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”Disagreeing” doubling *det* [*]

Abstract. In this paper I discuss doubling with the neuter pronominal *det* 'it' in Swedish. *Det* may double common gender and/or plural noun phrases too, which gives rise to what looks like disagreement.

The proposed analysis takes as its point of departure so-called pancake-sentences, which are sentences with a common gender and/or plural noun phrase subject, but where the predicative adjective agrees in the neuter, non-plural. The subject in this construction has a SUBSTANCE or an EVENT reading. There are reasons to believe that the subject of pancake-sentences is headed by a null, neuter classifier, devoid of the feature number. The absence of number explains the reading of the subject, as well as the agreement pattern. The analysis of pancake-sentences is carried over to one type of *det*-doubling: The antecedent of the doubling *det* is a neuter classifier, without number features, heading the doubled phrase. As a consequence, no disagreement is at hand in *det*-doubling of this type. In the other kind of apparent disagreeing *det*-doubling, the antecedent is not a linguistic entity, but a discourse element.

1. Introduction

In Swedish there is a rule, stating that predicative adjectives agree with their subject or object. However, there are fully grammatical cases where the subject and a predicative appear to disagree. The subject in (1) is a plural, common gender noun, *pannkakor* 'pancakes', whereas the predicative *nyttig-t* 'healthy' displays neuter agreement.[1]

(1) Pannkakor är   nyttig-t.
     pancake.pl   is   healthy-neuter
     'It's healthy to have pancakes.'

[1] Glossing inevitably requires an analysis of the examples, and in this paper the presence of absence of a number feature is of great importance. For this reason I have generally refrained from marking the value SINGULAR in the glossing of the examples.

The noun phrase *pancakes* has often been used to exemplify the construction (see for example, Enger 2004), hence the term *pancake-sentences*, which I will use in this paper.

Whether or not (1) displays disagreement is a matter of analysis. It should be stressed that pancake-sentences are completely well formed to native speakers of Swedish. Plural agreement on the predicative adjective in (1) would be grammatical too, but in that case the meaning would be different. In other examples, when the subject is in the non-plural, "agreement" on the predicative would turn the sentence ungrammatical. This is illustrated in (2) below. Note that *gröt* 'oatmeal' is a common gender noun.[2]

(2) Gröt   är   nyttig-t/*nyttig-Ø.
     oatmeal   is   healthy-neuter/healthy-common
     'Oatmeal   is   healthy.'

The sentence initial element, *pannkakor* 'pancakes' in (1) can be "doubled" by the pronoun *det* (it.neuter) 'it', which gives rise to what looks like a parallel type of "disagreement", i.e. between the plural *pannkakor* 'pancakes' and the non-plural, neuter pronoun *det*.

(3) Pannkakor,   det   är   nyttig-t.
     pancakes   it.neuter   is   healthy-neuter
     'It's healthy to have pancakes.'

The main purpose of this paper is to account for doubling with a pronominal *det*, as in (3), which I will refer to as *det*-doubling. However, in order to explain this phenomenon, the properties of "undoubled" pancake-sentences, as in (1), will have to be scrutinized. I will show that there are basically three different types of pancake-sentences, which can all be "doubled" by *det*. In addition, there is another type of "disagreeing" *det*-doubling, exemplified in (4):

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[2] If the subject noun phrase is definite, for example consisting of a genitive + a head noun, as in (i), overt agreement seems to be strongly preferred:

(i) Mormors   gröt   är nyttig/*nyttig-t.
    *grandma's oatmeal   is healty.common/*healthy-neut*
    'Grandma's oatmeal is healthy.'

The noun phrase *mormors gröt* 'grandma's oatmeal' in (i) refers to a kind.

(4) Mannen där, det   är min bror
     man.the   there, it.neuter   is   my   brother
     'The man over there is my brother.'

The special properties of the construction illustrated in (4) will be discussed in section 5.

My paper is organized as follows: In section 2 I present the theoretical background for my study. In section 3 I present an analysis of three different types of pancake-sentences. Section 4 contains a general discussion of formal gender from the point of view of the analysis presented in section 3. The subject of section 5 is *det*-doubling of pancake-sentences and *det*-doubling of the type illustrated in (4). Section 6 contains a short summary of my findings.

2. Theoretical background

The general framework is generative theory, as presented for example in Chomsky (2005) and subsequent work. Following Pesetsky & Torrego (2005, 7), I assume that only features with a semantic value are parts of the narrow syntax, a view that Pesetsky & Torrego term "Relativized Extreme Functionalism". A consequence of this approach is that features that lack a semantic value can indeed exist, but in such cases they are not part of the narrow syntax; I will assume that they are inserted post-syntactically.

The theory of late insertion and Distributed Morphology, DM, (see Halle & Marantz 1993, Halle 1997) postulates a separation between the phonological expression of morphemes and the underlying morphosyntactic feature set-up. As a consequence, a Vocabulary Item, for example *det* (it.neuter) 'it', may "stand for" different feature set-ups in different contexts. The Subset Principle of Halle (1997, 428) is taken to govern the insertion of Vocabulary Items:

(5) The phonological exponent of a Vocabulary item is inserted into a morpheme [...] if the item matches all or a subset of the grammatical features specified in the terminal morpheme. Insertion does not take place if the Vocabulary item contains features not present in the morpheme. Where several Vocabulary items meet the conditions

for insertion, the item matching the greatest number of features specified in the terminal morpheme must be chosen.

Another consequence of the idea that only semantically meaningful features are part of the narrow syntax is that not all morphology has the same status. Morphological items that do not correspond to narrow-syntactic features are *dissociated morphemes,* inserted post-syntactically (see Embick 1997).

A working hypothesis is that so-called left dislocated elements are not a syntactic part of the preceding CP. An independent argument that this is correct is that dislocated argument elements, such as *brandbilen* 'the fire truck' in (6a), must be repeated inside the clause that follows. The relation between *brandbilen* 'the fire truck' and *den* is basically the same in (6a) and (6b).

(6) a Brandbilen,   jag såg *(den) i   lördags.
     *firetruck.the,   I   saw *(it)   in   Saturday*
     'The fire truck, I say it last Saturday.'

   b Har du   sett brandbilen? Jag såg den i lördags.
     have you   seen firetruck.the? I   saw it   in Saturday
     'Have you seen the fire truck? I saw it last Saturday.'

The relationship between a left-dislocated element and the clause that follows is presumably more complex than hinted at here, but the details are not of importance for my proposal and will not be discussed further.[3]

The linking between an antecedent and an anaphoric pronoun is central to my proposal. To account for this relation, I will rely on work by Bosch (1983, 1986, 1988) and Cornish (1986), who assume that this linking can be of two types, what I will refer to as Syn-linking – syntactic linking – and Ref-linking – referential linking.[4] (Bosch and Cornish use the terms Syntactic linking or S-linking, and Referential linking or R-linking.)

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[3] See Kristin Melum Eide (2011) for an elaborated analysis of the status of left dislocated elements.

