *i*-VPC, making it difficult to regard such usage as conventional. This is the only occurrence of the *i*-VPC associated with a frame other than `Ingesting`, the latter of which accounts for a dominant total of 239 occurrences in the *i*-VPC. Furthermore, this is the only occurrence with a stative verb with the *i*-VPC– all the other occurrences involve non-stative verbs, such as *få* 'get', *stoppa* 'put', and *mumsa* 'munch'. Additionally, no information was found in the reference dictionaries to indicate that such usage of the *i*-VPC is possible. Given the extreme scarcity of such usage of the *i*-VPC in the corpus and its absence from the reference dictionaries, I treat this occurrence of {*ha i*} in the VPC as non-conventional.

6.1.3 The combination {*få i*} 'get in'

Multiple occurrences related to the `Ingesting` frame are attested in both phrasal orders with the verb *få* 'get'. While the vast majority of these occurrences appear in the VPC order (125 times), such as in (6.6), repeated from (5.14), three occurrences involve the POC. One such POC occurrence is reproduced in (6.7), repeated from (5.59). Both the VPC and the POC occurrences express an event in which the agent consumes potables (*hemmagjord smoothie* 'homemade smoothie' in 6.6) or edibles (*godis* 'candy' in 6.7).

(6.6) Hon *fick* ***i*** ***sig*** *hemmagjord smoothie* [...]
she got in REFL homemade smoothie
'She consumed homemade smoothie'

(6.7) Snyggt sätt att *få* *godis* ***i*** ***sig*** ... hahaha mums !
stylish way to get candy in REFL hahaha yum
'A nice way to eat candy... hahaha delicious!'

No remarkable difference in usage appears to exist between the two variants. The lack of apparent semantic difference may be most tangible in the pair in (6.8–6.9): they contain the same lexical object, *fett*, and the type of situation expressed by the VPC in (6.8) and the POC in (6.9) is the same – an agent's consumption of fat.

(6.8) Man *får* även ***i*** ***sig*** *fett* när man äter avocado, fisk och nötter !!
one gets also in REFL fat when one eats avocado fish and nuts
'You also get fat in your system when eating avocado, fish, and nuts!!'

(6.9) Så avslutar jag med en rejäl klick smör för att spinkisarna
so finish I with a generous dollop butter for that skinny.ones-DEF
ska *få* *något* *fett* ***i*** ***sig***
shall get some fat in REFL
'So I finish with a generous dollop of butter so that the skinny kids get some fat in their systems'

While the occasional overlap involving `Ingesting` may represent an overlap at the level of the construction – i.e., the `Ingesting` VPC and the `Ingesting` POC – the status of the latter as a conventional construction cannot be determined from the small number of occurrences which also lack variety in type. The reference dictionaries indicate the VPC usage of this lexico-semantic combination, but not the POC usage: *EO* lists only a VPC example *jag fick i mig lite kaffe* with the translation 'I managed to get (drink) some coffee', and *SSB* likewise lists only a VPC example with the meaning 'eat' or 'drink' ("äta, dricka" in the original) *NN berättar hur du som vegetarian får i dig den näring du behöver* ('NN explains how you, as a vegetarian, get the nutrition you need'). Since the POC variant related to `Ingesting` lacks any indication of its conventionality – being exceedingly low in both type and token frequency and lacking a dictionary entry – I leave this overlap as occasional.

6.2 Usage comparison of the recurrent overlaps

The following sections focus on the recurrent overlaps involving `Bringing` and `Dressing`, which constitute plausible overlaps at a more conventional level.

For this analysis, I use a set of labels adapted to the specific goals of the discussion. The pairs of VPC and POC subconstructions associated with each constructional meaning are referred to as the 'Bringing (subconstruction) pair' and the 'Dressing (subconstruction) pair', together constituting '(sub)construction pairs'. The VPC and the POC variants within each subconstruction pair are referred to as 'Bringing-VPC', 'Bringing-POC', 'Dressing-VPC', and 'Dressing-POC'. These labels also apply to expressions hypothesised to instantiate these subconstructions. I also continue to use the labels '*med*-VPC', '*med*-POC', '*på*-VPC', and '*på*-POC' when the discussion highlights the forms of the constructions.

The corpus frequency of the recurrent lexico-semantic overlaps is reproduced in Tables 6.2 (for the Bringing pair) and 6.3 (for the Dressing pair).

Table 6.2. Frequency of the verbs common to the Bringing construction pair

Verb	VPC	POC	Total
ha 'have'	164	59	223
ta 'take'	139	7	146
få 'get'	55	11	66
bära 'carry'	7	1	8
Total	365	78	443

Table 6.3. Frequency of the verbs common to the Dressing construction pair

Verb	VPC	POC	Total
ha 'have'	61	92	153
få 'get'	41	5	46
Total	102	97	199

The present section consists of two parts: Section 6.2.1 presents qualitative analyses of the overlaps, where the use of the two variants is compared primarily qualitatively. In turn, Section 6.2.2 presents quantitative analyses based on the corpus data, with a particular focus on the properties of the object involving length and definiteness.

6.2.1 Qualitative comparison

Qualitative analyses of the Bringing and Dressing occurrences are presented in Sections 6.2.1.1 and 6.2.1.2, respectively.

6.2.1.1 Bringing

Regarding the `Bringing` frame, four verbs co-occur in both constructions: three general verbs *ha* 'have', *ta* 'take', and *få* 'get', and one motion-causative verb *bära* 'carry, bear'. At least concerning these verbs, the word order does not seem to affect the core meaning of the `Bringing` frame, indicating that these subconstructions of the VPC and the POC are semantically equivalent.

The semantic equivalence of the formally distinct `Bringing` subconstructions is evident from the example pairs below in (6.10–6.11). The examples in (6.10a) and (6.10b), the latter repeated from (5.60), illustrate the usage with the verb *ha* 'have' in the VPC and the POC, respectively. Likewise, the examples in (6.11a) and (6.11b) illustrate the usage with the verb *ta* 'take' in the VPC and the POC, respectively. These example pairs all share a situation type in which an AGENT brings a THEME along a shared PATH. In these example pairs, the THEME is animate and sentient (i.e., a person).

(6.10) a. Leo ska *ha* **med sig** *en kompis* hem idag [...]
L. will have with REFL a friend to.home today
'Leo is going to bring a friend home today'

b. Min kompis *hade en kompis* ***med sig***
my friend had a friend with REFL
'My friend had a friend with them'

(6.11) a. Jag har bett honom *ta* ***med sig*** *en kompis*
I have asked him take with REFL a friend
'I have asked him to bring a friend along'

b. Mysigt att bara *ta ett barn* ***med sig*** ibland
cosy to only take one child with REFL sometimes
'Nice and cosy to take just one child along sometimes'

It is worth noting that some POC occurrences classified as metaphorical instances of `Bringing` with the combination {*ha med*} may be exclusively associated with the POC. The POC occurrence reproduced in (6.12) apparently involves a metaphorical meaning, where the act of 'bringing' does not involve physical transfer of the THEME, but rather bearing a kind of trait, i.e., 'the looks' (as a trait of being good-looking). On the surface, this POC occurrence seems comparable to the VPC occurrence reproduced in (6.13), in which the noun *dansen* 'the dance' refers to knowledge or talent for dancing that the subject referents carry through their lifetime.

(6.12) Jag fattar att killar som är charmiga och *har utseendet* ***med***
I understand that guys who are charming and have looks-DEF with
sig idag tyvärr kan gå en lättare skola i musikbranchen
REFL today unfortunately can go a easier school in music-branch-DEF
'I understand that guys who are charming and good-looking today can unfortunately have an easier path in the music industry'

(6.13) Både Niki och Martha har *haft* ***med sig*** *dansen* genom livet
both N. and M. have had with REFL dance-DEF through life-DEF
'Both Niki and Martha have carried dance with them throughout their lives'

However, informal consultation with native speakers suggests that the POC sentence in (6.12) cannot be reformulated into the VPC order and mean the same thing, while the VPC sentence in (6.13) can be reformulated into the POC order without changing the original meaning. The observations above suggest that certain POC occurrences with the combination {*ha med*} should be excluded from the overlap and distinguished further into a class involving certain metonymical or metaphorical meanings distinctively associated with the POC. While a deeper investigation into which specific metaphorical/metonymical meanings are exclusively associated with the POC would be interesting, such occurrences are rare in the current material. For reference, among 101 VPC and 59 POC occurrences classified as `Bringing`, only 6 respectively 7 of them, contain an object headed by an abstract noun. While these are clearly metaphorical, they do not appear to form a coherent semantic group relevant for the description of constructions. I therefore leave further investigation into this constructional polysemy for future research. For the present, I will not attempt to distinguish between concrete or metaphorical uses, and will include all occurrences classified as `Bringing` in the analysis.

Another special case that may be worth commenting on is occurrences with double instances of *med sig* 'with oneself' in a single clause. Two of these occurrences are reproduced below in (6.14) and (6.15).

(6.14) De *hade* **med sig** *färska kryddor* ***med sig*** till oss [...]
they had with REFL fresh herbs with REFL to us
'They brought fresh herbs with them to us'

(6.15) Även Children har *tagit* ***med sig*** *inviduella medaljer* ***med sig***
also C. have taken with REFL individual medals with REFL
hem
to.home
'Children have also brought individual medals home with them'

These occurrences may be analysed as simultaneous instances of the VPC and the POC. The difference from the ordinary occurrences of `Bringing` subconstructions is that the presence of two *med sig* 'with oneself' is entirely redundant

for expressing the Bringing meaning. Accordingly, omitting either of them would not affect the interpretation of the sentences substantially, making one of the two *med sig* analysable as a modifier. I analysed these occurrences with double instances of *med sig* as an instance of the VPC only: while the first instance of *med sig* unambiguously involves a verbal particle due to its pre-objective position, the latter instance of the doubly instantiated *med sig* can be analysed as a modifier to the directional adverbial, i.e., *till oss* 'to us' in (6.14) and *hem* 'to home' in (6.15) (in a similar way as *ut* in *ut genom fönstret*; see Section 2.2.2.1). In fact, all of these occurrences with double instances of *med sig* contain a directional adverbial, which makes this analysis plausible.

On a related note, the REFL-PP *med sig* that occurs in instances of the Bringing *med*-POC, can also be analysed as a modifier to a locational adverbial rather than as an argument. Thus, the sequence *med sig hem* in example (6.16) below, repeated from (5.61), can be analysed as a constituent functioning as a directional adverbial. If *med sig* is seen as an element modifying *hem* rather than as part of an argument structure construction, such cases may be more appropriately classified as an instance of the Caused-Motion Construction, exemplified in (4.2) and repeated in (6.17), rather than the POC proper (cf. Section 4.1.4).

(6.16) Man vill ju *shoppa en del saker* ***med sig*** hem
one want.to you.know shop a part things with REFL home
'One wants to buy some things to bring home'

(6.17) Andersson *skallade bollen i mål*
A. headed ball-DEF in goal
'A. headed the ball into the goal' (Jansson 2005, p. 20, adapted)

On the other hand, the majority of occurrences classified as the Bringing POC in the corpus – 79 % of them (i.e., 64 out of 81 occurrences) – lack locational/directional adverbials, as in (6.10b) and (6.11b) above. Therefore, recognising that *med sig* may be ambiguous as either an independent argument or a modifier to an adverbial, I treated all occurrences with a post-objective *med sig* as instances of the POC, except in the cases of double instantiation described above.

Information about the usage of the four verbs with the Bringing meaning in the POC is not well represented in the reference dictionaries. The phraseological dictionary *SSB* lists the usage in the VPC only. For example, the entry for the combination *ha med sig* provides a structural description, "ha med sig ngn/ngt", which corresponds to the VPC (i.e., with the REFL-PP preceding the object), but not to the POC. No examples are provided in *SSB*, which indicate that the POC order is possible with this combination. The same applies to

entries for combinations with the other verbs found in both constructions in the corpus, namely *ta med sig*, *få med sig*, and *bära med sig*.

An exception is the English–Swedish dictionary, *EO*. It indicates a POC usage indirectly, using the combination *ha med sig* in the POC in an example of an idiom entry with the metonymical meaning 'to have someone on one's side'. Although this dictionary does not explicitly discuss the role of word order in this entry, the example – provided in (6.18) with adaptation – suggests that this metonymical usage is more or less conventional in the POC. On the other hand, *EO* provides no entry or example with the POC in the basic, physical meaning of `Bringing`.

(6.18) han *har hela organisationen* ***med sig***
he has whole organisation-DEF with REFL
'he has got the whole organisation with him (on his side)'

The lack of any mention of the usage with the verb *ha* 'have' and the POC in the reference dictionary is particularly surprising, given its relatively high co-occurrence frequency in the corpus data. The description in the reference dictionary suggests that the VPC is the conventional option for expressing the `Bringing` meaning with these verbs, whereas the corpus data indicate that the POC is also an established option for expressing the same meaning, at least concerning verbs attested in the POC variant with a considerable frequency, notably *ha*.

6.2.1.2 Dressing

The `Dressing` frame is a common frame shared between the *på*-VPC and *på*-POC. The subconstructions share two generic verbs, *ha* 'have' and *få* 'get'. The frequency distribution between the two constructions differs considerably depending on which verb is used. While the causative verb *få* 'get' is strongly associated with the VPC variant, the stative verb *ha* 'have' is strongly associated with the POC variant.

The sentence pair (6.19a–b), repeated from (5.29) and (5.65), illustrates the usage with the verb *ha* 'have' in the VPC and the POC. Both sentences describe a situation in which a WEARER is dressed in a CLOTHING item, in this case, pyjamas.

(6.19) a. Pojkarna *hade* ***på sig*** *pyjamas* [...]
boys-DEF had on REFL pajamas
'The boys were wearing pyjamas'

b. De *hade* också *pyjamas* ***på sig*** och ändå ville följa med
they had also pajamas on REFLand still wanted follow with
'They were also wearing pyjamas and still wanted to come along'

The reference dictionaries indicate both VPC and POC usage, at least for the combination involving {*ha på*}. *SSB* provides a VPC usage as an example of the entry "ha på sig ngt" – *han hade på sig en tunn, vit bomullsklänning* ('he wore a thin, white cotton dress'). On the other hand, as an example for the corresponding entry "ha på sig" as a particle verb, *EO* provides a POC usage: *han hade ingenting på sig*[75] translated as "he had nothing on". Thus, the conventionality of both variants is indicated by both the corpus frequency and the reference dictionaries, at least for the specific combination with *ha*.

Another sentence pair in (6.20a–6.20b) illustrates the usage with the verb *få* 'get' in the VPC and the POC. While this pair also involves a causative event in which the subject puts on a piece of CLOTHING, it differs from the examples in (6.19) in that the subject referent lacks agentivity in putting on the clothing item. The non-agentivity seems to be contributed by the verb *få* 'get', which often occurs with non-agentive subjects in other syntactic contexts as well (Viberg 2002, 2012).

(6.20) a. [...] så fort han *fick* ***på sig*** *blöjan* *för* *natten* så
as soon he got on REFL diaper-DEF for night-DEF then
bajsade han
pooped he
'as soon as he had his diaper on for the night, he pooped'

b. Trimma en häst ikväll när den har *fått* *nya* *skor* ***på sig***
trim a horse tonight when it has gotten new shoes on REFL
'Trim a horse tonight now that it has gotten new shoes'

In contrast to the combination with *ha*, the POC usage is less prominent for this combination with *få*, occurring only five times compared to 41 times in the VPC. The reduced prominence of the POC is also indicated by the reference dictionaries: while *SSB* and *EO* provide entries for "få på [sig]", only the VPC

75. It should be noted that the negated nominal *ingenting* 'nothing' is barred from the VPC order for structural reasons: the negated nominal *ingenting* cannot be placed in a position later than the one where an ordinary negative adverbial can occur, which precedes the verbal particle position in the positional schema (Teleman et al. 1999, vol. 3, p. 306). Thus, reformulating the POC sentence *han hade ingenting på sig* into a VPC order **han hade på sig ingenting* results in an unacceptable sentence, just as **vi sökte upp ingenting* is an unacceptable reformulation of *vi sökte inte upp någonting* 'we searched out nothing'.

