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Finland-Swedish Directionality in Conceptual Semantics and in Construction Grammar: A methodological dialogue

Abstract

The study discusses, describes and explains the syntax, the semantics and the constraints that apply to the Directional Modality Construction in (Finland-)Swedish (as exemplified in *Han måste till Helsingfors* 'He must (go) to Helsinki') from two theoretical points of view, those of Conceptual Semantics and Construction Grammar. Both models offer descriptive devices that the other model is not too strong on. On the basis of the results of our analysis of this one particular construction, we suggest that scholars working within different frameworks but who have common grammatical interests can indeed learn from one another and can jointly produce better accounts of particular linguistic phenomena, but such cooperation has to take the form of true cooperation—not of mutual compromising.

1.   Approaching methodology in practice

On and off, methodological debates rage violently in linguistics; so also in Finland. Over the last forty years, there have been at least a dozen major occasions where practicing linguists have debated methodological, theoretical, empirical, and ethical issues from their own perspective, making linguistics what it is today in Finland. One of the most active debaters has been Fred Karlsson, starting with his 1987 booklet about the future of the main Finnish journal of linguistics, *Virittäjä*, and by implication about the future of linguistics in Finland. Over the years, Karlsson has also on several occasions instigated detailed investigations into issues of responsibility and accountability, reaching a peak in his pronounced ethical standpoints in his evaluation of E. N. Setälä in Karlsson (2000).

In this study we have taken a different route than mainstream debates. We represent very different views and approaches to linguistics and to grammar, but we have always managed to find some minimal, non-

confrontational common denominator in our studies. The phenomenon under investigation in this study is a modal construction of directionality in Finland Swedish; the proponents are the 'minimalist' Urpo Nikanne, here representing Conceptual Semantics, and the 'maximalist' Jan-Ola Östman, here representing Construction Grammar.

2.   The phenomenon

Swedish uses a modal structure to express movement along a path, which lacks a lexical verb that would by itself express movement; the finite predicate is a modal or modal-like verb: *skall* 'shall', *måste* 'must', *kan* 'can', *vill* 'will', *borde* 'should/ought-to'; *våga* 'dare', *hinna* 'have/get-time-to'). Cf. (1).

(1)   *Peter måste/skall/borde till   Åbo/badrummet/sängs/vessan.*
       Peter must/shall/should to   Turku/the-bathroom/bed-GEN/the-toilet
       'Peter has to/will/should go to Turku/the bathroom/bed/the toilet.'

As the translations of (1) indicate, the sentence *Peter måste till Åbo* means that Peter has to go to Turku, but there is no verb (like *åka*, *gå*, *resa*) that would indicate that Peter moves, or the manner in which he moves; still, it has the same propositional content as *Peter måste åka till Åbo* 'Peter has to travel to Turku'.

The phenomenon is well known in Swedish, but it has not been dealt with in detail; the recent extensive Swedish Academy grammar (SAG) mentions the structure only in passing (Teleman, Hellberg & Andersson 1999: 470). In this study, we will refer to the structure as the Directional Modality Construction (DMC). Utilizing the models of Conceptual Semantics (CS) and Construction Grammar (CxG) we will then address the following questions: what constraints apply to DMC; how are the various realizations of the DMC related to each other; and how have they developed? Primarily, though, we want to show that together, CS and CxG can give a fuller picture of the construction than what either one can give by itself.

3.   Constraints on the DMC

In brief, SAG (1999: 470) states that some auxiliaries (especially *vilja* 'will/want-to', *måste*, *skola* 'shall', *hinna*) can be directly construed with a

Goal- or Source-oriented adverbial, and when they are, the structure presupposes a verb of motion. There are, however, constraints on the productivity of the construction. Not all modal auxiliaries are possible in this use; e.g., according to our preliminary surveys both in the Ostrobothnia region and in the south and south-west of Finland, *få* 'get', *kunna* 'can/be-able-to', *bör* 'ought-to', *lär* (indicating hearsay) and *må* (indicating a wish) are strange or impossible as part of the DMC, as we can see, respectively, in (2).

(2) a. **Han får till Åbo.*

  b. **Han kan till Åbo.*

  c. *?Han bör till Åbo.*

  d. **Han lär till Åbo.*

  e. *?Han må till Åbo.*

The auxiliaries *bör* and *må* are not part of the active vocabulary of younger speakers; *må* in (2e) is acceptable to older speakers and *bör* (2c) is more acceptable in the Ostrobothnia region than in the south of Swedish-speaking Finland. Ostrobothnians (but not speakers from southern Finland) accept (3) in the sense of 'He knows the way to Oslo' (but the sentence cannot mean 'He can travel to Oslo').