[4] In Josefsson (2010) I use the terms S-linking and R-linking. In this study a pronoun that participates in S-linking is an S-pronoun, and a pronoun participating in R-linking is called an R-pronoun. However, since the term R-pronoun is established in another sense (see van Riemsdijk 1978), Ref-binding and Ref-pronouns are better alternatives.

Let us first take a look at Syn-linking. The relation between *lejonet* (lion.neuter.def) 'the lion' and *det* (it.neuter) 'it' in (7) is an instance of this type of linking:

(7) Titta på lejon-et!   Det   är   vacker-t!
      look   at   lion-neuter.def   it.neuter   is   beautiful-neuter
      'Look at the lion! It's beautiful!'

The formal features neuter and singular of the DP antecedent *lejonet* are identical to the features on the pronoun *det* – this is Syn-linking. In this sense, the DP antecedent "controls" the pronoun, which motivates the direction of the arrows below, from the antecedent to the pronoun.

(8)   *lejon-et*   *det*

      neut   ⟶   neut
      Nb, sing   ⟶   Nb, sing

In constructions with a dislocated element, the most reasonable assumption is that the "doubling" element is the argument of the predicate.[5] Hence, the pronoun *det* in (9) below is the true argument of *var gott* 'was good', and *den* is the argument of *var usel* 'was bad'. And since the formal gender of *vinet* (wine.neuter.def) 'the wine' determines the choice of the pronoun *det* (it.neuter) 'it', a Syn-link seems to be established between these two elements. A similar link holds between *konjaken* (brandy.common.def) 'the brandy' and *den* (it.common) 'it'.

(9)   Vinet,   det   var   gott,   men konjaken,   den
       wine.neut.def   it.neut   was   good-neut,   but   brandy.common.def it.common

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[5] See Platzack (2012) for detailed discussion. Platzack shows that there are cases were we have reasons to believe that neither of the preverbal elements in main clauses has moved from a VP-internal position. Consider (i), which is from Platzack (2012):

(i)   Cyklar,   det   har   jag   bara   en.
      bicycle.pl   it.neut   have   I   only   one
      'When it comes to bicycles, I have only one.'

var   usel.
was   lousy.common.
'The wine was good, but the brandy was lousy.'

vinet   det   konjaken   den
neut ——————→ neut   common ——————→ common

It should be stressed that a Syn-link holds between two *linguistic* entities, in the typical case between a non-pronominal DP and an anaphoric element, in the typical case a pronoun.

In Ref-linking, or referential linking, a pronoun evokes a non-linguistic discourse element. Consider (10):

(10) Pelle har snattat. Det   var tråkig-t.
Pelle   has shoplifted. It.neut was sad-neut.
'Pelle has shoplifted. That's sad.'

EVENT

Discourse Gestalt ◄——————— *det*
neut

What (10) shows is that the pronoun *det* (it.neut) 'it' evokes the notion of an event or a state, which corresponds to or is motivated by the semantic content of the preceding clause ("Pelle har snattat"). The underlying assumption is that main clauses do not carry formal features, an assumption that should not be controversial. Consequently, Syn-linking by way of formal gender or other features is not available in (10). Bosch and Cornish (see above) make no principled difference between linguistic and non-linguistic discourse antecedents, when it comes to Ref-linking. This means that *det* (it.neuter) 'it' in a sentence such as *Det var tråkigt* 'It was sad' uttered as comment on a scene where the speaker watches someone committing the crime of shoplifting, expresses an instance of Ref-linking for the same reasons as *det* in (10). Basically, Ref-linking is the kind of linking that holds in cases where Syn-linking is not available.

The terms Syn-pronoun and Ref-pronouns will be used in the analysis below. A Syn-pronoun is a pronoun that participates uniquely in Syn-linking. In many

cases a pronoun participates simultaneously in Syn-linking and Ref-linking. Consider (11):

(11) Titta på hunden.   Visst är han söt!
     look at   dog.common.sing.def. surely is   he   sweet
     'Look at the dog! Isn't he sweet!'

The noun *hunden* 'the dog' in (11) carries presumably the features common gender and number (singular). The pronoun *han* 'he' carries the feature male and number (singular). (The pronouns *han* 'he' and *hon* 'she' do not carry any formal gender feature; for arguments see Josefsson (2009).) Thus, a Syn-binding relation is established by means of the number feature, and a Ref-binding by means of the semantic gender, which evokes a MALE interpretation of the referent in question:

(12)   *hunden*   *han*
            Nb, sing ⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯→ Nb, sing
            MALE   ←⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯ MALE

A consequence of the proposed analysis is that a particular pronominal lexeme, such as *det* 'it' or *hon* 'she' can be a Ref-pronoun in one context, a Syn-pronoun in another context, and perform both types of linking in a third context.

3. Pancake-sentences

So-called pancake-sentences (see (1) above) have been subject of a lively discussion for a long time in Scandinavian linguistics; see for example Wellander (1949, [1985]), Heinertz (1953), Teleman (1965, 1969), Faarlund (1977), Malmgren (1990), [1984], Hellan (1986), Källström (1993), Teleman & al (1999), Enger (2004) and Josefsson (2009). Josefsson (2009) shows that the construction falls in two parts, exemplified by (13a) and (13b–c), respectively.

(13) a Senap är   gul-t.
       mustard is   yellow-neut
       'Mustard is yellow.'

b Två älskare är omoralisk-t.
two lovers is immoral-neut
'To have two lovers is immoral-neut.'

c Henne i en sportbil vore trevlig-t.
her in a sports.car would.be nice-neut
'To have her in a sports car would be nice.'

However, as will be shown below, it appears to be more accurate to distinguish three types of pancake-sentences, each with distinct properties. The three types are represented by (13a), (13b), and (13c), respectively.

What is common for the three types is that predicative agreement is in the neuter, even though the overt subject is not a neuter DP. *Senap* 'mustard' in (13a), is a common gender noun, *två älskare* 'two lovers' in (13b) a DP in the plural – in addition the noun *älskare* 'lover' is a common gender noun. *Henne i en sportbil* 'her in a sports car' in (13c) appears to be a small clause. In the last case, the pronoun *henne* 'her' is not a neuter pronoun, and it is not in the nominative case.

Let us now consider the three types in more detail.

3.1 Type 1: "Mustard is yellow"

The subject *senap* 'mustard' in (13a) is a bare noun in the non-plural with a SUBSTANCE interpretation. A similar interpretation can be obtained when the noun is in the plural, too, which is shown in (14):
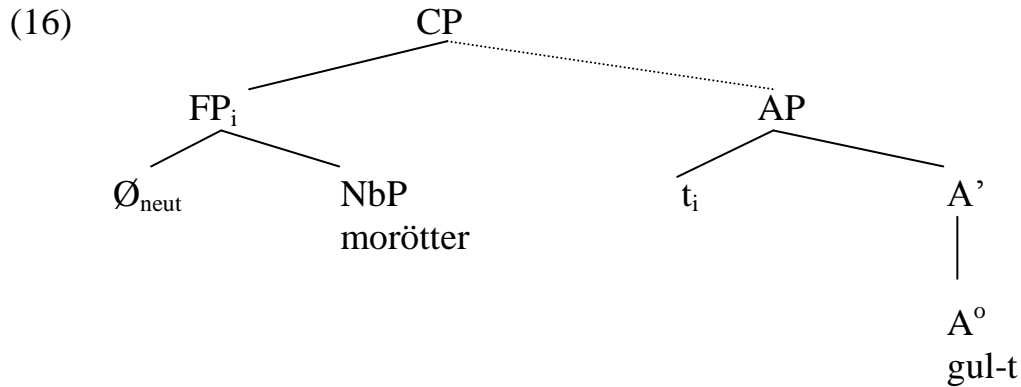
(14)   Morötter är gul-t.
carrot.pl is yellow-neut
'Carrots are yellow.'