However, for this very reason, the possibility of a co-occurrence with *ingenting* can be taken as evidence for the possibility of a given lexico-semantic combination to occur in the POC. These two conditions appear to correlate. Accordingly, combinations that are restricted to the VPC do not seem to accommodate *ingenting* as readily. For example, when consulting Swedish native speakers, a combination involving `Undressing` (e.g., *han tog av sig kläder*), which is observed exclusively in the VPC, does not combine well with *ingenting* (e.g., ?*han tog ingenting av sig*). In such a case, the negation and the object are preferably separated, as in *han tog inte av sig något*.

sentence is given as an example in *SSB*. No further description regarding usage in the POC is provided in these dictionaries.

Comparing the example pairs in (6.19) and (6.20) above, the difference in word order between the VPC and the POC variants does not appear to affect the meaning in any significant way. It therefore seems reasonable to analyse these overlapping pairs as semantically equivalent.

Note that, while the sentence pair with the verb *få* in (6.20) involves non-agentive subjects, the combination with this verb *may* involve agentive subjects as well. As Viberg (2002) points out, sentences with *få* as a particle verb often involve an agentive subject. Thus, according to Viberg, sentences such as *Peter fick upp dörren* (lit. 'Peter got up door-DEF') is best translated as *Peter managed to open the door* or *Peter got the door open*, since in such sentences "[t]he attempt is intentionally controlled, but whether the attempt is achieved or not cannot be controlled, and a further implication is that the act required a greater than usual amount of effort or skill" (Viberg 2002, p. 138). While most of the occurrences in the corpus data are ambiguous in terms of agentivity, two VPC occurrences clearly involve agentive subjects attempting to get dressed in an article of clothing with some effort. One of these two occurrences is reproduced in (6.21). The subject's effort to put on shoes is highlighted in the preceding context which embeds a clause with the *på*-VPC and states that putting on shoes was a problem.

(6.21) Ni förstår ju att det var problem att *få* ***på*** ***sig*** *skor*
you understand you.know that it was problems to get on REFL shoes
och gå på promenader
and go on walks
'You understand that it was difficult to put on shoes and go for walks'

From the corpus data, it remains inconclusive whether this "success" reading is exclusive to the VPC or not. No clear example of agentive subjects in the POC is found in the corpus data. Regardless, occurrences with non-agentive WEARER are observed in both constructions with the verb *få*. Thus, in the following discussion on lexico-semantic overlaps involving the `Dressing` sub-constructions, I limit my focus to the non-agentive usage of *få* 'get', leaving aside the specifics of agentivity.

6.2.2 Quantitative comparison with focus on the object

This section explores the quantitative aspects of the recurrent overlaps in the corpus. In particular, I focus on whether the morphosyntactic property of the object may affect the choice of the variant, which is known to be relevant for a similar type of construction involving a verbal particle. As described in Section 2.1.3, morphosyntactic features of the object related to information

structural factors are often considered in the literature on alternation phenomena involving verbal particles (e.g., Svenonius 1996a; Thráinsson 2007). Such factors seem to be relevant in some Swedish particles as well, such as fossilised PPs (e.g., *till fånga* as in *ta till fånga* 'capture, lit. take to captive'). As noted in Section 2.2.2.3, some of the fossilised PPs have been described to be sensitive to the *type* of the object NP: when the object NP is an unaccented pronoun, the POC order is generally preferred, while when the object NP is a full noun phrase, the VPC order is preferred (Teleman et al. 1999, vol. 3, pp. 420–421). If we regard the REFL-PP as a kind of verbal particle and the overlap of the VPC and the POC as word order alternation, the same factor may be relevant for the distribution across the VPC and the POC.

In what follows, I focus specifically on the verbs *ha* 'have' and *få* 'get' to explore their usage in both constructions. The relatively high number of occurrences in both variants in the `Bringing` and `Dressing` pairs allows us a quantitative analysis in this regard.

Before proceeding, some limitations should be recapitulated. The small number of occurrences with *få* in the POC may restrict the scope of comparison. Furthermore, the original search queries (as described in Section 4.1.3) did not cover the full range of potential object NP varieties. For example, the search query was restricted to non-pronominal objects. Additionally, the search query for the POC was more restricted than for the VPC: it only extracted POC occurrences with an object NP that (i) consisted of up to three orthographical words; (ii) contained a prepositive article/attribute, if there was any; and (iii) was not conjoined to another NP. (see Section 4.1.3). To match these restrictions of the POC query, occurrences of the VPC with an object NP with certain properties are excluded in the current comparison, specifically (i) those exceeding three orthographical words; (ii) those containing any postpositive attribute (e.g., PP-attribute, as in *kläder från H&M* 'clothes from H&M'; or apposition, as in *sin kompis Robin* 'his/her/their friend Robin'); or (iii) those containing a conjugation (e.g., *jacka och skor* 'jacket and shoes'). As a result, the material in this section is limited to occurrences with a non-conjoined, non-pronominal object NP without a postpositive attribute, consisting of up to three orthographical words. This in effect restricts the object NP to those which contain at most one short modifier and a prepositive article, as in (6.22).

(6.22) en regnrock / Helenas hatt / en tight klänning / den berömda kepsen
a raincoat / Helena's hat / a tight dress / the famous cap-DEF
/ sin killes kalsong / ett par läderbyxor
/ POSS.REFL boyfriend's underpant / a pair leather-trousers

Table 6.4 shows the updated frequency distribution of *ha* and *få* in the overlapping pairs, after the exclusion described above.

Table 6.4. Frequency distribution of the verbs *ha* 'have' and *få* 'get' within the overlaps included in the quantitative comparison

	Bringing		Dressing	
Verb	VPC	POC	VPC	POC
ha	101	59	39	92
få	37	11	34	5

An examination in terms of the length of the object NP revealed a noteworthy tendency regarding the lexico-semantic overlaps, especially those involving the stative verb *ha* 'have'. In these overlaps, the length of the theme NP was significantly shorter in the VPC than in the POC. This is shown in the *Diff.* column in Table 6.5, which summarises the difference in mean theme NP lengths between the VPC and the POC. For the combination *ha*–`Bringing` (the top row), the mean NP length was 0.31 words shorter in the POC than in the VPC, and for the combination *ha*–`Dressing` (the second row), the difference was 0.43 words in the same direction; in both cases, the difference was statistically significant. By contrast, the theme NP differences for the overlaps involving the causative verb *få* were less pronounced, 0.14 and 0.21 for the combinations with *få* and `Bringing` and `Dressing`, respectively, and were not statistically significant.[76]

The mean length difference between the two constructions is attributed to the POC's stronger tendency toward a one-word object NP regarding the stative verb *ha*. See Figure 6.1, which plots the frequency of occurrences by orthographical length of the object, for each category grouped by verb (*ha* or *få*), frame (`Bringing` or `Dressing`), and construction type (VPC or POC). Compared to the VPC (light grey bars), which occurs most frequently with a two-word object NP, the POC (black bars) occurs most often with a one-word object NP.

This trend is particularly remarkable in the `Dressing` construction pair (top-left panel), where the POC occurs remarkably more often with a one-word NP than the VPC does. The POC occurs most often with a one-word NP (54

76. To assess whether the difference in object length is statistically significant, I carried out two-tailed Welch's *t*-tests for each contrastive VPC and POC pair with a specific verb–frame combination (with a significance level set at 5 %).

The test confirmed statistically significant differences for the contrastive pairs with the combination *ha*–`Bringing` ($t(135.6) = 2.97$, $p = 0.0035$, 95% CI $[0.10, 0.51]$) and *ha*–`Dressing` ($t(73.16) = 3.62$, $p = 0.0005$, 95% CI $[0.19, 0.67]$). For the combinations with the causative verb *få*, the difference was not statistically significant for either *få*-`Bringing` ($t(14.80) = 0.52$, $p = 0.61$, 95% CI $[-0.69, 0.42]$) or *få*–`Dressing` ($t(6.42) = 0.94$, $p = 0.38$, 95% CI $[-0.35, 0.76]$).

Note that the latter, non-significant, results may be due to limited statistical power resulting from the relatively small number of observations of the POC with the verb *få*.

Table 6.5. Mean lengths of object NP (within the range of 1 to 3, counted by orthographical word). The asterisk indicates a significant difference at $\alpha = 5\%$ using a two-tailed Welch's *t*-test. The figures in parentheses indicate the number of observations.

Verb	Frame	VPC	POC	Diff.
ha	Bringing	1.78 (101)	1.47 (59)	−0.31*
	Dressing	1.92 (39)	1.49 (92)	−0.43*
få	Bringing	1.86 (37)	2.00 (11)	0.14
	Dressing	1.41 (34)	1.20 (5)	−0.21

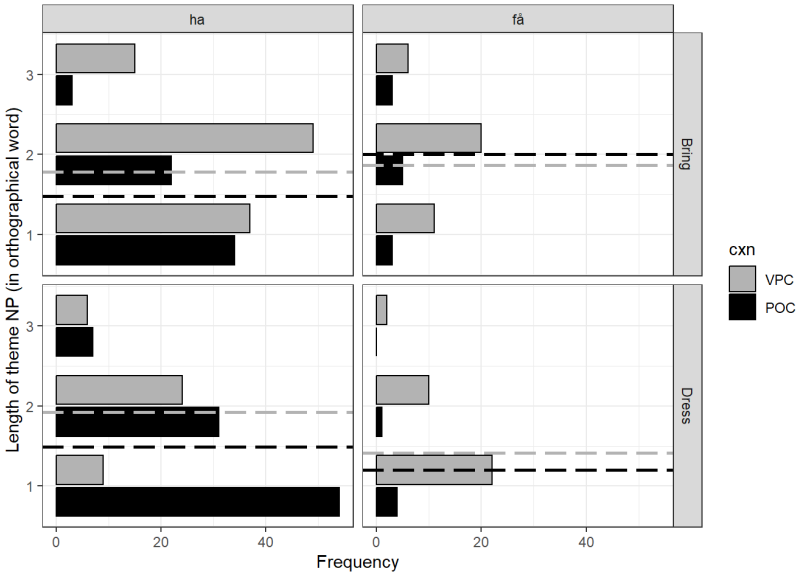

Figure 6.1. Frequency of observations by the length of the object NP. The rows indicate the construction pair (`Dressing` vis-à-vis `Bringing`), and the columns indicate the verb (stative *ha* vis-à-vis causative *få*). The *x*-axis maps the frequency of observations. The *y*-axis maps the length of the object NP. The bars are coloured by construction type, where the light grey bars represent the VPC and the black bars the POC. The horizontal broken lines with the corresponding colour indicate the mean length of the object NP for each construction.

out of 101 occurrences), while its VPC counterpart occurs most often with a two-word NP (24 times among 61 occurrences). For the `Bringing` construction pair (bottom-left panel), the POC occurs 32 times with a one-word NP among a total of 59 occurrences, compared to its VPC counterpart which occurs most often with a two-word NP (49 times among 100 occurrences).

The above indicates that, at least for the verb *ha*, the POC prefers a shorter object NP than the VPC.

Next, I explored the distribution of the definiteness of the object NP among the overlaps. To this end, I included possessed object NP (i.e., NP with a genitive modifier as in *hennes skor* 'her shoes') as a definite type, and compared the distribution of indefinite object NPs to definite/possessed object NPs.

Table 6.6 shows the distribution of indefinite object NPs and definite/possessed object NPs for each lexico-semantic pair. The difference in distribution concerning the definiteness was statistically significant for the `Dressing` construction pair with the stative verb *ha*, but not for the corresponding `Bringing` pair. For the causative verb *få*, the difference was statistically insignificant for both the construction pairs.[77]

Again, the latter test result should be interpreted with caution, as the number of observations for the causative verb *få* in the POC was exceedingly small.

Table 6.6. Frequency of the object NP by definiteness (indefinite vis-à-vis definite/possessed). The 'Indef. (%)' column presents the percentage of indefinite object NPs out of the total in the given combination of verb (given under the 'Verb' column) and construction type (given under the 'Construction type' column) within a given frame (i.e., `Bringing` or `Dressing`). The asterisk indicates a significant difference in the distribution of definiteness between the VPC and the POC on the construction pair level ($\alpha = 5\%$).

		Bringing			Dressing		
Verb	Construction type	Indef.	Def.	Indef. (%)	Indef.	Def.	Indef. (%)
ha	VPC (*ha* ***med/på sig*** NP)	67	34	66.3	27	12	69.2
	POC (*ha* NP ***med/på sig***)	36	23	61.0	81	11	88.0*
få	VPC (*få* ***med/på sig*** NP)	24	13	64.9	14	20	41.2
	POC (*få* NP ***med/på sig***)	8	3	72.7	3	2	60.0

77. To assess whether the distribution of definiteness (i.e., indefinite or definite/possessed) differed significantly depending on construction type (i.e., VPC and POC), I carried out a two-sided Fisher's exact test for each contrastive pair of the VPC and the POC with a specific verb–frame combination (with a significance level set at 5 %).

The p-values returned by this test for each pair are as follows: $p = 0.50$ for the contrastive pair with *ha*–`Bringing`; $p = 0.01$ for *ha*–`Dressing`; $p = 0.73$ for *få*–`Bringing`; $p = 0.64$ for *få*–`Dressing`.

The analysis above indicates that the POC variant of the specific lexico-semantic pair with *ha*–`Dressing` is strongly associated with an indefinite theme NP compared to a definite/possessed object NP. This tendency toward an indefinite NP in this specific type of the POC may be found to be somewhat surprising considering that the POC order is rather often associated with a definite object NP in the particle alternation literature (see Section 2.1.3 above).

However, combining the definiteness variable and the length variable reveals a more nuanced picture concerning this specific subtype of the POC. Earlier in the section, it was observed that the `Dressing` pair with the stative verb *ha* shows remarkable preferences toward an object NP that is (i) one word and (ii) indefinite. These two tendencies seem to be interrelated. Figure 6.2 plots the frequency of occurrences of the lexico-semantic pairs with *ha*, grouped by length and definiteness, with each panel representing a specific combination of construction and frame (e.g., `Bringing`-VPC, `Bringing`-POC, etc.). The plot for the `Dressing`-POC (bottom-right) shows that this combination occurred remarkably often with a one-word indefinite object, indicated by the distinct length of the bottom black bar.

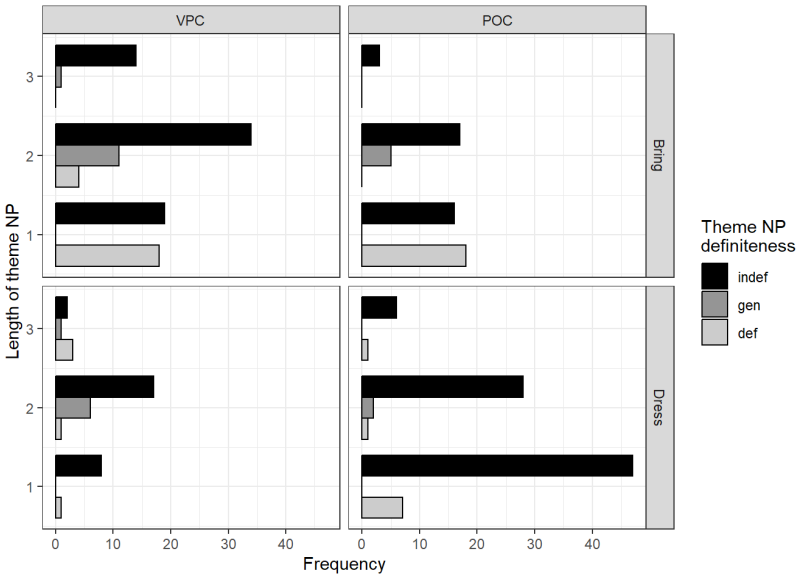

Figure 6.2. Frequency of observations by length and definiteness of the object NP with the verb *ha*. The *x*-axis maps the frequency of observations and the *y*-axis the length of the object NP (1 to 3). The bars are coloured by the definiteness of the object NP, where the light grey bars represent a definite object NP ('def'), the dark grey bars a possessed object NP ('gen'), and the black bars an indefinite object NP ('ind').

The preference toward an indefinite one-word object NP can be reformulated as a preference toward a bare noun – i.e., an unmodified indefinite NP, without a prepositive article, which is otherwise obligatory for a singular noun. Examples with singular bare noun are shown in (6.23) and (6.24), with *skinnjacka* 'leather jacket' and *hjälm* 'helmet' as their object, respectively. The sentence in (6.25) also includes an indefinite one-word object, but here it is in plural (*kläder* 'clothes'), a context where the indefinite article does not occur. Note that some nouns associated with clothes are often used in plural even when a single item of clothing or a single accessory is referred to (e.g., *skor* 'shoe.PL.INDF'; *byxor* 'trouser.PL.INDF'; *kläder* 'clothe.PL.INDF').

