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Preface

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General Embedded V2: Icelandic A, B, C, etc.[1]

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Abstract

On the basis of data from Icelandic, this paper hypothesizes that pure GV2 languages do not exist. Even a very liberal variety of Icelandic displays LV2 properties upon closer examination. By looking for GV2 properties in the more restrictive varieties of Icelandic, the more extended availability of V2 is identified as mostly involving fronting of what appears to be stage- or contrastive topics. It is proposed that such fronting, including a "spurious" Stylistic Fronting, targets an inner TopicP which is licensed by AGR in Fin. If this is correct, verb movement may be reintroduced to the list of AGR-related differences in Scandinavian (Holmberg 2009), although in the shape of a more extended V2 rather than in terms of V-to-I movement.

1 Introduction

The prevailing assumption underlying works on Icelandic syntax is that topicalization is allowed quite freely in Icelandic dependent clauses (Magnússon 1990, Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson 1990, Iatridou and Kroch 1992, Johnson and Vikner 1994, Vikner 1995), based on the observation that non-subject fronting is possible in environments where other V2 languages, such as Swedish, display restrictions; e.g. under emotive factives and non-assertive predicates, cf. (1), from Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson (1990: 23), vs. (2).

(1) a. Jón efast um að á morgun fari María snemma á fætur. (Ic.)
John doubts that tomorrow gets Mary early up
b. Jón harmar að þessa bók skuli ég hafa lesið.
John regrets that this book shall I have read

[1]We wish to thank the audience at Grammatikseminariet, Nov 19, 2009, Lund University for helpful discussion, our informants (including two anonymous linguists) for judgements of Icelandic data, Johan Brandtler for judgements of Swedish examples involving emotive factives, and finally, Christer Platzack for his comments.

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(2) a. *John tvivlar på att i morgon går Maria upp tidigt. (Sw.)
John doubts that tomorrow goes Mary up early
b. *John ångrar att den här boken läste han.
John regrets that this here book read he

This led Vikner (1995) to discern two classes of (non-residual) V2 languages labelled *general embedded V2 languages* (henceforth *GV2*) and *limited embedded V2 languages* (henceforth *LV2*). Icelandic and Yiddish are said to belong to the former class, Danish, Dutch, Faroese, Frisian, German, Norwegian, and Swedish to the latter.[4] GV2 languages are claimed to lack the main/embedded asymmetry seen in LV2 languages with regard to possibility of having the verb second word order.

The description of Icelandic as a GV2 language has however been debated already from early on, see Jónsson (1996), and more recently Gärtner (2003) and Wiklund et al. (2009). We will provide evidence that also the purported GV2 variant of Icelandic, referred to as *Icelandic A* in Jónsson (1996) and Wiklund et al. (2009), displays LV2 properties upon closer examination. Pending further investigation of Yiddish, the picture emerging is one where there are no strict GV2 languages, at least not in the sense first intended by this term. Languages can be "more" or "less" V2 though, as we know already from differences between *residual* V2 languages, such as Modern English and Modern French, where V2 is restricted to interrogatives and *Neg*-preposing environments, and *general* V2 languages, such as the rest of the modern Germanic languages, in addition to Old English and Old French, where topicalization in general involves the V2 word order (the distinction originating with Rizzi 1996).[5] Here, we hypothesize that all V2 languages display LV2 features, that is to say that they all display main/embedded asymmetries when scrutinized.

[4]For works confirming that Faroese displays embedded V2 restrictions, see Wiklund et al. (2009) and Angantýsson (2009).
[5]Kashmiri is also a general V2 language, see Bhatt (1999).

Nevertheless, even the more restrictive (LV2) variants of Icelandic appear to qualify as "more" V2 than Swedish, counting environments where V2 is possible, see (3), just like Swedish is more verb second than English by the same calculus, see (4).[6]

(3) a. Hann sá eftir því að í gær hafði hann ekki tekið sér
he regretted it that yesterday had he not taken SELF
tíma til að horfa á myndina. (Ic.)
time for to watch on movie.DEF
b. *Han ångrade att igår hade han inte tagit sig tid att
he regretted that yesterdat had he not taken REFL *time to*
se filmen. (Sw.)
watch movie.DEF

(4) a. Igår kom han hem. (Sw.)
yesterday came he home
b. *Yesterday came he home. (En.)

We would like to take an additional step towards a more precise description of this "more" V2 property of Icelandic vis-à-vis the other non-residual V2 languages and towards an identification of the relevant factors of variation. In the end, the V2 word order, whether subject-initial or not, is obligatory in most types of clauses in Icelandic and in those clauses where the finite verb may be left in situ, V2 is always an option.[7] In this sense, Icelandic qualifies as a general embedded V2 language. However, fronting of non-subjects seems restricted across varieties both with regard to the context in which it appears and with regard to the fronted constituent.

[6] In fact, there seems to be variation in Swedish with regard to the acceptability of an example like (3b), cf. Julien (2007). Most speakers, though, find the sentence marked or ungrammatical.

[7] See Angantýsson (2001, 2007) and Wiklund et al. (2007) on the contexts where V_{fin}-in-situ is possible.

2 Icelandic B

The first paper mentioning restrictions on fronting in Icelandic that we have been able to trace is Ottósson (1989: 95). In his discussion of differences between Stylistic Fronting and topicalization in embedded clauses, he states that "[...] Stylistic Fronting applies freely in embedded clauses, whereas topicalization is heavily restricted", providing the examples in (5).

(5) a. *Konur verða hræddar ef/þegar á Íslandi berjast menn. (Ic.)
women get scared if/when on Iceland fight persons
b. Konur verða hræddar ef/þegar settar eru mýs í baðkerið.
women get scared if/when put are mice in bathtub-the

From the paper, we cannot know whether or not the variant exemplified counts as heavily restricted when contexts other than *if*-clauses are taken into consideration but examples like (5a) already tell us that non-subject fronting is not allowed freely. That fronting is restricted also in other types of clauses (both *wh*- and non-*wh*-) was brought to attention in Magnússon (1990). Later, Jónsson (1996) argued that there must be two variants of Icelandic, one that accepts topicalization in complements of so-called non-bridge verbs, labelled *Icelandic A*, and one where topicalization in these complements is considerably degraded, referred to as *Icelandic B*. In *Icelandic B* thus, the examples in (1) above, repeated in (6) below [with our addition of % in front of the sentences], are judged as bad or marked, whereas the same sentences are judged as fine in *Icelandic A*. In this connection, it is worth noting that variation with regard to non-subject fronting has also been reported for Yiddish, see Lowenstamm (1977), Travis (1984), Besten and Moed-van Walraven (1985), Diesing (1990).

(6) a. %Jón efast um að á morgun fari María snemma á fætur. (Ic.)
John doubts that tomorrow gets Mary early up
b. %Jón harmar að þessa bók skuli ég hafa lesið.
John regrets that this book shall I have read

In order to avoid confusions yielded by the term *bridge-verb*, we will henceforth speak of non-assertive verbs (6a) and emotive factives (6b), which seem to constitute the class of verbs under which declarative V2 is limited in LV2 languages (Wiklund et al. 2009, Wiklund 2009).[8]

Taking the observations by Jónsson (1996) as a point of departure, Gärtner (2003) in turn proposes that we need to revisit the contexts that are supposed to establish the GV2 nature of *Icelandic A*, in particular because *Icelandic B* appears unexpected in *Agr*-based analyses of this GV2 property, such as the analysis proposed by Holmberg and Platzack (1995). According to Gärtner, some of the contexts are actually compatible with the assumption that also *Icelandic A* displays restrictions of the kind seen in LV2 languages. Highly relevant in this respect are clauses selected by emotive factives and non-assertive predicates (including negated assertive predicates), which as mentioned display restrictions on V2 in LV2 languages. In a detailed investigation of embedded V2 declaratives across Scandinavian, Wiklund et al. (2009) present data that not only confirm the existence of *Icelandic B* but also show that restrictions on non-subject fronting is quite common, in so far as the informants (linguists with Icelandic as their mother toungue) are representative. Only one out of five informants allows non-subject fronting across-the-board of the emotive factive and non-assertive contexts examined (Wiklund et al. 2009: 1923).[9] By way of illustration, non-subject fronting in the emotive factive context (7a) and the non-assertive context (7b) below are judged as impossible by 4 out of 5 informants. (7c) is judged as impossible by one speaker, marked but possible by two speakers, and fine by two speakers.

[8]The notion of *bridge-verb* concerns the extent to which a verb permits extraction from its complement clause (see Erteschik-Shir 1973 for an early discussion) and does not seem to go hand in hand with the extent to which V2 is possible (cf. Vikner 1995, Julien 2007). But see Featherston (2004) for a different conclusion for German.

[9]We disregard here the one informant (no. 5 in Wiklund et al. 2009) that shows restrictions on finite complementation with the relevant class of predicates.

(7) a. %Hún sá eftir því að þessar bækur hefði hún lesið. (Ic.)
she regretted it that these books had she read
b. %Ég er ekki sammála ykkur um að þessa bók las hún of hægt.
I am not agree you on that this book read she too slowly
c. %Hún var leið yfir því að þessar bækur hefði hún ekki lesið enn.
she was sad over it that these books had she not read yet

Needless to say, the assumption that Icelandic is a general embedded V2 language in the sense that there is no main/embedded asymmetry with regard to non-subject fronting is wrong, except potentially for *Icelandic A*, which however appears uncommon in its purest form. Therefore, we would like to re-adress the question "How Icelandic can you be, if you speak Icelandic B?" (Gärtner 2003: 120) by investigating the evidence given for the GV2 status of *Icelandic A* and by looking for additional LV2 properties of what seems to be such a variety. We will provide indications that *Icelandic B* is very Icelandic indeed because *Icelandic A* as we thought of it may not even exist.

- **Observation**:
  Main/embedded asymmetries appear more common than expected from a GV2 language.
- **Hypothesis**:
  Icelandic A also displays main/embedded asymmetries.

3 LV2 properties of Icelandic A

According to the seminal work by Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson (1990: 24), there is "no general asymmetry between main clauses and subordinate

clauses as far as topicalization possibilities are concerned". As noted by the two authors though, the claim hinges on the their assumption that Stylistic Fronting is a type of topicalization in Icelandic (cf. also Rögnvaldsson 1986 and Hrafnbjargarson 2004). This is an important point because the examples of non-subject fronting in adverbial clauses provided by Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson (1990) all seem to involve Stylistic Fronting, as Jónsson (1996) points out. Compare (8a) below (from Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson 1990: 25), which involves Stylistic Fronting of a participle in a temporal adjunct clause, with (8b) and (8c).

(8) a. Þegar komið var til Reykjavíkur [...] (Ic.)
when arrived was to Reykjavík

b. *Þegar komið var barnið til Reykjavíkur [...]
when arrived was child.DEF *to Reykjavík*

c. *Komið var barnið til Reykjavíkur þegar [...]
come was child.DEF *to Reykjavík when*

Abstracting away for the moment from the debate on the status of Stylistic Fronting as being a subcase of topicalization or not, there are several ways of knowing that (8a) does not involve a "normal" topicalization. Applying some of the diagnostics by Maling (1980, 1990), the fronting is not possible in the presence of an overt subject, cf. (8b), participles cannot be topicalized, which is exemplified by a root clause in (8c), and Stylistic Fronting contrasts with topicalization in being clause-bounded. In addition, topicalization is generally bad in temporal adjunct clauses like the one above, a fact also noted by (Magnússon 1990: 114), from whom the example in (9) below is borrowed.

(9) ?Utanríkisráðherra hélt blaðamannafund þegar *til sín* hafði hann
foreign.minister held journalist.meeting when to SELF *had he*
boðað alla sendiherra landsins. (Ic.)
invited all ambassadors country.DEF

Although Magnússon assigns a question mark to the sentence in (9), we infer from the running text that such examples are judged as marked and quite unnatural.[10] Consulting the tables given in Magnússon (1990: 116-117), who is taken to be representative of *Icelandic A* (cf. Jónsson 1996), fronting is easiest in *that*-clauses, possible in e.g. concession clauses, purpose clauses, and reason clauses, but bad in e.g. embedded *wh*-clauses (with the exception of clauses introduced by *hvort* 'whether'), temporal clauses, and conditional clauses.

3.1 *Wh*-clauses, temporal, and conditional clauses

The alleged GV2 property of Icelandic thus neither applies to *wh*-clauses, nor to temporal clauses, nor to conditional clauses. Note that these clauses also do not allow V2 in Swedish:

(10) a. *Hann spurði hvar í gær hefði hann hitt hana. (Ic.)
he asked where yesterday had he met her
b. *Hann kemur bara heim ef á morgun hefur hann tíma til þess.
he comes only home if tomorrow has he time to it
c. *Hann sá hana þegar í gær fór hún út.
he saw her when yesterday went she out

(11) a. *Han frågade var igår hade han sett henne. (Sw.)
he asked where yesterday had he seen her
b. *Han kommer bara hem om i morgon får han tid.
he comes only home if tomorrow gets he time
c. *Han såg henne när igår gick hon ut.
he saw her when yesterday went she out

A few examples have been given in the literature to show that topicalization is sometimes possible in embedded *wh*-clauses in Icelandic, see (12), taken from Iatridou and Kroch (1992) [with our addition of % in front

[10] The judgements described in running text in connection with Magnússon's examples do not always appear consistent his grammaticality assignments in the examples. Sometimes, a question mark may imply a fairly natural occurrence of embedded topicalization, whereas in other cases it refers to a relatively bad example of embedded fronting.

of the sentence]. For a couple of other examples, see Magnússon (1990). Many speakers of Icelandic find the sentences ungrammatical though. Recently, Thráinsson (2007: 44) seems to agree that non-subject topicalization is "usually quite bad or even impossible" in embedded *wh*-clauses and relative clauses.

(12) %Ég spurði hvar henni hefðu flestir aðdáendur gefið blóm. (Ic.)
I asked where to-her had most admirers given flowers

3.2 Concession, purpose, and reason clauses

Turning to concession clauses, purpose clauses, and reason clauses, it is rather unsurprising that non-subject fronting is possible in these in view of the fact that such a fronting is available also in Swedish in the same environments if the fronted element is a spatial or temporal adjunct:

(13) a. Han klarade provet fastän på skolan hade de inte sett
he passed test.DEF *although at school had they not seen*
honom alls. (Sw.)
him at.all

b. Han gömde sig så att hela dagen skulle hans mor
he hid SELF *so that whole day*.DEF *would his mother*
tro att han var på skolan.
believe that he was at school

c. Han gömde sig därför att hela dagen hade han trott
he hid REFL *because that whole day*.DEF *had he believed*
att de jagade honom.
that they chased him

So far thus, the GV2 status of Icelandic is questionable. Even if we disregard *wh*-clauses and conditional clauses, which arguably involve operators, the presence of restrictions in temporal clauses is unexpected. Moreover, to the extent that Icelandic is a GV2 language, so can Swedish be said to be a GV2 language. Because up to now, there does not seem to be a big dif-

ference between these two languages with regard to environments where V2 is unrestricted.

3.3 *That*-clauses

That-clauses finally, where topicalization is reported to be easiest, divide in two classes with regard to the availability of root phenomena such as embedded topicalization (Hooper and Thompson 1973, Andersson 1975, Green 1976, den Besten 1977/1983, Wechsler 1991, Holmberg and Platzack 1995, Haegeman 2006, Heycock 2006, Truckenbrodt 2006, Julien 2006, 2007, Wiklund et al. 2009). As mentioned above, one of these classes, viz. clauses selected by emotive factives and non-assertive predicates, has played an important role in determining the GV2 property of Icelandic. Cross-linguistically, root phenomena are not possible in these clauses, but as we know, Icelandic has been considered to be an exception to this, cf. the often cited examples in (1) above. As pointed out by Wiklund et al. (2009) however, the emotive factive *harma* 'regret' in (1b), repeated in (14), differs (just like English *regret*) from the corresponding Swedish version, i.e. *ångra*, with regard to update potential: The content of an embedded clause under *harma* does not have to be part of the common ground; it can be new information to the addressee. In this sense, *harma* resembles both semi-factive and assertive predicates, which makes the possibility of non-subject topicalization less surprising.

(14) Jón harmar að þessa bók skuli ég hafa lesið. (Ic.)
John regrets that this book shall I have read

Another important observation that is yet to be fully understood but which may be relevant to examples like (14) is that non-subject fronting in Icelandic improves considerably in the presence of certain modals in the embedded clause, see Hrafnbjargarson (2008). A more accurate predicate to use when screening for GV2 is *sá eftir* 'regret', which as noted by Wiklund

et al. (2009) behaves like Swedish *ångra* with regard to (lack of) update potential and in requiring coreference between the matrix and embedded subject. As mentioned above, only one out of five informants accepted non-subject fronting under this predicate:[11]

(15) %Hún sá eftir því að þessar bækur hefði hún lesið. (Ic.)
she regretted it that these books had she read

Concluding our brief discussion of emotive factives, it is interesting to note that Swedish appears to show a split between emotive factives like *ångra* 'regret', on the one hand, and emotive factives like *irritera sig över* 'be irritated over', *vara glad över* 'be happy about', *vara stolt över* 'be proud of', etc. on the other. Under the latter, fronting of scene-setting adverbials (Lambrecht 1994) or stage topics (Erteschik-Shir 1999, 2007) is in fact quite possible, something that to our knowledge has not been discussed previously in the literature.

(16) a. *Han ångrade att igår hade han inte tagit sig tid att
he regretted that yesterday had he not taken SELF *time to*
se filmen. (Sw.)
see film.DEF

b. ?Han irriterade sig över att igår hade han inte tagit
he irritated SELF *over that yesterday had he not taken*
sig tid att se filmen.
SELF *time to see film*.DEF

(17) a. *Han ångrade att den här gången hade han kommit ihåg
he regretted that this here time had he come to.mind
att ringa. (Sw.)
to call

[11] A minor complication with *sjá eftir* 'regret' is that some speakers of Icelandic do not allow finite complements embedded under this predicate. This was controlled for in the study of Wiklund et al. (2009).

b. ?Han var glad över att den här gången hade han kommit
he was glad over that this here time had he come
ihåg att ringa.
to.mind to call

This difference, again, goes hand in hand with a difference in the update potential of the embedded proposition. With *ångra* 'regret', the embedded clause already has to be part of the common ground for most speakers and thus cannot be introduced as new information to the addresse, except in a very indirect way via the presupposition. With the other predicates on the other hand, the embedded proposition can more easily be introduced as new information to the addressee. Adding emotive factives to the picture, Icelandic is starting to look like Swedish and depending on the point of view from which we consider this picture, Swedish displays more GV2 properties than we thought, or Icelandic is an LV2 language, except that we have identified a speaker of Icelandic that allows non-subject fronting in complements of emotive factives of the kind that seem to lack update potential. Either this speaker is a speaker of *Icelandic A* or *sjá eftir* 'regret' behaves like *harma* 'regret' with respect to update potential for this speaker.

The most frequently cited example of fronting under a non-assertive predicate, used to validate the GV2 property of Icelandic, is arguably (1a), repeated in (18a), involving the predicate *efast um* 'doubt'. It is a well known fact that adjuncts front more easily than arguments. If we try to front an argument under *efast um*, as in (18b), the more restrictive speakers reject the example as marked or impossible (cf. Wiklund et al. 2009). In Swedish, both examples are impossible or heavily marked, cf. (19).