As Josefsson (2009) points out, the interpretation of the subject *morötter* 'carrots' in (14) is that of an AGGREGATED SUBSTANCE, that is a substance consisting of smaller parts. We get the same interpretation for the DP *mycket morötter* 'much carrots' in (15):

(15)   Det var mycket morötter i soppan.
it was much carrots in soup.the
'There was a lot of carrot in the soup.'

To account for the neuter gender marking on the predicative adjective in (13a) and (14), as well as the semantic interpretation, Josefsson (2009) assumes that the noun phrase subject is larger than what we see, and that it is headed by a pronominal element endowed with the feature neuter. The functional projection in question is termed FP in (16) below.[6]

(16)

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                          CP
              _____.......................
             |                                    |
           FP_i                                   AP
          /    \                               /      \
     Ø_neut    NbP                          t_i       A'
              morötter                                |
                                                      |
                                                     A°
                                                     gul-t
```

As (16) shows, the subject phrase consists of two layers. The "upstairs" functional projection, FP, which gives rise to the SUBSTANCE interpretation and the "downstairs" projection, the plural NP, which gives rise to the "small pieces", an aggregation interpretation. The head of the topmost projection in the subject is a null element. This head has a classifier-like function, and in this sense it is parallel to the overt expression *ämnet* 'the substance' in (17), which also triggers predicative agreement in the neuter. In the following I will refer to this null element as a classifier. (The noun *ämne* 'substance' is neuter, and *olja* 'oil' common gender.)

(17) Ämnet   olja är   genomskinlig-t.
     substance.neuter.def oil is   transparent-neut
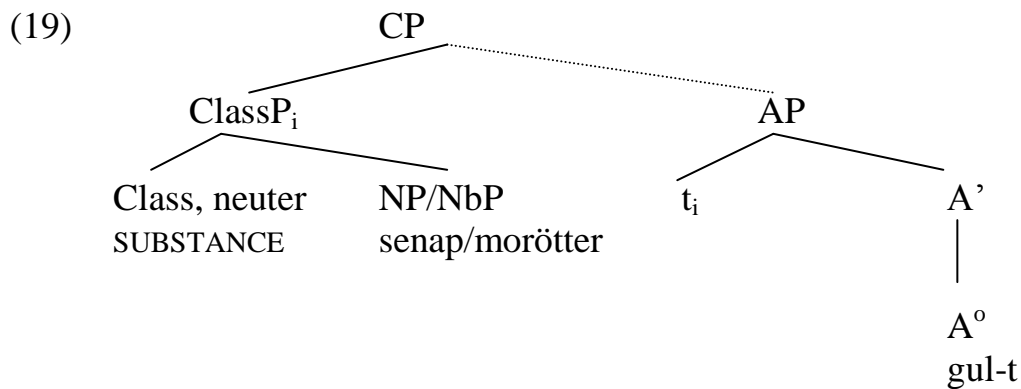   'The substance oil is transparent.'

The fact that the classifier in (17) is neuter does not mean that all elements of this type are neuter. If the neuter noun *ämnet* 'the substance' is exchanged for

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[6] Josefsson (2009) terms the phrase SemP, since it is assumed to encode features related to a semantic gender.

the common gender *substansen* 'the substance', agreement will be in common gender:[7]

(18) Substansen   olja är   genomskinlig.
     substance.common.def oil is   transparent
     'The substance oil is transparent.'

In this rest of this subsection I will focus on the observation that the overt NP in the subject of sentences such as (13a) and (14), are bare, either NPs or – in the case of nouns in the plural – NbPs. Sentences such as (17) and (18) indicate that Swedish has classifiers. It should be stressed, though, that Swedish is not a classifier language in the same sense as e.g. Japanese, where classifiers are obligatory. The basic structure of (13a) and (14) is shown in (19):

(19)

```
                        CP
            ┌──────────────┈┈┈┈┈┈┈┈┈┈┈┐
         ClassPᵢ                      AP
       ┌─────────┐                 ┌──────┐
   Class, neuter   NP/NbP         tᵢ      A'
   SUBSTANCE       senap/morötter          │
                                          A°
                                          gul-t
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The tree in (19) captures the core properties of the construction type. It should be pointed out that the classifier element in (19) has to be nominal, and that it has to be DP-related in such as way that it allows for the noun phrase to be an

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[7] It is possible that the null classifier-like element in (16) could be identified with "the universal grinder" (Pelletier 1979), i.e. an operator that gives rise to a "ground" interpretation of the noun phrase.

  Other expressions that have a classifier-like function are measure phrases and serving expressions, such as *en meter* 'a meter' and *en flaska* 'a bottle':

(i)   en   meter   tyg
       a   meter   tissue
       'a meter of tissue'
(ii)   en   flaska vin
       a   bottle wine
       'a bottle of wine'

argument. (See Delsing (1993) for arguments that argumental noun phrases have to be DPs.)

3.2 Type 2 'Two lovers is immoral'

In the second type of pancake-sentences, exemplified in (13b), the overt subject DP is either in the plural or in the non-plural, as shown in (20a and b), or provided with an indefinite determiner, see (20c). Note that the nouns *älskare* 'lover', *gröt* 'oatmeal', and *DBS-cykel* 'DBS-bike' are all common gender nouns, hence *per se* unable to serve as the source for the neuter agreement on the adjective.

(20) a Två älskare är omoralisk-t.
   two lovers is immoral-neut
   'To have two lovers is immoral-neut.'

   b Gröt är nyttig-t.
   oatmeal is good-neut
   'It's good to eat oatmeal.'

   c En DBS-cykel vore trevlig-t.
   a DBS-bike would.be nice-neut
   'It would be nice to have a DBS-bike.'

As opposed to *Senap är gult*-sentences, the subjects of the examples in (20) have an event interpretation. To account for this, Josefsson (2009) suggests that the subjects of such sentences contain a null predicate, more specifically a light verb, typically with the meaning of possessive 'have', termed HAVE (this predicate could be contextually specified as 'eat', 'drink' etc.). Other basic verbal predicates can show up in this position too.[8] In addition to a verbal predicate, the subject phrase also contains a null subject, presumably a generic PRO. However, in order to be an argument, we have to assume that the topmost projection renders the constituent nominal and suitable to function as an argument; hence it is DP-related. I will assume that it is a constituent of the

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[8] Josefsson (2009) assumes that the verbal predicate belongs to a set of basic verbal predicates, such as HAVE, GIVE, TAKE, HOLD etc. termed "passepartout verbs". For an extensive discussion on passepartout verbs, see Butt (1995, 2003), and Butt & Lahiri (2004).

same type as in (19), i.e. a classifier. (This will be discussed in greater detail below.) To sum up, we arrive at the structure in (21) below.