(6.23) Typ som att *ha* *skinnjacka* ***på*** ***sig*** istället för
like as to have leather-jacket.SG.INDF on REFL instead for
vinterjacka
winter-jacket.SG.INDF
'Like having a leather jacket on instead of a winter jacket'

(6.24) Han valde på egen risk att inte *ha* *hjälm* ***på*** ***sig***
he chose on own risk to not have helmet.SG.INDF on REFL
'He chose at his own risk not to wear a helmet'

(6.25) Att *ha* *sommarkläder* ***på*** ***sig*** idag är nog ganska
to have summer-clothe.PL.INDF on REFL today is probably quite
opassande
inappropriate
'To have summer clothes on today is probably quite inappropriate'

This tendency toward a bare noun object may accompany a semantic bearing. As bare nominals are typically associated with reduced referentiality, the object of these sentences does not refer to any specific piece of clothes but rather a specific *type* of clothing (cf., Teleman et al. 1999, vol. 3, pp. 178–180; Dahl 2004, p. 217). Thus, the object *skinnjacka* in the sentence in (6.23) does not concern any specific token of leather jacket, but rather leather jacket as a type, which is contrasted to winter jacket (as the immediate context shows). In the sentence in (6.24), what is conceived of as risk is not wearing a helmet in general, rather than a specific token of helmet. Likewise, what is considered "inappropriate" in the sentence in (6.25) is wearing a type of clothing categorised as "summer clothes", rather than any specific piece of summer clothing.

Note, however, that bare noun objects are not exclusive to the POC. Bare noun objects can similarly occur in the VPC counterpart, as shown in (6.26).

(6.26) Han bad självmant om att *ha* ***på*** ***sig*** *skjorta*
he asked voluntarily about to have on REFL shirt.SG.INDF
'He voluntarily asked to put on a shirt'

What is crucial here is a distinct preference of the POC of this particular lexico-semantic pair involving Dressing and the stative verb *ha*. This lexico-semantically specific preference for the POC suggests a qualitative difference to the other members of the recurrent overlaps. Possibly, the tendency for the bare object may be considered a part of the distinct characteristics that define this verb-specific construction, that is, the Dressing-POC with the verb *ha*. Furthermore, this characteristic of this verb-specific POC can be related to other verb-object-specific, idiomatic POCs described in the previous chapter, such as *göra väsen av sig* ('make noise', lit. 'make noise.INDF of oneself') and *lägga band på sig* ('restrain oneself', lit. 'put band.INDF on oneself'). I discuss this analysis further in the next chapter.

In summary, the two construction pairs with the stative verb *ha*, associated with Dressing and Bringing, showed a similar preference in that they both preferred a shorter object NP in the POC than in the VPC. Furthermore, the Dressing-POC with the stative verb *ha* in particular showed a distinct preference toward a bare NP object, i.e., a one-word indefinite object. This distinct preference, manifesting the general tendency of the POC toward a fixed object NP, may be a part of the characteristics ascribable to this lexico-semantically specific POC as a distinct verb-specific construction.

6.3 Comparison of the acceptability of the recurrent overlaps

This section presents the acceptability judgement data of the recurrent overlaps involving Bringing and Dressing.

As described in Section 4.2, the aim of employing acceptability data is to investigate the extent to which these potentially overlapping subconstructions are conventional in the speech community in general. Three dimensions are of particular interest to me. First, I am interested in whether and to what degree the subconstructions compare in acceptability. An acceptability difference between what appears to be paraphrases – such as *ha med sig väskan* vs. *ha väskan med sig* – would clearly indicate that the conditions of use are not equivalent for the specific contrastive pair. Because low frequency in the corpus does not entail lack of conventionality, I am particularly interested in the acceptability of the POC variants, which were generally infrequent except for the combinations with *ha* (see Tables 6.2 and 6.3). Are the low-frequency POC variants as acceptable as the high-frequency VPC variants? Second, I am interested in the number of distinct verbs that the respective subconstructions can accommodate, or in other words, how productive the subconstructions are. Third, although not investigated as systematically as the former two dimensions, I explore the

acceptability distribution across participants to identify potential item-specific effects that could be informative for characterising the constructions.

The study included four distinct verbs per construction pair. First, I selected all the verbs observed in both variants within each construction pair: *ha*, *ta*, *få*, and *bära* for `Bringing`, and *ha* and *få* for `Dressing`. To supplement the `Dressing` construction pair, I added two more verbs. One of these two verbs was *ta*, whose inclusion ensured that the three most frequent verbs across both the VPC and the POC were represented in both construction pairs. Additionally, I selected *sätta* 'put' because it is semantically relatively generic and the fourth most frequent verb in the `Dressing`-VPC. Although it never co-occurred in the `Dressing`-POC, its semantic genericity and high frequency aligned with the other verbs that were observed in both `Dressing`-subconstructions, making it comparable to the other high-frequency verbs studied. Illustrations of the target sentences for this study are presented in (6.27) for the `Bringing` pair and (6.28) for the `Dressing` pair. The a-examples represent VPC sentences, and the b-examples represent POC sentences.

(6.27) a. Elin {*hade* / *tog* / *fick* / *bar*} ***med sig*** *bagaget* (VPC)
E. {had / took / got / carried} with REFL luggage-DEF

b. Elin {*hade* / *tog* / *fick* / *bar*} *bagaget* ***med sig*** (POC)

(6.28) a. Lars {*hade* / *tog* / *fick* / *satte*} ***på sig*** *jackan* (VPC)
L. {had / took / got / put} on REFL jacket-DEF

b. Lars {*hade* / *tog* / *fick* / *satte*} *jackan* ***på sig*** (POC)

The range of the lexico-semantic combinations included in the acceptability judgement study was certainly small in relation to the whole range of the logically possible lexico-semantic combinations of constructions with a REFL-PP. However, the number of types in the test needed to be balanced with practical considerations: a greater number of items requires either more effort for the participants or the recruitment of more participants. To address the research question (RQ2) that concerns possible overlaps between the VPC and the POC, I prioritised lexico-semantic combinations which were more likely to be accepted in both constructions. To this end, I selected semantically generic verbs, since they were the most likely to be accepted in both the VPC and the POC, at least to some extent, based on the observed distribution in my corpus data.

In the following, I present the results from the acceptability judgement study. The section is organised as follows: Section 6.3.1 presents the main results concerning the acceptability comparison between the VPC and the POC and Section 6.3.2 discusses other item-specific acceptability patterns that may be interesting.

6.3.1 The difference in acceptability between the VPC and the POC

A comparison of the acceptability ratings for VPC and POC sentences exhibited a contrast between those including the stative verb *ha* 'have' and those including other, non-stative/dynamic verbs (e.g., *ta*, *få*).

Tables 6.7 and 6.8 provide aggregate acceptability statistics of the target sentences. The columns 'VPC' and 'POC' present the mean acceptability rating for the VPC and POC sentences, with standard deviation in parentheses. The column 'Diff.' shows the difference in mean acceptability rating between the VPCs and the POCs, where significant differences are marked with an asterisk.[78]

Table 6.7. The acceptability ratings for the `Bringing` pair by verb

Verb	VPC *V* ***med sig*** *bagaget*	POC *V bagaget* ***med sig***	Diff.
ha	4.87 (0.41)	4.83 (0.57)	0.03
ta	4.93 (0.28)	4.75 (0.65)	0.18*
få	4.75 (0.56)	4.34 (0.95)	0.41*
bära	4.50 (0.82)	4.09 (1.06)	0.41*

Table 6.8. The acceptability ratings for the `Dressing` pair by verb

Verb	VPC *V* ***på sig*** *jackan*	POC *V jackan* ***på sig***	Diff.
ha	4.74 (0.67)	4.72 (0.62)	0.02
ta	4.95 (0.29)	3.15 (1.32)	1.80*
få	4.67 (0.72)	3.22 (1.26)	1.44*
sätta	4.89 (0.41)	3.20 (1.20)	1.69*

The acceptability rating of the sentences with the stative verb *ha* was consistently high, regardless of construction type – i.e., the VPC or the POC – and preposition – i.e., *med* or *på*, associated with the frame of `Bringing` or `Dressing`, respectively. Accordingly, the difference in acceptability rating between the

78. A paired-samples two-tailed t-test was carried out to compare each construction pair with a specific V-P combination (as described in Section 4.2.5). The specific values generated from these tests are reported below, with all values rounded to two decimal places.

For the `Bringing` pairs: with *ha*, $t(208) = 0.80$, 95 % CI $= [-0.05, 0.12]$, $p = 0.43$; with *ta*, $t(208) = 3.97$, 95 % CI $= [0.09, 0.26]$, $p < 0.05$; with *få*, $t(208) = 6.82$, 95 % CI $= [0.29, 0.52]$, $p < 0.05$; and with *bära*, $t(208) = 6.46$, 95 % CI $= [0.29, 0.54]$, $p < 0.05$.

For the `Dressing` pairs: with *ha*, $t(208) = 0.32$, 95 % CI $= [-0.10, 0.14]$, $p = 0.75$; with *ta*, $t(208) = 19.36$, 95 % CI $= [1.62, 1.98]$, $p < 0.05$; with *få*, $t(208) = 16.75$, 95 % CI $= [1.27, 1.62]$, $p < 0.05$; and with *sätta*, $t(208) = 19.79$, 95 % CI $= [1.53, 1.86]$, $p < 0.05$.

VPC and the POC variants involving *ha* was exceedingly small (below 0.03) and statistically insignificant ($p < 0.05$) for both the `Bringing` and `Dressing` pairs. That is, `Bringing`-VPC sentences such as *Elin hade med sig bagaget* (lit. 'E. had with REFL luggage-DEF') were as acceptable as POC sentences such as *Elin hade bagaget med sig*. Similarly, `Dressing`-VPC sentences such as *Lars hade på sig jackan* (lit. 'L. had on REFL jacket-DEF') were as acceptable as POC sentences such as *Lars hade jackan på sig*. The construction pairs with these specific V-P combination ({*ha med*} and {*ha på*}) seem equally highly conventional, which aligns with the high frequency of these types.

In contrast, construction pairs involving non-stative/dynamic verbs exhibit relatively small, yet significant differences in acceptability rating. As opposed to the consistently highly acceptable VPC variants, their POC counterparts were significantly less acceptable, which can be described as a decline in acceptability. For example, compared to VPC sentences such as *Elin tog med sig bagaget* (E. took with REFL luggage-DEF), the POC counterparts such as *Elin tog bagaget med sig* were less acceptable.

In addition, the magnitude of difference in acceptability rating varied among the construction pairs with dynamic verbs. The differences in acceptability rating were more pronounced between the `Dressing` construction pairs – which ranged between 1.4 and 1.8 – than between the `Bringing` construction pairs – ranging between 0.2 and 0.4. In other words, the decline in acceptability rating for POC sentences was more pronounced between the dynamic `Dressing` pairs than between the dynamic `Bringing` pairs.

The acceptability relation described above can be roughly illustrated as in (6.29–6.30). The '$\approx$' symbol between examples indicates an insignificant difference in acceptability rating between the sentence types, and the symbols '$>$' and '$\gg$' indicate that the sentence type to the right is significantly less acceptable than that to the left, where '$\gg$' indicates a larger magnitude of difference than '$>$'.

(6.29) The `Bringing` pair

a. Stative (*ha*)
Elin *hade* ***med sig*** *bagaget* (VPC) $\approx$ Elin *hade bagaget* ***med sig*** (POC)

b. Dynamic (*ta, få, bära*)
Elin *tog* ***med sig*** *bagaget* (VPC) $>$ Elin *tog bagaget* ***med sig*** (POC)

(6.30) The `Dressing` pair

a. Stative (*ha*)
Lars *hade* ***på sig*** *jackan* (VPC) $\approx$ Lars *hade jackan* ***på sig*** (POC)

b. Dynamic (*ta, få, sätta*)
Lars *tog* ***på sig*** *jackan* (VPC) $\gg$ *Lars tog jackan* ***på sig*** (POC)

Notably, while the POC variants were rated lower than their VPC counterparts (except for those containing *ha*), their acceptability ratings were not exceedingly low in absolute terms. Since the acceptability ratings of the target sentences were on the higher end (ceiling) of the scale, the decline in acceptability rating is mainly due to a greater dispersion of acceptability ratings toward the lower end of the rating scale. This is illustrated in Figure 6.3, which plots the frequency of each rating point across participants, grouped by V-P combination (4 verbs * 2 prepositions) and construction type (VPC vs. POC). Each column corresponds to a single verb item (*ha*, *ta*, *få*, and *bära*/*sätta*), and each row corresponds to a single preposition (*med* and *på*, associated with `Bringing` and `Dressing`). Construction types (VPC vs. POC) are represented by different shades of grey.

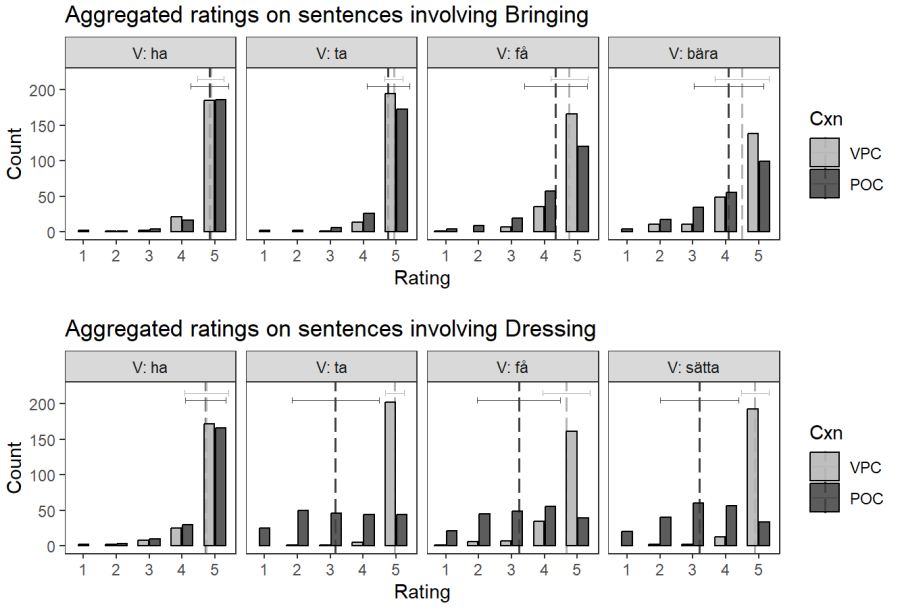

Figure 6.3. Acceptability ratings of the target sentences

For both the VPC and the POC, most ratings cluster at the highest point of the rating scale. The mean acceptability rating remained above the scale's midpoint (i.e., 3) and above the mean for the whole data set, including the fillers ($M = 2.88$, $SD = 1.75$). The decline in acceptability rating is represented where the POC ratings are less extremely skewed to the high end and are more dispersed. This acceptability decline is more remarkable in the `Dressing` pair (bottom row), where the ratings are distributed more or less evenly across the rating scale for the POC variants. In comparison, the decline is less remarkable for the `Bringing` sentences. The difference is especially tangible in

the combinations with the verb *ta* (the second panel from the left in the top row). Nevertheless, the difference in acceptability rating are statistically significant for all the pairs containing the verbs other than *ha*.

The moderate acceptability of the least acceptable subset of the Dressing-POC (as exemplified in 6.30b) can be compared to the low acceptability of the filler items. The fillers which were designed to elicit intermediate acceptability serve as a critical point of reference. Their mean acceptability turned out to be surprisingly low with a mean of 1.64 and a standard deviation of 0.96. Particularly, sentences involving deviant word orders of the particle/PP and the object, such as *Jan hällde i koppen kaffet* (instead of the more conventional formulation *Jan hällde kaffet i koppen*), received mean ratings below 2.0 with low dispersion ($SD < 1$),[79] indicating that participants rated these sentences consistently low. The POC sentences, by contrast, yielded much higher mean ratings and higher dispersion, indicating that participants' ratings on them varied rather than clustered at one point of the rating scale.

While the dynamic Bringing-POC's slight (yet significant) decline in acceptability rating may be attributed to their relative infrequency compared to the VPC variant, the source of this moderate acceptability (resulting from high dispersion) of the dynamic Dressing-POC is not immediately clear. For the present, I interpret the dynamic Dressing-POC's moderate acceptability as indicating the absence of a conventional construction to licence – or categorise – these expressions as proper instances of the POC. The Dressing-POC as a conventional construction is limited to the verb *ha*, and therefore it cannot properly categorise expressions with other verbs.