(3) *Han kan till Oslo.*

More unproblematic auxiliaries, like *ska(ll)* 'shall', and *måste* 'must' (cf. (1)), are subject to constraints on the prepositions of the following prepositional phrase: *från* 'from' (cf. (4b)) is not completely acceptable to all speakers without a Goal-directional *bort* 'away', *ut* 'out' (4c) or some other specification of the Goal (4d):

(4)   a. *Han måste till/genom/via Åbo.*
        he   must to/through/via Turku

    b. *?Han måste från Åbo.*
        he   must   from Turku

    c. *Han måste bort/ut från Åbo.*
        he must   away/out from Turku

    d. *Han måste från Åbo till Helsingfors.*
        he   must   from Turku to Helsinki

A seeming exception to this is the case where the adverbial is *härifrån* 'from-here': (5a) is completely acceptable. However, here the morpheme *från* 'from' has been codified as a part of the demonstrative adverb, and *härifrån* has been codified as a member of the demonstrative system; *härifrån* is conceptualized as a whole, comparable to the adverbs *ut* and *bort*. (5c) is ambiguous: the path interpretation is indeed possible (especially in first person singular, *Jag måste bort* 'I must get away'), but the most likely interpretation of (5c) is that it is uttered by a Mafioso with hierarchical ordering capabilities: 'He's gotta go!'

(5)   a. *Han måste härifrån.*

    b. *Han måste ut.*

    c. *Han måste bort.*

Generally speaking, the DMC can more easily be used if the presupposed verb expressing movement also expresses futurity. Auxiliaries clearly expressing permission (*får*), manner or evidentiality (*lär*), necessity (*bör*) or ability (*kan*) are not as easily accepted in this construction (cf. (2)). Example (3) also works best in a situation where the trip is imminent. Thus, auxiliaries that clearly refer to the past or have a generic meaning, like *bruka* 'to tend to do something habitually', *?Han brukar till Åbo*, do not work in the DMC. This does not mean that the auxiliaries in (1) cannot be used for past time reference; they work well for expressing the future in the past: *Han skulle/ville till Åbo igår*, 'He was about/wanted to go to Turku yesterday'.

4.   Related constructions

If a Finland-Swedish speaker needs to go to the bathroom, s/he could express this need either with the preposition *till* 'to', or with the preposition *på* 'on', as in (6a) and (6b), respectively—both of them meaning 'I must (i.e. need to go) to the toilet (i.e. WC)':

(6)   a. *Jag måste till vessan.*

       b. *Jag måste på vessan.*

Here the preposition *på* has a specific functional load in the construction. (6b) means precisely that the 'I' needs to go and sit on the water closet to execute prototypical bathroom needs, whereas (6a) can also be used to indicate pure movement from one place to another.

The prototypical function of the NP in the PP governed by *på* is a specialized use that the speakers in the particular culture have to know—it is not something they can figure out from the meanings of the parts of (6b) if they are not familiar with the culture. We find the same phenomenon in Finnish in structures with the verb *käydä* 'go' in combination with the inessive: *käydä saunassa/vessassa/kaupassa* (sauna-ssa/vessa-ssa/kauppa-ssa) 'to go sauna-in/bathroom-in/shop-in'. In order to get the correct and specialized interpretation of the '*käydä* + PLACE-in' construction, one has to know what it means to 'go in the sauna'; even if there are other things one might be doing in a sauna (like sleeping, giving birth, drinking beer), *käydä saunassa* can only mean going into a heated sauna to bathe.

Because of the possibility of variation between the prepositions *till* and *på* in (6), the variation in the use of the prepositions has attracted a secondary, euphemistic function. Talking about what one does in the realms of the bathroom is considered somewhat taboo; thus, some speakers will use (6a) with *till* (rather than *på*) to indicate that they need to go to the bathroom, but for reasons of politeness they do not want to indicate explicitly to the addressee what they are going to do there.

We can thus see a development in three stages:

(7)   (A) X modal *till* NP → (B) X modal *på* NP   → (C) X modal *till* NP
            DMC Construction   DMC Construction   DMC Construction (A)
            + VP Construction   + Functional Load   used as
            with adverbial   Construction   Euphemism for (B)
            direction specification
            Cf. (1), (6a).   Cf. (6b).   Cf. (6a).

A further specialized construction is exemplified in (8).

(8)   a. *Han måste i sängen. Han måste i en säng.*

       b. *Han   måste   i   säng.*
          he   must   in   bed

The difference between (8a) and (8b) is that when the definite (*sängen*, *säng-en*) or indefinite (*en säng*) form is used for 'bed' in (8a), the Subject 'he' does not have to sleep; it is enough that he goes to, ends up in, or is taken to the (or a) bed. However, when *säng* 'bed' is used in its naked form (8b), the 'he' also has to sleep (or, in the case of a hospital situation, he has to go and lie down because of his weakness/illness).