(21)

```
                          CP
              _____
          ClassP_i                    C
         _____              _____
     Class_neut    vP      C              TP
                 _____            _____
               Spec    v'       e_i           T'
                      _____            _____
                    v      VP        T              AP
                          /\                    _____
                         /  \                 e_i        A'
                        /    \                        _____
                       /_____\                      A       e_i
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EVENT PRO HAVE två älskare/gröt/en DBS-cykel   omoralisk-t/nyttig-t …
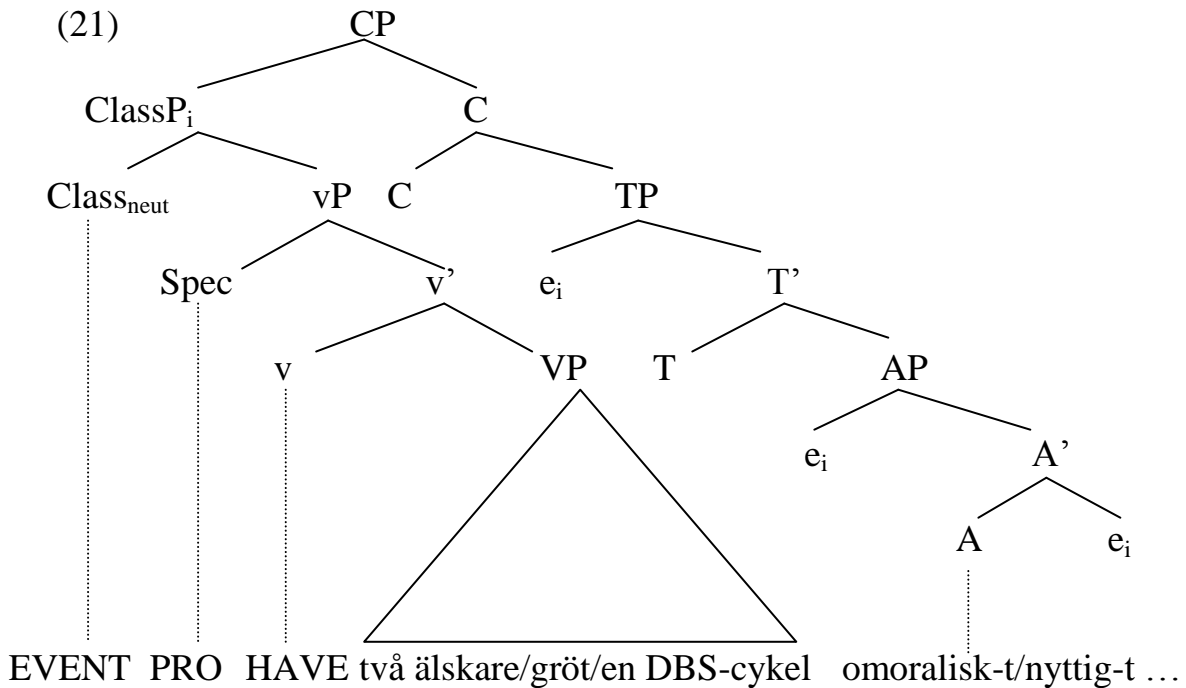
To assume that Swedish has both a SUBSTANCE and an EVENT classifier might not be a very attractive solution, but the semantics of the classifiers in (19) and in (21) will be discussed in detail below, and a unified account will be presented.

Let us now take a closer look at the subject of this second type of pancake-sentences. There are basically three arguments for assuming that such subjects contain more structure than we actually see, and that a verbal predicate and a subject position (PRO) is included. First of all, the interpretation is that of an event:

(22) Två   älskare   är   omoraliskt.
      two   lovers   is   immoral-neut
      'To have two lovers is immoral.'

As indicated by the translation, the meaning of (22) is that it is immoral to have two lovers. No assessment of the moral status of the individual lovers is made. In my view, the systematic way in which an event meaning arises in this type of construction motivates a syntactic structure that corresponds to this meaning.

Secondly, adverbials, such as time adverbials, can be supplied:

(23) a Två älskare   varje kväll   är   omoralisk-t.
     two lovers   each night   is   immoral-neut
     'To have two lovers is immoral-neut.'

   b Gröt   på morgonen   är   nyttig-t.
     oatmeal   in morning.the   is   good-neut
     'It's good to eat oatmeal in the morning.'

   c En   DBS-cykel på   födelsedagen vore   trevligt.
     a   DBS-bike   on   birthday.the   would.be   nice-neut
     'It would be nice to have a DBS-bike for my birthday.'

The examples in (24) below show that *varje kväll* 'every night', *på morgonen* 'in the morning', and *på födelsedagen* 'on NNs birthday' are truly adverbial, and not attributive. As these examples show, such phrases cannot be added in other cases without giving rise to a V2 violation. (Swedish is a strict V2 language, allowing only one constituent before the finite verb in declarative main clauses.)

(24) a *Två   älskare   varje kväll blev haffade   av   polisen.
      two   lovers   each night   were caught   by   police.the

   b *Gröt   på morgonen   åt   vi   igår.
     oatmeal   in morning.the   ate   we   yesterday

   c *En DBS-cykel på   födelsedagen skickade hon.
     a   DBS-bike   on   birthday.the   sent   she

Thirdly, reflexive pronouns are allowed inside the subject:

(25) En blomma till sina   närmaste vid jul   är självklart.
     a   flower   to   REFL   family   at   Christmas is natural-neut
     'To give a flower to the ones that are closest at Christmas is natural.'

Insofar as we assume that reflexive pronouns have to be bound by a subject of some sort – which in my view is a natural stand-point – (25) indicates the presence of such a subject, presumably a generic PRO. (For more examples of this type, see Josefsson (2009).)

The noun phrases in the subjects in the examples in the second type of *pancake*-sentences have to be indefinite. (26) below shows that definite noun phrases are ungrammatical or at least infelicitous in this position:

(26) a *De två   älskarna är   omoralisk-t.
        the two   lovers   is   immoral-neut

   b *Gröten   är   nyttig-t.
      oatmeal.the   is   good-neut

   c *?DBS-cykeln   vore   trevligt.
      DBS-bike.the   would.be   nice-neut

Josefsson (2009) shows, however, that the crucial property is not definiteness, but specificity; as (27) indicates, also specific indefinites are ungrammatical in the subject position:

(27) a *En   viss   DBS-cykel vore   trevligt.
        a.common certain DBS-bike   would.be   nice-neut

   b *En   viss   fransman   vore   skojig-t.
      a.common   certain Frenchman   would.be   fun-neut

We shall return to the restriction on definite and specific DPs, but let us first consider the third type of "disagreement" construction, where definite DPs are allowed.

3.3 Type 3 "Her in a sportscar would be nice"

Consider the examples in (28). A reasonable context for (28b) would be one cannibal speaking to another.

(28) a Henne i en   sportbil vore   trevlig-t.
        her   in a   sports.car would.be   nice-neut
        'To have her in a sports car would be nice.'

   b Henne med senap   och ketchup   vore   läcker-t.
      her   with mustard and ketchup   would.be   delicious-neut
      'To have her with mustard and ketchup would be delicious.'

c Solen   i ansiktet   är   härlig-t.
  sun.common.def in face.neuter.def   is   great-neut
  'To have the sun in the face is nice.'

d De   två i en   polisuniform   är   snygg-t.
  those   two in a.common police uniform is   nice-neut