(18) a. Jón efast um að á morgun fari María snemma á fætur. (Ic.)
John doubts that tomorrow gets Mary early up
b. %Jón efast um að þennan mann hafi María hitt.
Jon doubts on that this man has María met.

(19) a. *John tvivlar på att i morgon vill Maria gå upp tidigt. (Sw.)
John doubts on that tomorrow will Maria go up early
b. *John tvivlar på att den här mannen har Maria träffat.
John doubts on that this here man has Maria met

There may be some variation with respect to the possibility of topicalizing stage topics under *tvivla* 'doubt' in Swedish. According to Christer Platzack (p.c.), the examples in (19) are not completely ungrammatical, but heavily marked. For him, topicalization improves with *betvivla*, also meaning *doubt*. As we would expect, in his variant, *betvivla* differs from *tvivla* in being able to embed new information to the addressee.

3.4 How Icelandic are they who speak Icelandic A?

What remains of *Icelandic A* given the above facts? A speaker accepting (15) and (18b) above must qualify as a speaker of *Icelandic A*. The verb second word order is not allowed in the relevant environments in most varieties of Swedish, nor fronting of demonstrative DPs in the restrictive varieties of Icelandic that we have examined. Given that there is at least some variation present also in Swedish, Icelandic is perhaps not as exotic as it may seem on the surface. (15) and (18b) involve a contrastive topic, (18a) a stage topic. It is tempting to relate these features to the inner Topic position dominating FinP in the left periphery of Rizzi (1997), the latter of which may be described as introducing the *here and now* of the discourse, cf. Platzack (1998). Below, we will encounter some further indications that these features play a role in determining variation. Importantly however, *Icelandic A* does not seem to be a GV2 language in the sense that main/embedded asymmetries are not present. If the demonstrative is removed, even the most liberal speaker rejects fronting in the crucial contexts despite being given a context that facilitates a contrastive (topic) reading. This is illustrated in (20b) in the context of (20a).

(20) a. Fyrir helgi hafði kennarinn beðið stúdentana um
before weekend had teacher.DEF *asked students*.DEF *about*
að lesa bókina og leysa verkefnið í lok kafla
to read book.DEF *and solve assignment*.DEF *in end chapter*
sex. (Ic.)
six

b. *Á mánudag furðaði kennarinn sig á að bókina
on Monday surprised teacher.DEF SELF *on that book*.DEF
höfðu stúdentarnir ekki lesið en verkefnið höfðu þeir
had students.DEF *not read but assignment*.DEF *had they*
allir leyst.
all solved

The same fronting is unproblematic in a root clause, as shown in (21).

(21) Bókina höfðu stúdentarnir ekki lesið en verkefnið höfðu
book-the had students-the not read but assignment-the had
þeir allir leyst. (Ic.)
they all solved

These data enable us to conclude that even the most allowing variety that we have identified in our investigation displays LV2 properties upon closer scrutiny, i.e. a main / embedded asymmetry with regard to non-subject fronting. Although it needs to be investigated in more detail, a further indication of this asymmetry concerns concessive V2 clauses, which as shown in Wechsler (1991) seem to be independent from the force of the matrix clause in an LV2 language as Swedish. As a consequence, these clauses escape the scope of matrix negation, yielding a *not p, because q* interpretation but not a *not (p, because q)* reading, see Gärtner (2003) for discussion. This is exemplified below.

(22) Jag var inte orolig för att han inte hade kommit hem. (Sw.)
I was not worried because he not had come home
¬ (p, because q)

(23) Jag var inte orolig för att han hade inte kommit hem. (Sw.)
I was not worried because he had not come home
¬ p, because q

The reading of (22), involving a non-V2 word order, is one where the matrix subject was not worried by the fact that the embedded subject had not returned (but the matrix subject might have been worried for another reason). In (23) however, involving the V2 word order, the only reading available is one where the reason the matrix subject was not worried was because the embedded subject had not returned. If *Icelandic A* would be a GV2 language in the sense intended, we would expect a non-subject fronting in a similar context to be compatible with the first reading *not (p, because q)*, i.e. we would not expect such a fronting to impose to any restrictions with regard to the scope of matrix negation. This expectation does not seem to be met:

(24) Hann sá hana ekki af því að yfir rauðu peysunni var hún í
*he saw her not because over red jumper.*DEF *was she in*
svartri regnkápu (Ic.)
black rain.coat
(i) *¬ p, because q*
(ii) *#¬ (p, because q)*

The only reading available according to our most allowing informant is the one where the reason that the matrix subject did not see the embedded subject was that she had a black rain coat over her red jumper.[12] A better example illustrating the point would be the following:

[12]Scopal possibilities have been observed to be affected by choice of mood, see Sigurðsson (1990). Subjunctive mood is impossible in the adjunct clause of (24) and mood is not subject to variation in this context, nor in the context exemplified in Gärtner (2003: example 2), borrowed from Iatridou and Kroch (1992). Variation in mood is therefore not likely to have anything to do with the Icelandic A/B split, cf. Gärtner (2003).

(25) Hann fer ekki í sund af því að heitu pottunum finnst honum
he goes not in swimming because warm pots.THE *finds he*
svo gott að sitja í. (Ic.)
so good to sit in

Although it remains to be tested, we expect that also here the only reading available is the one where the subject doesn't go swimming because he likes to sit in the warm pots instead. The second reading, i.e. the one where the subject goes swimming for some other reason than sitting in the warm pots, should not be available. A natural next step is to revisit *Icelandic B* and look for GV2 properties, which would give us a clue to the "more" V2 property of Icelandic.

4 GV2 properties of Icelandic B

Although as mentioned above, fronting of a demonstrative DP argument in the complement of the emotive factive *sjá eftir* 'regret' is rejected by many speakers, (26), fronting of a stage topic is possible for the Icelandic author of the present paper (who speaks the more restrictive variety), cf. (27).

(26) *Hún sá eftir því að þessar bækur hefði hún lesið. (Ic. B)
she regretted it that these books had she read

(27) a. Hann sá eftir því að í gær hafði hann ekki tekið sér
he regretted it that yesterday had he not taken SELF
tíma til að horfa á myndina. (Ic. B)
time for to watch on film.DEF
b. Hann sá eftir því að þetta skipti hafði hann gleymt að
he regretted it that this time had he forgotten to
hringja.
call

This fact confirms the observation that fronting of adjuncts often yields a better result than fronting of objects, see e.g. Jónsson (1996). From the contrast between (27a) and (28) below, furthermore, we can conclude that

also *Icelandic B* displays GV2 properties and even though restrictive in comparison with *Icelandic A*, the variety is "more" V2 than the standard varieties of Swedish.

(28) *Han ångrade att igår hade han inte tagit sig tid att se
he regretted that yesterday had he not taken SELF *time to see*
filmen. (Sw.)
film.DEF

The possibility of fronting stage topics in some of the standard LV2 environments thus seems to be one GV2 property that sets both *Icelandic A* and *Icelandic B* apart from the rest of the Scandinavian languages (abstracting away from minor variation). The possibility of fronting contrastive argument topics seems to be the GV2 property that sets *Icelandic A* apart from both *Icelandic B* and the rest of the Scandinavian languages, (29) vs. (26)/(30). Speakers vary with regard to whether or not a demonstrative is required.

(29) Hún sá eftir því að þessar bækur hefði hún lesið. (Ic. A)
she regretted it that these books had she read

(30) *Han ångrade att de här böckerna hade han inte läst. (Sw.)
he regretted that these here books.DEF *had he not read*

A requirement for demonstrative contrast has been noted for some of the embedded frontings in Yiddish, see Diesing (1990).

5 Adding some peace to various debates

As mentioned in passing above, we tentatively propose that the target phrase of the relevant material (contrastive topics and stage topics) is the inner topic projection, which immediately dominates FinP in Rizzi (1997):

(31) Force Top* Foc **Top* Fin**

Depending on the viewpoint one wishes to take, FinP is the right edge of the C-domain or alternatively the left edge of the I-domain of the clause. We follow Rizzi (1997) in viewing finiteness as the core IP-related property expressed by the complementizer system, and thus a part of the C-system rather than the I-system of the clause. Assuming Wiklund et al. (2007) to be correct in taking (all) verb movement in Icelandic to be triggered by FinP (cf. Holmberg and Platzack 2005), it appears reasonable to connect the licensing of material in the relevant Topic phrase to verb movement to FinP.[13] We specifically propose that the presence of a trigger of (V2) verb movement in Fin (arguably AGR) licenses the innermost Topic Phrase. On the assumption that (V2) verb movement targets a phrase higher than Fin in Swedish (and the other Mainland Scandinavian languages), cf. Wiklund et al. (2007), the analysis correctly predicts a difference between Icelandic and the rest of the Scandinavian languages with regard to licensing of verb second in the relevant LV2 contexts. These contexts can be taken to lack the domains above Fin. Hence, only Icelandic is expected to display V2 in such environments. In this sense Icelandic can be described as a GV2 language, albeit with expected LV2 properties; we hypothesize that these follow from universal structural deficiencies of LV2 clauses and in the case of scopal opacity/island effects from the presence of material in the inner Topic phrase (available in the LV2 clauses that contain Fin in Icelandic). The *Icelandic A/B* split, in turn, can be argued to follow from differences between speakers regarding where contrastive topics are licensed; the inner TopicP for *Icelandic A* vs. the outer TopicP for *Icelandic B*.

In view of the proposal that at least some of the cases referred to as Stylistic Fronting in the literature may have discourse related effects and pattern with topicalization with regard to (absence of) clause-boundedness and possibility of appearing with an overt subject, see Hrafnbjargarson

[13] Whether this movement involves head movement or XP movement is not relevant here. The important point is that FinP licenses V2 in Icelandic but not in e.g. Swedish.

(2004), it seems natural to investigate whether the frontings identified here as establishing the presence of GV2 properties of Icelandic constitute a *spurious* Stylistic Fronting of this kind. As we will see in the next section, this indeed seems to be the case. If we are correct, some peace may also be added to this debate. *True* Stylistic Fronting may be seen as movement to FinP and *spurious* Stylistic Fronting as movement to the inner TopicP. Both types are dependent on a trigger for verb movement in Fin, the latter on our assumption that this trigger licenses fronting to the inner TopicP.

6 Spurious Stylistic Fronting

Stylistic fronting, see Maling (1980, 1990), Rögnvaldsson (1986), Platzack (1988), Falk (1993), Jónsson (1991, 1996), Holmberg (2000, 2006), Sells (2002), Hrafnbjargarson (2004), and Ott (2008) among many others, known in traditional Swedish grammar as *kil*-konstruktionen (the wedge construction), is a leftwards movement of various types of elements, usually one word; typically movement of an adverb, a participle, or a verb particle, into a position that immediately precedes the finite verb. Stylistic Fronting is attested in Icelandic and to some extent in Faroese as well as in the older stages of Swedish and Danish. (32) illustrates Stylistic Fronting of the participle *kosið* 'elected'.[14]

(32) þá sem kosið hafa Framsóknarflokkinn tvisvar sinnum (Ic.)
those that elected have Progressive.party.DEF *two times*

Stylistic Fronting has been related to V2 and (in particular loss of V-to-I) verb movement and it has also been argued that Stylistic Fronting applies in order to rescue a V2 clause structure, e.g. Maling (1990), or to satisfy an EPP feature in the same way as expletive insertion, e.g. Holmberg (2000). As we have mentioned, the claim of Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson (1990) that topicalization is equally good in main and subordinate clauses hinges

[14]The example was found on the Internet: http://bjorgvin.eyjan.is/kjrgengi.htm.

on the assumption that Stylistic Fronting is a type of topicalization. In an attempt to unify SF and embedded V2, Hrafnbjargarson (2004) claims that the landing site of Stylistic Fronting is within the CP-domain.[15]

Since Maling (1980, 1990), we also know that Stylistic Fronting is restricted to clauses involving *subject gaps*, e.g. embedded subject questions, subject relative clauses, and impersonal passives. These are clauses in which "normal" non-subject fronting is typically marked or ungrammatical. As can be seen from (33c), however, Stylistic Fronting is like topicalization in not being restricted to embedded clauses.[16]

(33) a. Fyrst var spurt hvort kosið hefði verið [...] (Ic.)
first was asked whether elected had been
b. Þeir sem *þessa erfiðu ákvörðun* verða að taka
those that this difficult decision have to take
c. Kosið verður til þings í næstu viku.
elected becomes to parliament in next week

Stylistic Fronting is restrained by the so-called *Accessibility Hierarchy*, (34), first mentioned in Maling (1980). If there are two or more candidates for Stylistic Fronting in the clause, only the leftmost one on the hierarchy may be fronted.

(34) The Accessibility Hierarchy (adapted from Maling 1980, 1990)

$$\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{Negation } \textit{ekki}\\ \text{Sentence adverb}\end{array}\right\} > \left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{Past participle}\\ \text{Verb particle}\end{array}\right\} > \text{Predicative adjective}$$

Unlike Stylistic Fronting of the elements listed on Maling's original hierarchy, Stylistic Fronting of PPs (regardless of their status as argument or adjunct) does not obey to the Accessibility Hierarchy. Whereas Stylistic

[15]The target is proposed to be FocusP in Hrafnbjargarson (2004) but it is not obvious to us that the fronted item is not a stage topic or a contrastive topic instead.

[16](33a) is taken from the Internet, http://samgonguraduneyti.is/media/Skyrsla/Sameiningarskyrsla.pdf, (33b) from Holmberg (2000).

Fronting of a participle in the presence of a sentence adverb (or negation) is impossible, see (35b), PPs may front freely, cf. (35c).

(35) a. Hann spurði hvort *aldrei* hefði verið búið í þessu húsi. (Ic.)
he asked whether never had been lived in this house
b. *Hann spurði hvort *búið* hefði aldrei verið í þessu húsi.
he asked whether lived had never been in this house
c. Hann spurði hvort *í þessu húsi* hefði aldrei verið búið.
he asked whether in this house had never been lived

Even if we try to make sense of the Accessibility Hierarchy in terms of locality (the Minimal Link Condition, closest attract/shortest move, equidistance, etc.), any analysis of Stylistic Fronting will run into troubles explaining why Stylistic Fronting of a PP is fine in the presence of a sentence adverb/negation (which would be closer than the PP to the landing site of Stylistic Fronting) but not the Stylistic Fronting of a participle (which is equally close to the landing site as, at least, the PP argument in (35), both originating from within the verb phrase). The difference is even clearer in impersonal passives embedded under non-assertive predicates, see (36a). As (36c) and (36d) illustrate, the fronting is not clause bounded. The only reading available for (36c) and (36d) is the one where the PP originates from within the embedded clause.

(36) a. Hann efast um að í þessu húsi hafi nokkurn tíma verið
he doubts on that in this house has any time been
búið. (Ic.)
lived
b. Hann efast um að í þessu húsi hafi Silvía drottning nokkurn
he doubts on that in this house has Silvia queen any
tíma búið.
time lived
c. Í þessu húsi efast hann um að hafi nokkurn tíma verið
in this house doubts he on that has any time been
búið.
lived

d. Í þessu húsi efast hann um að Silvía drottning hafi nokkurn
in this house doubts he on that Silvia queen has any
tíma búið.
time lived

Although, as Wiklund et al. (2009) point out, non-assertive predicates are not compatible with embedded non-subject fronting in all varieties of Icelandic, even the restrictive speakers allow fronting of a stage topic (spatial or temporal adverbials) in these complements. Since there is a subject gap in impersonal passives, any fronting in these is by tradition analyzed as Stylistic Fronting. Importantly however, fronting of a stage topic in the presence of a subject in the active counterparts is also possible, cf. (36b). Since these complements do not have a subject gap, what appears to be the same fronting is by tradition analyzed as topicalization. The only difference between Stylistic Fronting and topicalization of PPs then seems to involve the subject gap restriction.

If we disregard the possibility of a subject gap for the moment being, which makes the fronting a potential candidate for an analysis in terms of Stylistic Fronting, the absence of clause-boundedness favors an analysis of the relevant fronting in terms of topicalization rather than Stylistic Fronting. As (37) illustrates, fronting of a participle is clause-bounded.

(37) *Búið efast hann um að hafi nokkurn tíma verið í þessu húsi. (Ic.)
lived doubts he on that has any time been in this house

Moreover, fronting of a participle is restricted to clauses with a subject gap, (38a) vs. (38b) below, whereas, as illustrated above, fronting of PPs can appear with or without an overt subject, (36a-b).

(38) a. Hann efast um að búið hafi verið í þessu húsi á síðustu
He doubts on that lived has been in this house on last
öld. (Ic.)
century

b. *Hann efast um að búið hafi Silvía drottning í þessu húsi
He doubts on that lived has Silvia queen in this house
á síðustu öld.
on last century

In all respects, fronting of temporal and spatial adjuncts/arguments appear to qualify as topic fronting rather than Stylistic Fronting. We therefore propose that fronting of these targets the Inner Topic Phrase, even in the absence of an overt subject, and that this *spurious* Stylistic Fronting is just another reflection of the "more" V2 property of Icelandic, made available in virtue of the presence of a trigger for (V2) verb displacement in Fin; arguably AGR.[17] In a way, our proposal seems to rescue a connection between rich agreement and verb movement, with a proviso that the verb movement targets the C-system rather than the I-system of the clause, in contrast to the verb movement found in e.g. Northern Norwegian, which undoubtedly targets the I-system of the clause (Bentzen 2005, Wiklund et al. 2007). As far as we can see, our analysis is consistent with the proposal of Holmberg (2009) that certain differences between the Scandinavian languages are related to agreement. Before we conclude, it would be interesting to have a closer look at *Icelandic C*, a variety reported on in Wiklund et al. (2009) as one that rejects fronting of demonstrative argument DPs in most if not all embedded environments, including in asserted clauses.

[17] Our analysis bears some resemblance to the analysis presented in Holmberg and Platzack (1995), in the sense that AGR is able to license a recursive C, in their analysis a second "finiteness operator". It is also in line with the proposal in Hrafnbjargarson (2004) that Stylistic Fronting and embedded V2 should be related to V-to-I movement (corresponding to V-to-Fin movement here). On the face of it, the analysis seems to be a notational variant of postulating an edge feature in Fin (alternating with an EPP feature), cf. Platzack (2009) for such an analysis of T in Icelandic. The licensing of the inner Topic phrase (or edge feature) by AGR remains to be understood.