It is not surprising that more or less frozen or idiomatic expressions have been developed for situations that are often repeated in people's daily lives, like going to the bathroom and going to bed. The differences in the use of different prepositions (6) or in the form (9) of the NP governed by a preposition codify very situation-specific and culture-specific information. The phenomenon is well-known in other languages (cf. English *go to school/church/college* vs. *go to the school…*), and it is not restricted merely to sub-constructions of the DMC.

5.   A Conceptual Semantics description of the DMC

A preliminary description of the syntax and semantics of the DMC is to be found in Nikanne (1997), which takes a more minimalistic position than Jackendoff's (1990) analysis of English depictive and resultative adjuncts. In Nikanne's view, the motivation for the emergence of the DMC is that every well-defined SITUATION needs to have a Theme (the participant whose position in a concrete or abstract semantic field is discussed) and a Relation

that connects the Theme to the rest of the situation. Because this relation is the core of the whole construction according to CS, it does not have to be explicitly stated when it can be inferred from the other parts of the syntactic structure.

In this sense, the DMC is motivated in the same manner as the following structures, which express the place/position or movement/change of the Theme, but which do not contain a verb in the subordinated, adjunct structure; the missing verb could be inserted without changing the propositional content. (In the meaning expressions, boldface is used to emphasize the 'implicit part of the expression', corresponding to the implicit function.)

Example	Meaning of adjunct or PP (prepositional phrase)	Implicit function

Resultative constructions (adjunct structure in boldface)

(9)	*Pekka nauroi **maha-nsa kipeä-ksi**.* Pekka laughed stomach-his sore- TRANSLATIVE	the stomach **became** sore	GO

*Predicate complements* (adjunct structures in boldface)

(10) a.	*Pekka tuli koulu-un **kipeä-nä**.* Pekka came school-ILLATIVE ill-ESSIVE	Pekka **was** ill	BE
b.	*Pekka hankki koiran **vanha-na**.* Pekka got dog old-ESSIVE	Pekka/the dog **was** old	BE
c.	*Pekka tuli koulu-un **rehtori-ksi**.* Pekka came school-illative rector- TRANSLATIVE	Pekka **became** rector	GO

PATH constructions (i.e. causative V + PATH expression without motion verb)

(11) a. *Äiti pakotti Villen kylpy-yn.*　　　Ville **went** into the　　　GO
　　　　mother forced Ville bath-　　　　　bath
　　　　ILLATIVE
　　　　　　cf. *Äiti pakotti Villen menemään*
　　　　　　　mother forced Ville go-INF-ILLATIVE

　　　b. *Paviaanit pääsivät leijonien ohi.*　　the baboons **went**　　　GO
　　　　baboons managed-to-get lions-　　past the lions
　　　　ACC past
　　　　　　cf. *Paviaanit pääsivät menemään*
　　　　　　　baboons got go-INF-ILLATIVE

　　　c. *Tämä takki joutaa kirpputorille.*　　the coat **goes** to the　　GO
　　　　this coat has-to-end-up in-the-　　flee market
　　　　flee-market
　　　　　　cf. *Takki joutaa menemään*
　　　　　　　coat has-to-end-up go-INF-ILLATIVE

Structurally, these structures are ordinary intransitive or transitive sentences that contain a PP:

(12)
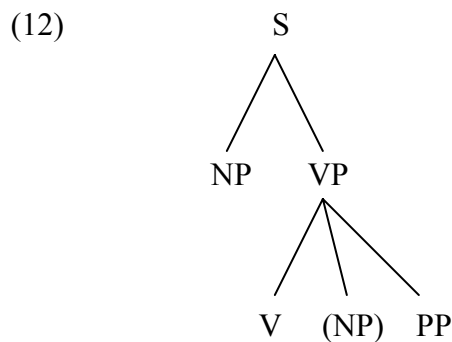
That is, syntactically, the sentences are in no way strange or problematic, and there is no need to presuppose an ellipted verb in them. But the following problems remain:

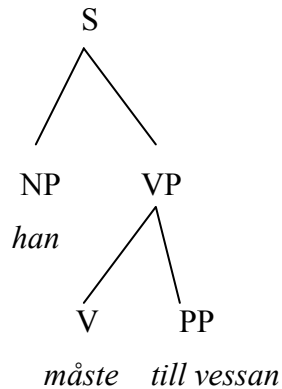–　Semantically, why is it the GO and BE functions that can remain implicit?

– In the syntax-semantics interface, what kind of rules are there to join together the sentence structures and the semantic structures?

– In the lexicon-construction interface, how can we cope with the different constraints related to single lexical units like words and case endings?