  'To have/see those two in a police uniform is nice.'

The difference between the examples in (28) and those in (20) is that the subjects in (28) contain definite, specific DPs. These DPs seem to be arguments of what I will refer to as small clauses. The exact structure of small clauses is not crucial for this paper, but minimally they should consist of a DP argument and a predicate, typically a PP. The interpretation of the sentences in (28) is 'to have X in Y'. Crucially, the interpretation of the PP 'with mustard and ketchup' in (28b) is not the one that we would get if the PP was attributive 'she who has mustard and ketchup'. The same reasoning applies to the other subject phrases.

A theoretical account for the generalization that definite and specific DPs are disallowed in the second type of pancake-sentences (see (20)), but allowed in the third type, the SC-type (see (28)), would be as follows: A specific DP is always referential.[9] The referentiality of a DP argument of a clause is intimately associated with the finiteness of this clause. In order to be licensed, a DP has to be probed by a T head. In the clausal domain, the T head is linked to the C head, which encodes the finiteness of the clause, i.e. the anchoring of the utterance in "the here and the now of the speaker". Thus, if a TP would be added, a CP layer would be necessary as well. To do this is fully possible, but in such cases we no longer have a vP, but a full-fledged clause: finite or non-finite. A definite DP is unproblematic in such cases:

(29) a Att ha två älskare/de älskarna   är   omoralisk-t.
       to have two lovers/those lovers   is   immoral-neut

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[9] Definite DPs may have a generic reference too, as shown in (i), which is a type of referentiality,

(i)   Tigern har ränder.
       tiger.the has stripes
       'The tiger has stripes.'

b Att hon har två älskare /de älskarna är omoralisk-t.
that she has two lover/those lovers is immoral-neut

If a TP and a CP layer are present, a position for the negation is also available, see (30a). A negation cannot be added to a type 2 pancake-sentence, see (30b):

(30) a Att inte ha två älskare är omoralisk-t.
to not have two lovers is immoral-neut
'Not to have two lovers is immoral.'

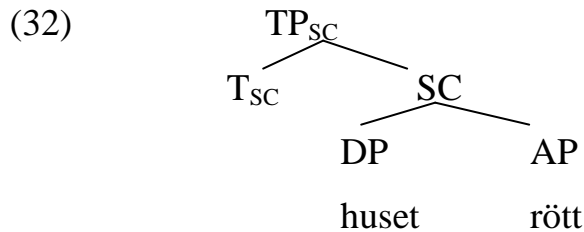b *Inte två älskare är omoralisk-t.
not two lovers is immoral-neut

In short, the absence of a TP accounts for the ban of specific/definite DPs in the second type of pancake-sentences.

The noun phrases in (28) are different from the ones in (20), and I will show that it is reasonable to assume that SC-subjects have the required T-related functional layer. This assumption is based on the fact that small clauses introduce a time reference that is different from that of the matrix. Before discussing the details of the examples in (28) we shall take a look at small clauses in general from this perspective. Consider (31):

(31) Han målade huset$_i$ [e$_i$ rött]$_{SC}$.
he painted house.the e$_i$ red.
He painted the house red.'

There are two temporal relations in (31), let us call them T1 and T2. The period of time when the painting is performed is T1. The point of time when the house, i.e. the whole house, has become red is T2. T1 and T2 do not coincide (although they are closely linked); T1 denotes a process, and T2 coincides with the end point of T1. The most straightforward way of formalizing this is to assume that the small clause has its own time reference and that the SC is headed by a separate TP, a TP$_{SC}$, which checks T2.
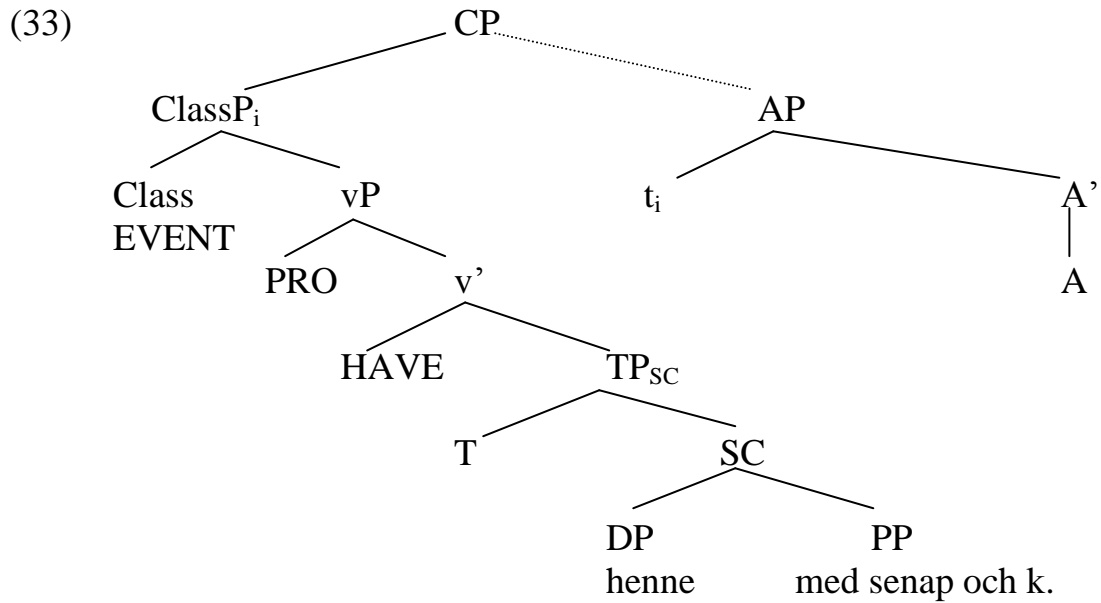
(32)

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{TP}_{\text{SC}} \\
\diagup \quad \diagdown \\
\text{T}_{\text{SC}} \qquad \text{SC} \\
\qquad \diagup \quad \diagdown \\
\qquad \text{DP} \qquad \text{AP} \\
\qquad \text{huset} \qquad \text{rött}
\end{array}
$$

If a small clause is headed by a TP_{sc} of its own, definite DPs inside SC-subjects of pancake-sentences are licensed; the definiteness/specificity of the DP *huset* in (32) is checked by the T_{SC} head.

A relevant question is why a T head is licit in (32), where there is no CP layer, whereas a TP with a vP complement selected by a C head is out. The answer is that v/V stands in a priviliged relation to the T-C cluster of the clause. According to Chomsky (2001, 24), C inherits features of T, which means that a "clausal" T requires a CP layer on top. I assume that this has to do with the fact that a clause is finite. The T_{SC} that selects a small clause is of a different kind. Crucially it is not part of the verb chain, and denotes a point of time that only indirectly relates to the "here and now" of the clause. Hence it can survive without being selected by C.

To account for the intuition that the third type of pancake-sentences has a null predicate too, typically HAVE, and a subject, presumably a generic PRO, we may assume that the SC is selected by a vP. In addition, and for theoretical reasons (argument noun phrases must be DPs, see Delsing 1993), we also need to assume that a DP-related nominal category is merged on top of the TP. I assume that this nominal element is a classifier element of the same kind as the one shown in (19) and (21). The crucial parts of the structure are shown in (33):

(33)