7 Icelandic C

Icelandic C here refers to the variety of one informant (consulted in the work by Wiklund et al. 2009), who seemed to reject fronting even in the complement of assertive predicates and even in the presence of a demonstrative in the fronted argument constituent. Given our results here, we may hypothesize that the informant is actually a speaker of *Icelandic B* and that given the right context, fronting of stage topics and potentially also contrastive topics should be fine at least in assertive environments. This is indeed the case. The a-examples below provide the context and the informant was asked to judge the b-examples. Both fronting of a stage topic and fronting of a demonstrative DP is judged as fine in the complement of an assertive predicate:

(39) a. Á foreldrafundinum kom fram að flest börn byrja að
on parent.meeting.DEF *came forth that most children begin to*
læra margföldunartöfluna í 3. eða 4. bekk. (Ic.)
learn multiplication.table.DEF *in 3rd or 4th grade*

b. Kennarinn sagði samt að í þessum skóla byrjuðu
teacher.DEF *said nevertheless that in this school started*
börnin á margföldunartöflunni þegar í 1. bekk.
children.DEF *on multiplication.table*.DEF *already in 1st grade*

(40) a. Seðlabankastjóri tilkynnti að stýrivextir myndu hækka
central.bank.director announced that prime.rate would rise
um 15% í lok mánaðarins. (Ic.)
on 15% in end month.DEF

b. Hann sagði jafnframt að þessa ákvörðun hefði hann tekið
he said also that this decision had he taken
eftir mikla ígrundun.
after much thinking

8 Conclusion

We have hypothesized that there are no pure GV2 languages, on the basis of data from Icelandic. Even the supposed GV2 variety, *Icelandic A*, displays LV2 properties upon closer examination. In this sense *Icelandic B* should be considered rather representative of Icelandic. Nevertheless, it is hard to dispute the fact that *Icelandic B*, despite being restricted, is more liberal than Swedish (and arguably the rest of the Scandinavian languages) with respect to non-subject fronting in environments that cross-linguistically resist root phenomena of this kind. We have connected this possibility to the presence of a trigger for V2 (or verb displacement) in Fin (supposedly AGR), which licenses an inner TopicP, immediately dominating Fin (in the left periphery of Rizzi 1997). We have thereby added one more phenomenon to the list of AGR-related differences in Scandinavian, recently updated by Holmberg (2009), viz. that of general embedded V2, in the slightly modified sense described here (including main/embedded asymmetries). We have argued that the inner TopicP is the target position of at least stage- and contrastive topics, which in the absence of an overt subject have been analyzed as Stylistic Fronting. We have shown that this type of *spurious* Stylistic Fronting is best seen as topicalization. *Icelandic A* and *Icelandic B* can be said to differ with regard to where for example contrastive argument topics move (inner vs. outer TopicP).

Our claim that the GV2 status of Icelandic is nevertheless limited should be more or less expected, if we assume that there is variation with regard to which layer of the C-domain is targeted by the movement(s) responsible for the verb second word order and if we assume that dependent clauses differ with regard to which parts of the C-layer are available, an assumption in favor of which there seems to be enough independent evidence.

The data presented here constitute yet another piece of evidence against the assumption that Icelandic is a language that displays independent V-to-

I movement. All verb movement in Icelandic targets the C-system of the clause (Wiklund et al. 2009). If the I-system of the clause were targeted, it would be a rather strange coincidence that the extended possibility of fronting non-subjects (extended V2), which seems discourse related, and near obligatory verb movement to a high position in the clause go hand in hand in the Germanic languages. In our analysis, these are two sides of the same coin.

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"Disagreeing" pronominal reference and gender in Swedish*

Abstract: Swedish allows the use of a pronoun, such as *det* (it.neuter) 'it' below, which seems to disagree with its antecedent in formal gender:

(i) Bo har köpt [en dansk cykel]$_i$. Det$_i$ vill jag också ha.
Bo has bought [a.common Danish bicycle]$_i$ it.neuter want I too have
'Bo has bought a Danish bicycle. I would like to have one like that too.'

This paper examines the properties of alleged "disagreement", illustrated in (i), as well as in topic doubling. In order to explain the observed phenomenon, the feature set-up of the four non-plural 3rd person pronouns is examined. It is argued that Swedish has two instances of the pronouns *det* (it.neut) 'it' and *den* (it.common) 'it', one referential pronoun (R-pronoun) and one syntactic pronoun (S-pronoun). S-pronouns link to linguistic entities, whereas R-pronouns link to discourse entities. It is also argued that *det* (it.neuter) 'it' in (i) is an R-pronoun which lacks a number feature, hence no true disagreement is at hand. A unified account is presented as to what type of meanings the use of an S-pronoun and an R-pronoun may give rise to.

The relation between the formal and the semantic gender systems in Swedish is discussed, and a four-way semantic gender system is proposed, where each gender corresponds to a third person non-plural pronoun. It is furthermore proposed that formal gender features are not syntactic, but features that are added post-syntactically, in a morphological module. Their function is to make visible the presence or absence of other features, in particular number, which otherwise would lack a phonological exponent.

Keywords: *formal gender, semantic gender, pronouns, disagreement, anaphoric pronouns, deictic pronouns, topic doubling, cross-sentential reference*

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1 Introduction

The main function of pronouns in human language is to identify and track discourse referents sentence internally and across clausal boundaries – a pronoun and its antecedent noun phrase have the same reference in the world of discourse. For instance, in an authentic utterance, such as (1) below, *the little girl* and *she* refer to the same person.

(1) [The little girl]$_i$ was happy. She$_i$ had just won the swimming race.

The interpretation of pronouns works the same way in Swedish as in English and in many other languages, but in Swedish it is possible to use a pronoun that appears to disagree with its antecedent, in formal gender as well as in number. Swedish has two formal genders on nouns: common gender and neuter. The noun phrase *en dansk cykel* 'a Danish bicycle' in (2a and b) is a common gender noun phrase, since *cykel* 'bicycle' is a common gender noun, *den* is a common gender pronoun, whereas *det* is neuter. Nevertheless, both (2a) and (2b) are well formed.

(2) a Bo har köpt [en dansk cykel]$_i$. Den$_i$ vill jag också ha.
Bo has bought [a Danish bicycle]$_i$ it.common want I too have
'Bo has bought a Danish bicycle. I would like to have that one too.'

b Bo har köpt [en dansk cykel]$_i$. Det$_i$ vill jag också ha.
Bo has bought [a Danish bicycle]$_i$ it.neuter want I too have
'Bo has bought a Danish bicycle. I would like to have one like that too.'

In Swedish, Topic doubling occurs when a sentence initial noun phrase is doubled by a pronoun and is a phenomenon that seems to be closely related to cross-sentential reference. In the unmarked case, the pronoun and its antecedent agree, for example in formal gender, as shown in (3a); however, a "disagreeing" pronoun is also possible, as illustrated in (3b):[1]

[1] The phrase *den danska cykeln* 'the Danish bicycle' in (2a) is a definite noun phrase, whereas *en dansk cykel* 'a Danish bicycle' in (3b) is indefinite. The reason why ?*En dansk cykel, den vill jag också ha* is not equally well formed is not crucial to the points I make in this paper. To me it seems as though the two segments, *Den danska cykeln* and *den* are more closely related to each other than *En dansk cykel* and *den.* Whether this is actually true, and – in that case – how it should be formalized is out of the scope of this paper.

(3) a [Den danska cykeln]$_i$, den$_i$ vill jag också ha.
the.common Danish bicycle.common.def it.common want I too have
'The Danish bicycle, I want to have that one too.'

b [En dansk cykel]$_i$, det$_i$ vill jag också ha.
a.common Danish bicycle it.neuter want I too have
'A Danish bicle, I want to have one too.'

The purpose of this article is threefold: The first goal is to provide an explanation of the use of "disagreeing" pronouns in cross-sentential reference and in topic doubling, as illustrated in (2b) and (3b). In order to explain these facts, we must consider the properties of the 3rd person pronoun system in Swedish in detail. The second goal of this paper is therefore to make a detailed study of the 3rd person non-plural pronoun system in Swedish: *han* 'he', *hon* 'she', *den* (it.common) 'it', and *det* (it.neuter) 'it'. We examine which features the pronouns express and how reference is established by way of these features. In order to be able to explain "disagreement", the role of formal and semantic gender has to be taken into consideration; thus, the third purpose is to explain the formal and semantic gender systems in Swedish and how they interact.

The outline of the paper is as follows: In section 2, I present some background on different pronoun types and how reference between a discourse antecedent and a pronoun is established in different ways. In section 3, the distinctions presented in section 2 are developed and applied to the 3rd person Swedish pronouns *han* 'he', *hon* 'she,' *den* (it.common) 'it', and *det* (it.neuter) 'it'. Section 4 contains a close study of the "disagreement" constructions illustrated in (2b) and (3b) above, and in section 5 I discuss formal and semantic gender, primarily from the point of view of Swedish, although the description might be valid for other languages. Section 6 contains a summary and a conclusion.

2 Background

In an influential study from 1983, Bosch makes a distinction between referentially-functioning pronouns (RPs) and syntactically functioning ones (SPs), terms that I will borrow, although I will use the abbreviations R-pronouns and S-pronouns. According to Bosch, R-pronouns differ from S-pronouns in not referring to linguistic antecedents; these pronouns refer directly to referents in

the world of discourse. Bosch describes an S-pronoun as in crucial ways equivalent to agreement, and it refers back to a linguistic expression with the same feature set as the pronoun. In the typical case, the S-pronoun refers back to a preceding noun phrase (which of course in turn may refer to an entity in the world of discourse). A diagnostic, by which Bosch in a later paper, (Bosch 1986), singles out S-pronouns from R-pronouns, is a commutation test; a referential antecedent for an S-pronoun should be replaceable by a non-referential antecedent such as *nobody*.[2] In short, the idea is that *he* in (4b) cannot be an R-pronoun since it refers back to an expression, *nobody*, that has no reference. This means that *he* is an S-pronoun. The pronoun *he* in (4a), on the other hand, is an S-pronoun.

(4) a Fred said he was sick.
b Nobody said he was sick.

Bosch assumes that R-pronouns come in two versions: they are either deictic, in which case reference goes directly to a conceptual representation in the discourse, or anaphoric, in which case reference goes to a conceptual representation made available by the linguistic context. Consider (5):

(5) Nobody was tired. But they left (anyway).

They in (5) cannot refer back to the linguistic expression *nobody* since *they* is a plural pronoun, whereas *nobody* is singular (or at least not plural); the pronoun *they* refers to "the contextually understood set of people over which it [i.e. the quantifier *nobody*] quantifies". Since *they* in (5) cannot be an S-pronoun, it must be an R-pronoun. *Nobody* in (5) is clearly non-referential, but, as Bosch (1986:74) points out, *nobody* makes the antecedent available.

As we proceed we shall see that the distinction between S-pronouns and R-pronouns is of importance for a proper understanding of the Swedish pronominal system. However, it will also be evident that we achieve a better understanding of the function of pronouns if we decompose the notions S-pronouns and R-pronouns into features: referentially-functioning features – R-features – and syntactically functioning ones – S-features. By means of R-

[2] The examples in (4) are from Bosch (1986, 66).

features an R-link is established between the pronoun and the relevant discourse antecedent. An S-link is established by way of S-features.

Tasmowski & Verluyten (1985) (see also Tasmowski-De Rijck & Verluyten 1982), hencefort T&V, reject Bosch's idea that the main distinction between pronominal elements should be made between R-pronouns and S-pronouns. They suggest instead that the main dividing line is between deictic pronouns on the one hand and non-deictic (or anaphoric) ones on the other. For deictic pronouns a linguistic antecedent is not available. For anaphoric pronouns a full interpretation requires a linguistic antecedent.

Following Bosch, Cornish (1986) assumes that the main distinction is between R-pronouns and S-pronouns. However, Cornish prefers the term antecedent-trigger rather than antecedent when describing the element to which an R-pronoun refers.

One important difference between T&V's model on the one hand and Bosch/Cornish's on the other is that Bosch/Cornish assume that text (including spoken language) is but one input for the discourse representation (the "antecedent" or "antecedent-trigger") and that an anaphoric pronoun may also refer to a non-linguistic, conceptual representation, an antecedent that is "evoked" by the linguistic context.

One important point in Cornish (1986) is that he introduces a new way of viewing the relation between R-pronouns and the element to which this pronoun refers. T&V refer to this relation in terms of "control"; the antecedent controls the pronoun. Cornish suggests that the set-up of available pronouns "provides the speaker with a subtle means of imposing, *a posteriori*, a particular referential perspective upon a referent which has already been entered into the discourse model" (p. 251). Cornish goes so far as to suggest that "it is the [R-]pronoun /…/ which 'controls' or determines the antecedent".[3] Consequently, according to Cornish the reverse order of control holds between an S-pronoun (Cornish uses the term "strict anaphor") and the noun phrase to which it refers; a pronoun of this type has "semantic-logical properties and acts upon its governing predicate expression, the result of which then determines a controller, following which the controller's agreement features are transferred to the anaphor" (p. 257).

[3] See also Bosch (1986) for a similar conclusion.

It should be pointed out that the term "control" in this framework differs from the way it is used elsewhere in present-day syntactic theory. In this paper, the term "control" will be used to refer to the matching or "sameness" of features: The assumption that an S-pronoun is controlled by its antecedent means that a noun/NP requires that the corresponding pronoun does not carry conflicting features; for example, if the noun phrase antecedent carries the features common gender and plural, an S-pronoun cannot be neuter and singular. The assumption that an R-pronoun controls its antecedent means that the features of the anaphoric pronoun do not correspond to any morphosyntactic features of an antecedent, but that the features carried by the pronoun evoke the notion of a referent of a particular kind.

3 Third person pronouns in Swedish – R-pronouns or S-pronouns?

In this section we take a closer look at the third person pronouns in Swedish, beginning with *den* (it.common) 'it' and *det* (it.neuter) 'it', used as S-pronouns in 3.1, and continue with *han* 'he' and '*hon* "she' in 3.2. The subject of 3.3 is the linking procedure, i.e. the way features and meaning components are linked across sentence boundaries. In 3.4 deictic pronouns are discussed and compared to an instance of *det*, (it.neuter) 'it', which I argue is an R-pronoun. In this section, the meaning of the feature number is highlighted. In 3.5, S-features and contrastive stress are discussed. 3.6 is a summary.

3.1 Den (it.common) 'it' *and* det (it.neuter) 'it', *used as S-pronouns*

As a first step it seems clear that the distinction between S-pronouns and R-pronouns is relevant for Swedish (although, as we shall see below, the situation is rather intricate). Consider first 3rd person pronouns in the singular. There are two pronouns, which seem to be clearly syntactic, or, rather, which may be used as S-pronouns: *den* (it.common) 'it' and *det* (it.neuter) 'it'. Crucially, *den* and *det,* used in this way, "agree" in formal gender (neuter or common gender) and number with a noun (phrase) in the preceding discourse:[4],[5]

[4] The "nobody test" that Bosch (1983) uses (cf. (4) above) seems not to be as easily applicable to Swedish, since the common gender *ingen* 'nobody' is +HUMAN, and the neuter *inget* 'nothing' is -HUMAN.

(6) a Jag klappade en tiger. Den var randig.
I patted a.common tiger. it.common was striped.common.
'I patted a tiger. It was striped.'

b *Jag klappade en tiger. Det var randig-t.
I patted a.common tiger. it.neuter was striped-neuter.

c Jag klappade ett lejon. Det var gul-t.
I patted a.neuter lion. it.neuter was yellow.neuter
'I patted a lion. It was yellow.'

d *?Jag klappade ett lejon. Den var gul.
I patted a.neuter lion. it.common was yellow.common

We may conclude that the formal gender, i.e. common gender on *tiger* and neuter on *lejon*, as well as number, link the noun phrase *en tiger* and *den* in (6a), as well as *ett lejon* and *det* in (6c) – the antecedents *en tiger/ett lejon* control the pronouns *den* and *det*, according to the definition given in section 2; the pronouns *den* (it.common) 'it' and *det* (it.neuter) 'it' in (6a and c) refer back to the linguistic expressions *en tiger* (a.common tiger) 'a tiger' and *ett lejon*, (a.neuter lion) 'a lion' respectively.[6] We have no reason to assume that the formal gender specifications on *den* (it.common) 'it' and *det* (it.neuter) 'it' in (6a and c) are semantically meaningful *per se*, at least not to any higher degree than what holds for formal gender on nouns. Although there is a fairly strong tendency for nouns denoting inanimate and abstract entities to be neuter, it is not possible to predict the formal gender of a noun on the basis of its meaning.[7]

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[5] Note that sentences corresponding to (6b) could be well formed too if *det* refers to the event of patting a tiger:

(i) Jag klappade en tiger. Det var stor-t.
I patted a.common tiger. it.neuter was great-neuter
'I patted a tiger. It was great.'

In cases such as (i), *det* is no longer an S-pronoun, but an R-pronoun. This use of *det* will be discussed in detail below.

[6] According to the standard view noun phrases such as *en tiger* and *ett lejon* are DPs (see Abney 1987). However, some of the noun phrases that will be discussed in this paper are simple NPs and some probably larger than DPs I will refer to them by the common denomination noun phrase or NP.

[7] It might very well be the case that semantic rules are operative in the assignment of lexical gender to nouns (see e.g. Corbett 1991, Fraser & Corbett 2000), but these rules are in that case

When it comes to the number feature it seems safe to conclude that both *den* (it.common) 'it' and *det* (it.neuter) 'it' carry a number feature. The reason is that *den* (it.common) 'it' and *det* (it.neuter) 'it' cannot refer to a plural antecedent: Had for example *det* (it.neuter) 'it' been devoid of a number feature (which I will argue below is the case for a homonymous instance of *det* (it.neuter) 'it'), we would have expected that *det* (it.neuter) 'it' could refer back to a noun phrase in the plural, such as *två lejon* 'two lions' in (7b). This is not the case:[8]

(7)	a	Jag	klappade	två	tigrar.	*Den	var	stor.
		I	*patted*	*two*	*tigers.*	*it.common*	*was*	*big.common*
	b	Jag	klappade	två	lejon.	*Det	var	stor-t.
		I	*patted*	*two*	*lions.*	*it.neuter*	*was*	*big-neuter*

To conclude this subsection: *Den* (it.common) 'it' and *det* (it.neuter) 'it' can be used as S-pronouns in Swedish.

3.2 Han 'he' *and* hon 'she' – *R-pronoun candidates*

In cases when the discourse antecedents are conceived of as ANIMATE[9] the pronouns *han* 'he' and *hon* 'she' are normally chosen:[10]

(8)	a	Jag	träffade	en	man.	Han	var	lång.
		'I	met	a	man.	He	was	tall.'
	b	Jag	träffade	en	dam.	Hon	var	lång.
		'I	met	a	woman.	She	was	tall.'

At a first glance it might seem plausible that *han* 'he' and *hon* 'she' are S-pronouns, just like *den* (it.common) 'it' and *det* (it.neuter) 'it', as shown in 3.1. The reason would be that *han* and *hon* are traditionally assumed to be common gender pronouns. However, at a closer examination this seems to be the wrong conclusion – *han* 'he' and *hon* 'she' appear to lack formal gender specifications.

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quite vague, full of exceptions and sometimes contradictory. In my view it is not reasonable to view lexical gender on nouns, i.e. common gender and neuter, as a meaningful category.

[8] As pointed out in footnote 6, (7b) is fine if *det* (it.neuter) 'it' refers to the event of patting the lions. This use of *det* (it.neuter) 'it' will be discussed in detail below.

[9] I will use the term ANIMATE as synonymous to HUMAN.

[10] Throughout the paper semantic features will be given in capitals.

