

Go big or go home: a Blixemic approach to Norwegian spatial expressions

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1 Introduction

Norwegian has a number of locative-directional adverbial pairs that can be used to express spatial relationships, e.g. *opp*_{DIR}/*oppe*_{LOC} ‘up’, *ut*_{DIR}/*ute*_{LOC} ‘out’, *hjem*_{DIR}/*hjemme*_{LOC} ‘home’, and so on (Holmes and Enger 2018). Following Jackendoff (1983), van Riemsdijk and Huijbregts (2007), and Pantcheva (2010, 2011), the prevalent view in the field has become that expressions of location (Place) are contained within expressions of movement (Path). The evidence from spatial adverbials in Norwegian, however, seemingly contradicts this claim: expressions that indicate movement toward or away from a place serve as the lexical base for related locative expressions by adding the morpheme *-e*, as seen in (1) and (2).

- (1) Jeg går **hjem**
1SG.NOM go-PRS home.DIR
‘I am going home’

- (2) Jeg er **hjemm-e**
1SG.NOM be-PRS home-LOC
‘I am home’

- (3) Renault-en er både hennes
Renault-DEF be.PRS both 3SG.F.POSS
arbeidsplass og **hjem**
workplace and home
‘Renault is both her workplace and (her) home’

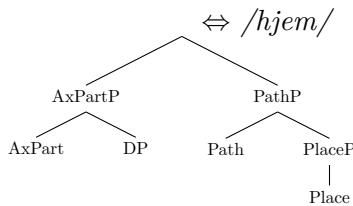
This violates the containment hypothesis from Jackendoff (1983) as the opposite pattern would be expected. However, we can analyze this situation by employing the nanosyntactic device of movement-containing trees introduced in Blix (2021) in order to construe the lexical entries. Somewhat to the rescue, Norwegian attests the usage of what would usually be a directional expression—*home*—as a noun phrase with a locative reading (see (3)). Based on this reading, we can analyze the *hjem/hjemme* contrast as an instance of a pseudo-ABA pattern: A-Ax-A.

DP	PlaceP	PathP
<i>hjem</i>	<i>hjemme</i>	<i>hjem</i>

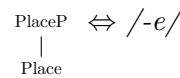
2 The solution

I employ two syntactic constructs in order to resolve the Norwegian problem: the syntactic category of Ax(ial)Parts from Svenonius (2006) and the aforementioned movement-containing trees. In particular, I propose two lexical entries in (4) that can be used with the *f-seq* in (6) in order to perform a successful derivation of the apparent A-Ax-A pattern.

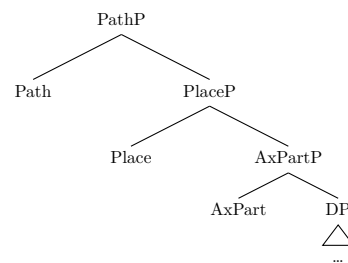
- (4) Lexical entry for *hjem* ‘home’



- (5) Lexical entry for the locative suffix *-e*

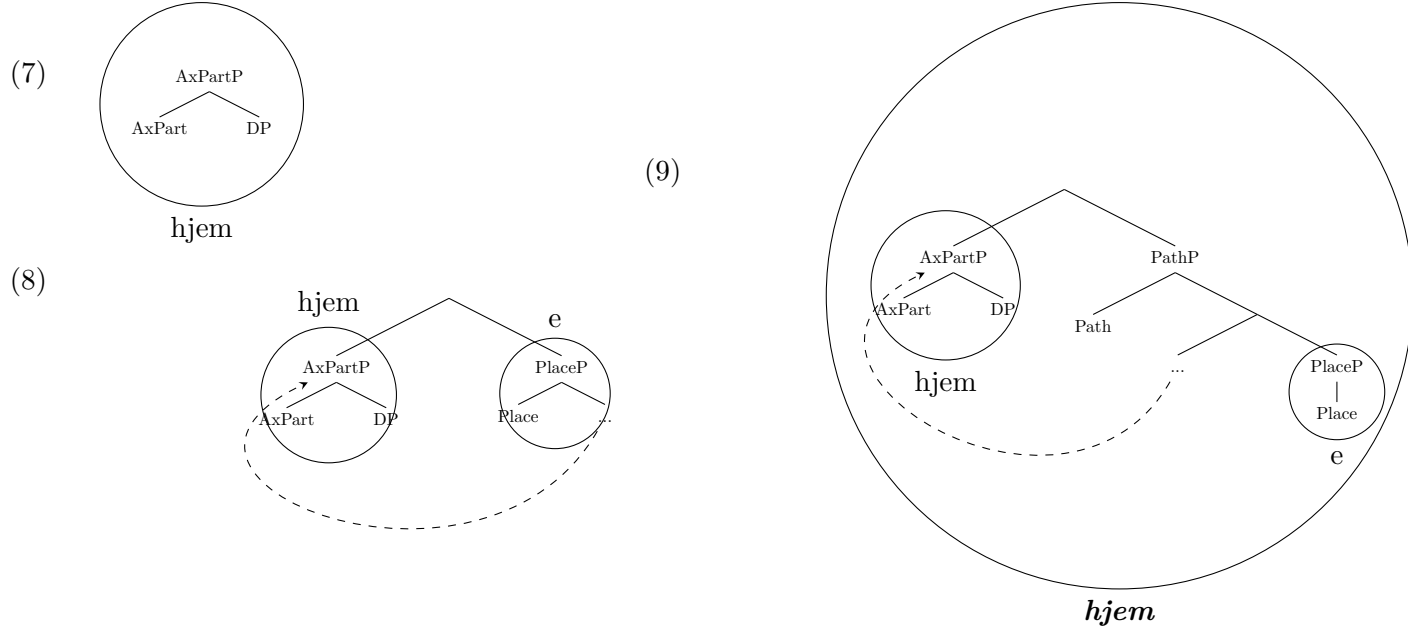


- (6)



The derivation starts by merging AxPart and DP in (7), which leads to a successful lexicalization by the left branch of the lexical entry in (4). The next feature to be merged is Place, however at this point there is no match in the lexicon; as a result, an evacuation movement is triggered in (8) in a bid to rescue the derivation. Merging Path also results in a failure, which in turn triggers an evacuation movement that leads to a successful spell-out in (8). This situation is an instance of

a partial overwrite as described in Blix (2021) as the *-e* suffix that surfaced in the previous cycle was overwritten by the exact-match spell-out of (4).



3 Conclusion

Although Norwegian appears to contradict the containment from Jackendoff (1983), analyzing the seemingly problematic Norwegian data through the lens of Nanosyntax reveals that it is not the case. By employing movement containing-trees, I have demonstrated how to perform a successful derivation of the adverbial pair *hjem/hjemme*. Other examples that use lexical entries with movement-containing trees include the analyses of an A-Ax-A pattern in some of the verbs in a dialect of Friulian as described in Cortiula (2023), Czech nominal declensions of *pán* ‘sir’ and muž ‘man’ in Janků (2022), partial overwrite in Iron Ossetic pronouns in Blix (2021), Polish comparative adjectives and adverbs in Wiland (2023), Polish pseudo-partitive and counting phrases in Žoha (2025), and so on.

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