# German v. Norwegian adjunct small clauses headed by *als*/*som*

This study addresses a specific type of adjunct small clauses found in most Germanic languages; among these, Norwegian and German. We refer to these constructions as adjunct *som-*/*als*-predicatives, as they are generally headed by a functional element: the particle *als* in German and *som* in Norwegian, both roughly corresponding to the English particle *as*:

(1) Norw.: Denne urettferdigheten hadde slått ham$_i$ flere ganger [PRO$_i$ som barn].
   'This injustice had struck him several times as a child.'

(2) Germ.: [PRO$_i$ Als verwöhntes Reicheleutekind] konnte sie$_i$ nicht begreifen, dass ..
   'As a spoiled child of rich parents she could not understand, that ..'

In our analysis of these adjuncts, we draw on Bowers (1993), who argues for a functional predication projection. Bowers mentions that this projection may be headed by *as* and we take this projection to be the relevant structure for the *som-*/*als*-predicatives as well. As a development of (and in part contrasting with) Bowers' analysis, we claim that these elements by their very nature are non-verbal copulas, thus we take the semantic relation underlying this projection to be the copula relation (the pure predication relation). The adjunct type PredP is one of two major type PredPs (cf. Eide 1998, Flaate 2007), as in the following structure:

(3) **Adjunct *als/som*-predicative**
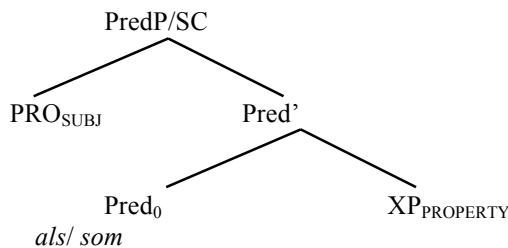
As the name suggests, these *som-*/*als*-predicatives typically appears in adjunct positions. Appearing outside of the scope of a case assigning head, PRO turns up as the subject of the small clause. This small clause is not selected of the matrix verb and does not belong to its argument structure. They typically function as adverbials, cf. the examples in (4), but they may also adjoin to a DP and function as postnominal modifiers, cf. the examples in (5):

(4) a) Norw.: Han$_i$ hadde [$_{PredP}$ PRO$_i$ som skuespiller] ofte opptrådt [$_{PredP}$ PRO$_i$ som Dracula].
      'He has as an actor often performed as Dracula.'

    b) Germ.: [$_{PredP}$ PRO$_i$ als Student] würden Sie$_i$ eine Ermäßigung erhalten.
      'As a student, you would get a discount.'

(5) a) Norw.: De ga henne$_i$ [$_{DP}$ [$_{DP}$ stillingen] [$_{PredP}$ PRO$_i$ som rektor]].
      'They gave her the position as headmaster.'

    b) Germ.: [$_{DP}$ [$_{DP}$ Ein Leben] [$_{PredP}$ PRO$_i$ als herumreisender Zauberkünstler]] hat ihn$_i$ weltberühmt gemacht.
      ,A life as a travelling magician has made him world famous.'

In our talk we discuss the distribution, scope and possible meanings (temporal, causal, modal, DP-modifying, etc.) of these small clauses, and examine this type of construction from a comparative standpoint. In addition, we will analyze the way these adverbials interact with tense, mood/modality and aspectual marking of the matrix clause for their apprehended meanings. As related languages, one might expect German and Norwegian to exhibit similar distributional and semantic patterns in this type of construction. However, there are certain

differences in the distribution of these adjunct small clauses, which can be explained as word order related phenomena. Therefore, we will compare the German and Norwegian constructions with respect to general word order, particularly the relative ordering of adverbials. Interestingly, the different adverbial readings mirror/match the syntactico-semantic hierarchy among adverbials/adjunct, as described for instance by Pittner (1999) for German and by Åfarli (1997) for Norwegian.

Another interesting aspect of these small clauses is the status of PRO and the role of (morphological) case. The small clause predicate is typically separated from its visible predication base (controller of PRO) by other elements in the matrix clause. Although PRO occupies the spec position of the small clause, the controller may occur in several positions in the matrix clause. In the standard case, the PRO subject is controlled by the subject of the matrix clause, cf. (6), but other matrix arguments may control PRO as well, cf. (7) and (8),

(6) Germ.: Er$_{i\ NOM}$ nimmt [$_{PredP}$ PRO$_i$ als Delegierter$_{NOM}$] an der Konferenz teil.
        'He takes part on the conference as a representative.'

(7) Germ.: [PRO$_i$ Schon als kleinen Jungen$_{ACC}$] hat ihn$_{i\ ACC}$ die Frage der eigenen Identität beschäftigt.
        'Already as a young boy, the question about his own identity interested him.'

(8) Germ.: Für dieses Wirken wurde ihm$_{i\ DAT}$ 1970 [$_{PredP}$ PRO$_i$ als einem$_{DAT}$ der ersten Gelehrten seines Fachs] der Nobelpreis für Wirtschaftswissenschaften zugesprochen.
        'For this achievement, he was awarded the Nobel Prize in Economic Sciences, as one of the pioneers in his field.'

In our view, adjunct control can neither be reduced to obligatory subject control (Hornstein 1999, Fischer 2017) nor be explained as non-obligatory control (Landau 2000). Instead, we argue that these adjuncts generally display the OC properties described by Landau (2013): 1) The controller must be an argument of the adjunct's matrix clause (usually, but not always, a subject), 2) long-distance and arbitrary control are ruled out, 3) OC PRO only allows a sloppy reading under ellipsis, and 4) they freely allow a non-human PRO:

(9) Germ.: Peter$_i$ arbeitet [PRO$_{i/*k/*arb}$ als Lehrer] und das tut auch sein Bruder$_j$ ~~arbeitet [PRO$_{j/*i}$ als Lehrer]~~.
        'Peter works as a teacher, and so does his brother work as a teacher.'

(10) Germ.: Er benutzt das Messer$_i$ [PRO$_i$ als Flaschenöffner]. (Helbig 1984: 76)
        'He uses the knife as a bottle opener.'

Assuming a revised version of Landau's *OC-as-AGREE*-analysis based on ideas in Zeijlstra (2012), Wurmbrand (2011, 2014), and Fischer (2017), OC is analyzed as upward multiple AGREE between a functional head F (i.e. T, v, Appl), an antecedent, and PRO. A welcome result of this analysis is that (morphological) case agreement in these adjuncts can be explained as instances of *Multiple Agree*, i.e. as upward multiple Agree between one single goal and multiple probes (Zeijlstra 2012). Following Fischer (2017), NOC occurs when the strict conditions for OC are not met, i.e. NOC is the result of a last resort strategy. This is the case when the PredP is adjoined to a DP which is not the controller of PRO and no syntactic OC-as-Agree relation can be established.

Selected references:
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