Consider first (9) below, which shows that concord in formal gender between *den/det* and their corresponding antecedent noun phrases is required.[11]

(9) a Jag klappade en tiger. *Det var stor-t.
I patted a.common tiger. it.neuter was big-neuter

b Jag klappade ett lejon. *Den var stor.
I patted a.neuter lion. it.common was big.common

No concord in formal gender is required if the discourse antecedents are ANIMATE neuter nouns, for example ***statsrådet*** 'the member of the cabinet' in (10a) and *biträdet* 'the clerk' in (10b):

(10) a Jag träffade statsrådet. Han/hon var en konstig typ.
I met minister.neuter.def. he/she was a strange type
'I met the minister. He/she was a strange fellow.'

b Jag talade med biträdet. Han/hon var en konstig typ.
I talked to clerk.neuter.def. he/she was a strange type.
'I talked to the clerk. He/she was a strange fellow.'

The examples in (10) indicate that the pronouns *han* 'he' and *hon* 'she' lack formal gender – they can refer back to noun phrases with either formal gender specification. If *han* 'he' and *hon* 'she' would have a formal gender feature, presumably a common gender feature (which is traditionally assumed), we would expect (10a) and (10b) to be ungrammatical. Since this is not the case I will assume in what follows that *han* he' and *hon* 'she' are unmarked for formal gender – they are neither neuter nor common gender pronouns. Further evidence that this is correct comes from antitopicalization data.[12] Consider (11) and (12):

(11) a Den har gått sönder, bussjävel-n/
it.common has gone broken, bus.devil-common.def/
*busshelvete-t.
**bus.hell-neuter.def*
'It's broken, the damned bus.'

[11] As expected, (9a) is fine if *det* is interpreted as referring back to the event of patting the tiger (cf. footnote 5).

[12] For the notion of antitopicalization, see e.g. Lambrecht (1981) and Herring (1994). The Swedish term for antitopicalization is ***svansdubblering*** 'tail reduplication' or *final dubblering* 'final doubling'. See Teleman & al. (1999), part 4, §10-11.

b Det har gått sönder, *bussjävel-n/busshelvete-t.
*it.neuter has gone broken, *bus.devil-common.def/bus.hell-neuter.def*
'It's broken, the damned bus.'

(12)a Han försvann med pengarna, det svin-et/
he disappeared with money-the, that.neuter swine-neuter.def/
den idiot-en.
that.common idiot-common.def
'He disappeared with the money, that bastard.'

b Hon försvann med pengarna, det svin-et/
she disappeared with money.the, that.neuter swine.neuter.def/
den idiot-en.
that.common idiot-common.def
'She disappeared with the money, that bastard.'

(11) shows that the pronouns *den* (it.common) 'it' and *det* (it.neuter) 'it' agree with the antitopicalized elements in formal gender. (12) shows that this does not hold for *han* and *hon*; these pronouns may refer both to neuter and common gender antitopic noun phrases. The conclusion I make is that *han* 'he' and *hon* 'she' lack formal gender.

So far I have shown that the pronouns *han* 'he' and *hon* 'she' lack a formal gender feature. Without further discussion I also assume that these pronouns are morphosyntactically marked for the features FEMININE and MASCULINE, respectively. It would be quite natural to assume also that common nouns too could be marked for semantic features such as MASCULINE/FEMININE, and also ANIMATE, COUNTABLE etc. If this is the case, then *han* 'he' and *hon* 'she' could be construed as S-pronouns in spite of their lack of a formal gender feature – the linking would in such cases be between the natural gender feature of the pronoun (e.g. MASCULINE/FEMININE) and the corresponding feature on the antecedent noun phrase, for example between *kvinnan*$_{\text{FEMININE}}$ 'the woman' in one clause and *hon*$_{\text{FEMININE}}$ 'she' in the next. I argue that this is not the case; common nouns in modern Swedish seem to be morphosyntactically unmarked for semantic features. There is no morphological evidence, and, in particular, no type of agreement on common nouns that expresses the features MASCULINE/FEMININE. The sole evidence that could indicate the presence of a natural gender feature on common nouns would have to be the choice of anaphoric pronoun, which, as we shall see below, does not provide enough evidence. In particular, it would work only for a small portion of the nouns, and

an alleged violation, which would happen when a speaker would choose an "incorrect" anaphoric pronoun, does not give rise to ungrammaticality but a pragmatically odd sentence.[13],[14] The most obvious argument that common nouns carry a semantic gender feature comes from the meaning of nouns such as *man* 'man' and *kvinna* 'woman', nouns which of course denote males and females, respectively, as well as nouns such as *stol* 'chair' or *bok* 'book', which normally denote inanimates, and hence could be thought of as morphosyntactically marked –ANIMATE or INAMATE. Nouns like *stol* 'chair' and *bok* 'book' denote individual entities, which means that it is not unreasonable to assume that they are also morphologically marked as COUNTABLE. It is true, of course, that nouns have a typical or prototypical meaning – some nouns more clearly than others – but, in order to capture the whole body of nouns as well as all different kinds of possible uses of these nouns, it is more reasonable to formalize meaning by assuming that lexemes – nouns in this case – are more or less inclined or apt to carry a particular meaning.[15] For instance, it is well known that a noun such as *hund* 'dog' is typically used as a countable; however it can be used as an uncountable too:

(13) Ni fick mycket hund för pengarna.
you got much dog for money.the
'You got quite a lot of dog for your money.'

The possibility of using a prototypical countable noun as an uncountable without thereby inducing ungrammaticality indicates that nouns do not carry features such as +COUNTABLE or -COUNTABLE as a part of their lexical specification; they are only *typically* used as countables or uncountables, at least in Swedish. A statement saying that *hund* 'dog' is a countable noun is thus an

[13] There is one piece of evidence that common nouns may carry a semantic feature, namely the use of *-e* as weak adjectival inflection for attributive nouns: *den lille prinsen* (the little.MASC prince). However, according to Teleman (1999, part 2, 227ff), this type of inflection is optional, secondly can be used also for sex-neutral expressions. Adjectival agreement on *-a* can be used for referents of both sexes.

[14] A consequence of this conclusion is that Hockett's famous definition of gender does not hold: "Genders are classes of nouns reflected in the behavior of associated words" (Hockett 1958, 231). However, the very idea that an R-pronoun controls its antecedent, as proposed by Bosch (see above), in particular the idea that the preceding text may trigger an antecedent – not that it determines the choice of a particular pronoun – runs counter to Hockett's definition.

[15] See e.g. Halliday (1973), Rommetveit (1974), and Allwood (2003) for a discussion on the notion of meaning potential.

assessment of how this word is commonly used, whereas saying that it is a common gender noun, or a Declension 2 noun is a fact about the lexical entry. To put it bluntly, to use the noun *hund* 'dog as an uncountable is probably a bit unusual, maybe even creative, but grammatical, whereas providing it with a Declension 1 plural affix, **hundor*, or treating it as a neuter noun, **hundet* (dog.neuter.def) is ungrammatical; it violates lexicogrammatical rules. To conclude: nouns in present-day Swedish are not morphologically marked as countables or uncountables.

Now consider another context:

(14) a Såg ni hunden? Den var söt.
saw you dog.common.def? it.common was cute
'Did you see the dog? It was cute.'

b Såg ni hunden? Han var söt.
saw you dog.common.def? he was cute
'Did you see the dog? It was cute.'

When reference is made to a dog, the choice between *den* (it.common) 'it' and *han* 'he' (or *hon* 'she') as an anaphoric pronoun depends on the speakers knowledge of the referent in question (i.e. if he or she knows whether the dog is a female or male dog) and/or his or her attitude towards dogs in general, i.e. whether the speaker likes to think of dogs as mainly human-like or mainly "thing"-like. The word *hund* 'dog' as such does not carry features such as MASCULINE, FEMININE or INANIMATE; the choice of pronoun depends on the speaker's choice of view-point. The different possibilities are present as potentials in the word, and the choice of pronoun is a question of how a speaker chooses to "download" a certain discourse entity in a suitable cognitive category in an actual speech situation: Does the speaker see the dog in question as inanimate or animate, and in the latter case, as a female or male dog? In the 19th century the word *läkare* 'physician', was always pronominalized by the pronoun *han* 'he', not *hon* 'she', due to the simple fact that all doctors were male. This situation changed during the 20th century; nowadays about 50 % of all new physicians in Sweden are woman, hence referred to by the pronoun *she* 'hon'. The cases under discussion are good illustrations of Cornish's point (see above): The set-up of available pronouns in a language "provides the speaker with a subtle means of imposing, *a posteriori*, a particular referential perspective upon

a referent which has already been entered into the discourse model" (Cornish 1986, 251). We could make Cornish's formulation even sharper: The set-up of available pronouns in a language *forces* the speaker to impose a referential perspective upon a discourse referent.

In my view, the most reasonable conclusion is that nouns in present-day Swedish have no *morphosyntactic* categorization in terms of features such as MASCULINE/FEMININE, ANIMATE/INANIMATE, BOUNDED/UNBOUNDED or the like. Many nouns display a more or less strong tendency to be used for entities belonging to a certain conceptual category, for instance *dam* 'lady' and *kvinna* 'woman', *man* 'man' and *pojke* 'boy', but this too can be captured by a theory of potential meanings; such words have a much stronger tendency towards being used as + ANIMATE and +FEMALE/+MALE, as compared to nouns such as *skinksmörgås* 'ham sandwich' or *hund* 'dog'; in principle though they behave alike.

Before concluding the discussion on the feature set-up of common nouns and pronouns, we need to consider the option that a noun such as *hund* 'dog' is +BOUNDED, and that this feature is overridden by another feature, -BOUNDED in contexts such as (13). The main reason against such a view is that it introduces more machinery than needed to explain the observed facts. The idea that common nouns lack morphosyntactic features such as MASCULINE and FEMININE is less complex than the idea that such features are present but overridden. It should be stressed though, that the conclusion above holds for Modern Swedish. In earlier stages of the language, we may perhaps assume that the suffixes *-inna*, as in *kejsar-inna* (emperor-ess) 'empress', or *-ska*, as in *sömmer-ska* (taylor-SKA) 'female tailor' carried the feature FEMININE, and that the corresponding suffix *-are*, as in *kejs-are* 'emperor' was morphosyntactically marked MASCULINE. Since language change proceeds in a gradual manner, remainders of this old system may still be present in the mental lexicons and grammars of speakers of modern Swedish. However, the fact that "female" derivational suffixes have become increasingly rare, and that words such as *sjuksköterska* 'nurse', with the suffix *-ska* (cf. *sömmerska* above), may refer both to male and female nurses indicate that common nouns in

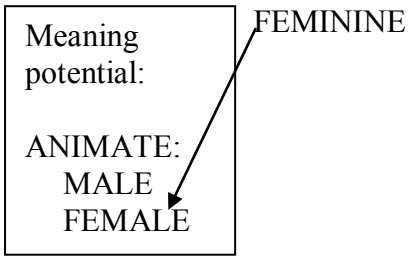
Modern Swedish lack a semantic morphosyntactic marking on words.[16] This is what I will assume in the rest of this paper.

To conclude this subsection: Common nouns in Modern Swedish do not have any grammatically encoded semantic features. There might be a more or less strong tendency for certain nouns to denote males, females, animates and bounded elements etc., but this is a question related to typical use, not morphosyntactic features inherent to lexemes.

3.3 Linking

Let us now take a closer look at the role of formal gender features in the linking of a pronoun to its antecedent. I concluded above that common nouns in Swedish do not carry morphosyntactic semantic specifications such as ANIMATE, INANIMATE or the like. Hence, the relation between the pronouns *han* 'he' and *hon* 'she' and their respective discourse antecedents cannot be formalized in terms of agreement in formal or semantic gender (taking agreement to refer strictly to concord in morphosyntactic features). Instead, we have to assume that another type of link is established between the morphosyntactic feature of the pronoun, for instance MASCULINE or FEMININE, and a segment within the potential meaning of the noun. From the point of view of language processing, the pronoun is an instruction to the listener to search in the discourse for a prominent referent that is or can be thought of as corresponding to the features in question. The linking procedure is illustrated in (9):[17]

(15) Jag träffade en lärare. Hon var lång.
I met a teacher She was tall



[16] For a detailed discussion on derivational suffixes such as *-inna* and -s*ka* in Swedish and German, see Jobin (2004).

[17] Note that "Meaning potential" refers to speaker's knowledge about the common meaning of a noun. ANIMATE is a superordinate category, and MALE/FEMALE subordinate categories. The "Meaning potential box" is a very rough sketch of the meaning potential, and it could of course be elaborated in great detail.

Since *lärare* 'teacher' in contemporary Swedish could denote both men and women both the features MALE and FEMALE are salient components of the meaning potential of this noun (when it comes to *lärare* 'teacher', I assume that both components are equally prominent). What (15) shows is that the feature FEMININE on the pronoun and the segment FEMALE of the meaning potential of the noun enter into a referential relation, not a relation that, on a par with formal gender or number, uses the morphosyntactic features of the pronoun as its vehicle.[18] I will refer to this type of linking as *referential linking*, or *R-linking*. As illustrated in (15), R-linking will be illustrated by an arrow. The direction of the arrow is from the pronoun to the proceeding noun phrase, which illustrates Cornish's point that R-pronouns control their antecedents (see section 2). R-linking normally goes between a feature on a pronoun and a preceding noun phrase (or pronoun), but in some cases R-linking links one noun phrase to another (cf.(16a)) or "backwards", i.e. when a noun phrase refers back to a pronoun (cf. (16b)):[19]

(16) a Jag träffade [mitt ex]$_i$ på bussen igår. [Den idioten]$_i$ hade
I met my ex on bus.the yesterday. That idiot.the had
klippt håret.
cut hair.the
'I met my ex on the bus yesterday. That idiot had got a hair-cut.'

b Mannen kysste henne$_i$. [Den kvinnan]$_i$ visste hur man ska
man-the kissed her. that.common woman knew how one should
kyssas!
kiss
'The man kissed her. That woman knew how to kiss!'

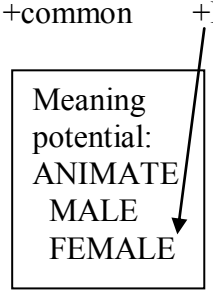
In what follows, I focus on the linking between (the features of) a pronoun and a noun phrase in a preceding clause, leaving examples such as those in (16) aside. Syntactic linking, or S-linking, is defined as the linking between a particular syntactic feature on an anaphoric S-pronoun and an identical feature of a noun phrase in a preceding clause. S-linking thus relies on the identity of features. R-linking, on the other hand, is the imposition or evocation of a segment within the potential meaning of a noun phrase. In S-linking, the antecedent controls the

[18] Throughout the paper the terms FEMALE and MALE will be used to refer to the semantics of meaning potentials, whereas FEMININE and MASCULINE will be used as terms for morphosyntactic features.
[19] For clause-internal binding of pronouns and noun phrases, see e.g. Reinhart (1983).

pronoun in the sense that a feature on a pronoun relies on a feature on a nominal antecedent. If we wish to talk about agreement holding across sentences, S-linking would be a case of agreement.

It seems as though not all features of a pronoun and its antecedent have to be linked – features may be left "dangling". Recall the idea that the pronouns *han* 'he' and *hon* 'she' lack a formal gender feature – they are neither neuter nor common gender pronouns. This means that the feature common gender on the antecedent, *lärare* in (15), is left unlinked. (17) below is a slightly extended version of (15):

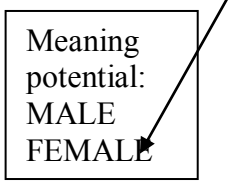
(17) Jag träffade en lärare. Hon var lång.
I met a teacher she was tall
+common +FEMININE



The assumption that an R-link is established between the feature FEMININE on the pronoun *hon* and the potential meaning FEMALE of the noun phrase *en lärare* in (17) does not necessarily mean that the pronoun *hon* 'she' is an R-pronoun. What we have not yet considered is the role of number. Both *en lärare* 'a teacher' and *hon* 'she' are singular nominals. It should not be controversial to assume that number is a morphosyntactic feature, which means that an S-link can be established between the number feature of *hon* 'she' and the corresponding feature of its antecedent *en lärare* 'a teacher'. Note the direction of the arrow in (15) and (17): When it comes to the morphosyntactic feature number, the antecedent controls the anaphor in the sense discussed above, namely that the feature value of the antecedent determines the choice of pronoun. When it comes to the feature FEMININE/FEMALE, the morphosyntactic features FEMININE on the noun controls the meaning potential FEMALE on the NP *en lärare*. Recall that no morphosyntactic feature FEMININE is present on the noun *lärare* 'teacher'; this element of meaning is evoked from or maybe even superimposed upon the noun *lärare*.[20]

[20] It should be pointed out that the notion of control does not have anything to do with psychological control, i.e. a speaker's possibility to choose between pronouns. In an S-

(18) Jag träffade en lärare. Hon var lång.
I met a teacher she was tall



The conclusion is that the categories S-pronoun and R-pronoun are not fine-grained enough to describe the Swedish third person pronouns. If we decompose *han* 'he' and *hon* 'she', we find that these pronouns may participate in R-linking with an antecedent noun phrase – by means of the features MASCULINE/ FEMININE – and in S-linking – by means of the number feature. In other words, the number feature identifies the linguistic antecedent, the noun phrase *en lärare*, and the R-feature provides a particular referential perspective on this discourse antecedent, and, more specifically, information about the sex of the referent. The feature FEMININE on the pronoun *hon* 'she' in (18) thus specifies the semantic gender of this referent – it is a woman.

We need to consider the possibility that the pronouns *den* (it.common) 'it' and *det* (it.neuter) 'it' have a "negative" semantic feature too, -ANIMATE, but for the time being I will assume that this is not the case; this question will be discussed separately below.

In section 3.1, we saw that the pronoun *det* (it.neuter) 'it' can be used as an S-pronoun, but this seems not to be the only possibility; *det* (it.neuter) 'it' has other pronominal uses too. Consider the example in (19):

(19) Mannen och kvinnan läste manuskriptet.
man.common.def and woman.common.def read manuscript.neuter.def.
Det var tråkig-t.
it.neuter was boring-neuter
'The man and the woman read the manuscript. It was boring.'

The pronoun *det* (it.neuter) 'it' in (19) could of course refer to *manuskriptet* (manuscript.neuter.def) 'the manuscript', in such cases we would have an

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relation the pronoun carries the same feature, with the same feature value, as its antecedent; the antecedent thereby controls the pronoun. In an R-relation the pronoun controls the antecedent in the sense that the features of the pronoun determine the semantics of the antecedent.

instance of S-linking between *manuskriptet* and *det* (both *manuskriptet* and *det* are NEUTER and SINGULAR) – *det* (it.neuter) 'it' would in that case be an S-pronoun of the type described in 3.1. According to a different reading, the pronoun *det* (it.neuter) 'it' would refer to the specific event described by the sentence *Mannen och kvinnan läste manuskriptet* 'The man and the woman read the manuscript'. In this case no S-linking would take place, simply because there is no feature on the clause to which the neuter feature of *det* (it.neuter) 'it' could link. Although it is possible to assume that subordinate clauses, in particular *that*-clauses, have a formal gender feature (see e.g. Josefsson 2009 for a suggestion), it is quite unlikely to assume that main clauses carry this feature. Likewise, we have no evidence that main clauses carry a number feature, neither singular nor plural.[21] The conclusion is that no S-linking could take place between *det* (it.neuter) 'it' and its discourse antecedent in (19), according to the second reading.