```
                           CP
          ClassPᵢ                        AP
      Class      vP              tᵢ              A'
      EVENT                                      |
              PRO      v'                        A
                   HAVE      TPSC
                          T          SC
                                 DP        PP
                                 henne     med senap och k.
```

An objection against (33) might be that it has too much structure. We need to remember, though, that the projections on top of the SC in (33) all correspond to particular features of the construction in question: the v head stands for the HAVE interpretation, PRO for the possibility of having reflexive elements, which requires a binder, the TP for the possibility of having definite and specific noun phrases. The idea that small clauses have an independent TP is argued for independently. The classifier head is there for theoretical reasons; a subject must be nominal. (At this point the neuter feature on the classifier accounts for the neuter agreement on the predicative adjective. This will be discussed in section 4.)

4. Formal gender – what is it?

The characteristic feature of pancake-sentences is that agreement is in the neuter. The question is then, what is the role of formal gender, and what makes neuter so special? For the sake of comparison, let us begin by taking a look at the role of formal gender on deictic pronouns.

Josefsson (2009) discusses the use of deictic *den* (it.common) 'it' and *det* (it.neuter) 'it', from the point of view of sentences such as (34a) and (34b). Note that there are no available linguistic antecedents for *den* in (34a) and *det* in (34b).

(34) a [A person stands in front of a desk full of exotic fruit, nuts etc.]
Seller, with a strange probably edible "thing" in his hand:
– Nå?
Well
'Well?'
Buyer:
– Jag   tar   den.
I   take   it.common
'I'll take it.'

 b [A and B standing in front of the freshly painted boat]:
A:
– Vad   tycks?
what   think.pass
'What do you think?'
B:
– Det   var   snyggt!
it.neut   was   beautiful.neut
'It was nice.'

According to Josefsson, the difference in meaning between *den* in (34a) and *det* in (34b) is that *den* refers to a BOUNDED element of some sort, whereas *det* refers to something that lacks this meaning component; hence the antecedent cannot be 'the boat' in (34b). (If B would have answered *Den var snygg* (it.common was beautiful.common) 'It was beautiful' instead, 'the boat' would have been the natural discourse antecedent.) Josefsson (2009) derives the described difference in meaning from the presence of a number feature in *den*, whereas *det* lacks this feature. (The lack of number is not unique to deictic *det*; clauses, noun phrases denoting substances and nominalizations presumably lack a number feature too, see below.) In other words, the feature, number singular, makes an important contribution to the semantics of deictic *den*, the interpretation is BOUNDED; roughly deictic *den* stands for 'a bounded entity'. The notion of BOUNDED is a prerequisite for countability; what makes it possible to count elements is that they have (or can be ascribed) boundaries, which makes it possible to distinguish one element from the other in a set. The "meaning" of the absence of number is not so clear-cut, but the point is that *det* in (34b) does not refer to a bounded object, such as 'the boat'; it could refer to the result, the event or the situation in a broader sense. A consequence is that deictic *det* could be used to

refer to basically anything that does not have inherent BOUNDARIES, or where the speaker does not want to impose BOUNDARIES.

The conclusion is that the difference in meaning between deictic *den* and *det* is derived from one feature value, namely number, singular. However, singular does not have any phonological marking, so another feature, formal gender, will mark the absence/presence of this feature value. An important part of the argumentation is that formal gender – common gender and neuter – does not have any semantic value *per se*. Although certain tendencies can be be discerned, examples such as *tigern* (tiger.common.sg.def) 'the tiger' vs. *lejonet* (lion.neuter.sig.def) 'the lion' and *stolen* (chaircommon.sg.def) 'the chair' vs. *bordet* (table.neut.sg) 'the table', show that formal gender is not semantically meaningful *per se*. Instead the neuter feature is assumed to be inserted post-syntactically, maybe as a dissociated morpheme, in the sense of Embick (1997), in nominal contexts where no number feature is present. The motivation for this operation would not be narrow-syntactic, but there may well be functional reasons for it; the overt expression of a semantically meaningful category facilitates interpretation and discourse linking.

An important point in Josefsson (2009) is that not only deictic pronouns, but noun phrases may lack a number feature too. Thus, a nominal element may be in the singular, in the plural or lack a number feature. "Count nouns", in their typical use, carry a number specification. "Mass nouns" (or rather nouns used as mass nouns), complex nominalizations (in the sense of Grimshaw 1990), and subordinate clauses, for instance *that*-clauses, lack a number feature. In fact, this is why the coordination of substance nouns, see (35a), nominalizations, see (35b), and clauses, see (35c), do not trigger agreement in the plural. Instead agreement is in the neuter – crucially not neuter, singular, though, but simply neuter.

(35) a Grädde   och mjölk   är   gul-t/*gul-a.
       cream   and milk   is   yellow-neut/yellow-pl

   b Knivkastning   och eldsslukande   är   skadlig-t/*[?]skadlig-a.
      knife-throwing   and fire-eating   is   harmful-neut/harmful-pl

   c Att Bo sjunger   och att Lisa spelar är   trevlig-t/*trevlig-a.
      that Bo sings   and that Lisa plays is   nice-neut/nice-pl

The proposed analysis can be carried over to pancake-sentences. The subjects of such sentences denote substances and events, categories which presumably lack a number feature, just like the deictic *det* in (34b) and the subjects in (35). Consequently, the predicate adjective of the clause is unable to retrieve any agreement features from the subject, which in turn provides a context for a post-syntactic insertion of a neuter feature. Thus, t-agreement on the adjectives in pancake-sentences indicates that the subject is devoid of number; hence the interpretation that it lacks BOUNDARIES.

If the proposed analysis is correct we have to ask whether the neuter feature is added to the subject of pancake-sentences or to the adjective. If we think of the feature neuter as an abstract feature that is realized as /t/ then we may assume that the neuter feature is added to the subject, and "transferred" to the adjectival head by Spec-head agreement in the "usual" way. A simpler solution, however, is to assume that the dissociated morpheme is a phonological element, /t/, that is added directly to the adjective. The context for insertion of this /t/ would be the absence of other features. (Agreement in neuter appears only when the adjective does not agree in comparative/superlative or definiteness.) The rule for insertion of /t/ would then be very simple: If no other features are present on the adjective, insert /t/.