Semantically, the implicitness of the functions GO and BE can be motivated by the fact that a PP (*kipeänä* in (10a), *leijonien ohi* in (11b), etc.) that expresses a concrete or abstract PLACE or PATH presuppose that there is a Theme that is situated in the PLACE or that moves along the PATH. The principle here is based on a schematic f-chain, the rules of argument-structure, and the presumption that GO and BE are the most unmarked at the f2 level; for details, see Nikanne (1990, 1997, 2005). The procedure goes as follows. (Here, f2 stands for any non-causative situation function: GO, BE, STAY, MOVE, EXT or ORIENT; 'fusion' in 13v is the same operation as unification.)

(13) (i)   First, the PLACE and PATH are recognized.

(ii)   Then, we find the Theme for the PLACE and the PATH and its f2 function.

(iii) a. If a suitable f2 function is found, the PLACE or the PATH are to be interpreted as chosen by it. If so, the procedure is finished.
       b. If no such function is found, an unmarked f2 is created: a non-directional BE for PLACE, or a directional GO for PATH.

(iv)   As the Theme for the newly created f2, the anaphoric ξ is created.

(v)   On the basis of syntactic and conceptual binding rules, a governor is found for ξ. The governor can either be coindexed or fused with ξ.
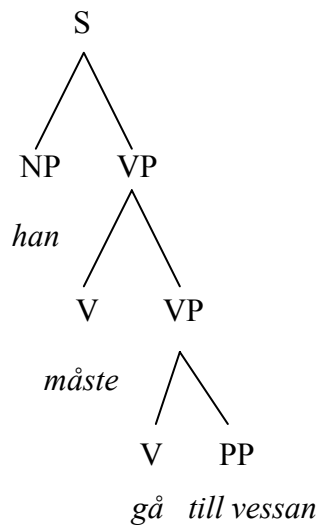
Since according to Platzack (1976), modal verbs in Swedish are Vs (and not, e.g., Aux's), a syntactic description of the DMC would thus look as follows:

(14)

```
               S
              / \
             /   \
            /     \
          NP       VP
          han     / \
                 /   \
                /     \
               V       PP
             måste   till vessan
```

The corresponding syntactic structure for motion verbs is different, since it has two verbs:

(15)

```
              S
             / \
            /   \
          NP     VP
          han   / \
               /   \
              V     VP
            måste  / \
                  /   \
                 V     PP
                gå   till vessan
```

For the interpretation of sentence (14), the procedure in (13) is not enough, but gives the basis for an interpretation. With the help of (13), we get this far:

(16) (i)   The phrase *till vessan* corresponds to the structure TO→VESSA.

   (ii)   The phrase does not contain a corresponding f2; thus, we have to create an unmarked directional f2, i.e. GO, and the Theme ξ for it.

(iii) The subject-NP *han* is a suitable governor in the sentence because it c-commands the PP *till vessan*, which is responsible for ξ. The subject *han* does not have any other role in the thematic structure. Its only θ-marker is the modal verb *måste*. Thus, it gets fused with ξ.

In this way, we get an interpretation for the whole of the thematic structure. The subscript indices stand for the linking between the words of the sentence and the parts of conceptual structure. Note that the created function GO is not linked to any word (or any part) in the syntactic structure.

(17) Han_2 $måste_4$ $till_1$ $vessan_3$.

HAN_2 $VESSA_3$

   ↑   ↑

GO → TO_1

   |

necessary$_4$

The indexes indicate which parts of the conceptual structure correspond to words in the sentence. The function GO lacks an index because it has no corresponding element in the sentence; it has been created into the semantics of the sentence by another route. In a sentence with a motion verb like *gå, åka, resa, fara,* etc., the motion verb has the lexical thematic structure GO that corresponds to the GO function:

(18) Han_3 $måste_5$ $gå_1$ $till_2$ $vessan_4$.