Now consider (20):

(20) Yasmine har feber och Sven hostar. Det är förskräcklig-t!
Yasmine has fever and Sven coughs. it.neuter is terrible-neuter
'Yasmine has a fever and Sven coughs. It's terrible!'

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[21] A *that*-clause as subject triggers agreement in the neuter on a predicative adjective, which indicates that the clause is neuter:

(i) Att vi får anslaget är knappast trolig-t.
that we get grant.the is hardly probable-neut
'It's hardly probable that we'll get the grant.'

In Josefsson (2006) I have argued that countability and number are interrelated in such a way that arguments denoting events and substances lack a number feature. Also clause-anticipating *det* (it.neuter) 'it' lacks a number feature – only NPs denoting countable entities have a number feature. This is why subjects consisting of conjoined clauses or NPs denoting substances resist plural agreement on a predicative adjective:

(ii) Att Bo sjunger och att Lisa spelar är trevlig-t/*trevlig-a.
*that Bo sings and that Lisa plays is nice-neut/*nice-pl*
'It is nice that Bo sings and that Lisa plays.'

(iii) Grädde och mjölk är gul-t/*gul-a.
*cream and milk is yellow-neut/*yellow-pl*
'Cream and milk is yellow.'

See Josefsson (1999, 2006, 2009) for an account of the neuter agreement on the predicative adjective in (i)-(iii) and related issues.

Det (it.neuter) 'it' in (20) refers – or rather could refer – both to Yasmine's having a fever and Sven's coughing, two states of affair that are expressed in different clauses. The pronoun *det* (it.neuter) 'it' is clearly anaphoric. Since the two events are described in two main clauses, it is even more unreasonable to assume that the discourse antecedent for *det* (it.neuter) 'it' would be a word or a feature of a word in the discourse. The most reasonable assumption is that no S-linking at all takes place in (20) and that *det* (it.neuter) 'it' in these cases is an unambiguous R-pronoun. The preceding context enables the interpretation of the pronoun, but the actual referent has to be retrieved, or may be evoked or created, on the basis of material in the discourse. The referent in question could be thought of as a reified event; that is, an event dressed up as a thing. In my view, the proper way of formulating this is to say that the R-pronoun *det* (it.neuter) 'it' corresponds to a discourse antecedent that is motivated by a segment of clause or a particular part of the text; crucially *det* (it.neuter) 'it' in this use does not refer to linguistic entities, such as VPs, IPs or CPs.

The conclusion so far is that *den* (it.common) 'it' and *det* (it.neuter) 'it' are S-pronouns when they refer to preceding noun phrases; *han* 'he' and *hon* 'she' seem to be intermediate categories, with features relating to both S-pronouns and R-pronouns and they may participate in S-linking by way of their number feature and R-linking by way of a semantic gender feature. For the sake of exposition, it is probably instructive to think of them as two homonymous instances of *det*.

Traditionally, the R-pronoun *det* (it.neuter) 'it' in (20) above is assumed to be a neuter, singular pronoun. In what follows, I will argue that *det*, when used as an R-pronoun, lacks a number feature, and thus can be considered deficient. This becomes clear if we compare the anaphoric R-pronoun *det* (it.neuter) 'it' to its deictic counterpart. This will be the topic of section 3.4.

3.4 Deictic pronouns and the number feature – a comparison

The purpose of this subsection is to provide an account for the feature content and the use of the deictic 3rd person pronouns in Swedish. I argue here that the pronouns *han* 'he', *hon* 'she' and *den* (it.common) 'it' have a number feature, specified as singular, which semantically correlates to the feature BOUNDED, and that the pronoun *det* (it.neuter) 'it' – both as a deictic and an anaphoric R-

pronoun – lacks such a number feature. This, in turn, means that the use of the R-pronoun *det* (it.neuter) 'it' does not impose any BOUNDED ENTITY reading onto its discourse antecedent. The properties of deictic pronouns are important for the sake of comparison; as we shall see anaphoric R-pronouns seem to have the same properties as deictic R-pronouns in this sense. We thus arrive at a better understanding of the properties of "disagreeing" anaphoric pronouns if we compare them to deictic pronouns.

Consider first the difference in semantics between deictic *den* (it.common) 'it' and *det* (it.neuter) 'it' in (21):

(21) 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.'

The natural choice in (21a) is the pronoun *den* (it.common) 'it', even though *det* (it.neuter) 'it' is a possible choice too. As is evident from the contextual description, there is no linguistic antecedent available, (although there is no way we can actually prove though that the speaker does not have a particular noun in mind when using the pronoun *den* (it.common) 'it'.) If *den* (it.common) 'it' is chosen, reference is made to a thing-like entity, i.e. an entity that has spatial boundaries. If the seller were to hold more than one "strange edible thing" in his/her hand, the pronoun *den* (it.common) 'it' could not be used; instead we would have to switch to the plural *dem* 'them':"Jag tar dem" 'I take them'. If the buyer would choose to use the pronoun *det* (it.neuter) 'it' in (21a), this would be fine also, regardless what number of items the seller holds in his/her hand.

Josefsson (2006) assumes that the use of *det* (it.neuter) 'it' in examples such as (21b) is motivated by the assumption that reference goes to an activity 'to paint' or a state, 'the result of the painting'. Josefsson (2006) claims that *den* (it.common) 'it' and *det* (it.neuter) 'it' are linked to their respective discourse representations by virtue of their morphosyntactic features, in particular number: *den* (it.common) 'it' has the feature number, whereas *det* (it.neuter) 'it' lacks this feature. According to the same description, the semantic interpretation of the feature number relates to boundedness. Thus, by choosing the pronoun *den* (it.common) 'it' the feature BOUNDED is imposed onto the intended discourse antecedent; by choosing *det* (it.neuter) 'it' no boundaries are imposed. For this reason, *det* (it.neuter) 'it' could be used when reference is made to a group of elements since *det* (it.neuter) 'it' could refer to the whole assembly or mass.

The claims about deictic *den* (it.common) 'it' and *det* (it.neuter) 'it' rely on two assumptions that need to be argued for independently: First of all, the idea that not all nominals (e.g. nominal extended projections) necessarily carry the feature number, although this feature is available in the language, and secondly that the feature number has the interpretation BOUNDED. I will start out by arguing that number is not obligatory on nominals in Swedish, and, after that, elaborate on the idea that number corresponds to the semantic interpretation BOUNDED.

The idea that (deictic) *det* (it.neuter) 'it' would lack a number feature is inspired by Grimshaw (1990), who claims that so-called "complex event nouns" lack a number feature.[22] Grimshaw's arguments can be carried over to Swedish; the nominalization *mål-ning* (paint-ING) 'painting' can have both the event reading 'the action of painting' and the "thing" reading, namely, 'the picture'. However, if a plural suffix is added, only the thing reading is available: *mål-ning-ar* (paint-ING-PL) 'the pictures' – the event reading is incompatible with plural.[23] The idea that nouns do not always have a full set-up of functional projections relies on Bobajlik & Thrainsson (1998), who claim that that the

[22] Grimshaw (1990, 59) argues that there is a difference between *complex event nouns* – which lack a number feature, but have an argument structure – and *simple event nouns* which allow pluralization but lack argument structure. See Grimshaw (1990, chapter 3) for more discussion.

[23] An event noun such as *målande* (paint.ANDE) 'painting' can have a determiner, which is homophonous to the numeral 'one': *ett målande*. I assume that *ett* is a D^o element, not an instance of Num^o.

inventory of functional projections is open to parametric variation. One of the main points in Bobajlik & Thrainsson's article is that the inventory of functional projections in the extended projection of the verb may vary cross-linguistically. The idea that I propose here concerns the nominal extended projection and my suggestion is that the number of functional projections may vary also within a language. A proposal along the same lines is made in Vangsnes (2001), who suggests that grammatical number is encoded in the functional head Num, and that the Num head is absent when a noun appears as a mass noun. Similarly, Kamiya (2001), who bases her analysis on Japanese, suggests that the basic reading of a noun is that of substance (i.e. UNBOUNDEDNESS), and that the feature that yields a BOUNDED reading is hosted in a functional projection, and hence is added in the course of the syntactic derivation. The question of the semantics of the number feature is discussed in Borer (2005), who suggests that the count/mass distinction is hosted in a functional projection that she calls a DivP. According to Borer, number marking is hosted in DivP. Finally, Josefsson (2006) argues that nouns denoting substances, such as *mjölk* 'milk', *grädde* 'cream', and *senap* 'mustard', in the unmarked case, lack a number feature in the syntax, an assumption that is supported by the fact that conjoining two noun phrases such as *vin* 'wine' and *vatten* 'water' does not trigger plural agreement:[24]

(22) Vin och vatten är genomskinlig-t/*genomskinlig-a.
*wine and water is transparent-neuter/*transparent-plural*

Note also that the subjects of (23) can be doubled by a non-plural *det*:

(23) Vin och vatten, det är genomskinlig-t.
Wine and water, it.neuter is transparent-neuter

Josefsson (2006) argues that nouns can be used as substances/uncountables generally, and in such cases they lack a number feature. Consider (24):

(24) a Ni fick mycket hund för pengarna.
you got much dog for money.the
You got quite a lot dog for your money.'

[24] The conjoining of two common gender noun phrases such as *grädde* 'cream' and *mjölk* 'milk' does not trigger agreement in the common gender, but in the neuter. The reason for this is discussed in Josefsson ((2006, 2009).

b Senap är gul-t.
mustard is yellow.neuter
'Mustard is yellow.'

As we have seen, there is ample of evidence in the literature that number can be an optional category, not only in the sense that languages may lack this morphological category, but also that number may be optional in nominals/nominal expressions in languages that do have this category.

The next question is concerned with the meaning of the morphosyntactic feature number. I proposed above that the semantic correlate to number is BOUNDED (see also Josefsson 2006, 2009). The intuition behind this conclusion is that we need to conceive of an object as bounded in order to refer to it by using *den* (it.common) 'it'. By using the pronoun *det* (it.neuter) 'it', as in (21b), no boundaries are assumed. To put it differently, by using the deictic pronoun *den* (it.common) 'it', we make reference to ONE object where the spatial boundaries define the object as a singleton element. By using a deictic *det* (it.neuter) 'it' no such reference is made. As a consequence, *det* (it.neuter) 'it' can be used for reference to discourse entities of many different types, for instance, when a speaker wants to refrain from assuming or imposing spatial boundaries. This also means that *det* (it.neuter) 'it' can be used to convey deictic reference to things, events, states, substances of many different kinds. These entities may well have boundaries 'in the real world', but the linguistic expression does not encode such boundaries. As a consequence of the proposed analysis, the noun *målningen* 'the picture' has a different feature set-up than *målningen* 'the event of painting'; only in the object reading does the noun has the feature +Number. In principle it is possible to add a number feature also to substance nouns, such as *vin* 'wine' and *vatten* 'water', but in such cases the pragmatics may give rise to special interpretations such as 'a portion of x' or 'a brand of x'.

There is no agreement in the literature as to the fact that the morhosyntactic feature number should correspond to the morphosyntactic feature BOUNDED. One counterargument is found in Delsing (1993), who discusses certain "uncountable" word forms in the lexicon, for instance *höns* 'chickens' *mygg* 'midge', and *bräder* 'boards'. Delsing also argues that certain nouns, such as *morot* 'carrot' and *jordgubbe* 'strawberry', have a special uncountable form in the lexicon, which is sometimes identical to the singular form, and sometimes to

the plural form, which implies that the dimension BOUNDED –UNBOUNDED is independent from the feature number. If this is true, there is no correspondence between the morphosyntactic category number and the semantic meaning of boundedness. If we consider a quantifier such as *mycket* 'much', it can take either form as its complement: *mycket morötter* (much carrot.pl) but *mycket potatis* (much potato.sing). Delsing assumes that there is basically no general difference between expression with *mycket* 'much' + a noun in the singular and *mycket* 'much' + a noun in the plural. Consider (25).

(25) a Vi köpte mycket morötter.
we bought much carrot.pl
'We bought a lot of carrots.'

b Vi köpte mycket potatis.
we bought much potatoe.sing
'We bought a lot of potatoes.'

If Delsing is correct in his assumption, then the plural morpheme on *morötter* 'carrots' in (25a) has no "plural" meaning; it is simply a default uncountable form of this particular noun. I will argue that Delsing's conclusion does not hold and that number feature does have meaning; the absence vs. presence of the number feature corresponds to the concept of boundaries.

First of all, the special uncountable of collective forms that are discussed in Delsing (1993), for instance *höns* 'chickens' and *mygg* 'midge' , and *bräder* 'boards' are probably best thought as different lexemes as compared to *höna* 'chicken' (with the plural form *hönor*), *mygga* 'mosquito' (with the plural form *myggor*), and *bräda/brädor* (board/board.pl). The fact that *höns* is more substance-like than *höna/hönor* (chicken/chickens) is no more strange than the fact that Swedish has one word for *björk* for 'birch tree' and another, a derived word, *björke*, for 'clump of birch trees' (*Illustrerad svensk ordbok*). Special "uncountable word forms" do thus not constitute any problem to the proposed analysis.

Secondly, the fact that a plural form for some nouns is used in "uncountable" contexts, whereas a singular form is used in other contexts is probably due to pragmatics or idiosyncratic behavior of words; it is not a statement about morphosyntactic features inherent to lexical items. As will be shown below we get a particular reading from the quantifier *mycket* 'much' (which according to

Delsing 1993, 190, is subcategorized for uncountables) + plural, a reading that is different from *mycket* + a non-plural form. Sometimes the difference in meaning is subtle; in other cases it is more obvious. The picture gets clearer if we compare the quantifier *mycket* 'much' to another quantifier, *många* 'many'.

A plural form, such as *bilar* 'cars', which is traditionally thought of as a countable noun, may without problem be combined with the quantifier *mycket* 'much' or *många* 'many' (26a and b). *Mycket* 'much' may combine with the non-plural *bil* 'car' too:

(26) a Det var mycket bilar i stan igår.
it was much cars in town yesterday
'There were a lot of cars in town yesterday.'

b Det var många bilar i stan igår.
it was many cars in town yesterday
'There were a lot of cars in town yesterday.'

c Ni fick mycket bil för pengarna.
you got much car for money.the
'You got a lot a car for your money.'

The example in (26a) has a collective or uncountable reading, whereas (26b) has more of a countable flavor. As expected, (26c) has a substance reading, where the pragmatics of *mycket bil* (much car) is either 'good quality', 'many horse powers' or 'many kilos of car'.

Also, a traditionally uncountable noun such as *morot* 'carrot' can be combined both with *mycket* 'much' and with *många* 'many', as shown in (27):

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

b Det var mycket morötter i soppan.
it was much carrot.pl in soup.the
'There was much carrot in the soup.'

c Det var många morötter i soppan.
it was many carrot.pl in soup.the
'There were many carrots in the soup.'

(27a) and (27b) differ in meaning in an interesting way: *morot* in (27a) denotes a substance, whereas *morötter* in (27b) denotes a non-homogeneous substance, what Jörgensen & Svensson (1986) call an *aggregated substance*, i.e. a mass

made up of smaller segments or parts. (In fact, this is a reading that could apply to (27a) too, but this example could also refer to carrot as a substance; however, *morot* 'carrot' in (27a) could also mean 'carrot flavor' or 'carrot substance'.) In order to obtain a deeper understanding of the examples, let us consider the "meaning" of *plural*. The common sense idea of the meaning of the feature plural is probably 'more than one item'. Another way of viewing plural would be to think of it as a construal of a set consisting of parts. The plural form *blommor* 'flowers' is thus a set of flowers, which is undefined as to its size. The set itself can be lexicalized by a nominal expression, for instance, *bukett* 'bunch': *en bukett blommor* 'a bunch of flowers'. The plural pronoun *vi* 'we' denotes a set consisting of the speaker + other individuals. The parts of this set can be lexicalized as well, by a noun in the plural, for example *lingvister* 'linguists': *vi lingvister* 'we linguists'. Some nouns resist plural because the construal of a set becomes pragmatically odd, for instance #*gräddar* 'creams' and #*mjölkar* 'milks', entities that do not naturally fall in parts or combine into sets. When it comes to "lexical" plural such as *byxor* 'pants', there are two possible interpretations: the parts could be the legs, and the set the whole piece of cloth. In the latter case, the set/whole could be lexicalized for example by *ett par* 'a pair': *ett par byxor* (a pair pants) 'a pair of pants'. The other option is that the set consists of a number of pieces of cloth and the parts the individual pieces of cloth.

Let us now turn to nouns such as *carrots*, *strawberries* etc. I have argued that plural introduces the notion of a set consisting of parts. Without a quantifier the set is undefined as to size, weight etc. A quantifier may specify the set: *ett kilo* 'a kilo' in *ett kilo morötter* (a kilo carrots) 'a kilo of carrots' or *en ask* (a box) in *en ask jordgubbar* (a box strawberries) 'a box of strawberries'. The quantifier *mycket* 'much' refers to the size of the set, whereas the quantifier *många* 'many' refers to the number of members of the set. The quantifier *mycket* 'much' can thus be assumed to refer to a quantity without implying any boundaries on the set. This is in fact why *mycket* 'much' normally combines with substance nouns: *mycket smör* 'a lot of butter', *mycket kärlek* 'much love', whereas *många* 'many' combines with nouns denoting entities that are more readily thought of as countables. When the quantifier *mycket* 'mycket' is combined with a noun in the plural, we get a "combined" reading, the whole, the "set" conveyed by *mycket* 'much', is combined with the notion of parts, i.e. an AGGREGATED

SUBSTANCE reading, for instance *mycket morötter* 'much carrots' and *mycket bilar* 'much cars'.

A consequence is that the quantifier *mycket* 'much' cannot be used as a diagnostic for "the lexical uncountable form", since *mycket* 'much' imposes an element of meaning, which I have specified as lack or absence of boundaries. Whether the combination *mycket* 'much' + a plural form of a particular noun is conceived of as "the normal case", hence presumably specified in the mental lexicon as such, is more a question of frequency in language use, as well as a question as to what extent the concept, denoted by the plural, can be thought of as consisting of parts. For substances such as *grädde* 'cream', *smör* 'butter, and *mjöl* 'flour', the plural form would induce a kind or portion reading as a possible option.[25] Conversely, a noun such as *pengar* (litt. coin.pl) 'money' is usually combined with the quantifiers *lite* 'little' or *mycket* 'much', probably because it is normally not the number of pieces/bills that is of importance but the value that they represent. However, also *många pengar* 'many coins' is a possible expression (used by children, for instance) but the meaning is simply 'many coins'. An expression such as *ett kilo morot* (one kilo carrot) may sound a bit odd in isolation, but it is fine and fully interpretable in a context where *morot* 'carrot' has a substance reading, for example 'carrot purée'. It is also possible to use when the aggregation form of the carrots is irrelevant.