Before closing this section we will once again take a look at the semantics of the subjects of pancake sentences. I have proposed that the semantic correlate of the feature singular is BOUNDED. However, the presence or the absence of the number feature does not have straightforward semantic correlates at the same level of description. Instead it seems as though it would be more fruitful to think of the semantics in question in terms of a privative opposition: Entities that have BOUNDARIES form a cognitive category. Entities that lack BOUNDARIES do not constitute a unified cognitive category. What SUBSTANCES, EVENTS, PROPERTIES, AGGREGATED SUBSTANCES etc. have in common is that they lack a meaning component. This kind of relation is an instance of privative opposition: one category is positively specified (has/is assigned BOUNDARIES), the other is not a true category, since the members of the set have nothing in common, except the absence of BOUNDARIES. If t-agreement on the adjective of pancake-sentences indicates the lack of number, hence lack of BOUNDARIES, it only tells us what the

subject is not; it is not a BOUNDED ENTITY. What kind of entity it is – a SUBSTANCE or an EVENT, for instance – has to be retrieved primarily from the semantic properties of the adjective and/or pragmatics.

If the proposed analysis is on the right track, it hints at the possibility of viewing formal gender in general as simple phonology. This is an attractive solution, but this paper is not the proper place for a presentation of a comprehensive theory of formal gender in Swedish and the other Mainland Scandinavian languages, so the more general question of formal gender is left to further research.

A consequence of the proposed analysis is that the null classifier in (16), (19) and (33) does not carry any formal gender feature. It is a (pro)nominal element stripped of most features, carrying only features such as non-specificity. It makes the subject phrase nominal, hence suitable to be an argument.

5. Doubling by *det*

5.1 *Det*-doubling of pancake-sentences and other sentences

The pronoun *det* (it.neuter) 'it' can be used for "doubling" purposes in different ways. If the "doubled" element is a common gender and/or plural DP, the result is what appears to be an instance of disagreement. Consider (36) which should be compared to (13) above:

(36) a Senap,   det är   gul-t.
       mustard   it   is   yellow-neut
       'Mustard is yellow.'

   b Två älskare,   det är   omoralisk-t.
       two lovers   it   is   immoral-neut
       'To have two lovers is immoral-neut.'

   c Henne i en   sportbil, det vore   trevlig-t.
       her   in a   sports.car it   would.be   nice-neut
       'To have her in a sportscar would be nice.'

   d En DBS-cykel,   det vill jag ha.
       a DBS-bike,   it   want I   have.
       'A S`DBS-bike, I want to have one of those.'

As pointed out in the introduction, the relation between a DP and a "doubling" *det*, as in (36), is presumably not different from the relation between a DP and a pronominal anaphor in the following clause, as in (37):[10]

(37) Vilken färg   har   senap?   Det är   gul-t.
what   color   has   mustard? it   is   yellow-neut
'What color does mustard have? It's yellow.'

If this is correct, the pronoun *det* is the syntactic subject of the predicate *är gult* 'is yellow' in both (36a) and (37). The questions is not so much about the argument status of *det*, but in what way the neuter pronoun *det* can link to what looks like a noun phrase that is not in the neuter, as well as the meaning of *det* in this context.

If a deictic *det* lacks a number feature, as argued above, it would not be very controversial to assume that *det*, used as the subject of the sentence in (37), lacks a number feature too, and that the neuter feature is inserted post-syntactically in the same way as the neuter feature of deictic pronouns (see (34b)). The neuter agreement on the adjective *gul-t* (yellow-neut) 'yellow' in (36a) is due either to Spec-head agreement with *det* or direct post-syntactic insertion of /t/ on the adjective (see the discussion of the two alternatives in section 3).

In section 4 I argued that the subject of pancake-sentences is headed by a null neuter classifier, devoid of number. This analysis can be straightforwardly applied to *det*-doubling in pancake-sentences: The antecedent for *det* in the examples in (36a–c) is a null neuter classifier; no disagreement is at hand. However, in order to be able to determine the antecedent for *det* in (36d), we will have to consider the meaning of this instance of *det* in more detail.

The pronoun *det* is discussed by Borthen (2003 a,b). One of her main points is that *det* in examples, such as (36d), is a TYPE-anaphor (see also Teleman & al 1999:2, 226ff and Lødrup 2010). (A TYPE anaphor is an anaphor that refers to the entity in question as a type, not as an individual referent. In (36d), *det* does not refer to an individual bicycle, but to bicycles in general.) The question is how Borthen's proposal relates to the analysis suggested in this paper, according to which *det* as a Ref-pronoun has very little meaning as such; it lacks a number

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[10] According to some informants an agreeing *den* (it.common) 'it' could work too, as the subject of the second clause in (37). This is not crucial to the proposed analysis.

feature, hence is interpreted as devoid of BOUNDARIES. How could it simultaneously be a TYPE-anaphor?

An indefinite DP, such as *en DBS-cykel* (a.common DBS-bike) 'a DBS-bike' in (36d) has two possible interpretations, first of all that of a specific or individual bike, which is a BOUNDED interpretation (in fact a TOKEN interpretation) and, secondly, a non-specific or TYPE interpretation, which we shall consider below.

A fact that should be highlighted is that a TYPE reading is available in examples such as (38) too, where *den* agrees with its antecedent in number and formal gender:

(38) Peter har köpt en DBS-cykel på IKEA. Den är jättedyr där.
Peter has bought a DBS-bike at IKEA. it is very.expensive there
'Peter has bought a DBS-bike at IKEA. It's really expensive there.'

The natural interpretation of the pronoun *den* (it.common) 'it' in (38) is that it refers to DBS-cykel as a TYPE or KIND. In other words, *den* (it.common) 'it' in (38) is a TYPE anaphor too. This reading is even clearer in (38) than in (36d). Does this mean that a KIND reading can be evoked both by an agreeing pronoun (as in (38)) and a "disagreeing" one (as in (36d))?

In my view, the use of *det* in (36d) does not really introduce a TYPE or KIND reading *per se*; in other words, the TYPE reading is not determined by the morphosyntactic properties of *det*. Instead, it seems as though this interpretation is a pragmatic inference when a TOKEN or INDIVIDUAL reading is not available.

If we apply the idea of a privative opposition, as described above, we may assume that the use of an "agreeing" pronoun conveys a BOUNDED reading of the referent. The "agreeing pronoun" establishes a Syn-link to a DP in the preceding sentence. The DP antecedent, in turn links directly to a referent in the discourse. Due to the presence of the feature singular, the discourse referent has to be BOUNDED, which could be interpreted either as an INDIVIDUAL or as a KIND/TYPE. The use of a "disagreeing" *det* conveys the meaning NOT BOUNDED, hence NOT INDIVIDUAL/NOT A TOKEN. Returning to Borthen's assumption that disagreeing *det* is a TYPE-anaphor, we may conclude that this does not tell us the whole story. Instead it seems as though *det* excludes the INDIVIDUAL/TOKEN reading of

the discourse antecedent – by virtue of lacking a number feature. In a situation where a TOKEN reading is unavailable, only the TYPE reading is left.