It should be noted that it is possible that some participants may have rated some sentences based on interpretations other than those intended by the study's design. The combination {*få på*} in the POC, as in *Lars fick jackan på sig* may be particularly susceptible to readings unrelated to the Dressing frame. For example, the sentence may be interpreted as describing an event in which Lars got a jacket on him in an adversative manner by getting it thrown against him or the like, in a similar way as what I described as Getting_exposed_to_spill (e.g., *han fick vatten på sig* 'he got water on him'; see Section 5.2.4.3). While I cannot definitely identify whether any participant interpreted the sentences in such an unrelated reading from the ratings, I do not see anything particularly striking in the responses to the POC sentences with {*få på*} compared to *på*-POC sentences with other dynamic verbs. Therefore, I assume that the participants largely rated these sentences as intended by the design.

79. Other fillers of this type of deviation include *Erik slog mjölken upp i glaset* (instead of the more conventional formulation *Erik slog upp mjölken i glaset*) and *Peter slog upp i glaset vinet* (instead of *Peter slog upp vinet i glaset*).

I return to the interpretation of acceptability ratings of the dynamic POCs in Section 7.2.

6.3.2 Exploration of lexical effects

This section explores whether certain acceptability patterns, beyond those discussed above, may be attributed to specific lexical verbs.

6.3.2.1 The verb *ta* 'take' as the VPCs' prototypical verb

We have seen that the VPC sentences were rated highly acceptable regardless of the verb. Among these VPC combinations, the generic verb *ta* 'take' seems to have a distinct status. The verb *ta* was most consistently acceptable in the VPC, rated almost invariably a 5. Table 6.9 summarises the acceptability, grouped by verb and construction type, dropping the preposition variable.[80] The high consistency of *ta* is reflected in its mean rating and standard deviation, the former being 4.94, which is quite high, and the latter 0.28, which is quite small. This is even remarkable when comparing it to the stative verb *ha* 'have', whose acceptability rating dispersed more, if only slightly, in both contexts. The VPC sentences with the verb *ta* were rated as a 5 ("totally natural") in the VPC in 95 % of responses, compared to 85 % for the verb *ha*. Although the practical significance of this minor difference in rating pattern remains unclear, these figures suggest that the verb *ta* is the most prototypical verb for the VPC in denoting both `Bringing` and `Dressing`.

Table 6.9. Mean ratings grouped by verb and construction type. The figures inside parentheses indicate standard deviations. The 'Diff.' column presents the row-wise difference between the mean ratings of the VPC and the POC sentences. All the figures are rounded to two decimal places.

Verb	VPC	POC	Diff.
ha	4.80 (0.56)	4.78 (0.60)	0.03
ta	4.94 (0.28)	3.95 (1.31)	0.99
få	4.71 (0.65)	3.78 (1.25)	0.93
sätta / bära	4.70 (0.68)	3.65 (1.22)	1.05

The high acceptability of the non-stative/dynamic verb *ta* in the VPC can also be compared to that of another generic causative verb *få* 'get' (setting aside *sätta/bära*). These two verbs, both being non-stative/dynamic and both fairly

80. Note that the verbs *sätta* 'put' and *bära* 'carry' were each tested with only one of the two construction pairs: the former with Bringing and the latter with Dressing. For simplicity of presentation, I have combined these two verbs into a single row as *sätta / bära* in Table 6.9.

generic in meaning, seem to serve a similar function. Yet, the latter verb *få* in the VPC received a slightly lower rating than the former. Admitting that this slight difference may be due to chance, it could also be related to the lower semantic plausibility of the situation denoted by the sentences with *få*. As pointed out by Viberg (2002, 2012), VPC sentences with *få* carry an added nuance in meaning compared to those with *ta*. Viberg (2012, p. 1449) notes specifically the following:

> [A] trivial act like putting on or taking off one's clothes is in the normal case described with the verb *ta* 'take': *ta på sig kläderna* lit. 'take on oneself the clothes' or *ta av sig kläderna* 'take off oneself the clothes'[.] If *få* is substituted for *ta* in the same construction, the implication is that there is some problem [. . .] indicated in the context.

Thus, he observes, VPC sentences with *få* (*fick* in past form) such as *han fick inte på sig skorna* presuppose a "rather subtle shade of meaning" involving an "active attempt", which thus translates to English as 'he didn't manage to put on his shoes', compared to the corresponding sentences with *ta* such as *han tog inte på sig skorna* 'he didn't put on his shoes'. Accordingly, the added nuance of the verb *få* in the VPC usage may have led some participants to lower their ratings on such sentences due to the mismatch between the rather trivial action of dressing and the active attempt modality presupposed by this verb.

In short, the consistently high acceptability of both the `Bringing` and `Dressing` VPC combined with the verb *ta* 'take', likely attributable to its prototypicality and semantic neutrality within these VPCs, highlights a strong association between this particular verb and these VPCs.

6.3.2.2 The animacy of the theme object in the Bringing pairs

The acceptability ratings of the `Bringing` sentences with the verbs *få* 'get' and *bära* 'carry' varied slightly more than those with the verbs *ha* and *ta*. As evident from the plots in the top row in Figure 6.3, the acceptability ratings are more dispersed in the two right panels involving *få* and *bära* than in the left two involving *ha* and *ta*. Likewise, in Table 6.7, the standard deviation (*SD*) values for the combinations with *få* and *bära* are the highest among the figures in the 'VPC' and 'POC' columns, correspondingly resulting in the lowest mean acceptability ratings in these cases.

Their relative variability in ratings may be attributed to the animacy of the theme NP, although the study did not strictly control for this variable. For each list of target sentences involving `Bringing`-VPC and `Bringing`-POC, four verbs (viz., *ha*, *ta*, *få*, and *bära*) were combined with four distinct objects varying in animacy. Two of these were animate nominals (*barnen* 'the children'

and *hunden* 'the dog') and two were inanimate nominals (*bagaget* 'the luggage' and *värdesakerna* 'the valuables'). Note, however, that no participant saw the same verb combined with both an animate and an inanimate theme among the Bringing sentences. Instead, participants saw either a set of sentences in which *ha* and *ta* were combined with inanimate themes and *få* and *bära* with animate ones, or vice versa.

Keeping this caveat in mind, grouping the responses by theme animacy reveals a pronounced difference for the verbs *få* and *bära*. For Bringing sentences with these verbs, the acceptability improved when the sentences with an inanimate theme were analysed separately, as opposed to the sentences with animate themes whose acceptability decreased. Specifically, VPC sentences with an animate theme, such as *Karin fick med sig barnet* (lit. 'Karin got with oneself the children'), were numerically less acceptable than those with an inanimate theme, such as *Karin fick med sig bagaget* (lit. 'Karin got with oneself the luggage'). The same applies to the POC sentences – POC sentences with an animate theme, such as *Karin fick barnet med sig* were less acceptable than those with an inanimate theme, such as *Karin fick bagaget med sig*. In contrast, for Bringing sentences with the other two verbs, i.e., *ha* and *ta*, acceptability did not vary remarkably across animacy.

Table 6.10 highlights this theme animacy effect for *få* and *bära* (bottom two rows) in contrast to *ha* and *ta* (top two rows). This is shown in the 'Diff.' columns as the difference in acceptability rating between the theme animacy conditions ('Inanim.' vs. 'Anim.'). While the acceptability for *ha* and *ta* remains relatively stable across all the verb–construction combinations regardless of theme animacy, with differences smaller than 0.1, the difference for *få* and *bära* exceed 0.3 for every combination. This effect is even more pronounced in the POC, where the differences in acceptability based on animacy are as high as 0.47.

Table 6.10. Mean acceptability rating summarised by theme animacy for each verb–construction combination

	VPC			POC		
Verb	Inanim.	Anim.	Diff.	Inanim.	Anim.	Diff.
ha	4.82	4.91	0.09	4.79	4.88	0.08
ta	4.93	4.92	0.01	4.77	4.73	0.04
få	4.91	4.58	0.33	4.57	4.11	0.45
bära	4.68	4.33	0.35	4.32	3.86	0.47

The observed difference in acceptability ratings related to theme animacy is puzzling. Intuitively, both *få* and *bära* should be semantically compatible with an animate theme to express an event of bringing people. In fact, these verbs can

select an animate theme as an object for this purpose, as shown in (6.31–6.32).

(6.31) Det finns väl bensin så det räcker för i eftermiddag [...] men
it exist probably gasoline so it suffice for in afternoon but
hur ska jag kunna *få barnen till skolan* imorgon?
how will I be.able.to get children-DEF to school-DEF tomorrow?
'There's enough petrol for this afternoon, but how am I going to get the children to school tomorrow morning?' (Viberg 2002, p. 144, modified)

(6.32) Den sista biten fick de *bära henne*
DEF last part-DEF got they carry her
'The last part they had to carry her' (*SSB*)

Why, then, are *få* and *bära* in the `Bringing` constructions found to be less acceptable with an animate theme object? This preference may stem from the specific lexical nuances contributed by these verbs, which made the sentences pragmatically odd, though semantically sensical. The verb *få* 'get' may add a nuance of "active attempt" in the VPC – as already described in the previous section – but also in other syntactic contexts where the verb is construed as an "object-centred motion verb" (Viberg 2002, pp. 143–144) as in (6.31). The verb *bära* 'carry' may denote a more specific manner of bringing, namely, supporting the weight (as in English *carry*). These more specific meanings may have resulted in a slight mismatch with animate themes (such as children and a dog), which do not lend themselves to being carried as easily as inanimate objects (such as luggage and valuables). Consequently, the observed theme animacy effect may be a product of the specific verb-object combination, independent of the construction.

6.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have examined the lexico-semantic overlaps observed in the corpus to address the second research question (RQ2): *to what extent do the VPC and the POC overlap lexico-semantically, and to what extent are the overlaps similar in usage?* Throughout the chapter, I have discussed whether the overlaps, which contrast formally in word order, involve any remarkable differences in meaning or usage.

The overlaps, whether occasional or recurrent, do not reveal any remarkable semantic difference between the variants, setting aside semantic difference due to polysemy (e.g., *ha hela organisationen med sig*) and with {*slita av*} 'tear off' as an exception. Based on their low frequency in both token and type and the lack of entries in the reference dictionaries, occasional overlaps are interpreted as incidental, resulting from the non-conventional usage of the infrequent variant.

Investigations into the recurrent overlaps involving Bringing (e.g., *ta med sig väskan* vs. *ta väskan med sig*) and Dressing (e.g., *ta på sig tröjan* vs. *ta tröjan på sig*) revealed clear quantitative differences. The usage conditions for the VPC variant and the POC variant are not entirely equivalent, particularly regarding the object property (for the combination with the verb *ha*) and degrees of acceptability (for the combinations with dynamic verbs). In general, the use of the POC variant is more constrained than the VPC variant in various aspects.

As the statistical analysis of the corpus data demonstrated, the POC variant involving the stative verb *ha* 'have' (e.g., *ha med sig väskan* vs. *ha väskan med sig* and *ha på sig tröjan* vs. *ha tröjan på sig*) tends to occur with significantly shorter object NPs than its VPC counterpart. Notably, the Dressing-POC frequently occurs with a bare noun NP (e.g., *ha skinnjacka på sig* 'have leather-jacket.SG.INDF' on REFL'). These preferences, particularly the tendency of the Dressing-POC with *ha* to take a bare noun NP, can be interpreted as evidence that this pattern is conventionalised as a V-P specific construction with a specific word order, in a comparable manner to other POC subconstructions.

Acceptability judgement data further revealed differences in the degree of acceptability among the recurrent overlaps. While the pair involving the stative verb *ha* was consistently rated highly acceptable, the POC variant for non-stative verbs, (e.g., *ta*, *få*) was rated significantly lower than the VPC counterparts. For example, expressions of the type *ta väskan med sig* were less acceptable than the type *ta med sig väskan*, and expressions of the type *ta tröjan på sig* was less acceptable than the type *ta på sig tröjan*.

Furthermore, acceptability varied notably among the dynamic POCs: the dynamic Dressing-POCs (e.g., *ta tröjan på sig*) were slightly less acceptable than the dynamic Bringing-POCs (e.g., *ta väskan med sig*). This variation in acceptability indicates that productivity varies among these POCs as subconstructions, i.e., that the Dressing-POC as a whole is less readily extended to verbs other than *ha* than the Bringing-POC. While the difference in acceptability rating *between* the VPC and POC variants involving these verbs was expected based on the corpus data, that is, the infrequency of the POC variant, the difference *among* the dynamic POCs requires further explanation.

Exploration of the data suggests that specific lexical verbs also influence acceptability. The consistently high acceptability of the combinations of the verb *ta* 'take' and the VPC (such as in *ta med sig bagaget* and *ta på sig jackan*) indicates that this verb is prototypical for the VPC variant. In addition, in the Bringing constructions, the verbs, rather than the constructions, appear responsible for the theme animacy effect. That is, except for *ha* and *ta*, the acceptability varied between inanimate themes (as in *få med sig bagaget* and *få bagaget med sig* 'get the luggage with oneself') and animate themes (as in *få med sig barnet* and *få barnet med sig* 'get the children with oneself'), suggesting

that certain lexical features of the verb play a substantial role independent of the constructions, at least among the Bringing constructions.

In conclusion, while the recurrent overlaps involving Bringing and Dressing can be considered an alternation at the level of convention, most pairs exhibit constraints tied to specific subconstructions, in particular the POC variant.

In the next chapter, I discuss how these empirical findings can be synthesised to account for the interrelation between the VPC and the POC within a constructional network.

7 Constructional relations between the VPC and the POC

In Chapters 5 and 6, I showed that the VPC and the POC are largely distinct families of constructions, associated with lexico-semantic combinations that are unique to one or the other. Based on these results, we can assume that the choice between the constructions is mostly predetermined by the type of situation (at the level of semantic frame) that language users intend to describe in the usage context. For example, when a language user intends to describe a type of event in which someone takes off a jacket – an event involving the `Undressing` frame, which is uniquely associated with the *av*-VPC – it is most appropriate to use a VPC expression such as *ta av sig jackan* ('take off REFL jacket-DEF'). The corresponding POC expression *ta jackan av sig* would be a less likely alternative, at least when s/he intends to conform to conventional usage in (standard) Swedish.

On the other hand, we also found lexico-semantic overlaps at a conventional and highly specific level involving the frames of `Bringing` and `Dressing`. Viewed against the general characteristics of the VPC and the POC, these overlaps stem from the existence of exceptional members within these two constructional families: the overlaps involving the stative verb *ha* stems from the exceptional existence of the stative VPC within the prototypically resultative VPC, while the overlap involving dynamic verbs stems from the exceptional existence of the dynamic POC within the prototypically stative POC. In the following, I narrow down the recurrent overlaps into two categories: those involving the stative verb *ha* and those involving dynamic verbs. I discuss how these overlaps can be understood in terms of interrelation between the VPC and the POC within a constructional network. By doing so, I aim to address the third research question (RQ3): *how and at which level of schematicity are the VPC and the POC related?*

The chapter is organised as follows. In Section 7.1, I discuss the exceptional status of the stative VPC, followed by a discussion on the exceptional status of the dynamic POC in Section 7.2. In Section 7.3, I examine how these overlaps can be interpreted in terms of horizontal relations. Specifically, I discuss horizontal relations in terms of whether the VPC and the POC are equivalent at any level and whether, and if so, how, they are related as allostructions.

7.1 The stative verb *ha*

This section discusses the lexico-semantic overlaps involving the stative verb *ha*, which is exemplified by sentence pairs such as *hon hade med sig en kompis* vs. *hon hade en kompis med sig* 'she brought a friend' (involving `Bringing`) and *han hade på sig pyjamas* vs. *han hade pyjamas på sig* 'he was wearing pajamas' (involving `Dressing`). The VPC variant and the POC variant do not appear to contrast semantically (see Sections 6.2.1.1 and 6.2.1.2). Also, they both seem conventional, as indicated by their relatively high token frequency (as shown in Tables 6.2 and 6.3) as well as their invariably high acceptability rating (see Section 6.3.1).

As discussed in Section 5.1.5, the existence of the stative VPC is particularly crucial. The stative VPC with the stative verb *ha* comprises a verb-specific exception within the general VPC, which is prototypically resultative. To put it differently, this stative overlap is preconditioned by the existence of the stative VPC with *ha*. In this sense, it aligns with the previous observation by Teleman et al. (1999, vol. 3, p. 433) that the paraphrasability between the VPC and the POC is lexically determined.