The conclusion is that the morphosyntactic feature plural does have meaning, namely that of 'parts of an implied set'. The question is then what the "meaning" is of the category singular: Given the just mentioned meaning of plural, an immediate consequence would be that singular would mean 'part' – without the notion of a set. However, the notion of part is meaningless without the notion of a set, so this cannot be the correct conclusion. We shall therefore look in another direction for an answer. What makes a part a part of a set is that it is distinguishable from other elements that make up the set, and a prerequisite

25 Note that there is no plural on the head noun in the portion or serving reading of substance nouns: *två öl/*öler*, (two beer/*beers), *två té/*téer* (two *tea/*teas*). Within the proposed framework this would presumably be because it is the servings that make up the implied set, hence it is the servings that can be pluralized. A consequence of this analysis is that the alleged "head nouns" (*öl* 'beer' or *té* 'tea') are not truly heads in constructions in question; instead we have to assume the presence of a null classifier or quantifier corresponding to the portions: *två* [PORTIONER] *kaffe* (two [PORTIONS] coffee) 'two portions of coffee'. These "classifiers" are the true heads of the noun phrases. For more discussion on the head noun in expressions of this kind, see Delsing (1993, chapter 6).

for this is that it has boundaries. For this reason, I propose that the meaning of singular is the feature BOUNDED. The morphosyntactic feature singular is usually not marked morphologically on nouns, but the feature is visible on e.g. determiners such as *en/ett* 'a' or the numerals *en/ett* 'one'. Since the feature plural is visible as inflection on nouns, it seems reasonable to assume that the feature singular may be present on nouns too, as a zero inflectional element. One instance where the absence vs. presence of number (visible on determiners) yields a more obvious difference in interpretation is given in (30) below:

(28) a Det var god glass.
it was good.common ice cream
'The ice cream was good.'

b Det var en god glass.
it was a.common good.common ice-cream
'The ice cream was good.'

The difference in meaning between (28a) and (28b) is that *en god glass* in (28b) has a kind reading, whereas the determinerless *god glass* in (28a) has a plain substance reading. The idea is that a kind, as in (28b,) is a bounded entity – maybe not in the real world, but in the world of discourse. Therefore, by using the quantifier *en* in (28a) the speaker imposes boundaries. The reading that arises from the absence of number seems to be related to the lexicosemantic features of the concept. For a noun such as *hund* 'dog', the omission of *en* in (29) below renders the example semantically ill formed, probably since the concept *snäll* 'kind' presupposes an individual reading of *hund* 'dog'.

(29) Det var #(en) snäll hund.
it was #(a.common) nice.common dog.
It was #(a) nice dog.

As already shown above, for a concept such *målning* (paint.ING) 'painting' the article *en* disambiguates the EVENT reading from the THING reading:

(30) a Det var snygg målning. (event reading)
it was good.common painting.
'The painting was nice.'

b Det var en snygg målning. (thing reading)
it was a.common good.common painting
'It was a good picture.'

The conclusion is that the morphological feature number indeed has a meaning: +Number can have the value +singular, which corresponds to BOUNDARIES, whereas +Number, +plural corresponds to PARTS of a SET. A noun phrase can be devoid of the number feature, and in such cases I simply assume that the NumP is absent. In cases where an UNBOUNDED quantifier, such as *mycket* 'much' takes scope over a +number, plural NP, as in *mycket morötter* (much carrots), an AGGREGATED SUBSTANCE reading is obtained. For nouns, the feature +Number, +singular is not visible on the noun itself, but e.g. on determiners. In section 5, I elaborate on the idea that a similar state of affair holds for the R-pronouns *den* (it.common) 'it' and *det* (it.neuter) 'it' – *den* (it.common) 'it' has a number feature, but *det* (it.neuter) 'it' lacks this feature. The number feature does not have a separate exponent, but the presence vs. absence of number is signaled by an auxiliary feature, namely formal gender.

3.5 R-features, S-features and contrastive stress

We shall now return to anaphoric pronouns. A somewhat peculiar observation is that R-features, but not S-features can be the source of contrastive focus. Consider (31):

(31) a Mannen och kvinnan satt framför TVn. HON var blond.
man.the and woman.the sat in-front.of TV.the. SHE was blond
'The man and the woman sat in front of the TV. SHE was blond.'

b Tigern och lejonet satt i ett hägn. DEN
tiger.common.def and lion.neuter.def sat in a cage. IT.common
var farlig
was dangerous.common
'The tiger and the lion sat in a cage. IT was dangerous.common

c Tigern och lejonet satt i en bur. DET
tiger.common.def and lion.neuter.common sat in a cage. IT.neuter
var farlig-t.
was dangerout-neut
'The tiger and the lion sat in a cage. IT was dangerous-neut

The reference for *HON* in (31a) is unambiguous – the pronoun refers to *kvinnan* 'the woman'. From the fact that *DEN* in (31b) is marked for common gender one could expect that the pronoun would make reference only to the common gender noun phrase *en tiger* 'a tiger', but according to my intuition this is not the case; the pronoun *DEN* in (31b) can refer either to the tiger or to the lion.

Likewise, *DET* (it.neuter) 'it' in (31c) has to refer to the situation, a tiger and a lion being together in a cage, not to the neuter *lejonet* 'the lion'. Bosch (1988, 225), referring to Corbett (1991, 246), notices a similar effect for German:

(32) Wenn du die Mutter von dem Bolzen lösen willst, muss
if you fem.def nut from masc.def screw resolve want, must
du *IHN festhalten und *SIE nach rechts drehen.
*you *HIM hold and *HER to right pull.*

Neither the masculine gender of *der Boltzen* 'the bolt' nor the feminine gender of *die Mutter* 'the nut' corresponds to the semantic genders MALE and FEMALE. The conclusion that Bosch and Corbett draw is that the semantics is more important than the lexical ("formal") gender when it comes to personal pronouns: Corbett concludes that "there are interesting cases where a clash with the potential semantic content of the pronoun is sufficient to make a sentence unacceptable" (Corbett 1991, 246).[26] In view of (31b and c), the problem with (32) does not seem to be a "clash with the potential semantic content" as Corbett suggests. Instead, it seems as though S-features alone do not suffice to serve as a vehicle for contrastive stress; contrastive stress requires R-features. This is why (31a) is fine. In my view, the restriction in question is due to the way reference works: Per definition S-pronouns make reference to a preceding linguistic element, normally a noun phrase, (by picking up on its formal gender). Contrastive focus, on the other hand, operates on discourse entities, and requires a presupposed set in the world of discourse, to which the contrasted element is compared. Direct access to the presupposed set seems to be unavailable for the pronoun *IHN* in (32), since reference has to go by way of the noun phrase, i.e. via S-linking to *dem Bolzen* in the preceding clause.

If contrastive stress requires R-features, we predict that number cannot be used for contrastive stress either. (The underlying idea would be that number is an S-feature.)

(33) Kungen och alla prinsarna promenerade i parken. DE var hungriga
king.def and all prince.pl.def walked in park.def. THEY were hungry
'The kings and all the princes walked in the park. THEY were hungry.

The plural *DE* 'THEY' in (33) does not unambiguously refer back to the plural noun phrase *alla prinsarna* 'all the princes'. This shows that number is an S-

[26] See also Bosch (1988, 225).

feature. The only way in which (33) would be well formed and have an unambiguous reference is a context where *DE* 'they' gets a deictic reference.

3.5 Summary and conclusion

The main points of section 3 are that *den* (it.common) 'it' and *det* (it.neuter) 'it' may be used as syntactic pronouns, S-pronouns, which refer back to the linguistic expression, usually a noun phrase, in context. The formal gender and number features are the "vehicles" by which S-pronouns refer. The pronouns *han* 'he' and *hon* 'she' establish S-links by means of number and R-links by means of semantic gender (MASCULINE/FEMININE) to their discourse referents. *Den* and *det* (it.neuter) 'it' are (or rather, may be used as) true R-pronouns, which establish only R-links to their antecedents.

What confuses the picture is that *den* (it.common) 'it' and *det* (it.neuter) 'it' can be used both as S-pronouns and R-pronouns. The state of affair is probably not accidental – neuter as a formal gender on nouns is typically associated with features such as non-animacy, mass reading, and unboundedness. From a theoretical point of view, however, it is appropriate at this point to view the two instances of *det* (it.neuter) 'it' as homonyms. If we were to make an analysis in terms of Distributed Morphology, we would probably be able to formulate rules of insertion for the lexical item *det*, which would provide a unified account of all instances of pronominal *det*, including the use of *det* (the.neuter) 'the' as a determiner. However, to formulate such a unified account is beyond the scope of this paper.

4 "Disagreeing" pronouns

One of the main points in the previous section was that *det* (it.neuter) 'it' as an R-pronoun does not link to any morphosyntactic feature in the preceding context, neither a formal gender feature nor a number feature. What the pronoun does is to evoke or to impose an element of meaning – a discourse gestalt – present in the discourse or possible to construe on the basis of the context. In this section, I develop this idea further and show how different cases of apparent disagreement across sentential boundaries and in topic doubling constructions can be given a unified explanation. In 4.1, I discuss cross-sentential pronominal "disagreement", and in 4.2 "disagreement" in topic doubling constructions.

4.1 Pronominal reference across clausal boundaries

An example of cross-sentential pronominal reference is given in (34):

(34) Bo har köpt en dansk cykel. Det
Bo has bought a.common.sing Danish.common.sing bicycle. it.neuter
vill jag också ha.
want I too have
'Bo has bought a Danish bicycle. I would like to have that kind of bicycle too.'

It is clear that *det* (it.neuter) 'it' in the second sentence and *en dansk cykel* in the first sentence in (34) are linked. However, the two nominal expressions differ in their formal gender specifications: *Cykel* 'bicycle' is a common gender noun (the common gender shows on the indefinite article, as well as on the adjective); *det* (it.neuter) 'it' is neuter. The question is how this "disagreement" in features can be accounted for.

First of all, *det* (it.neuter) 'it' could be exchanged for the common gender pronoun *den* (it.common) 'it':

(35) Bo har köpt en dansk cykel.
Bo has bought a.common.sing Danish.common.sing bicycle.
Den vill jag också ha.
it.common.sing want I too have
'Bo has bought a Danish bicycle. I would like to have that bicycle too.'

The difference in meaning between (34) and (35) is that *den* (it.common) 'it' in (35) has specific reference, i.e. refers to a TOKEN, the same individual bicycle as *en dansk cykel*, whereas the pronoun *det* (it.neuter) 'it' in (34) refers to a TYPE of bicycle, *en dansk cykel* 'a Danish bicycle'.[27] I have argued above that the pronoun *den* (it.common) 'it' in (35) is an S-pronoun, which means that it refers back to the linguistic expression *en dansk cykel* by virtue of an S-link being established using formal gender (common gender) and number. Hence, by way of this noun phrase the pronoun *den* (it.common) 'it' refers to a referent in the world of discourse.[28]

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[27] Teleman & al, (1999 part 2, 288) observe that *det* (it.neuter) 'it' may have a TYPE interpretation in sentences such as (34). See also Borthen (2003), who shows that this holds for Norwegian too.

[28] As a matter of fact also *den* in (35) could have a TYPE meaning, This reading is marginal, though. This is not important for the points I make in this paper; what is crucial for me is that *det* (it.neuter) cannot have a TOKEN or INDIVIDUAL meaning.

It is clear that the TYPE meaning is often evoked when a "disagreeing" *det* (it.neuter) 'it' is used as an anaphoric pronoun, but this is not the only possibility. Teleman & al (1999, part 2, 38) point out that the choice between *det* (it.neuter) 'it' and another anaphoric pronoun may convey other meanings as well. For instance, the noun *rosenrabatt* 'rose bed' is a common gender noun. Nevertheless both (36a) and (36b) are appropriate answers to the question *Vad tycker du om min nya rosenrabatt?* 'What do you think about my new rose bed?'.

(36) a Den blev snygg!
it.common became nice.common

b Det blev snygg-t!
it.neuter became nice-neuter.

The difference in meaning between (36a) and (36b) is subtle, but in my view the pronoun *den* (it.common) 'it' in (36a) conveys an INDIVIDUAL perspective on the rose bed, whereas *det* (it.neuter) 'it' in (36b) makes reference to the rose bed in a more HOLISTIC perspective: the arrangement of roses, the whole setting, the result etc. It is possible that the description of the difference in meaning between (36a) and (36b) could be made more precise, but what is crucial is that the difference between (36a) and (36b) could NOT be described in terms of TYPE vs. TOKEN. Hence, we may conclude that the TYPE vs. TOKEN distinction does not capture the whole difference between sentences with "disagreeing" *det* (it.neuter) 'it' and an "agreeing" anaphoric pronoun.

Now consider (37), which provides two possible answers to the question *Vem är mannen där borta?* 'Who is the man over there?':

(37) a Han är min bror.
he is my brother

b Det är min bror.
it.neuter is my brother

The choice of *han* 'he' in (37a) conveys a clear INDIVIDUAL perspective on the discourse referent 'the man over there'. The pronoun *det* (it.neuter) in (37b) seems to convey a quite different perspective, namely 'the man over there' as a topic of the conversation, 'the entity that is spoken about'. This again shows us that the difference between *det* (it.neuter) on the one hand and other pronouns,

hon 'she', *han* 'he' *den* (it.common) cannot be captured solely by applying a TYPE – TOKEN distinction. The examples in this subsection illustrate well Cornish's idea that the preceding linguistic context can be viewed as a provider of possible meanings for pronouns; the pronoun itself "provides the speaker with a subtle means of imposing, *a posteriori*, a particular referential perspective upon a referent which has already been entered into the discourse model" (Cornish 1986, 251).

If *det* (it.neuter) 'it' in (34) is an R-pronoun, we may safely conclude that there is no true disagreement between *en dansk cykel* and *det* (it.neuter) 'it' (34) – the pronoun does not refer back to the noun phrase but to a discourse element that is made available by this noun phrase.

4.2 Topic doubling with det *and other pronouns*

Pronominal doubling is a common phenomenon in Swedish. Doubling where a clause initial noun phrase is doubled by a pronoun, here referred to as topic doubling, seems to have many properties in common with pronominal linking across sentence boundaries as discussed in 4.1 above. Example (38) below should therefore be compared to (34) above:

(38) En dansk cykel, det vill jag också ha.
a.common.sing Danish.common bicycle, it.neuter want I too have
'A Danish bicycle, I too would like to have one like that.'

It is possible that *en dansk cykel* 'a Danish bicycle' and *det* (it.neuter) 'it' in (38) belong to different clausal domains, but for my purpose here a more detailed structure of the topic doubling construction is not relevant. Now consider (39):

(39) a Mormors äppelkaka, det är läcker-t.
grandma's apple cake, it.neuter is delicious-neuter

b Mormors äppelkaka, den är läcker.
grandma's apple cake, it.common is delicious-common

The head noun *äppelkaka* 'apple cake' is a common gender noun. The whole sequence *mormors äppelkaka*, *det*, in (39a) has a PROPOSITION reading 'to eat grandma's apple cake', whereas *mormors äppelkaka + den* in (39b) makes

reference to the INDIVIDUAL cake.[29] Again we find that the use of a "disagreeing" det (it.neuter) 'it' does not always convey a TYPE reading.

Now consider doubling with *han* 'he' and *det* (it.neuter) 'it', respectively, in (40) below:

(40) a	Rektorn,	han	är	min	högsta	chef.
	vice-chancellor,	*he*	*is*	*my*	*most.superordinate*	*boss*
b	Rektorn,	det	är	min	högsta	chef.
	vice-chancellor,	*it*	*is*	*my*	*most.superordinate*	*boss*

The choice of the pronoun *han* in (40a) implies that the intended reference is the vice-chancellor as an INDIVIDUAL, whereas *det* (it.neuter) 'it' in (40b) refers to the vice chancellor's FUNCTION as a holder of an office.

Once more, we find that doubling with the "disagreeing" pronoun *det* (it.neuter) 'it' does not yield a particular reading *per se*; the exact interpretation depends on which lexemes are used, which other pronouns are possible, and the context in a broader sense. However, what seems to be clear is that the use of *han* 'he', *hon* 'she', and *den* (it.common) 'it' yields an INDIVIDUAL perspective. The use of *det* (it.neuter) as a doubling pronoun provides a different perspective. The most straightforward analysis therefore seems to be that the contrasts in meaning that arises between an "agreeing pronoun" and *det*, i.e. between a pronoun that may participate in an S-link (be way of the number feature), and *det*, which only establishes an R-link, is best stated in terms of privative opposition: *det* (it.neuter) 'it' evokes a different meaning than would have been evoked by an agreeing pronoun. Exactly which viewpoint that *det* (it.neuter) 'it' conveys depends on the context.

The proposed analysis does not imply that a speaker has to compare a number of possible sentences in order to calculate the meaning of a sentence with a doubling *det* (it.neuter) 'it'. In order to explain the reading of (40b) let us consider the meaning of a non-doubled variant: *Rektorn är min högsta chef* 'The vice-chancellor is my most superordinate boss'. The noun phrase *rektorn* 'the vice-chancellor' here encompasses the meaning of the vice-chancellor either in

[29]Josefsson (2006, 2009) discusses the *Ärter är gott*-construction (Peas-is-good.neut-construction) which is akin to the construction discussed in this paper, the main point being that the subject of this type of sentence is clausal. This analysis could presumably be carried over to doubling with *det* (it.neuter) 'it' as exemplified in (39a).

his/her FUNCTION as holder of an office or as him/her as an INDIVIDUAL – both "viewpoints" or aspects of meaning are equally prominent. The choice of *han* /*hon* promotes the INDIVIDUAL perspective and demotes at the same time the FUNCTION perspective. The reverse holds if *det* (it.neuter) 'it' is chosen. What the R-pronoun *det* (it.neuter) 'it' does is to evoke another viewpoint than do the other pronouns. Exactly what "another" means seems to be a question that is related both to the core meaning of the noun and to the context. For a noun such as *rektor* 'vice-chancellor', the perspective 'holder of an office' is salient; for other nouns other perspectives seems to be possible. Consider (41) for a different example:

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

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

The pronoun *den* (it.common) 'it' in (41a) is an S-pronoun and it refers back to the INDIVIDUAL entity by way of the NP *solen* 'the sun. The use of *det* (it.neuter) 'it' in (41b) implies that the intended meaning is NOT that of an INDIVIDUAL entity, but the sun in "some other role". In this case, the natural interpretation would be the sun in its role as a celestial body, since this is another prominent aspect of meaning associated with the lexeme *sol* 'sun'.

The proposed analysis sheds more light on a construction that Josefsson (1999, 2006, 2009) terms *pronominal appositions*. In this construction, an unstressed pronoun precedes a definite noun phrase. An example is given in (42):

(42) Han rektorn är min högsta chef.
he vice-chancellor.common.def is my highest boss

The use of a pronominal pronoun in this construction seems to plays a role in the discourse; in Swedish it appears to grant the DP that it precedes the status of a topic. Another function is that it seems to disambiguate the referential perspective in the same direction as described above for topic doubling. In (42), the INDIVIDUAL viewpoint of the vice-chancellor is evoked, whereas a different perspective is taken in (40b). Examples such as (43), where the head noun *rektorn* 'the vice-chancellor' is preceded as well as followed by a doubling

pronoun, are fine, but they are mainly associated to spoken style (which is probably the case for doubling more generally):

(43) Han rektorn, han är min högsta chef.
he vice-chancellor.common.def, he is my highest boss

As expected, it is not grammatical to have both a prenominal apposition, such as *han* 'he' or *hon* 'she', and a doubling *det* (it.neuter) 'it'.