In a context such as (36d) the meaning conveyed by *det* is thus that of a NOT BOUNDED entity that relates to the meaning of the noun phrase *DBS-cykel* 'DBS-bike'. By pragmatic inference this meaning can be interpreted as a bike of the DBS-type, since the INDIVIDUAL ("TOKEN") reading that would have been conveyed by an agreeing pronoun is not available.

The assumption that a TYPE interpretation can be conveyed also by agreeing of *den* (it.common) 'it' is even clearer in (39) below than in (38):

> (39) DBS-cykeln   säljs   bara på   IKEA. Den är   dyr   där.
> *DBS-bike.the   is.sold   only at   IKEA. It   is   very-expensive   there*
> 'The DBS-bike is sold only at IKEA. It's very expensive there.'

The reason why *den* has a clear TYPE meaning in (39) is that the antecedent, *DBS-cykeln*, has a generic or TYPE meaning too, probably partly due to the pragmatics of the sentence – it is improbable that there is one token that is sold in a store.

The conclusion is that the use of *det* as a TYPE anaphor in examples such as (36d) is due to pragmatic inference – an alternative TOKEN reading is unavailable and the pragmatics of the sentence promotes a TYPE interpretation. The conclusion is also that the doubling *det* in examples, such as (36d), lacks a number feature.

In the beginning of this section I concluded that the doubling *det* in (36a–c) was a Syn-pronoun, taking the noun phrase headed by a null, neuter classifier as its antecedent. As for *det* in (36d), we do not have convincing evidence that the noun phrase en *DBS-cykel* 'a DBS-bike' is headed by a classifier phrase. Because of this, it is reasonable to assume that this *det* is a Ref-pronoun, taking a discourse element as its antecedent. In other words, the status of this *det* is in crucial ways the same as for *det* in (10), where the antecedent is found in the propositional content of a preceding clause.

5.2 *Det*-doubling of Conversational Entities

Another construction that appears to be "disagreeing" is exemplified in (40)–(42) below. The a-examples contain an "agreeing" pronoun, the b-examples a "disagreeing" one:

(40) a Rektorn, han är min högste   chef.
    vice-chancellor, he is my most.superordinate boss
    'The vice-chancellor is my most superior boss.'

   b Rektorn, det är min högste   chef.
    vice-chancellor, it is my most.superordinate boss
    'The vice-chancellor is my most superior boss.'

(41) a Mannen där, han är min bror.
    man.the there, he is my brother
    'The man over there is my brother.'

   b Mannen där, det är min bror
    man.the there, it.neut is my brother
    'The man over there is my brother.'

(42) a Solen,   den   är vår närmsta stjärna.
    sun.common.def, it.common is our closest star
    'The sun is our closest star.'

   b Solen,   det   är vår närmsta stjärna.
    sun.neuter.def, it.neuter is our closest star
    'The sun is our closest star.'

The use of "disagreeing" *det* (it.neuter) 'it' in (40)–(42) is subject to some important restrictions. First of all, lexical verbs are excluded from the construction; only the copula can be used:

(43) Solen, den   lyser. *Solen, det lyser.
   sun.the it.common shines sun.the it.neut shines
   'The sun shines.'

(44) Rektorn,   han myser. *Rektorn, det myser.
   vice.chancellor.the, he smiles vice.chancellor, it.neut smiles
   'The vice-chancellor smiles.'

(45) Mannen där, han fryser.   *Mannen där, det fryser.
    man.the   there he   freezes   *man.the   there it   freezes*
    'The man over there is cold.'

Secondly, only DP predicatives are possible, not adjectival or prepositional ones:

(46) Mannen där, han är jättelång.
    man.the   there, he   is very.tall
    'The man over there is very tall.'

(47) *Mannen där,   det är   jättelång-t.
    man.the   there,   it   is   very.tall-neut

The restrictions in question fall into place if we take the communicative function of *det*-doubling into consideration. The pronoun *det* in examples such as (40b), (41b), and (42b) does not link back to a linguistic antecedent – a DP or a vP –, nor does it evoke a discourse gestalt, such as the Event (see (10) above). Instead, *det* in these examples is used to underline or focus a segment of the utterance. This instance of *det* links back to what I term "Conversational Entity", which is established by the sentence initial DP. In other words, what *det* points back to is roughly "what was just mentioned".

A Conversational Entity, in this sense, is not part of the thematic structure of the predicate; hence it cannot carry a theta role, and cannot occupy a theta position. However, a segment of the conversation can be *identified* with a referent, conveyed by a nominal expression, such as "my brother". The meaning of *det* in (40b) is thus roughly 'What I just uttered refers to my highest boss'. This instance of *det* is a Ref-pronoun, basically since no Syn-linking is possible. Naturally, this *det* lacks a number feature too; a Conversational Entity is not a bounded entity, it does not have thing-properties.

The *det* used in the b-examples in (40)–(42) refers back to a segment of the conversation, but crucially not to linguistic entities (such as DPs or *that*-clauses). This use of this pronoun in fact seems to support Bosch and Cornish's claim (see above) that there is basically no difference between linguistic and non-linguistic antecedent for Ref-pronouns. The use of *det* in the answer in (48) is basically the same type of *det* as in (41b).

(48) A, pointing at a man:
    – Vem är   det   där?
      who is   that there
      'Who is that?'
    B:
    – Det är   min bror.
      it   is   my   brother
      'It's my brother.'

6. Conclusion and summary

I have shown that there are three types of pancake-sentences in Swedish, each headed by a null classifier. In the first type, the subject is an NP or a NbP, in the second type the subject is a vP taking a VP complement, and in the third a vP taking a small clause complement.

Pancake-sentences can be "doubled" by a "disagreeing" *det* (it.neut) 'it', which is in fact the true argument of the predicate of the clause. A "disagreeing doubler" of this kind is a Ref-pronoun, which means that it evokes a discourse referent. The interpretation of this discourse referent is most accurately specified as standing in a privative opposition to the discourse referent that would be evoked by an "agreeing" pronoun, i.e. a Syn-pronoun. Only a Syn-pronoun can evoke an INDIVIDUAL/TOKEN reading, since this pronoun links to a linguistic discourse antecedent, typically a DP (which, in turn, links to an INDIVIDUAL/TOKEN in the world of discourse). If a "disagreeing" Ref-pronoun, *det*, is used, a reading that is not the INDIVIDUAL/TOKEN one is evoked, presumably by implicature. If we need to specify the antecedent as either TYPE or TOKEN, the antecedent has to be a TYPE one, since the TOKEN alternative is ruled out.

Finally, another type of *det*-doubling is discussed. In this type of constructions only the copula, not a lexical verb, can be used, and only a DP can be used as the predicative, not an adjective. The antecedent is assumed to be a conversational entity, 'the entity just mentioned'. A conversational entity does not carry a theta role, and it cannot be described, which accounts for the restriction on the choice of verb and the type of predicative. However, it can be identified with a referent. This explains the restriction that the predicative can only be a DP and the verb only a copula.

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