On the other hand, we also found that the stative VPC variant and the stative POC variant are not entirely equivalent in their tendency regarding the length of the object: as described in Section 6.2.2, stative POC tend to be used with a one-word object NP more often than their VPC counterparts. I also discussed that the stative `Dressing`-POC is specifically inclined to the use with a bare-noun object, a distribution which indicates its tendency toward objects with reduced referentiality, such as in *ha skinnjacka på sig* 'have leather-jacket on REFL'. From this formal tendency, I argued that at least the stative `Dressing`-POC can be analysed as a verb-specific construction, conventionalised with a tendency toward this particular usage with a bare-noun object.

The tendencies of the stative POCs regarding the form of the object are possibly motivated by the general word order tendency in the Swedish verb phrase, in a similar way to English (compare to an analysis of transitive particle verbs by Goldberg 2016, discussed in Section 3.3.3). The tendency for POCs to occur with a one-word object NP seems to be motivated by the general information-structural tendency of the Swedish verb phrase in which a heavier (i.e., longer, more complex, stressed, or more rhematic) element is positioned later in the clause (Teleman et al. 1999, vol. 4, p. 554): an object that is heavier than a REFL-PP, which is always two words, would be preferably placed after the REFL-PP, yielding the VPC order.

What, then, motivates the existence of the stative VPC? One possible explanation is the productivity of the subconstructions of the VPC, derived from their variability: since both the `Bringing`- and the `Dressing`-VPC are highly

lexically variable, they could be extended to the stative verb *ha* as an exception. However, the productivity of the VPC cannot be the sole explanation, since it does not account for why there do not exist more VPC subconstructions with stative verbs other than the `Bringing`-VPC and the `Dressing`-VPC. For example, one could as well say *jag har av mig ringen* (lit. 'I have off REFL ring-DEF') to express that one is not wearing a ring for the moment, extending the relatively productive `Undressing` subconstruction with *ha*. This particular formulation does not seem to be readily accepted by native speakers of Swedish, at least not as a conventional formulation in standard Swedish.

While my data do not provide a sufficient empirical basis for a definitive conclusion, I propose a possible account based on the constructional relation between the VPC and the POC. Perhaps, the existence of a productive dynamic VPC that shares the same semantic frame as the POC plus the restrictedness of the object in the POC may have jointly facilitated the recurrent use and conventionalisation of the stative VPC. For example, because the `Dressing`-VPC with dynamic verbs (e.g., {*ta*/*sätta*/*dra*} *på sig tröjan*) is conventional and can be extended to various verbs, it is not surprising that the same construction may be extended to a stative context with a stative verb, such as in *ha på sig tröjan*. In addition, since the POC variant (e.g., *ha tröjan på sig*) is constrained in the form of the object, maintaining this stative VPC alternative would be particularly convenient for meeting linguistic needs which may occur repeatedly in the cultural context. In the real world, people wear clothing with various functions (e.g., a shirt, a hat, a jacket, gloves, trousers) and with various traits (e.g., shiny, baggy, red-stitched shirts), which in turn demands the object to vary in length and contained lexical items in actual linguistic expressions. The POC is not well-suited for such linguistic needs. The culturally relevant, recurring linguistic need to express various objects of 'wearing' may have prompted the conventionalisation of the stative VPC, despite its deviation from the VPC's prototypical resultativity.

Put in terms of a constructional network, the stative VPC is motivated both by the vertical relation from the more schematic, prototypically resultative VPC, which accommodates the stative VPC as its exception, as well as the horizontal relation from the stative POC, which connects the two subconstructions as a potential choice point for language users.

7.2 Dynamic verbs

Turning to the overlaps involving dynamic verbs, dynamic POCs were less frequent and less acceptable than their VPC counterparts. As discussed in Section 6.3.1, my acceptability judgement data showed significant differences in acceptability ratings between the construction pairs (i.e., the VPC vs. the POC)

involving dynamic Dressing and dynamic Bringing. The contrast in acceptability between the dynamic VPCs and the dynamic POCs may be accounted for by the infrequency of the latter. Due to their infrequency, the dynamic POCs are perhaps at best marked alternatives, contrasting with the more idiomatic dynamic VPC.

However, on this account, the contrast in acceptability *between* the dynamic POCs is puzzling. Although the dynamic Bringing-POC and the dynamic Dressing-POC are comparably infrequent, the acceptability rating was remarkably higher for the dynamic Bringing-POC (e.g., *ta väskan med sig*; lit. 'take bag-DEF with REFL') compared to the dynamic Dressing-POC (e.g., *ta tröjan på sig*; lit. 'take shirt-DEF on REFL'). While this mismatch between acceptability and frequency could stem from limited corpus coverage, the apparent systematicity suggests additional factors.

Drawing on the usage-based view that acceptability of a given expression serves as a proxy for its similarity to a relevant construction (e.g., Bybee 2010; Goldberg 2019; Langacker 2008), and that the productivity derives from semantic variability (e.g., Barðdal 2008; Goldberg 2019), I propose that this contrast in acceptability reflects a difference in the productivity of the Bringing-POC and the Dressing-POC, which in turn derives from their difference in semantic variability. Specifically, I suggest that the Bringing-POC extends more readily to dynamic verbs, in contrast to the Dressing-POC which remains a more lexically restricted, and thus less productive, construction.

The difference in semantic variability between the two POCs can be observed from the corpus data when we consider the overall frequency distributions of the Bringing-POC and the Dressing-POC. Table 7.1 lists the co-occurring verbs and their token frequency in these two specific POCs in the corpus. Strikingly, the Bringing-POC occurs more frequently, if slightly, with dynamic verbs than the Dressing-POC. In terms of type frequency, the majority of the co-occurring verbs are dynamic verbs for the Bringing-POC (5 out of 7 verbs), while only 1 out of 4 verbs is dynamic for the Dressing-POC. In terms of token frequency, dynamic occurrences of the Bringing-POC account for 27 % of occurrences (21 out of the total 81), in contrast to dynamic occurrences of the Dressing-POC which account for only 5 % (5 out of the total 101).

Admittedly, the quantitative difference in the corpus data remains marginal. However, while further validation is necessary, I provisionally assume that the dynamic use is accepted as conventional for the Bringing-POC, whereas it is not for the Dressing-POC due to the latter's restricted semantic variability.

Under this assumption, the categorisation of dynamic instances of the POCs proceeds as follows. For the Bringing-POC, when a language user encounters an expression such as *Lars tog väskan med sig* (lit. 'L. took bag-DEF with

Table 7.1. Comparison of verb types and token frequencies of the Bringing-POC and the Dressing-POC

Bringing-POC		Dressing-POC	
Verb	n	Verb	n
ha 'have'	59	*ha* 'have'	92
få 'get'	11	***få*** 'get'	5
ta 'take'	7	*behålla* 'retain'	2
behöva 'need'	1	*behöva* 'need'	2
bära 'carry'	1	–	–
shoppa 'shop'	1	–	–
välja 'choose'	1	–	–
Σ	81	Σ	101

himself'), it is readily categorised as a dynamic instance of the Bringing-POC, making it be perceived as well-formed and thus acceptable. By contrast, for the Dressing-POC, an expression such as *Lars tog tröjan på sig* (lit. 'L. took jacket-DEF on himself') is less easily categorised as an instance of the Dressing-POC. At best, it is forcefully categorised as an extended instance of other conventional constructions, such as the stative Dressing-POC (e.g., *ha tröjan på sig*) or the VPC (e.g., *ta på sig tröjan*). Due to the expression's formal and semantic divergence from the conventional construction as a categorising structure, a language user may judge the expression as less conventional, and thus slightly less acceptable, though it is still interpretable.

The difference in the categorisation of expressions between the two POCs is illustrated in Figures 7.1 and 7.2, using a notation analogous to that of Langacker (2008, see Section 3.5.1 above). While both the Bringing-POC (in Figure 7.1) and the Dressing-POC (in Figure 7.2) are conventionalised with the stative verb *ha*, which categorises their stative instances without conflict, they differ in conventionality of the more schematic construction when categorising dynamic instances. In these figures, constructions (diagrammed as square boxes) categorise the target expressions (diagrammed as round boxes).[81] Downward arrows represent this categorisation relationship: dashed arrows indicate an extension relationship (i.e., that the target expression conflicts with the specification of the construction to a considerable degree), while solid arrows indicate an elaboration relationship, containing no conflict.

It should be noted that there remain factors other than lack of productivity which may be possible sources of the reduced acceptability of the dynamic

81. Note that only the form side of the target expressions is abstractly represented in these figures (e.g., "ha bagaget med sig"), omitting the relevant meanings that we expect to accompany the target expressions (e.g., something corresponding to 'have the luggage with oneself' in English).

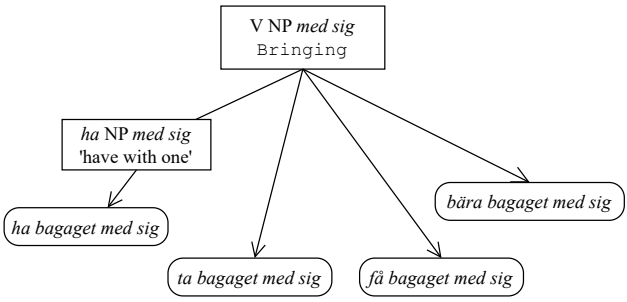

Figure 7.1. Categorisation of expressions by a local constructional network for the Bringing-POC

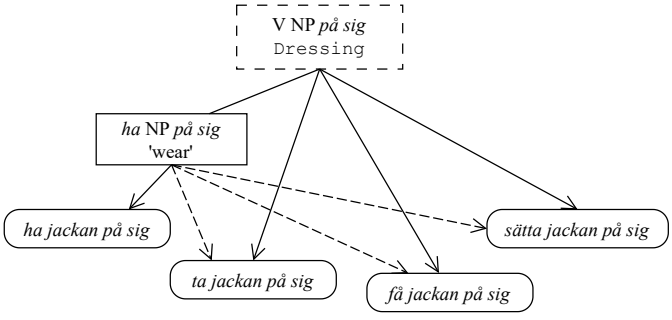

Figure 7.2. Categorisation of expressions by a local constructional network for the Dressing-POC

Dressing-POC. In particular, it cannot be excluded that the dynamic Dressing-POC is conventional only within specific stylistic or regional varieties, with which some participants are unfamiliar, or which they do not readily associate with a formal experimental settings. Since stylistic and sociolinguistic factors fall outside the scope of the present study, I leave this possibility for future research.

Above, I accounted for the contrast in acceptability between the dynamic Bringing-POC and the dynamic Dressing-POC in terms of their difference in semantic variability with respect to dynamic verbs. Given the general semantic characteristics of the POC as prototypically stative (see Section 5.2.5), this raises a further question: what motivates the existence of the dynamic Bringing-POC, given that it is prototypically stative?

Here, I argue that the Bringing-POC is motivated differently than other POCs, including the Dressing-POC. Specifically, given the striking formal and semantic similarity, it seems to be reasonable that the features of the Bringing-POC are exceptionally motivated by a related construction, the Caused-Motion Construction. The Caused-Motion Construction is characterised by a

verb-phrase structure in which the object NP is typically followed by a locative element, as exemplified in (7.1), repeated from (4.2). In terms of meaning, the construction typically denotes an event in which the subject referent (*Andersson*) does some action denoted by the verb (*skalla*, a denominal verb 'head'), resulting in the object referent (*bollen* 'the ball') moving to a location denoted by the locative adverbial (*i mål* 'in goal'). Its productivity is indicated by uses such as in (7.2), where a typically intransitive non-motion-causative verb *nysa* 'sneeze' (past form *nös*) is used to express an event of causing motion, in which the object referent 'handkerchief' (*näsduken*) moves 'off the table' (*av bordet*).

(7.1) Andersson *skallade bollen i mål*
A. headed ball-DEF in goal
'A. headed the ball into the goal' (Jansson 2005, p. 20, adapted)

(7.2) Johan *nös näsduken av bordet*
J. sneezed handkerchief-DEF off table-DEF
'Johan sneezed the handkerchief off the table'
(Platzack 2010, p. 124, adapted)

The `Bringing`-POC and the Caused-Motion Construction share several formal and semantic properties. Formally, both constructions feature a locative element following the object NP. Semantically, both are associated with a situation type involving causation of motion of an object to a location distinct from the original one. The similarity between the `Bringing`-POC and the Caused-Motion Construction is particularly striking in sentences such as *Johanna tog matlådan med sig till skolan* 'Johanna brought the lunchbox to school', where the `Bringing`-POC can be instantiated with a locative adverbial *till skolan* without altering the situation type.

Due to its formal and semantic similarity, the exceptionally dynamic `Bringing`-POC is possibly motivated by the Caused-Motion Construction, assuring its conventional status despite its infrequency.

7.3 Horizontal relations

This section discusses questions concerning horizontal relations between the VPC and the POC. What can we say about the horizontal relations, in particular the allostructional relations, between the VPC and the POC? Are the VPC and the POC entirely distinct constructions, or would it be possible to analyse them as allostructions, or a single construction without specific word order at some level? While answers to these questions depend in part on whether the researcher's scope lies in more local constructional relationships à la Cappelle

(2006) or is more global, incorporating broader syntactic patterns à la Goldberg (2016) (see the discussion in Section 3.3.3), I attempt to discuss these questions in relation to two topics: (i) the principle of no equivalence; and (ii) allostructional relation.

The first topic concerns whether the VPC and the POC are at some level semantically or pragmatically equivalent. Semantic non-equivalence is evident among the non-overlapping parts of the VPC and the POC, in which distinct meanings are uniquely associated with forms with a specific ordering of the REFL-PP and the object NP. The subconstructions that are unique to either the VPC (such as the `Undressing` construction; e.g., *ta av sig kläder*) or the POC (such as the `Doing_to_excess` construction; e.g., *jobba arslet av sig*) can be treated as argument structure constructions with a specific word order, on par with the English resultative construction (e.g., *He hammered the metal flat*) or the 'V-one's-*heart-out* construction' (e.g., *Harold sang his heart out*) (see Section 3.3.3).

The overlaps involving `Bringing` and `Dressing` can be considered roughly semantically equivalent, in the sense that they are associated with an identical frame-semantic meaning. However, they are not entirely equivalent in other aspects, which could be described as pragmatic non-equivalence at the level of construction. Regarding the overlaps involving the stative verb *ha* (e.g., *ha med sig väskan* vs. *ha väskan med sig*), the VPC variant and the POC variant differ in their tendencies regarding the object NP's length, which can be considered non-equivalence in tendency. This tendential non-equivalence may be, at least partly, attributed to a more general constraint on the Swedish verb phrase. For example, the tendency regarding the length of the object NP may purely reflect the informational-structural constraint of Swedish, where heavier elements are placed later in the clause. Regarding the overlaps involving non-stative/dynamic verbs (e.g., *ta med sig väskan* vs. *ta väskan med sig*), their POC variants are remarkably infrequent and significantly less acceptable. Possibly, these POC variants are less conventional than their VPC counterparts, either since they are the infrequent, marked variant compared to their VPC counterparts (as in the `Bringing`-POC) or since the POC variant does not simply extend to dynamic verbs as readily (as in the `Dressing`-POC).

It is important to emphasise that the principle of no equivalence operates not at the level of expression, but at the level of construction. As Uhrig (2015) puts it: "[t]he actual relevance of the principle [of no synonymy] is rather limited if we focus on actual usage, where oppositions [. . .] are often neutralised in context" (p. 335). Although the overlapping constructions differ in how they *tend* to be used, the specific expressions may be used interchangeably in actual usage events insofar as convention allows it. Different forms provide different ways of presenting the same content actualised in various communicative contexts,

but language users need not always utilise them in every actual communicative setting. For example, imagine that a native speaker of Swedish intends to convey the content corresponding to the English translation 'Ida had the bag with her then'. S/he can equally well say either *Ida hade med sig väskan då* or *Ida hade väskan med sig då*, without a difference in meaning.

Thus, aligning with the principle of no equivalence, the VPC and the POC are not equivalent at any schematic level of construction, although language users may potentially find the sporadic overlaps as choice points where they have a certain degree of freedom to choose among the alternatives, such as *ha på sig tröjan* vs. *ha tröjan på sig* to express a situation of someone wearing a shirt and *ta med sig väskan* vs. *ta väskan med sig* to express a situation of someone bringing a bag.