HAN_3 $VESSA_4$
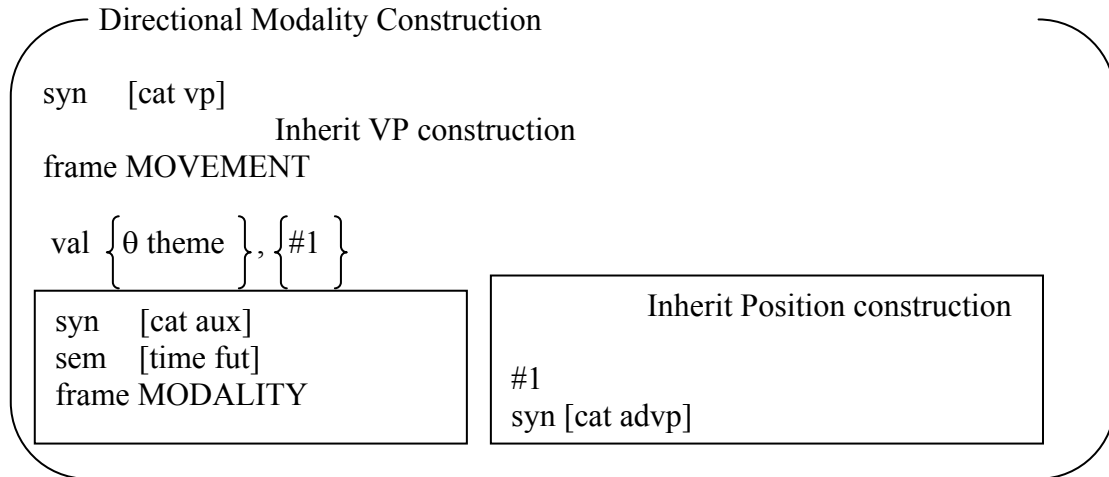
   ↑   ↑

GO_1 → TO_2

   |

necessary$_5$

This analysis manages to clarify the directional modality interpretation. However, the analysis does not address the lexical constraints of the DMC, nor does it address the special interpretations of the sub-constructions of the DMC discussed in connection with (6).

6. A Construction Grammar description of the DMC

The DMC as such is not a problem for CxG, since CxG assumes that sentences like (17) are just as central in the grammar of Swedish as are sentences like (18). (On CxG, see Fillmore 1989; Fried & Östman 2004.) In practice, this means that CxG does not need concepts like ellipsis or deep structure for its grammatical description. All sentences are as such licensed by constructions. From this point of view one does not have to interpret SAG's (1999: 470) statement that a motion verb is understood after the auxiliary ("Ett rörelseverb kan då ses som underförstått efter hjälpverbet") as meaning that a motion verb has been left out, and not even that the sentences *Han måste till Åbo* and *Han måste åka till Åbo* necessarily mean the same thing: according to CxG, linguistic units are form-meaning constellations.

The DMC can thus provisionally be depicted as consisting of two parts, as in (19).[1]

(19)

Directional Modality Construction

syn [cat vp]
                    Inherit VP construction
frame MOVEMENT

val { θ theme }, { #1 }

syn   [cat aux]
sem   [time fut]
frame MODALITY

Inherit Position construction

#1
syn [cat advp]

The external specifications of the DMC say, briefly, that it has the structure of a *vp* indicating movement or direction. The leftmost internal box specifies the value of its *syn*tactic attribute as '*aux*iliary' (although it may well be that Swedish also has to recognize a category of what Palmer
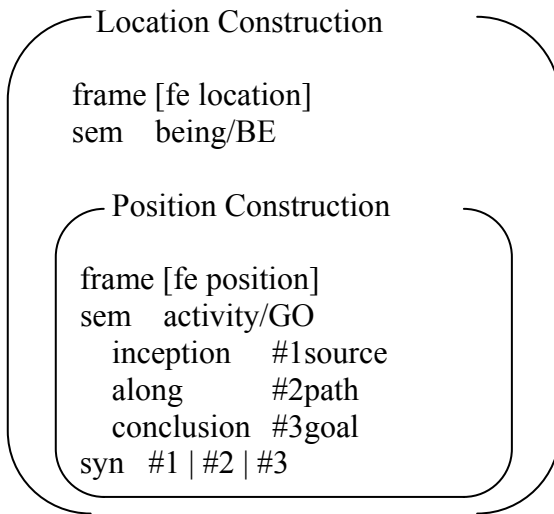
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[1] J.-O. Ö. would like to thank Mirjam Fried for very fruitful discussions on the CxG representation of the DMC put forward in this study. CxG tends to use low-case letters for specific attributes and values (e.g., vp, np, aux, rather than VP, NP, Aux) and reserve the upper-case variants for names of constructions. This tradition has also been followed in this section of the study.

(1974) called 'catenatives', to include such semi-modal auxiliaries as *hinna* 'have time to', *orka* 'have the energy to', and *våga* 'dare'). The *sem*antic value of this constituent has to indicate the *fut*urity of the construction. The *val*ency has to be specified as a feature of the construction as a whole (i.e., as part of the external structure of the construction) rather than as a feature of the left-most box: if there is a conflict between the specification in the left-most box and the construction as a whole, it is the value of the construction as a whole that licenses the use of the construction. The lexical construction of each auxiliary (the left-most box) will indicate its relation to futurity, and the DMC will inherit that piece of information from the respective lexical constructions.