(44) ?*Han rektorn, det är min högsta chef.
he vice-chancellor.common.det it.neuter is my highest boss

The reason why (44) is not well formed is probably that it simultaneously conveys two different, and conflicting, referential perspectives: *han* as a prenominal doubler conveys an INDIVIDUAL perspective whereas *det* (it.neuter) 'it' promotes a conflicting NOT INDIVIDUAL referential perspective.

I have proposed that meaning conveyed by "disagreeing" *det* (it.neuter) 'it' as a topic doubler arises due to a speaker NOT choosing to refer to a discourse antecedent by an agreeing pronoun. In particular, if the pronoun *det* (it.neuter) 'it' is chosen in a position where *han* 'he' or *hon* 'she' would be possible alternatives, the listener has to construe a discourse antecedent – or at least a referential perspective – that is NOT that one that would have been conveyed by *han* or *hon*. Whereas *han* 'he' and *hon* 'she' are specified as MASCULINE and FEMININE, and, by virtue of the number feature, BOUNDED in space, the antecedent referred to by *det* (it.neuter) 'it' is neither of this, and hence, as a consequence construed as not MASCULINE and not FEMININE, and not BOUNDED, but something different. By the choice of "disagreeing" *det* (it.neuter) 'it', which presumably lacks a number feature, the speaker does not make the statement that the entity to which he/she refers is unbounded as such, but that the referential perspective taken is that of an unbounded element.

So far we have only considered doubling of nominals. Before concluding this section we shall take a brief look at topic doubling of a different kind: doubling of VPs. Consider (45):[30]

[30] Example (45c) is well formed with a comma, indicating a prosodic break before *bullar*:

(45) a Springer, det gör han.
runs, it.neuter does he
'Runs, that's what he is doing.'

b Bakar, det gör han.
bakes it.neuter does be
'Bakes, that's what he does.'

c *Bakar, det gör han bullar.
bakes, it.neuter does he buns

Examples (45 and b) show that not only noun phrases can be doubled by *det*. Example (45c) indicates that it is not the verb *per se* that is doubled, but the VP, which in (45b) presumably consists of verb + a phonologically null representation of the object. Example (45c) is ungrammatical also without a doubling *det* (it.neuter) 'it' probably because of improper movement of a verbal head into a specifier position. In (45a and b) none of the other 3rd person pronouns, *han* 'he', *hon*, 'she', and *den* (it.common) 'it', could be used as topic doublers. This means that a particular referential perspective of the type argued for above does not arise. What doubling in (45a and b) conveys is just the general pragmatics of topic doubling: the establishing of the noun phrase as topic.

To conclude section 4: Evidence from cross-sentential pronominal reference and topic doubling supports the claim that a "disagreeing" *det* (it.neuter) 'it' does not have any semantics of its own, but contributes to the meaning of a sentence by standing in contrast to other, more specified pronouns – provided a more specified pronoun could have been used. By using a "disagreeing" *det* (it.neuter) 'it' cross-sententially or as a doubling element a speaker picks a referential perspective that is different from the perspective that would have been conveyed by an "agreeing" pronoun. As a consequence, the use of "disagreeing" *det* (it.neuter) 'it' in the contexts discussed in this paper is not a case of disagreement. The antecedent for this type of *det* (it.neuter) 'it' is an antecedent that is not a linguistic entity, but a discourse element.

(i) Bakar det gör han, bullar.
bakes it does he, buns
'He does indeed bake, buns.'

In this case I will assume that the noun phrase *bullar* 'buns' is right dislocated.

5 What is gender, where is gender?

The proposed analysis raises the question of what gender really is and what role it plays in the syntax. This is the topic of this section.

The first type of gender, formal gender, is a feature that is first and foremost associated with nouns. By convention, a noun in Swedish is marked either for neuter or common gender (even though some nouns seem to have a double marking). In terms of structure, we may assume, as a first attempt, that the formal gender feature is checked in a functional projection, a GenP, located in the functional sequence of the noun, presumably above the NumP but below the DP level.[31] From the point of view of the lexicon, formal gender may be viewed as a means of dividing the group of common nouns into two categories. From a textual point of view, formal gender enables the tracking or coindexation of discourse elements across sentence boundaries as well as clause-internally – S-linking. One question remains, however, what formal gender is from a syntactic perspective. I return to this question after a brief discussion on the nature of semantic gender.

First of all, it is misleading to compare formal gender to semantic gender as though they were two parallel categories. Formal gender is a value of a feature; in Swedish it is binary: neuter or common gender; semantic gender involves several feature dimensions. Semantic gender can be viewed from three viewpoints: from the point of view of feature content, the lexicon, and meaning. Let us consider these three dimensions in turn.

From the point of view of features, semantic gender is a bundle of features: natural gender or sexus, formal gender and number. The bundle consists of two features or just one. When it comes to natural gender two values are possible in present-day Swedish: MASCULINE and FEMININE; for number only singular is relevant in this paper (since the topic of this paper is third person pronouns in the non-plural). However, the absence of a number feature is also a possibility. (Recall that the feature number was assumed to be missing for the R-pronoun *det* (it.neuter) 'it'). When it comes to formal gender, there is a choice between neuter and common gender (for *den/det*). For present-day Swedish four combinations seems to be available:

[31] See e.g. Ritter (1991) and Picallo (1991) for a proposal along those lines.

(46) Morphological feature bundles of 3rd person pronouns

MASCULINE and NUMBER, singular

FEMININE and NUMBER, singular

NUMBER, singular and COMMON

NEUTER

From the point of view of the lexicon, each one of these feature bundles corresponds to a lexical item, a pronoun:

(47) Lexical items, 3rd person pronouns

MASCULINE and NUMBER, singular	*han*
FEMININE and NUMBER, singular	*hon*
NUMBER, singular and COMMON	*den*
NEUTER	*det*

The wording "corresponds to" does not mean that the pronouns represent specific syntactic nodes carrying these features, only that these are the features expressed by the lexical items in question.[32]

From the point of view of meaning only three of the genders seem to carry any meaning, meaning taken to refer to the schematic meanings inherent in their feature makeup. *Han* 'he' carries the meaning MASCULINE, BOUNDED (the latter by virtue of the number specification), *hon* 'she' FEMININE, BOUNDED, and *den* (it.common) 'it' BOUNDED. The pronoun *det* (it.neuter) 'it' lacks inherent meaning. It is reasonable that each of the four pronouns represents a cognitive category, a "category of thought"; hence it might be more appropriate to talk about *han*-gender, *hon*-gender, *den*-gender, and *det*-gender in Swedish, provided we keep in mind that *den*-gender and *det*-gender refers to the R-pronouns *den* and *det*, not the S-pronouns *den* and *det*.

A richer meaning may arise when the pronouns in question are used in actual contexts. Crucially, this richer meaning is not inherent in the pronouns themselves, but derived contextually. For instance, I have argued that *den* (it.common) 'it' does not carry the meaning -ANIMATE, but that such a reading

[32] The lexical item *det* seems to be specified only for the feature NEUTER, but it can be inserted in terminal nodes with the feature specification NEUTER, SINGULAR, following the Subset Principle of Halle (1997).

may arise from the fact that the speaker does NOT choose to use the ANIMATE pronouns *han* or *hon* in a certain context. The effect could be ascribed the Gricean Informativeness maxim: We take for granted that speakers are maximally informative, i.e. that the choice of wording is meaningful, and also that a "non-choice" or avoidance of using a pronoun is meaningful too. Consider (48) below:

(48) a Rektorn, den vill jag inte ta i med tång.
vice-chancellor.common.def it.common want I not take in with tongs
'The vice-chancellor, I wouldn't touch him with a ten foot pole.'

b Statsrådet, den vill jag inte ta i med tång.
minister.neuter.def, it.common want I not take in with tongs
'The minister, I wouldn't touch him with a ten foot pole.

The derogatory flavor of *den* (it.common) 'it' in (48a and b) may be derived from the fact that the pronouns *han* and *hon* would have been possible (and natural!) choices.[33] Note that the pronoun *den* (it.common) 'it' can be used also when the antecedent is a neuter noun phrase, as illustrated in (48b). In practice, the pronouns *han/hon – den – det* represent a scale; *han/hon* 'he/she' are used for humans only (and human-like animals), *den* (it.common) 'it' may be used for humans, but also for other "bounded elements", whereas *det* (it.neuter) 'it' is not used for humans. Since *han/hon* 'he'/'she' could be chosen in (48), the use of *den* (it.common) 'it' (48) is derogatory. However, to use *det* (it.neuter) 'it' instead of *den* (it.common) 'it' is even worse.

In other cases, the use of *den* (it.common) 'it' for animates is clearly not derogatory or degrading:[34],[35]

(49) a Vill studenten läsa engelska så går det bra. Då
wants student.common.def read English so goes it good. Then
måste den anmäla sig genast.
must it.common register refl immediately
'If the student wants to study English it's fine. In that case he or she has to register immediately.'

b (Karin) log mot flickan med selen. – Det var en
(Karin) smiled to girl.common.def with harness. – It.neuter was a

[33] The rest of the clause conveys a derogatory flavor.
[34] (49b) is from Teleman & al. (1999, part 2, 281).
[35] See also Tegnér (1962,140–141).

liten skrutt. Den kan väl inte vara mer än tre månader?
small one. It.common can surely not be more than three months?
'Karin smiled to the girl with the baby harness. – Surely it can't be more than three months?'

By using the pronoun *den* (it.common) 'it' in (49a and b), the speaker fully adheres to the Gricean Maxim of Informativeness; having no knowledge of the natural gender of the referent (the student and the baby), he or she is as informative as possible, given the situation. Instead of *den* (it.common) 'it' the speaker could have chosen a periphrastic expression, *han eller hon* 'he or she' or similar. However, this would be a choice is a matter of style – maybe depending on the age of the speaker – it seems as though young people are less reluctant to use *den* (it.common) 'it' when referring to humans. In any case, it is not a grammatical issue.[36]

The role of formal gender in the distribution of R-pronouns in the syntax has not been clarified so far in this paper. As a first attempt I assumed above that formal gender is hosted in a functional projection, a GenP. However, the question is if this really is a necessary conclusion. It is evident that there is a difference in meaning between the R-pronouns *den* (it.common) 'it' and *det* (it.neuter) 'it', (cf. (34) and (35) above), but the question is if this is a difference in meaning that could be ascribed the difference in formal gender. I have argued above that the difference in meaning between the R-pronouns *den* (it.common) 'it' and *det* (it.neuter) 'it' relates to BOUNDARIES, more specifically, that *den* (it.common) 'it' is BOUNDED, and that this is due to the presence of the feature number, singular, a feature that is absent in *det*. From the point of view of feature content, the difference in meaning between the R-pronouns *den* (it.common) 'it' and *det* (it.neuter) 'it' thus seems possible to derive entirely from the number feature. The question is then: why do we have a difference in formal gender too? Before answering this question we shall take a short look at the phonological exponent of the number feature on nouns.

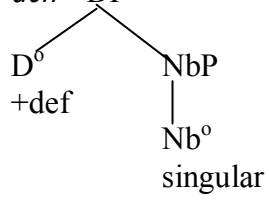
In Josefsson (1997, 1998), have argued that the non-head of compounds such as *båt* 'boat' in *båt+hus* (boat+house) 'boat house', *bil* 'car' in *bil+tak* (car + roof) 'car roof', and *dag* 'day' in *dag+bok* (day + book) 'diary' are bare roots

[36] Whether a speaker prefers to use *den* (it.common) instead of *han eller hon* 'he or she' or similar seems to be related to age. The use of *den* for animates whose sex is unknown appears to be more common and accepted by younger people.

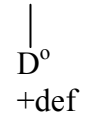
without a number feature (or any other feature). The overt phonological form of the roots, *båt* 'boat', *bil* 'car', and *dag* 'day', is thus identical to the singular form of corresponding nouns: *min båt* 'my boat', *min bil* 'my, and *min dag* 'my day'. The plural forms of these nouns are *båt-ar* (boat.pl) 'boats', *bil-ar* (car.pl) 'cars', and *dag-ar* (day-pl) 'days'. As we see here, the plural feature has often an overt phonological exponent, whereas the phonological exponent of singular is -Ø. In other words, for nouns there is no overt difference between the exponent of number, singular, and no number feature at all. The same principle seems to hold for the pronominal system; the difference in meaning between the R-pronouns *den* (it.common) 'it' and *det* (it.neuter) 'it' could be ascribed the presence vs. absence of number, but this difference does not have any phonological exponent since the feature singular has no overt phonological representation. This conclusion might provide a clue as to the role of formal gender within the pronominal system, in particular, for the R-pronouns *den* (it.common) 'it' and *det* (it.neuter) 'it'. Formal gender does not have any meaning but it renders visible the difference between number, singular and no number feature at all. Consequently, formal gender within the pronominal system is an "auxiliary" feature that makes the distinction between singular and the absence of a number feature visible and hence possible to parse.

The idea that formal gender is an auxiliary feature raises the question whether formal gender is part of the syntax proper at all. If we want to retain the idea that the syntax does not operate with more functional projections than necessary (Bobaljik & Thrainsson 1998), together with the idea that functional categories carry meaning (Pesetsky & Torrego 2007), we can simply discard the idea that formal gender is a part of the syntax, which, in turn, means that there is no GenP. Instead we may assume that formal gender is inserted postsyntactically, in the morphological module, before lexical insertion takes place. The syntactic structure corresponding to the R-pronouns *den* (it.common) 'it' and *det* (it.neuter) 'it' would thus be as shown in (50a and b) below:

(50) a *den* DP



b *det* DP



If we assume that the neuter and common gender features are inserted postsyntactically maybe as dissociated morphemes (cf. Embick 1997), we arrive at the model for suppletion of features specified in (51). Note that (51) refers to an operation in the morphological module:

(51) +def, singular ← common
+def ← neuter

If formal gender is not a feature of the narrow syntax for pronominals, we expect that it might not be a feature of the narrow syntax of common nouns either. Since formal gender is spelled out on articles, determiners of different kinds and on attributive adjectives we may assume that it is inserted in the terminal nodes of the extended projection of the noun, and spelled out on relevant heads, depending on the language-particular spell-out rules:

(52) a en röd bil
a.common red.common car
'a red car'

b den röda bilen
def.common red.def car.common.def
'the red car'

c ett rött hus
a.neuter red.neuter house
'a red house'

d det röda huset
def.neuter red.def house,neuter.def
'the red house'

The assumption that formal gender is a phonological feature does not mean that the feature in question is meaningless in a functional sense; it simply means that it is a feature that is related to parsing. It is fully possible that formal gender exhibited in agreement within the noun phrase, as illustrated above, can be fully explained in terms of parsing.

If formal gender is a phonological feature, it must be different from the rest of the phonological information inherent in the root of a noun. Consider a common gender noun such as *katt* 'cat'. Ignoring tone, the phonological matrix for *katt* is /kat/. The inflected forms for the lexeme are shown in (53) below:

(53)	singular, indefinite	Singular, definite	Plural, indefinite	Plural, definite
	katt ‘cat’	*katten* ’the cat’	*katter* ’cats’	*katterna* ’the cats’
	/kat/	/katɛn/	/katɛr/	/katɛrna/

As (53) shows, the formal gender feature, i.e. common gender, is expressed only on the form *katten* ‘the cat’. Considering nouns, it seems as though formal gender is primarily related to the exposition of definiteness. Formal gender thus seems to be involved in the spell-out of different categories, but we would need a more precise examination of different nominal expressions if we want to describe the whole picture.

The main conclusion in this section is that formal gender is not a syntactic feature, but a feature that is inserted postsyntactically in the morphological module. If this is on the right track, it raises a host of new questions concerning the nature of postsyntactic insertion into different types of determiners and adjectival modifiers, as well as the interplay between formal and semantic gender in a cross-linguistic and diachronic perspective, issues that cannot be addressed in this paper.

6 Conclusion and discussion

In section 1, I proposed three goals of this paper: to explain the use of ”disagreeing” pronouns, to make a detailed study of the 3rd person non-plural pronoun system in Swedish: *han* ‘he’, *hon* ‘she’, *den* (it.common) ‘it’, and *det* (it.neuter) ‘it’, and to explain the formal and semantic gender systems in Swedish and how they interact.

“Disagreeing” pronouns turned out not to be disagreeing; a “disagreeing” *det* (it.neuter) ‘it’ refers back to a non-linguistic entity, a discourse entity; hence disagreement does not arise. In such cases, the preceding text provides material for the retrieval of an antecedent, but no linguistic antecedent is present. A “disagreeing” *det* (it.neuter) ‘it’, used in cross-sentential reference or as a topic doubler, does not have any inherent meaning, as opposed to *han* ‘he’ and *hon* ‘she’. The actual meaning of this pronoun when used in a context where other pronouns could have been used is explained in terms of privative opposition: the meaning is different from the meaning that would arise if another pronoun, such as *han* ‘he’, *hon* ‘she’ or *den* (it.common) ‘it’ were to be used. A “disagreeing”

det (it.neuter) ‘it’ allows a speaker to take a different referential perspective with respect to a referent than what had been the case if another pronoun had been chosen. The nature of this referential perspective is to a certain extent dependent on the meaning structure of the head noun of the referent: what aspects of meaning are available and prominent.

I have proposed here that there are two non-plural S-pronouns in Swedish, i.e. syntactic 3rd person non-plural pronouns: *den* (it.common) ‘it’ and *det* (it.neuter) ‘it’. These pronouns are strictly anaphoric, since they refer back to a linguistic entity, in the usual case a noun phrase, where the head noun is a common gender or neuter noun in the singular. The pronouns *den* (it.common) ‘it’ and *det* (it.neuter) ‘it’ can also be used as R-pronouns, in which case they refer to a discourse entity. As an R-pronoun *det* (it.neuter) ‘it’ is deficient and has no number feature. The pronouns *han* ‘he’, *hon* ‘she’, and *den* (it.common) ‘it’ can participate in R-linking by virtue of the number feature, which means that they make reference to a linguistic entity in the discourse. The features MASCULINE for *han* ‘he’ and FEMININE for *hon* ‘she’ are simultaneously imposed on the discourse referent that is identified via the noun phrase to which the number feature links. For example, in a sequence such as *Läraren sjöng. Hon var glad.* ‘The teacher sang. She was happy’, the number feature of *hon* ‘she’ links to the NP *läraren* ‘the teacher’, which in turn identifies the discourse referent of *hon* as being the same as the entity to which *läraren* refers. The feature FEMININE adds information about the natural gender of this referent. The pronoun *den* (it.common) ‘it’ can be used as a pure R-pronoun, for example, when it is used deictically: *Titta på den!* ‘Look at it!’.