Turning to the second topic regarding allostructional relation, is it possible to postulate an allostructional relation between the VPC and the POC at some level, abstracting them into a single construction without word order? As described above, the VPC and the POC consist mostly of subconstructions distinct to one or the other construction. Assuming that the allostructional relation can only be posited between constructions that share the same subset of verbs and the same meaning, the limited range of recurrent overlaps between the VPC and the POC indicates that the allostructional relation only holds at highly specific levels between the VPC and the POC involving `Bringing` and `Dressing`. Therefore, it seems neither particularly necessary nor plausible that language users would conceive of the overlap at a more schematic level than these specific overlapping subconstructions.

Furthermore, as the range of overlap varies between the `Bringing` and `Dressing` construction pairs, the level of schematicity at which these construction pairs are related may also differ. Given the difference in productivity of the POCs within these construction pairs, as discussed in the previous section, the overlaps involving `Bringing` possibly concern a wider range of verbs than those involving `Dressing`. If we regard an overlap as a choice point, in the sense that language users can choose between several forms to convey the same meaning, it seems reasonable to assume that the overlaps involving `Bringing` provide a greater possibility for language users to choose between the VPC and the POC. Although the precise range of verbs that can be included in such a possibility remains unknown, the current data suggest that language users may regard the `Bringing` construction pair as allostructions at a more schematic level than the `Dressing` construction pair. Allostructional relations between the VPC and the POC are thus plausible at two highly specific levels: as a somewhat schematic construction pair involving `Bringing`, represented as V–*med*–REFL–NP vs. V–NP–*med*–REFL, and as a lexically specific construction pair involving `Dressing`, represented as *ha*–*på*–REFL–NP vs. *ha*–NP–*på*–REFL.

Only these specific construction pairs provide the basis for being abstracted into argument structure constructions without word order, or constructemes of the VPC and the POC.

In addition to the level of schematicity for allostructional relation, the two construction pairs seem, if subtly, to differ in how their components relate to the entire construction, in a way that is similar to the two types of alternation in English that are discussed in Section 3.3.2. To recap, for the English dative alternation (e.g., *give someone something* vs. *give something to someone*), the allostructional analysis is motivated by the central role of the shared verb lexeme, here *give*, as the predicate in both alternants. In contrast, for the English particle alternation (e.g., *turn down an offer* vs. *turn an offer down*), the allostructional analysis is motivated by the idiomaticity of the combination, which demands storing the whole combination {*turn down*} itself as a construction.

A similar distinction may apply among the overlapping pairs of the VPC and the POC. Comparing how the frames of `Bringing` and `Dressing` may be evoked by their respective `V-P` combinations, the verb seems to play a more central role in the `Bringing` pair than in the `Dressing` pair. Accordingly, the `Bringing` pair may involve a more argument structure alternation type, in which the lexical verb's central role motivates an allostructional analysis. In contrast, the `Dressing` pair may be regarded as more of a particle alternation type, in which its apparent idiomaticity motivates an allostructional analysis.

Consider the dynamic verbs tested in the acceptability judgement study: *ta* 'take' and *få* 'get'. According to Viberg (2010, paragraph 15), these are among the four most basic verbs of possession alongside *ha* 'have' and *ge* 'give' based on their high frequency among other verbs of possession. Assuming that these verbs are associated with possession (or more specifically possession transfer), their conceptual relations to the `Bringing` frame and the `Dressing` frame differ slightly. The dynamic event of `Bringing` can be interpreted as an extension of possession: the subject acquires possession of the object, then keeps control of the object while they move somewhere simultaneously. By contrast, the dynamic event of `Dressing` involves a specific type of possession: the subject acquires possession of the object, functioning as a garment. A similar contrast applies to the more specific verbs *bära* ('carry') and *sätta* ('put'), tested respectively for the `Bringing` and `Dressing` construction pairs in the acceptability judgement study. Here, the contrast is probably more remarkable. While *bära* already evokes the `Bringing` frame on its own, *sätta*, as a placement verb (Viberg 1998), is underspecified in relation to the `Dressing` frame, thus more dependent on the VPC for evoking the `Dressing` frame. The independent role of the lexical verb in the `Bringing` pair is also suggested by the theme animacy effect observed in the acceptability judgement data, which indicates that the animacy of the theme object may be relevant for *få* and *bära*, but not for *ha* and

ta, regardless of construction (Section 6.3.2.2).

In a similar vein, the role of the stative verb *ha* may also differ between the `Dressing` and `Bringing` construction pairs. The combination {*ha på sig*} can be thought of as specifying the verb's meaning more than {*ha med sig*} does: while the combination *ha med sig* specifies the path/location in the act of 'having' – denoting someone 'having something somewhere' – the combination *ha på sig* specifies the manner of 'having' – denoting someone 'having something *on one's body as a garment*'. Due to this difference in perceived degree of specification, the `Dressing` combination of {*ha på sig*} appears less compositional than the `Bringing` combination of {*ha med sig*}, making it more reasonable to treat the former as a particle alternation type (motivated by idiomaticity) and the latter as an argument structure alternation type (motivated by the verb's central role as a predicate).

While it remains unclear to what extent such differences in the role of the verb and the type of alternation are relevant in the description of alternation phenomena, these differences may provide a valuable point for discussion regarding how the components contained in allostructions are associated with an independent verbal lexical unit. In the context of this study, which adopts frame semantics, a lexical unit functions as a frame-evoking element, conventionalising the association between a given linguistic form and a semantic frame. Such lexical units, in this case verbal lexical units, can be simplex words such as *bake* and *boil*, which evoke a `Cook` frame, or combinations of words such as *take up*, which as a whole evokes an `Activity_start` frame (see Section 3.4). From a usage-based constructionist point of view, which posits that constructions emerge through actual usages, the allostructional relations between the VPC and the POC can be viewed as a potential locus where components of complex constructions are abstracted into individual verbal lexical units with various complexities.

Figures 7.3 and 7.4 illustrate two ways of relating the components of the allostructions to individual verbal lexical units in the VPC and the POC. While both the `Bringing` and `Dressing` construction pairs are related horizontally as allostructions (dashed arrows), they differ in the complexity of the frame-evoking unit that is abstracted from them. The `Bringing` construction pair is associated with simplex verbs such as *ha*, *ta*, *få*, and *bära*, all of which can independently evoke a frame of `Bringing` to a certain degree. In contrast, the `Dressing` construction pair can be considered to be associated with a multiword predicate, *ha på sig*, which as a whole can evoke a frame of `Dressing` without further syntactic context.

Admittedly, the discussion above remains somewhat speculative and would require further empirical evidence. However, framing the relation between the VPC and the POC in this way allows us to explore how constructions of vari-

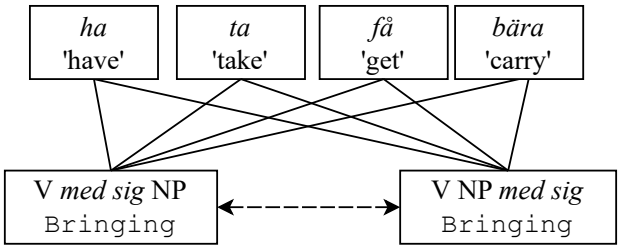

Figure 7.3. Horizontal relation between the `Bringing` constructions and associated lexical units

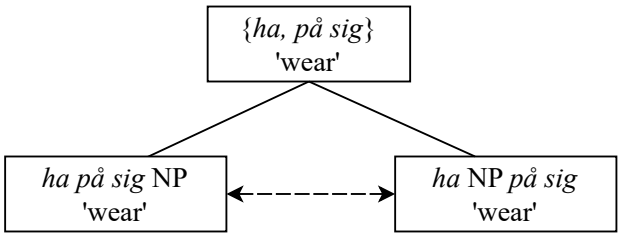

Figure 7.4. Horizontal relation between the `Dressing` constructions and an associated multi-word lexical unit

ous complexities may be abstracted from specific usages, such as argument structure constructions without word order and lexical constructions contained within more complex constructions. Viewed in this way, analyses of allostructional relations can provide a way of approaching the interface between usage and constructions, connecting argument structure constructions to other linguistic levels spanning between individual words and word order.

7.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have provided an analysis of the empirical results in terms of a constructional network with a focus on the recurrent overlaps, addressing the third research question (RQ3): *how and at which level of schematicity are the VPC and the POC related?*

I have argued that the overlaps between the VPC and the POC are preconditioned by low-level exceptions to the VPC and the POC; further, I have proposed possible motivations that support the existence of these exceptions. The existence of the stative VPC as an exception to the prototypically resultative VPC may be jointly motivated by the existence of a productive dynamic VPC sharing the same semantic frame as the POC and the POC's restrictedness in the form of the object. As for the existence of the dynamic POC as an

exception to the prototypically stative POC, I have suggested that it derives from the Bringing-POC's semantic variability, which accommodates dynamic verbs. I have further posited that the use of the Bringing-POC with dynamic verbs is possibly motivated by a formally and semantically similar construction, the Caused-Motion Construction.

Regarding the horizontal relations between the overlapping constructions, I have argued that the VPC and the POC are not equivalent at any schematic level, and that the VPC and the POC are related as allostructions at highly specific levels involving the Bringing and Dressing subconstruction pairs, the latter of which is entirely lexically specific to the combination {*ha på*}. I have further suggested that the relationship between the subconstructions as a whole and their components differs slightly among the overlapping subconstruction pairs, which potentially reflects the varying ways in which a lexical unit abstracts from allostructions.

In conclusion, the VPC and the POC are generally regarded as distinct argument structure constructions with specific word order and distinct usage. They are related as allostructions only at highly specific levels, particularly involving Bringing and Dressing, each associated with a particular type of verb and preposition. While the limited range of allostructional relations between the VPC and the POC suggests that the two constructions are largely independent, analysing the VPC and the POC as allostructions at these specific levels can provide a glimpse into how argument structure constructions intersect with other linguistic levels, linking individual words and more general word order.

8 Concluding discussion

This study set out to identify the lexico-semantic range and overlaps of the VPC and the POC, as two formally distinct, but partly lexico-semantically overlapping constructions involving a REFL-PP, and to investigate their relationship within a constructional network. To begin with, two general points can be made:

- The choice between the VPC and the POC is mostly predetermined by the specific type of situation (at the level of semantic frames) that the language users intend to describe in a given usage context.
- Only the subconstruction pairs involving `Bringing` and `Dressing` provide language users with the possibility for a choice between the VPC and the POC as a conventional formulation. For these subconstruction pairs, language users have a certain degree of freedom to choose between the VPC and the POC, although the POC variant is generally more constrained, either due to its tendency for shorter objects, or due to its markedness or non-conventionality, which affects its acceptability.

The remainder of this concluding chapter discusses the contributions and broader implications of the present study. It is organised as follows: Section 8.1 outlines the empirical contribution of the study in relation to previous research. Section 8.2 discusses theoretical implications, particularly regarding the role of word order and the theoretical status of acceptability within the usage-based constructionist approach. Finally, Section 8.3 concludes with suggestions for future research.

8.1 Empirical contributions

The present study provides a comprehensive description of the lexico-semantic distribution of the VPC and the POC, at least those that contain the prepositions *av*, *i*, *med*, and *på*. Among the empirical findings, four points are worth highlighting in light of previous research.

First, the findings indicate that the VPC and the POC are mostly non-overlapping, largely distinct families of constructions, associated with lexico-semantic combinations unique to one or the other. The VPC consists of several

subconstructions, some of which are relatively productive and can be combined with several verbs. The VPC is also largely resultative, which aligns with previous observations regarding various verbal particles occurring in VPC order as a resultative predicate (except when they are aspectual or idiomatic). In contrast, the POC consists of less productive constructions and lacks variability, both in terms of the lexical verb and the form of the object. Also, the POC is largely stative, which is reflected by the fact that it occurs remarkably often with the stative verb *ha*.

Second, while the VPC and the POC scarcely overlap, the findings show that they do overlap in two highly specific lexico-semantic combinations, involving `Bringing` (e.g., *ta med sig väskan* vs. *ta väskan med sig*) and `Dressing` (e.g., *ha på sig kläder* vs. *ha kläder på sig*). These findings elaborate on the sporadic observations by Hulthén (1948) and Teleman et al. (1999) on their overlaps (presented in Section 2.2.1). Aligning with Teleman et al. (1999), it was found that the choice between the VPC and the POC is largely lexically determined: both the VPC and the POC consists of several V-P specific constructions unique to one or the other. Consequently, their overlaps are restricted to specific lexico-semantic combinations involving the verb *ha* (for constructions involving `Dressing`), plus a range of dynamic verbs (for constructions involving `Bringing`). Simultaneously, this study partly elaborates on the observation by Hulthén (1948) that paraphrasing the VPC order with the POC order is possible when the REFL-PP is "perceived [. . .] as an independent adverbial" (p. 166). Given that the verb alone can evoke the same meaning/frame associated with the entire construction, as it does in the alternation involving `Bringing` (see Section 7.2), language users may perceive the verb and the REFL-PP as less dependent on each other, and thus the latter as a more or less independent adverbial.

Third, the study also builds on the previous observations on the exceptional combination of verbal particles and a stative verb, noted by Norén (1996) and Strzelecka (2003). This study has provided detailed frequency information on stative instances with the stative verb *ha*, which, as opposed to Strzelecka's (p. 259) observation that it is rare, is shown to be considerably frequent, at least in some subconstructions of the VPC.

Finally, these findings are also an important empirical contribution in relation to particle alternation in Swedish, under the assumption that the REFL-PP is a kind of verbal particle. Specifically, I address researchers working within derivational approaches (cf. Section 2.1.3). The contrast in usage of constructions with a REFL-PP seems to be similar to the contrast in usage of constructions involving a verbal particle in Norwegian, as reported by Aa (2015, 2020) (see Section 2.1.3). The REFL-PP shares the following distribution with Norwegian verbal particles: (i) the VPC order is more frequent and preferred over the POC

order; (ii) the VPC order and the POC order differ in meaning in general; and (iii) the POC order is more available when it expresses a locational/directional relationship (e.g., caused-motion). This supports the possibility of analysing the REFL-PP in a similar way to Norwegian verbal particles, as suggested by Larsson & Lundquist (2022b) for constructions with a fossilised PP in Swedish such as *till fånga* (see Section 2.2.2.3). In this way, the empirical findings on the recurrent overlaps between the VPC and the POC are a valuable addition regarding phenomena labelled as 'particle alternation' in Swedish, although what counts as 'particle' and 'alternation' varies across different approaches to grammar.

8.2 Theoretical implications

8.2.1 Word order and argument structure constructions

In the present study, I have adopted a bottom-up approach like Cappelle (2006) in analysing the VPC and the POC, assuming that the two different word orders correspond to two distinct families of constructions. The bottom-up approach enabled me to pinpoint both the precise conditions under which word order variation is possible, as well as the specific constraints and tendencies to which the variants may be subject. It also proved fruitful in elaborating on the relationship between argument structure constructions and word order regarding this particular pair of constructions.

Through this approach, I showed that the VPC and the POC are largely independent argument structure constructions with specific word orders, each associated with distinct combinations of words and meanings. At the same time, the allostructional relations identified at highly specific levels involving `Bringing` and `Dressing` are considered as possible sites where the word order can be abstracted. Furthermore, I found that allostructional relations between the VPC and the POC appear when the VPC is combined exceptionally with a stative verb *ha*, or when the POC is combined exceptionally with dynamic verbs. I also found that the POC variants participating in these allostructions are subject to specific constraints, such as a tendency to occur with a shorter object, and more specifically with a bare noun object in the combination involving {*ha på*}.

Additionally, I suggested that allostructional relations may be regarded as an intersection between complex constructions and lexical constructions, if they are understood as a site where lexical constructions are abstracted through the usage of related complex constructions. In these ways, this study demonstrates that the notion of allostruction provides a valuable means of relating argument structure constructions to other linguistic levels, such as individual lexical items as well as more general word order patterns.

However, since the primary focus of the present study lies on lexico-semantic combinations of the VPC and the POC (as argument structure constructions), the scope of the present study was limited to occurrences involving the VPC ordering and the POC ordering of the REFL-PP and the object. Thus, instances with forms related to specific discourse functions were excluded, such as topicalisation (e.g., *på sig hade han tröjan* and *först hade han tröjan på sig*), clefting (e.g., *det var tröjan han hade på sig*), and interrogative (e.g., *hade han tröjan på sig?*). Consequently, the division of labour between argument structure constructions in general and constructions operating at a discursive level remains outside the scope of the present study. For a fine-grained analysis regarding the division of labour between argument structure constructions and other types of constructions, a broader range of occurrences involving more varied word orders would need to be taken into account.