The most important specification in the rightmost constituent in (19) is that it inherits the Position construction. This box could include two smaller boxes, which both could be realized (cf. e.g., 4d) in either order— cf. *Han måste till Helsingfors från Åbo*—or so that only one of them gets realized—*Han måste till Helsingfors*. In the formalization, one of the values of the θ-attributes could be called *source* (in one box) and the other could be called *goal*, albeit that this would require us to categorize *path*s (realized with the prepositions *genom/via*; cf. 4a) as either source or goal, and we would still not capture the possibility that all three—source, path, goal—could be present in a sentence: *Han måste från Åbo till Helsingfors via Salo* 'He must (travel) from Turku to Helsinki via Salo'. My suggestion is therefore rather that we need to have recourse to a more general Location construction, where the internal relationship between the values source, goal and path of the θ-attribute are specified. More specific constructions, like the DMC, will then inherit that more general construction. A detailed account of the parts of a Location construction needs the tools of CxG's sister theory Frame Semantics. A preliminary suggestion is made in (20), where the vertical bar (|) means 'either-or'.

The syn attribute in the rightmost internal box of the DMC needs to have *advp* ('adverbial phrase') as its value. In this formalism idiomatic constructions like *i säng* (cf. (8b)) would be licensed by other constructions. The collaboration between such idiomatic phrases and the lexical constructions of the relevant prepositions (here, *i* 'in') is in need of further study, but at least they differ from the DMC in that they would inherit the Location construction and not the Position construction. The Location construction does not express change or movement (cf. the GO of CS), but being (BE).

(20)

Location Construction

frame [fe location]
sem   being/BE

Position Construction

frame [fe position]
sem   activity/GO
   inception   #1source
   along   #2path
   conclusion #3goal
syn   #1 | #2 | #3

In (20), Position is subordinated to Location. The attribute *fe* ('frame element') indicates the role of the frame/situation/participant. When a naked *np* is used (cf. the *i säng* of (8b)), the Location construction is activated; when the DMC is used, the Position construction is activated. Since in CxG lexical elements are also licensed by constructions, the system would work so that the prepositional phrase (*pp*) *i säng* is also licensed by its own construction (cf. the idiomatic *Han är i säng* 'He is in bed'), in addition to being licensed by the DMC, as in *Han ska i säng*. Because the naked np/pp inherits the Location construction, it also automatically connects to the subordinated Position construction. Similarly, the construct *på vessan* (cf. (6b)) will be licensed separately as an idiomatic, lexical construction. (We may end up needing a separate loc+n combination, which functions as a more general construction for all similar constructions.) This means that we do not need any additional metaphorical explanations or constructions to explain the euphemistic interpretation of *Han måste till vessan*. It is clear, however, that the stages depicted in (7) have to be kept apart conceptually—for instance, we cannot say *Jag måste på vessan från köket* 'I must go to the bathroom (i.e., urinate) from the kitchen'.
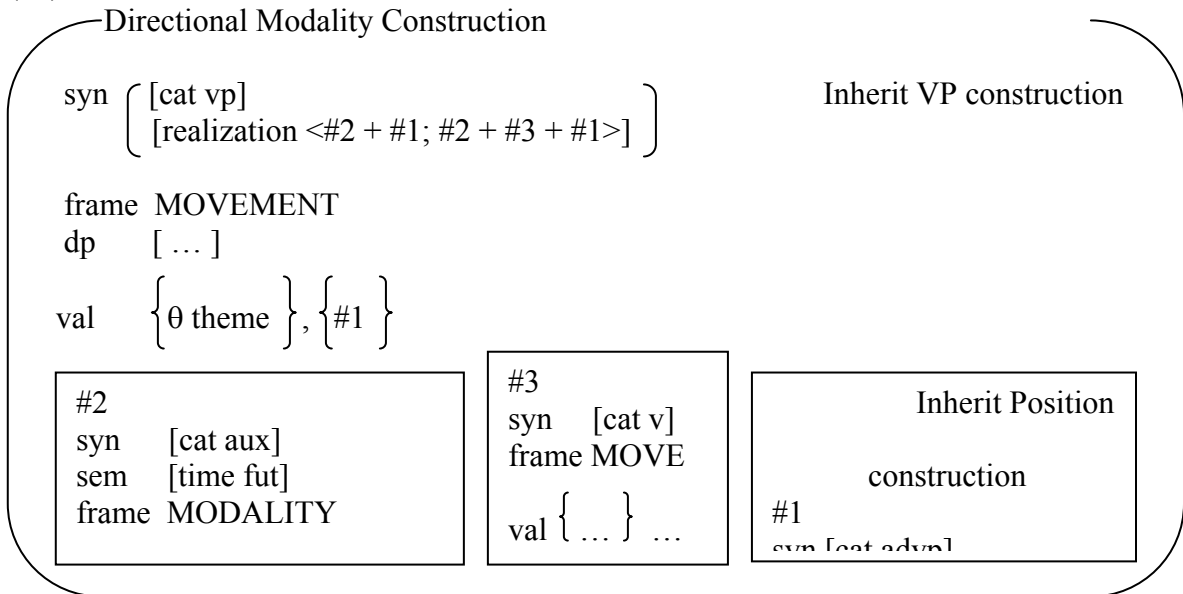
The details of the description suggested for the DMC are tentative, but description as such is not a problem in CxG. However, the relationship between (17) and (18) are somewhat challenging for CxG: CxG seeks to be a usage-based model of language, which *inter alia* means that its descriptions should be in conformity with what we know about cognition and interaction. It is therefore important to attempt to describe the relation

between (17) and (18) in the manner we think a native speaker experiences that relation. According to CxG, our linguistic competence exists precisely in the form of an inventory of constructions, so that constructions that are (cognitively or otherwise) related to each other form a network, and language as a whole is built up of different-level networks.

If we agree that it would be convenient and even necessary to describe the constructions that license constructs like *Han skall åka till Åbo* and *Han skall till Åbo* as having a close relationship to one another, we need to find a formalism that would be able to depict this. Traditional CxG would not be able to do this in any other way than to say that both are licensed by the same construction where the verb of motion is optional. This is a cumbersome solution, since it will only move the problem elsewhere: if *Han skall åka till Åbo* and *Han skall till Åbo* are seen as basically the same, this would also mean that *Han skall åka till Åbo*—a sentence that one would by default think could be licensed by the Swedish Subject-Predicate construction together with a VP/AdvP construction—would have to be seen as principally different from e.g., *Han skall sjunga i Åbo* 'He will sing in Turku', since in the latter sentence the main verb *sjunga* 'sing' cannot be left out with the meaning of 'Han skall sjunga i Åbo' preserved. Similarly, the solution would create problems in that the construct *Han skall åka till Åbo* cannot be licensed with the same constructions as *Han skall ringa till Åbo* 'He will phone to Turku' (≠ *Han skall till Åbo*).

One solution to these kinds of problems is to bring in the notion of 'value pool' into the formalism of CxG. Leino & Östman (2005) show how this notion can be usefully employed in CxG descriptions of variation, variability and language change. Simply put, the idea is that one attribute can suggest several values at the same time; the value to be chosen out of the potential values is dependent on the *dp* ('discourse pattern') specification of the construction. The dp-attribute expresses in what text type or genre a particular construction can be used (cf. also Östman 1999, 2005; Halmari & Östman 2001). The interaction between the dp and the parts of a value pool can then specify in detail which constructions are licensed in what situations/genres, in the manner suggested in (21). (The alternatives of the value pool are circumscribed by pointed brackets.)

(21)

Directional Modality Construction

syn [cat vp]
[realization <#2 + #1; #2 + #3 + #1>]

Inherit VP construction

frame MOVEMENT
dp […]

val { θ theme }, { #1 }

#2
syn [cat aux]
sem [time fut]
frame MODALITY

#3
syn [cat v]
frame MOVE

val { … } …

Inherit Position

construction

#1
syn [cat advp]

This machinery can grow and become extremely cumbersome if the starting point is that language is constantly changing and varying. It would *de facto* mean that almost every attribute would need options in order for a construction to be able to license all possible, even idiolectal constructs. This, in turn, would require that we know the variation possibilities beforehand—and that, again, would go against the view that language is not a corpus of sentences, but constantly changing and being generated (in the sense of Chomsky 1957) by speakers.

The concept of value pool is, however, needed precisely for the description of variation. A value pool functions as a bridge between points of reference. In line with this argumentation, there are three basic constructions in the constructicon of Swedish, which license the constructs in (22). To get (22a), we need to make reference to the Subject-Predicate construction and the VP/AdvP construction; to get (22c) we need to make reference to the DMC in (19/20). The realization of the verb *åka* 'travel, go' in (22b) depends on what value the external syn attribute in (21) chooses out of the two values that the value pool suggests.

(22) a. *Han skall åka till Åbo.*

    b. *Han skall (åka) till Åbo.*

    c. *Han skall   till Åbo.*
        he   will (go) to Turku

In this way of thinking, the starting point is that (22c) is licensed by a separate construction; the hypothesis is that it functions as a structure in Swedish irrespective of whether the native speaker 'understands' a certain verb of motion to have been left out of it or not. (22c) is idiomatic in the sense that the combination of a particular auxiliary and an advp prevents speakers from understanding it to mean e.g., 'Han skall ringa till Åbo'.