On a related note, for the usage-based constructionist approach to develop further, it would be fruitful to work out how constructions of various complexities interact when language users arrive at the interpretation of an utterance, a field Blensenius & Lyngfelt (2025) and Boas (2025) refer to as 'constructional syntax'. As Blensenius & Lyngfelt (2025, pp. 264–265) observe, much work remains regarding how these constructions interact during the interpretation of actual expressions. While this perspective has been more elaborated within formally oriented constructionist frameworks (see, for example, the diverse analyses of an identical sentence from various constructionist approaches in Boas et al. 2024b), usage-based constructionists could benefit from exploring the division of labour between constructions providing lexico-semantic information and more general constructions that concern general word order constraints, or 'ordering constructions' (Fried & Östman 2004, pp. 69–71). In particular, future research should investigate how language users arrive at such general ordering constructions by schematising over actual usage events in interaction with constructions related to lexico-semantic information, such as argument structure constructions.

8.2.2 Status of acceptability in the usage-based approach

The present study adopted the aggregate, system-oriented perspective of grammar. In investigating the VPC and the POC from this perspective, I employed two types of data: (i) corpus data, complemented by reference dictionaries as auxiliary resources, and (ii) acceptability judgement data. The current section discusses the latter as a possible avenue for refining the theoretical relation between acceptability and grammar.

In my acceptability judgement data, I observed differences in acceptability between the dynamic pairs of `Bringing` (e.g., *tog med sig väskan* vs. *tog väskan*

med sig) and `Dressing` (e.g., *tog på sig tröjan* vs. *tog tröjan på sig*), where the POC variants received lower acceptability ratings on average. Drawing on a usage-based constructionist model of acceptability, where it is a proxy for the target expression's similarity to the existing construction (see Section 3.5.1), I interpreted the difference in acceptability as the target expression's difference in similarity to the existing conventional constructions. While the usage-based constructionists generally seem to assume this model of acceptability, it should be noted that there are several possible sources of decline in acceptability in practice.[82]

Several linguistic factors may underlie the reduced acceptability of the dynamic POC, which may be relevant for descriptive purposes from the aggregate perspective. For example, the dynamic POC may be more accepted within certain dialectal varieties (such as Finland Swedish) or in specific registers (such as formal writing). Methodologically, such factors can be controlled by grouping participants according to regions associated with distinct dialectal varieties or by providing a priming context for a given register.

More generally, there remains room for theoretical refinement regarding what aggregate acceptability judgement data may indicate beyond similarity to constructions. For studies adopting an aggregate perspective, such as the present study, which focus on the more conventional domain of usage qualifying as 'standard variety' (Sections 1.2, 3.1.2), the normative aspect of language seems unavoidable. Acceptability judgement involves assessing whether an expression conforms to a linguistic norm, pertaining to a given natiolect, a given regional variety, or a given register. In this regard, Belligh & Willems's (2022) view on acceptability as a measurement of correctness seems particularly relevant. While acceptability judgement data remain informative for usage-based constructionist studies and grammatical studies in general, the theoretical status of acceptability judgement requires further discussion in light of the normative nature of language (cf. Goldberg 2019; Schmid 2020; Zlatev & Blomberg 2019).

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82. It should be emphasised that the common confounds mentioned by Schütze (2011), such as semantic plausibility (i.e., how plausible the situation described by the sentence is in relation to language users' world knowledge) and processing difficulty due to structural complexity of the sentence, can be ruled out in this context. The observed difference in acceptability likely does not involve these factors, as the contrastive expressions differed neither in semantic plausibility (due to both expressing the same meaning) nor processing difficulty (due to both being of a comparable complexity).

8.3 Suggestions for future research

The limited scope of the present study left out certain types of constructions with a REFL-PP or similar phenomena, or aspects of these instances, which would be interesting to explore. I conclude this dissertation by suggesting avenues for future research related to word order variation involving a REFL-PP or other types of verbal particles in Swedish.

First, several syntactic variables that may influence the choice between the VPC and the POC were outside the scope of the present study. Potentially interesting attributes for future research include clause types other than declarative (e.g., imperative clauses such as *ta jackan på dig!* 'put on the jacket!'), as well as the scope of focus (e.g., *han tog JACKAN på sig*, *inte KAVAJEN* 'he put on THE JACKET, not THE BUSINESS SUIT', with an emphasis on the element in uppercase). Of particular interest is the influence of object type. The observation by Hulthén (1948, p. 166) that the POC is "more common" with a pronominal object needs empirical support.

Second, investigations into constructions with other types of verbal particles, which tend not to be studied, could yield further interesting insights regarding particle alternation. For example, studying constructions involving fossilised PPs (e.g., *till fånga*; Section 2.2.2.3) could be potentially fruitful, as they have sporadically been observed to overlap to a certain degree but have not been studied systematically (Teleman et al. 1999, vol. 3, pp. 420–421).

Third, investigating other regional varieties of Swedish would be highly beneficial. As Martola (2007, pp. 235–238) notes, the word order variation of verbal particles in Finland Swedish remains understudied. An in-depth comparison between Sweden Swedish and Finland Swedish in this regard may not only inform our understanding of particle alternation in general, but also illuminate the interplay between general word order constraints and argument structure constructions.

Further investigation in these areas is not merely of empirical interest. It offers promising avenues for usage-based constructionists to incorporate constructions of varying types and complexities into analyses and explore their interaction, ranging from lexical and argument structure constructions to ordering constructions, among others.

Sammanfattning

I denna avhandling undersöks relationen mellan två konstruktioner i modern Sverigesvenska, som vid första anblick enbart skiljer sig åt i ordföljd. Mer specifikt behandlas konstruktioner med en reflexiv sekvens före eller efter objektet. Medan sekvensen *på sig* föregår objektet i exempel (1), följer den objektet i exempel (2) utan märkbar betydelseskillnad.

(1) Eleonora *tog **på sig** ytterkläder* [. . .] (Teleman m. fl. 1999, vol. 3, s. 334)

(2) [. . .] hon *tog tofflorna **på sig*** [. . .] (Teleman m. fl. 1999, vol. 3, s. 434)

Detta par förefaller alltså skilja sig åt genom placeringen av den reflexiva sekvensen, som liknar en prepositionsfras (här benämnd REFL-PP), i förhållande till objektet. Hädanefter kallas konstruktioner med en REFL-PP före objektet som i (1) för verb-partikel-konstruktion (eller VPK) och konstruktioner med sekvensen efter objektet som i (2) för post-objekt-konstruktion (eller POK).

Att detta inte handlar om ren ordföljdsvariation framgår dock av att konstruktionerna inte är utbytbara i alla sammanhang. Som Teleman m. fl. (1999, vol. 3, s. 423) påpekar leder parafraser genom en ändrad placering av REFL-PP i förhållande till objektet ofta till oacceptabla meningar, som i (3), eller meningar med annan betydelse, som i (4).

(3) a. *klä **på sig** maskeradkläder*
b. **klä maskeradkläder **på sig*** (Teleman m. fl. 1999, vol. 3, s. 423)

(4) a. *ha **för sig** ngt*
b. *ha ngt **för sig*** (Teleman m. fl. 1999, vol. 3, s. 423)

Trots att den begränsade utbytbarheten av VPK och POK som i (3) och (4) talar för att de två ordföljderna bör analyseras var för sig, antyder förekomsten av parafraser med i stort sett samma ord och betydelse som i (1–2) att det finns lexikosemantiska överlappningar mellan VPK och POK som handlar om just ordföljdsvariation. Dock finns, utöver sporadiska observationer av Teleman m. fl. (1999) och Hulthén (1948), inga systematiska undersökningar om förhållandet mellan VPK och POK, i vilken utsträckning de överlappar och hur användningen av VPK respektive POK då ser ut. I ett konstruktionsgrammatiskt perspektiv handlar frågan om huruvida VPK och POK kan betraktas som två olika konstruktioner förknippade med olika betydelser, eller som

två olika realiseringar – eller 'allostruktioner' (Cappelle 2006) – av en och samma konstruktion där ordföljdsskillnaden är abstraherad. Om VPK och POK är två olika konstruktioner, motsäger förekomsten av lexikosemantiska överlappningar 'principle of no synonymy' (Goldberg 1995), senare omformulerad av Leclercq & Morin (2023) som 'principle of no equivalence', som går ut på att två konstruktioner med distinkta former måste vara distinkta i betydelse, semantiskt, pragmatiskt och/eller socialt.

Mot denna bakgrund är avhandlingens övergripande syfte att utforska hur VPK och POK liknar eller skiljer sig från varandra i bruket. En övergripande fråga är vad som betingar valet mellan VPK och POK. Mer specifikt undersöks deras lexikosemantiska egenskaper, dvs. vilka ordkombinationer, främst verbet och prepositionen, och betydelser associerade till dessa kombinationer, som kan ingå i VPK respektive POK. För denna studie har fyra prepositioner valts som frekvent kan ingå i REFL-PP:n, nämligen; *av*, *i*, *med* och *på*. Vidare är studien avgränsad till förekomster av dessa typer av VPK och POK endast med lexikala objekt.

Studiens forskningsfrågor är följande: (i) Hur skiljer sig förekomsterna av VPK och POK åt lexikosemantiskt? (ii) I vilken utsträckning överlappar VPK och POK lexikosemantiskt, och finns det mönster för när VPK respektive POK väljs? samt (iii) Hur och på vilken nivå i konstruktionsnätverket är VPK och POK relaterade? De två första frågorna är i huvudsak empiriska och den sista i huvudsak teoretisk. Varje fråga ligger till grund för den nästföljande.

Studien utgår från ett bruksbaserat konstruktionsperspektiv ('usage-based constructionist approach'; t.ex. Bybee 2010; Diessel 2015; Goldberg 2006, 2019). Ramverket är bruksbaserat i bemärkselsen att grammatiken ses som ett dynamiskt system som formas och omformas genom faktiskt bruk. Det är också konstruktionsgrammatiskt, då det utgår från grundläggande teoretiska antaganden om att grammatiken utgörs av konstruktioner, dvs. språkliga enheter med olika komplexitet och schematicitet där form och betydelse är kopplade till varandra genom konvention, samt att konstruktioner är relaterade och strukturerade i nätverk. Två konstruktionsrelationer som behandlas är den vertikala och den horisontella relationen. Den vertikala relationen relaterar konstruktioner av samma form på olika nivåer av schematicitet, t.ex. transitivkonstruktionen [VERB OBJEKT] och idiomkonstruktionen [*kick the habit*]. Den vertikala relationen utgör också en grund för att kategorisera uttryck som instanser av den relevanta konstruktionen, t.ex. *kick those unhealthy habits* som en instans av idiomkonstruktionen [*kick the habit*].

Den horisontella relationen relaterar i stället konstruktioner av olika former på samma nivå av schematicitet. Den typ av horisontell relation som framför allt är relevant för denna avhandling är den s.k. allostruktionella relationen (Cappelle 2006), som relaterar konstruktioner bestående av samma ord associerade

med samma betydelse. I tidigare forskning om allostruktionell relation betraktas ordföljdsvariation hos engelska transitiva partikelverb (t.ex. *pick up the book* vs. *pick the book up*) upp som ett paradexempel där de två ordföljdsvarianterna bör analyseras i termer av allostruktioner; dvs. som två instanser av en mer schematisk konstruktion där ordföljdsskillnaden är abstraherad. Dock är denna analys inte självklar. I själva verket menar Goldberg (2006), som hävdar den ovan nämnda 'principle of no synonymy', att argumentstrukturskonstruktioner som bidrar till satsens centrala betydelse gällande "vem gör vad", inte behöver specificera ordföljden. Hur ordföljd hanteras i konstruktioner beror dels på vilken omfattning av grammatisk beskrivning som forskaren gör anspråk på, dels på det specifika fenomenets empiriska egenskaper.

För att besvara frågan om hur VPK och POK är relaterade anläggs ett bottom up-perspektiv, med utgångspunkten att VPK och POK utgör två till formen olika familjer av konstruktioner. Deras relation undersöks utifrån deras lexikosemantiska överlappningar samt utifrån likheter och skillnader i bruket. Fokus i studien ligger på bruksmönster som uppfattas som mer eller mindre konventionella inom den moderna standardvarieteten av svenska talad i Sverige. Därför betraktas grammatik i denna avhandling utifrån ett aggregerat, systemorienterat perspektiv, alltså som kollektivt delad språkkunskap om konventionella bruksmönster som språkbrukare besitter och kan utnyttja i kommunikativa situationer.

Avhandlingens empiriska data är av två typer: korpusmaterial och data från ett acceptabilitetstest. Korpusmaterialet används för att kartlägga den lexikosemantiska distributionen av VPK respektive POK. Den lexikosemantiska distributionerna av VPK respektive POK analyseras som subkonstruktioner av VPK och POK; dvs. konventionella associationer mellan en viss form (i termer av lexikala kombinationer) och en viss satsbetydelse (i termer av semantiska ramar; se t.ex. Fillmore & Baker 2015). Acceptabilitetsdatan används för att mer ingående undersöka konventionaliteten hos de lexikosemantiska överlappningar som observerats i korpusen. Tillsammans bidrar dessa två sorters data till en empirisk kartläggning av lexikosemantiska överlappningar mellan VPK och POK.

Korpusstudien visar att VPK och POK har olika tendenser när det gäller lexikal variabilitet och semantiska egenskaper. Subkonstruktionerna av VPK har relativt hög lexikal variabilitet både när det gäller verbet och objektet. Subkonstruktioner av VPK med hög variabilitet i verbet är bl.a. VPK med *av* som betecknar avklädning (t.ex. *trampa av sig en sko*); VPK med *i* som betecknar förtäring (t.ex. *vräka i sig grädde*); VPK med *med* som betecknar medtagande (t.ex. *handla med sig sushi*); och VPK med *på* som betecknar påklädning (t.ex. *slänga på sig kavaj*). Utöver dessa produktiva subkonstruktioner finns flera mindre produktiva subkonstruktioner – som VPK med *av* som betecknar

bortarbetande (t.ex. *springa av sig energin*) och VPK med *på* som betecknar hopsamlande (t.ex. *samla på sig skräp*) – samt idiomatiska verb-preposition-specifika subkonstruktioner – som VPK med kombinationen {*suga i*}, som betecknar solande (t.ex. *suga i sig solsken*) och VPK med kombinationen {*föra med*} (t.ex. *föra med sig ångest*). De flesta subkonstruktioner är resultativa, dvs. de betecknar en handling där subjektreferenten hamnar i tillstånd eller en position som betecknas av REFL-PP. Ett framträdande lexikalt undantag till resultativitet är de frekventa kombinationerna med verbet *ha*, som betecknar tillstånd i termer av medhavande i VPK med *med* (t.ex. *ha med sig väskan*) samt tillstånd i termer av påklädning – eller, rättare sagt, klädbärande – i VPK med *på* (t.ex. *ha på sig tröjan*).

Som kontrast är subkonstruktioner av POK ofta anmärkningsvärt begränsade i lexikal variabilitet både när det gäller verbet och objektet. Den överväldigande majoriteten av POK samförekommer med generiska verb, särskilt med det statiska verbet *ha*, vilket antyder att betydelsen hos POK prototypiskt är statisk. Dessutom är POK ofta begränsad när det gäller objektets form. POK är ofta förknippad med specifikt lexikalt objekt som typiskt utgörs av ett enda ord, eller har en viss grammatisk egenskap, som indefinithet. Den förra typen representeras av POK med *av*, som associeras med överdrivet görande (t.ex. *jobba arslet av sig*) och vissa lexikalt fasta idiomatiska förbindelser som *göra väsen av sig* eller *lägga band på sig*. Den senare typen representeras av POK med *i*, som associeras med innehållande (t.ex. *ha koffein i sig*), som oftast samförekommer med ett indefinit objekt, och POK med *på*, som associeras med tid ägnad för en handling (t.ex. *ha tre år på sig*).

Vidare visar studien kvalitativa skillnader i bruket av återkommande, semantiskt ekvivalenta överlappningar – mellan VPK och POK med *på*, som associeras med statiskt och dynamiskt medhavande (som i 5 respektive 6) samt mellan VPK och POK med *med*, som associeras med statiskt klädbärande och dynamisk påklädning (som i 7 respektive 8).