In this description, (22b) has the role of bridging the gap between (22a) and (22c). For that reason, its semantic description is especially important. Semantically, a native speaker understands that the *han* 'he' has some kind of intention or motivation and even control that (the change) to *Åbo* has to take place by moving. The native speaker understands this—along with the two variants of (22b)—in the same manner as s/he understands that e.g., *Kalle mördades* 'Kalle was murdered' needs an *agent*, although that agent is not explicated in the sentence. Semantically, the activity displayed in (22b) is the same irrespective of whether the word *åka* gets expressed in the sentence or not; syntactically—on the basis of the alternatives suggested in the value pool—it is possible to specify under which conditions and constraints *åka* gets expressed, and when it can be left out. The constraints can for instance be interactive; thus, in (23) it is suggested that the give-and-take between the interactants is the prototypical manner of realization of the verb of motion. This, however, needs further research, which is why in (21) the detailed specification of the dp is left wanting.

(23) a. A: *Han skall åka till Afrika på semester i sommar.*
           he   will go   to Africa on vacation in summer
      B: *Va,   ska   han till Afrika—han som är rädd för giraffer.*
           what shall he   to Africa   he   who is afraid for giraffes

    b. A: *Han skall till Afrika på semester i sommar.*
      B: *Va, ska han åka till Afrika—han som är rädd för giraffer.*

'He's going to Africa on vacation this summer.'
'What?! Is he going to Africa? But he's afraid of giraffes.'

In accordance with the explanation given above, the relationship between the constituents *ska åka* and *ska* in (23) is comparable—with respect to the θ-attribute—to the relationship between a transitive and an intransitive clause, where, in the latter case, the value *causer* of the θ-attribute has been left out. Cf. *He dropped the cell phone. ~ The cell phone dropped*.

7. Constructions in two models—towards solidarity

Our aim in this study has been to approach the same empirical material, the realizations of the DMC, from two different points of view. At the initial stages of our research, we attempted to combine our two different formalisms, but we soon realized that there is no sense in joining formalisms, since the formalisms are rigidly based on specific systems and have been developed to explain syntactic and semantic details from very specific points of view; if we join the formalism, both models will lose, since both would then need to adapt to the other and thus compromise and *de facto* lose their model-internal rigidity.

It is enough that we realize at what points the models are similar enough so that both can benefit from each other. For instance, CxG needs information about the GO function of CS in order for it to be able to better specify the movement frame, and for CS it is important to know how CxG deals with constraints that are imposed on constructions.

The models have a lot in common; not least their common view of the importance of constructions in language. It is therefore not impossible to think that the two models will develop in directions that will make them even more similar in the future. For instance, for more than ten years, CS has handled Adjunct constructions in very similar ways to the way CxG handles them (cf. Jackendoff 1990; Nikanne 1990, 1995, 2005). It may also be possible that the description of Argument Structure constructions within CxG will become even more analytic (i.e., that it will accommodate semantic functions like GO, BE, TO and FROM). However, CxG might feel that CS rests too much on semantics: for instance, whereas CS gives roughly the same semantic content to (17) and (18), CxG stresses the point that there is always a delicate interplay between form and function, to the extent that a minute difference in form may in principle indicate a difference in meaning.

8.   Finally

The empirical aim of this study was to discuss one structure in Swedish that had not previously received much attention; the methodological aim was to see what two somewhat different approaches to syntax and semantics are able to say about the same empirical data.

We have found that the DMC hosts a set of related constructions; each specialized in its syntax and semantics. These structures have the following form in common:

(24)   *NP$_{subj}$ mod [$_{PP}$ P NP]*

where *mod* is a modal verb (*måste* 'must', *kan* 'can', *skall* 'shall') or a semi-modal/catenative verb (*hinna* 'have time to', *våga* 'dare'), which hosts some aspect of futurity. The constraints on the constructions—and thus, the characteristics of sub-constructions—relate to the following questions:

- What verb can occupy the *mod* position in (24)?

- What preposition can occupy the P in (24)?

- What is the form of the NP inside the PP?

- Are there dialectal or genre differences in the use of the DMC or in the acceptability of the answers to the first three questions? (For instance, Swedish speakers in the south of Finland do not as readily accept (3) as do Ostrobothnians.)

- Is the DMC in Finland Swedish different from that in the Swedish in Sweden, and if so, are there signs of contact influence? (For instance, Finnish has the exact word-for-word corresponding structure to (3) in *Hän osaa Osloon* (hän osaa Oslo-on) 'he can Oslo-to'.)

Methodologically, we have seen that CxG and CS have their own strengths in the description of the DMC. CS is good at explaining the motivation behind the DMC and its relation to other expressions of motion that lack a

verb of motion. CxG is good at explicating the different constraints that relate to the different constructions, and it has a way of handling modality that is not easily expressed in tree structures. The models can learn from each other and in that way take the analysis the respective models offer one step further in the direction of an all-adequate description and explication of a particular construction. However, such cooperation has to be carried out on terms equally set by both models.

On a personal level, we have found that dialogues are always beneficial—irrespective of one's basic linguistic ideologies and world views.

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