(5) Statiskt medhavande

   a. Tomten *hade* såklart ***med sig*** *en del paket* till barnen

   b. Min kompis *hade en kompis* ***med sig***

(6) Dynamiskt medhavande

   a. Jag har bett honom *ta* ***med sig*** *en kompis*

   b. Mysigt att bara *ta ett barn* ***med sig*** *ibland*

(7) Statiskt klädbärande

   a. Pojkarna *hade* ***på sig*** *pyjamas* [. . .]

   b. De *hade* också *pyjamas* ***på sig*** och ändå ville följa med

(8) Dynamisk påklädning

a. [. . .] så fort han *fick* ***på sig*** *blöjan för natten* så bajsade han

b. Trimma en häst ikväll när den har *fått nya skor* ***på sig***

En analys av korpusmaterialet visar en kvantitativ skillnad i bruk när det gäller förekomster med det statiska verbet *ha* (som i 5 och 7 ovan), som är frekventa i både VPK-varianten och POK-varianten. För dessa verbspecifika par förekommer POK-varianten signifikant oftare med kortare objekt än VPK-varianten. Därutöver visar POK med *på* en mer specifik tendens att samförekomma med ett naket objekt utan bestämning, som *ha skinnjacka på sig* eller *ha hjälm på sig*, vilket tyder på en distinkt status hos POK med *på*, som associeras med det statiska verbet *ha* och statiskt klädbärande, som en verbspecifik konstruktion.

När dessa återkommande överlappningar testades i acceptabilitetsstudien visade det sig att acceptabiliteten när det gäller icke-statiska/dynamiska verb är signifikant lägre för POK-varianten än för VPK-varianten. Dessutom skilde sig graden av (o)acceptabilitet påfallande mellan dynamiska POK:ar: POK med *på* var mindre acceptabel än POK med *med*. Med andra ord framstår POK med *på* som mindre produktiv än POK med *med*, eftersom den uppvisar en lägre grad av variabilitet när det gäller möjliga verb. Acceptabilitetsskillnaden *mellan* VPK-varianten och POK-varianten kan förklaras av den låga frekvensen av den senare varianten: POK-varianten är markant mindre frekvent än VPK-varianten med dynamiska verb. Däremot kräver acceptabilitetsskillnaden *bland* dessa POK:ar en ytterligare förklaring.

De empiriska resultaten beskrivna ovan analyseras slutligen som konstruktionsrelationer. De återkommande överlappningarna mellan VPK och POK görs möjliga genom att det finns undantag i VPK och POK. Överlappningen när det gäller det statiska verbet *ha* förutsätter att det finns en statisk VPK, vilket utgör ett undantag från VPK:s prototypiskt resultativa semantik. Å andra sidan förutsätter överlappningen vid dynamiska verb existensen av dynamisk POK, mer specifikt dynamisk POK med *med*, vilket utgör ett undantag från POK:s prototypiskt statiska semantik.

Dessa undantag är möjligen motiverade på olika sätt inom konstruktionsnätverk. Det förra undantaget gällande statisk VPK kan motiveras dels av produktiviteten av VPK:s subkonstruktioner associerade med medhavande och påklädande, vilket tillåter kombinationer med olika verb, dels av POK:ens begränsning i objektets form, vilket ger skäl till att använda VPK-varianten när objektsformen behöver variera. Det senare undantaget gällande dynamisk POK med *med* kan bero på en högre grad av semantisk variabilitet och därmed produktivitet av just denna typ av POK, vilket tillåter att den utvidgas till dynamiska verb. Den tolkning som föreslås är att denna ökade produktivitet av POK med *med* motiveras av dess formella och semantiska likhet med en annan argument-

strukturkonstruktion, nämligen orsaka-förflyttningskonstruktion, t.ex. *Andersson skallade bollen i mål* (Jansson 2005, s. 20). Likheten mellan POK med *med* och orsaka-förflyttningskonstruktionen är slående både när det gäller form och betydelse, då denna typ av POK till formen ofta samförekommer med ett riktningsadverbial (t.ex. *Johanna tog matlådan med sig till skolan*) och den dessutom betecknar objektsförflyttning.

När det gäller horisontella relationer mellan VPK och POK diskuteras två aspekter: 'principle of no synonymy/equivalence' och allostruktionell relation.

För det första är VPK och POK aldrig ekvivalenta som konstruktioner och utgör alltså inget motbevis mot 'principle of no synonymy/equivalence'. Förutom de få semantiskt ekvivalenta överlappningarna utgörs de i stort sett av subkonstruktioner med distinkta lexikosemantiska distributioner, och därför är de för det mesta semantiskt icke-ekvivalenta. Vidare skiljer sig de semantiskt ekvivalenta överlappningarna kvantitativt och därför kan de sägas vara pragmatiskt icke-ekvivalenta: de statiska överlappningarna skiljer sig när det gäller objektets längd och de dynamiska när det gäller acceptabilitet. Dock bör det betonas att 'principle of no synonymy/equivalence' gäller på konstruktionsnivån i stället för uttrycksnivån. Därför utesluter icke-ekvivalensen mellan VPK och POK inte att språkbrukare kan välja mellan två olika formuleringar med olika ordföljd, som t.ex. *Ida hade med sig väskan då* visavi *Ida hade väskan med sig* utan att alltid avse någon nyansskillnad.

För det andra kan allostruktionella relationer mellan VPK och POK bara finnas på två specifika nivåer i konstruktionsnätverket, nämligen mellan VPK och POK med *med*, som associeras med statiskt/dynamiskt medhavande, samt mellan VPK och POK med den specifikt lexikala kombinationen {*ha på*}, som associeras med statiskt klädbärande. Med andra ord är VPK och POK i stort sett distinkta argumentstrukturkonstruktioner med specifik ordföljd, dock förutom dessa överlappningar, som kan relateras som allostruktioner och därför kan abstraheras till argumentstrukturkonstruktioner utan specifik ordföljd.

Vidare föreslås att allostruktionella relationer skulle kunna ses som en utgångspunkt för abstraktion av en lexikal enhet utifrån komplexa konstruktioner. De olika rollerna som verbet spelar i dessa allostruktionspar kan tyda på olika vägar för abstraktion. Verb i konstruktionsparet som är associerade med klädbärande (t.ex. *ha på sig kläder*/*ha kläder på sig*) är mer beroende av REFL-PP:n för att kunna aktualisera denna betydelse (eller väcka denna ram) jämfört med verb i konstruktionsparet som är associerade med medhavande (t.ex. *ha med sig väskan*/*ha väskan med sig*). På så sätt kan analyser med allostrukturella relationer erbjuda en utgångspunkt för att utforska skärningspunkten mellan argumentstrukturkonstruktioner och konstruktioner av andra typer, liksom lexikala konstruktioner och generella ordföljdskonstruktioner.

Sammanfattningsvis presenterar avhandlingen både empiriska och teoret-

iska forskningsbidrag. Ett empiriskt bidrag är beskrivningen av VPK och POK, som kartlägger mönstret när VPK och POK väljs. Detta resultat är särskilt intressant i ljuset av forskningen om verbpartiklar i svenskan, där ordföljdsvariationen ofta sägs vara begränsad och betydelsen resultativ (t.ex. Larsson & Lundquist 2022b). Förutsatt att REFL-PP ses som en typ av verbpartikel, erbjuder studien en nyanserad syntaktisk och semantisk karaktärisering av denna specifika typ av verbpartikel. Teoretiskt öppnar studien en diskussion av allostruktionella relationer som en utgångspunkt för fortsatt forskning om konstruktionssyntax, dvs. hur konstruktioner av olika komplexitet kombineras när språkbrukaren tolkar yttranden i bruk (Blensenius & Lyngfelt 2025; Boas 2025).

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Appendix 1
Summary tables of the subconstructions of the VPC and the POC

Tables 1 and 2 provide summaries of all the classes of occurrences, as subconstructions associated with specific frame-semantic constructional meanings. The first table summarises the VPCs, while the second summarises the POCs. The 'P' column indicates the preposition of the construction. The 'Verbs' column lists (up to) the four most frequently co-occurring verb lemmas within the corresponding subconstruction. The 'Frame' column specifies the name of the frame or clausal meaning associated with the subconstruction. Frames shared between the VPC and the POC are denoted in bold. The '*n*' column presents the token frequency of the subconstructions. The columns 'V_{type}' and 'N_{type}' present the type frequencies of the verb and the head of the object, counted separately for each subconstruction.

Table 1. A summary of all the subconstructions of the VPC

P	Frame	*n*	V$_{type}$	NP$_{type}$	Verbs
av	Undress	83	13	54	*ta* 'take' [54], *få* 'get' [6], *klä* 'dress' [5], *hänga* 'hung' [3], …
	Groom	19	8	9	*klippa* 'cut' [10], *raka* 'shave' [2], *tvätta* 'wash' [2], *bada* 'have a bath' [1], …
	Work_off	12	4	8	*springa* 'run' [7], *leka* 'play' [3], *skriva* 'write' [1], *skritta* 'go at a walking pace' [1]
	Free_self	4	3	4	*skaka* 'shake' [2], *ruska* 'shake' [1], *sparka* 'kick' [1]
	Remove_body_part	4	3	3	*slita* 'tear' [2], *hugga* 'hew' [1], *plocka* 'pick' [1]
i	**Ingest**	239	34	113	*få* 'get' [125], *stoppa* 'stuff' [12], *mumsa* 'munch' [11], *trycka* 'press' [10], …
	Absorb	6	1	6	*suga* 'suck' [6]
	Memorise	1	1	1	*suga* 'suck' [1]
	Contain	1	1	1	*ha* 'have' [1]
med	**Bring**	429	20	296	*ha* 'have' [164], *ta* 'take' [139], *få* 'get' [55], *köpa* 'buy' [16], …
	Cause	5	1	5	*föra* 'convey' [5]
	Share	3	1	3	*dela* 'share' [3]
på	**Dress**	288	15	153	*ta* 'take' [71], *ha* 'have' [61], *sätta* 'put' [44], *få* 'get' [41], …
	Amass	64	9	41	*samla* 'collect' [21], *lägga* 'lay' [15], *köpa* 'buy' [13], *plocka* 'pick' [7], …
	Take_accountability	39	1	21	*ta* 'take' [39]
	Incur	22	1	17	*dra* 'draw' [22]
	Afford	2	1	2	*kosta* 'spend' [2]
	Expect	1	1	1	*känna* 'feel' [1]

Table 2. A summary of all the subconstructions of the POC

P	Frame	*n*	V*type*	NP*type*	Verbs
av	Do_to_excess	11	4	6	*frysa* ‘feel cold’ [7], *jobba* ‘work’ [2], *slita* ‘tear’ [1], *spring* ‘run’ [1]
	Remove_body_part	1	1	1	*slita* ‘tear’ [1]
	Kill_self	15	1	1	*ta* (*livet*) ‘take (the life)’ [15]
	Make_sound	2	1	1	*göra* (*väsen*) ‘do; make (noise)’ [2]
	Sleep_off	1	1	1	*sova* (*ruset*) ‘sleep (the intoxication)’ [1]
i	**Contain**	39	3	35	*ha* ‘have’ [33], *få* ‘get’ [4], *känna* ‘feel’ [2]
	Ingest	3	1	3	*få* ‘get’ [3]
med	**Bring**	81	7	60	*ha* ‘have’ [59], *få* ‘get’ [11], *ta* ‘take’ [7], *behöva* ‘need, want, require’ [1], …
	Be_observant	2	1	1	*ha* ‘have’
på	**Dress**	101	4	57	*ha* ‘have’ [92], *få* ‘get’ [5], *behålla* ‘keep, retain’ [2], *behöva* ‘need, want, require’ [2]
	Time_period	45	4	15	*ha* ‘have’ [21], *ta* ‘take’ [13], *få* ‘get’ [6], *behöva* ‘need, want, require’ [5]
	Carry_by_chance	28	2	24	*ha* ‘have’ [18], *få* ‘get’ [10]
	Restrain_self	1	1	1	*lägga* (*band*) ‘put (tie/ties)’ [1]
	Make_effort	1	1	1	*slå* (*knut*) ‘hit (knot)’ [1]

Appendix 2
Information sheet for the acceptability judgement experiment (in Swedish)

Bakgrund till experimentet
Projekttitel: *Bitransitiv verb-partikel-konstruktion ur ett konstruktionsgrammatiskt perspektiv*
Detta experiment är en av flera delar i mitt avhandlingsarbete om bitransitiva partikelkonstruktioner i modern svenska. Projektet bedrivs vid Institutionen för svenska språket och flerspråkighet vid Stockholms universitet.

Vad går experimentet ut på?
Experimentet genomförs helt online. Uppgiften går ut på att du läser korta meningar på svenska och bedömer hur naturlig varje mening låter. Experimentet tar ca 5–7 minuter att genomföra. Du kan avbryta experimentet när du vill, och då sparas inga uppgifter.

Hur behandlas dina svar?
Datainsamlingen görs helt anonymt och svaren kommer inte att kunna kopplas till dig som person.

Vem kan delta i experimentet?
Jag söker dig som är modersmålstalare av svenska som inte har studerat språkvetenskap (syntax/semantik).

Varför ska du delta i experimentet?
Deltagande är helt frivilligt. Genom deltagandet kan du bidra till ökad kunskap om svensk grammatik och om hur språkkunskap är organiserad hos språkbrukare.

Hur kan du ta del av experimentets resultat?
Resultatet av undersökningen kommer att vara tillgängligt genom min avhandling som är planerad att publiceras i mars 2025.

Kontaktuppgifter
Kontakta Shiro Shibata (shiro.shibata@su.se) vid frågor.

Genom att gå vidare till experimentet samtycker du till att dina svar används till forskningsprojektet.

Appendix 3
Example of a set of experimental items

Target items

På-VPC sentences

(1) Elin hade på sig skorna.
(2) Anders fick på sig jackan.
(3) Sofia tog på sig mössan.
(4) Ulf satte på sig byxorna.

På-POC sentences

(5) Elin hade skorna på sig.
(6) Anders fick jackan på sig.
(7) Sofia tog mössan på sig.
(8) Ulf satte byxorna på sig.

Med-VPC sentences

(9) Elin hade med sig barnen.
(10) Anders fick med sig hunden.
(11) Sofia tog med sig bagaget.
(12) Ulf bar med sig värdesakerna.

Med-POC sentences

(13) Elin hade barnen med sig.
(14) Anders fick hunden med sig.
(15) Sofia tog bagaget med sig.
(16) Ulf bar värdesakerna med sig.

Filler items

Fillers expected to elicit high acceptability ratings

(17) Anna la blanketten på bordet.

(18) Ingrid sparkade pojken bollen.

(19) Bertil åkte skridsko på isen.

(20) Patrik sparkade bollen till pojken.

(21) Inger hällde kaffet i koppen.

(22) Sofie gick hos läkaren jämnt.

Fillers expected to elicit intermediate acceptability ratings

(23) Bo hjälpte grannen katten.

(24) Sofie gick hunden runt huset.

(25) Peter slog upp i glaset vinet

(26) Henrik låg fast i kön till restaurangen.

(27) Maria tog för sig tårtan.

(28) Carina åkte sig till stationen.

(29) Jan hällde i koppen kaffet.

(30) Robert drack saften äcklig.

(31) Magnus hoppade av glädjen.

(32) Erik slog mjölken upp i glaset.

Fillers expected to elicit low acceptability ratings

(33) Marcus hoppade hunden runt.

(34) Helen satt runt vid kiosken.

(35) Karin tog sig tårtan.

(36) Anita la i sängen.

(37) Axel drack bullen ur tallriken.

(38) Bertil tog maten äcklig.

(39) Bengt drack termosen kaffet.

(40) Kerstin åkte hunden.

(41) Arne hjälpte katten grannen.

(42) Anna låg blanketten på bordet.

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In present-day Swedish, expressions with a reflexive prepositional sequence, such as *med sig,* can occasionally be rearranged without a change in meaning, as in *ta med sig väskan* and *ta väskan med sig* 'bring along the bag'. However, this word order alternation is not entirely free. For example, one can say *klä på sig maskeradkläder*, but *klä maskeradkläder på sig* is questionable.

This dissertation investigates the conditions under which such a paraphrase is possible. Drawing on the usage-based constructionist approach, the two word orders are considered distinct families of constructions, each associated with specific lexical combinations and meanings. Cases of paraphrasability are then seen as overlaps between these two families of constructions.

Based on corpus and acceptability judgement data, the findings show that the two families of constructions are largely unique in their lexical and semantic associations, and that the possibility of a paraphrase between them is highly limited. Quantitative analyses reveal that the overlaps between these two constructions differ in usage tendency. These findings indicate that the two word orders are never equivalent in their usage, though they can be interchangeable in limited situations.

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