Swedish has two gender dimensions: formal gender and semantic gender. Formal gender is a feature, neuter or common gender, that is also associated primarily with nouns. The semantic genders, on the other hand are four, and the best way to describe this gender system is to refer to them as *han*-gender, *hon*-gender, *den*-gender, and *det*-gender. Semantic gender is a gender dimension that is associated with pronouns, and by choosing one of these pronouns a speaker imposes a certain referential perspective upon a referent that has already entered the discourse, either deictically or textually. The pronoun *den* (it.common) ‘it’ does not carry the feature INANIMATE, but to use this pronoun in a context where *han* ‘he’ or *hon* ‘she’ would have been possible choices, the referential perspective INANIMATE is conveyed. In a similar way, the use of *det*

(it.neuter) ‘it’ in a context where some of the other pronouns could have been chosen implies that the speaker discards the meanings that would have been conveyed by *han* ‘he’, *hon* ‘she’, or *den* (it.common) ‘it’.

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Embedded V2 does not exist in Swedish

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Abstract

"Embedded" V2-clauses are often analyzed as subordinate clauses which contain a recursive CP. In this paper, I point at three problems associated with a recursive CP-analysis: Topicalization of and extraction out of an "embedded" V2-clause yields an ungrammatical result in Swedish and an "embedded" V2-clause does not have to be deictically adjusted to its "matrix". I present an alternative analysis, according to which both the "matrix" clause and the "embedded" clause are main clauses. I argue that the "complementizer" *att* ('that') is not a complementizer but a pronominal element which functions as an argument in relation to the verb of the "matrix" clause.

1. Introduction

Main clauses and subordinate clauses are core concepts within grammatical theory. They constitute two basic categories which form a dichotomy that often serves as a point of departure for further generalizations. However, a closer look at the two categories of clauses will show that this dichotomy is not necessarily as strict and unproblematic as one initially might assume. There is a number of clause types that, for different reasons, seem quite difficult to fit into the typical division into main clauses and subordinate clauses. One of these problematic clause types are the so called embedded V2-clauses, which are also the subject of

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this paper.

The purpose of this paper is twofold. Firstly, I point at some problems associated with analyzing so called embedded V2-clauses as syntactic structures containing a recursive CP (that is, assuming that there are two CPs: a lower one to which the finite verb moves and a higher one which hosts the complementizer). Secondly, I suggest an alternative analysis, which in my opinion accounts for "embedded" V2 in a more straightforward way. I argue that there are good reasons for analyzing sentences containing so called embedded V2-clauses as paratactic constructions (however not coordinated), rather than instances of hypotax.

The paper has the following outline: Section 2 deals with main clauses and subordinate clauses in Swedish. To begin with, I give a brief description of the syntax and semantics of prototypical main clauses and subordinate clauses respectively. Then I describe the so called embedded V2-clauses and point out how they deviate from typical subordinate clauses in Swedish. In section 3, I point at three problems with analyzing "embedded" V2-clauses as subordinate clauses containing a recursive CP: extraction out of the "embedded" clause is not possible, the "embedded" clause cannot be topicalized and deictic adjustment is not necessary. I argue that these facts are incompatible with a subordination analysis, if the notion subordination is to be taken seriously. In section 4, I present a proposal for an analysis in which the two parts of "embedded" V2-constructions are considered to be two syntactically independent main clauses. I show that the problems associated with a recursive CP analysis are solved within a paratactic analysis.

2. Background

2.1 The syntax and semantics of prototypical main clauses and subordinate clauses in Swedish

The Mainland Scandinavian languages, Norwegian, Danish and Swedish, belong to the Germanic family of languages, and like all other Germanic languages, with the exception for English, they display V2 word order. That means that, in these languages, the finite verb of a declarative main clause holds the second position of the clause and can be preceded by no more than one constituent. This word order property, however, normally only applies to main clauses. In subordinate clauses, the finite verb is typically preceded by the negation and other sentence adverbials, which means that the finite verb normally occupies a lower structural position in a subordinate clause than it does in a main clause.

Let us begin by taking a look at the typical word order of declarative main clauses in Swedish. It is illustrated by the examples in (1) and (2) below.

(1) **Glen** äter aldrig köttfärs nu för tiden.
Glen eats never minced.meat now for time.the
'Glen never eats minced meat now a days'

(2) Nu för tiden äter **Glen** aldrig köttfärs.
Now for time.the eats Glen never minced.meat
'Now a days, Glen never eats minced meat.'

The sentences in (1) and (2) above are examples of well formed declarative main clauses in Swedish. They illustrate three important structural properties of V2 word order. Firstly, they show that the finite verb (which is underlined) holds the second position in a Swedish declarative main clause. Secondly they illustrate the fact that almost any kind of clause constituent may be topicalized. The

fronting of an adverbial as in (2) is just as grammatical as having the subject in the first position, as in (1). The third V2-related structural property of a Swedish declarative main clause that is illustrated by (1) and (2), is that the subject (in bold type) can occupy one of two possible positions. The canonical (but not necessarily most frequently used) subject position is immediately to the right of the finite verb. This is the position that the subject will hold unless it is topicalized[1].

The most central property of the V2 word order, however, is of course that the verb holds the second position of the clause and that only one position is available to the left of it. This means that the word order of a sentence like that in (3) is ungrammatical in Swedish.

(3) *Nu för tiden Gusten äter aldrig köttfärs.
Now for time.the Gusten eats never minced.meat
'Now a days, Gusten never eats minced meat.'

As mentioned above, the V2 word order is a phenomenon which normally applies only to main clauses. The typical word order of a subordinate clause in Swedish is the following: complementizer > subject > sentence adverbials and negation > finite verb (Platzack, 1998, 92). This is illustrated in (4). Once again the finite verb is underlined and the subject is in bold.

(4) att **Glen** aldrig äter köttfärs nu för tiden.
that Glen never eats minced.meat now for time.the
'that Glen never eats minced meat now a days.'

1 The subject may be preceeded by a negation or other sentence adverbials: (i) Nu för tiden äter aldrig Gusten köttfärs. ('Now a days Gusten never eats minced meat.').

The fact that V2 typically only applies to main clauses leads to a structural asymmetry between main clauses and subordinate clauses in the Germanic V2-languages. With the exception for Yiddish and Icelandic[2], this asymmetry can easily be observed directly in the surface structure of all Germanic V2-languages. In the case of a prototypical main clause, the second position of the clause is occupied by the finite verb, whereas the same position is held by a complementizer in a prototypical subordinate clause, meaning that the finite verb is further to the right.

In accordance with a widely spread view, the syntactic asymmetry between Germanic main clauses and subordinate clauses can be explained and described in terms of verb movement. The common assumption is that the finite verb of a main clause in the Germanic V2-languages undergoes V-to-C movement (cf. den Besten, 1983; Holmberg and Platzack, 1995; Vikner, 1995). This movement is said to be motivated by the presence of a strong finiteness feature in C°, which, in main clauses, is checked by the finite verb (cf. Platzack, 1998). In subordinate clauses on the other hand, the finiteness feature in C° is lexicalized by a complementizer. That means that the second position, C°, which is otherwise held by the finite verb, in subordinate clauses is occupied by a complementizer and this prevents the finite verb from moving from V to C (for a further discussion about V-to-C movement, see, among others, Holmberg and Platzack, 1995;

2 Unlike subordinate clauses in other Germanic V2-languages, Icelandic and Yiddish subordinate clauses display a word order where the finite verb precedes the negation. This means that the surface structure of subordinate clauses in these languages resemble the structure of main clauses. However, following a common assumption, I take the word order in Yiddish and Icelandic subject-initial subordinate clauses to be the result of obligatory V-to-I movement, and not necessarily V-to-C movement as in main clauses. That would mean that the finite verb of an Icelandic or Yiddish subordinate clause would normally hold the position I° and the subject would occupy spec-IP (cf. Thráinsson, 2007, p.43). That means that a case of ”embedded” V2 (understod as V-to-C movement) in Icelandic or Yiddish can only be established if an other constituent than the subject has been topicalized. This analysis is also given some support from Vikner (1995, p. 139) who assumes that Icelandic and Yiddish has obligatory V-to-I movement and that subordinate clauses in these languages can be either V2 or non V2. However, V2 is never obligatory in Icelandic or Yiddish subordinate clauses. According to Vikner, ” There are no environments [for Icelandic or Yiddish subordinate clauses] that only allow embedded V2 ”(1995, 139).

Vikner 1995 and Julien, 2007).

Above, I have given a short description of the syntactic differences between prototypical Swedish main clauses and subordinate clauses. But the differences between the two categories of clauses are not limited to their syntactic structures. There are also semantic/pragmatic differences, which can be related to verb movement (or the lack of verb movement).

Typically, main clauses and subordinate clauses differ with regards to speech acts. Normally, there is a clear correlation between main clause status and speech act value: The prototypical main clause expresses a speech act, whereas the prototypical subordinate clause does not. That is, main clauses are used for asking questions, giving commands or making assertions. These acts can normally not be performed by subordinate clauses, which typically represent propositions but do not express speech acts (cf Teleman et al., 1999, volume 4, 475). The difference in the semantic/pragmatic interpretation between the prototypical cases of main clauses and subordinate clauses is illustrated by the examples in (5) - (6).

(5) Jag vill inte köpa sill.
I want not buy herring
'I don't want to buy herring'

(6) att jag inte vill köpa sill
that I not want buy herring
'that I don't want to buy herring'

The sentence in (5) is a declarative main clause, whereas the clause in (6) is a declarative subordinate clause. Both represent the same proposition (“I don't want to buy herring”) but they differ with respect to the speech act value. The main clause in (5) expresses a speech act; the sentence is an assertion by which the

speaker conveys the information that he or she doesn't want to buy herring. The clause in (6) lacks a speech act value. Without a main clause matrix, this clause does not make a command, ask a question or make an assertion[3]. In other words, there is a typical correlation between V2 word order and speech act value in Swedish.

As mentioned above, main clauses normally display V2 word order, a configuration that can be described in terms of V-to-C movement. There is also a typical correlation between V2 word order and speech act value. This correlation between syntactic structure and semantic/pragmatic interpretation has, in some analyses, been formalized in syntactic models with split CPs.

According to Rizzi's proposal (1997) the C-domain is split into four functional projections: FinP, TopP, FocP and ForceP. For the purposes of this paper, however, it is sufficient to take only two of the suggested projections into account, namely FinP and ForceP. According to Rizzi, the role of the C-domain is to establish a connection between the propositional content of a clause (established in IP) and the context and speech situation in which it occurs. In other words, the C-domain is the part of the clausal structure that anchors the proposition in and relates it to the context or discourse in which it is uttered.

Rizzi (1997, 283) explains the CP as “the interface between a propositional content (expressed by the IP) and the superordinate structure (a higher clause or, possibly, the articulation of discourse, if we consider a root clause)”. According to him the two projections FinP and ForceP play different parts in establishing the relation between the propositional content and the superordinate structure or discourse. The lower projection, FinP, faces inwards, towards the IP, wheras the higher projection, ForceP, faces outwards, towards a superordinate clause or the

3 It should be pointed out that there are clauses that fulfill the structural criteria for a subordinate clause classification, but nevertheless can be used to express speech acts, without the presence of a main clause matrix. This is, for instance, often the case with constructions expressing exclamative speech acts. The following would be an example of a such a clause: (i) Att han aldrig kan fatta! ('He just never never gets it!'). Note that this clause is a non-V2-clause, introduced by a complementizer (*att*).

discourse (Rizzi, 1997, 283-285). In ForceP, the clause type and the illocutionary force are specified. Applied to typical main clauses and subordinate clauses in Swedish this would mean that if Force° is occupied by a complementizer the structure is connected to a higher CP, meaning that the clause lacks an independent speech act value. But if Force° is held by the finite verb, the clause is the highest CP, facing towards the discourse or context, and has illocutionary force, that is, it expresses a speech act.

Summarizing, there is a syntactic and semantic asymmetry between prototypical Swedish main clauses and subordinate clauses, which can be related to verb movement from V to C. The finite verb of a main clause moves from V to C and as a result, main clauses display V2 word order, meaning that the finite verb can only be preceded by one clause constituent. V-to-C movement is associated with illocutionary force, which could be described in terms of a split CP, containing a projection, ForceP, to which the finite verb of a main clause moves. In subordinate clauses, the finite verb does not undergo V-to-C movement, but stays in situ. This is the case because in a subordinate clause, Force° contains a complementizer which moves there after being lexicalized in FinP. It connects, or anchors, the clause structure in a superordinate structure and also prevents the finite verb from moving to ForceP, meaning that the clause cannot get an independent speech act value.

2.2. The syntax and semantics of “embedded” V2

The division between main clauses and subordinate clauses that was outlined in section 2.1 only accounts for typical cases. As was mentioned in the very beginning, there are clause types that, for different reasons, seem difficult to fit into this prototypical dichotomy. One of these are the so called embedded V2-clauses. An example of such a clause is given in (7).

(7) Gusten sa att Fantomen har inte tio tigrars styrka.
Gusten said that Phantom.the has not ten tigers strength
'Gusten said that the Phantom doesn't have the strength of ten tigers'

The sentence in (7) contains an *att*-clause. The interesting thing about this clause type is that it displays properties that are inconsistent with respect to the division into main clauses and subordinate clauses: they fulfill some of the required criteria for a main clause classification and some for a subordinate clause classification.

On the one hand, one could argue that "embedded" V2-clauses should be considered subordinate, firstly because they seem to be introduced by a complementizer (*att*) and secondly because they, from a logical point of view, seem to constitute necessary complements of the matrix verb. The verb *sa* ('said'), in (7), takes two arguments: a subject and an object. It is hard to even imagine the verb *säga* (to *say*) without some sort of notion of someone saying something. In (7) we see that *Gusten sa X* ('Gusten said X'), and X must undoubtedly be identical to the clause *att Fantomen har inte tio tigrars styrka*. In other words, the "embedded" V2-clause seems to function as an object in relation to its matrix verb *sa* ('said'), and, given the implicit assumption that a main clause cannot be an argument of a verb, this observation points towards an analysis in which the "embedded" V2-clause is to be regarded as a subordinate clause.

On the other hand there are also good reasons for arguing that "embedded" V2-clauses are best analyzed as main clauses. Firstly, the finite verb of these clauses has moved to C, which, as we have seen, is in accordance with the typical pattern of Swedish main clauses (we can rule out V-to-I-movement, since other constituents than subjects may be topicalized).

Apart from the presence of the complementizer *att*, the basic syntactic structure of an "embedded" V2-clause corresponds to that of a typical Swedish main clause. Also, just like Swedish V2-clauses that are unambiguous main

clauses, “embedded” V2-clauses express independent speech acts. They are assertions and the explanation for them having a speech act value most likely lies in the position of the finite verb. It is reasonable to assume that the finite verb of an “embedded” V2-clause moves from V to Force°, giving the clause a positive speech act value (cf. Julien, 2007).

Below, I will sum up the properties of “embedded” V2:

A) “Embedded” V2-clauses do not occur in isolation. They must be preceded by a “matrix” clause. That means that we know that any given instance of “embedded” V2 always involves a minimum of two clauses.

B) From a logical point of view, an “embedded” V2-clause seems to function as an argument in relation to the verb of the preceding clause.

C) “Embedded” V2 always contains the word *att* 'that'.

D) The finite verb of an “embedded” V2-clause has moved from V to C. In a split CP model, it is reasonable to assume that it has moved from V to
Force°.

E) Both the “matrix” clause and the “embedded” V2-clause express speech acts. They are both construed as assertions.

If one considers the properties that are listed above it soon becomes clear that it is in no way obvious how “embedded” V2 should be related to the categories main clause and subordinate clause, nor is it clear how the relation between the two clauses in a sentence containing an “embedded” V2-clause should be described.

One solution that has often been suggested is to analyze “embedded” V2-clauses as structures that contain recursive CPs (eg. Vikner, 1995; Holmberg and Platzack, 1995). According to these analyses, the “embedded” V2-clauses have two CPs: a lower one, to which the finite verb moves and a higher one, which hosts the complementizer that anchors the clause in a superordinate CP. The aim of such an analysis is of course to account for the main-clause-like structural properties and at the same time be able to maintain that the *att*-clause is embedded under a matrix clause.

In the following section, I will give a brief account for the general outline of the recursive CP analysis and point at some central problems that it obviously is unable to solve.

3. The recursive CP analysis and problems associated with it

An analysis that aims to describe and explain “embedded” V2-clauses must deal with the inconsistent properties that were described in 2.2. In effect, this means that the analysis has to handle three issues. Firstly it has to provide an account for the fact that the *att*-clause displays V2 word order and has a speech act value of its own. Secondly, it has to give a satisfactory description of the relation between the “embedded” V2-clause and the “matrix” clause that precedes it. This means that the analysis must capture the fact that the “embedded” clause seems to function as an argument of the verb in the first clause. Finally it has to explain the fact that the “embedded” V2 always contains the word *att*, which is normally regarded as a complementizer.

On their own, none of the characteristics of the “embedded” V2 that were mentioned above are very hard to account for. The word order, as well as the illocutionary force of the “embedded” V2-clause can be explained as verb movement from V to Force°. The fact that the “embedded” clause seems to constitute an argument in relation to the verb of the “matrix” clause, could be

explained simply by saying that it holds the complement position in the VP of the first clause. The presence of the complementizer *att*, finally, could easily be explained by saying that it is located in Force°, introducing the "embedded" clause and anchoring it in the first clause, which is then a CP structure that is superordinate to the "embedded" V2-clause.

What complicates matters is that "embedded" V2-clauses display all of these properties at the same time. Since they are contradictory with respect to the division into main clauses and subordinate clauses, it is problematic to capture the characteristics of "embedded" V2 by applying the basic syntactic models for Swedish clause structures that were presented in 2.1. Somehow, the analysis must provide an explanation for the fact that the finite verb of the "embedded" clause has undergone V-to-C movement and at the same time it must also account for the word *att*, which can be presumed to be a complementizer.

Now, let us take the following theoretical assumptions for valid: Complementizers and finite verbs compete for the same structural position, Force°. When the complementizer occupies this position, this has two implications: Firstly, that the complementizer introduces a subordinate clause and anchors it in a higher CP structure, and secondly, that the finite verb is prevented from moving, since the slot which it targets already is taken. If Force° is occupied by the finite verb, on the other hand, this means that the CP in question is the highest CP of the clause structure, meaning that it is a main clause that consequently expresses a speech act.

It soon becomes obvious that these general assumptions concerning the properties of the CP in Swedish are incompatible with the characteristics of "embedded" V2-clauses. The reason is of course that these clauses seem to be introduced by a complementizer at the same time as they display V2 word order. These properties cannot be explained or even described in a structural model which only contains one CP, since both the finite verb and the complementizer are assumed to compete for the same slot, Force°.

It is not a new observation that there are certain problems associated with describing “embedded” V2 within a structural model containing one CP. A solution that has often been suggested is a recursive CP, that is, an analysis, according to which the “embedded” V2-clause has a syntactic structure containing two CPs. The general idea of a recursive CP-analysis is, of course, that each CP will host one of the two elements that otherwise would compete for the same position. In accordance with the linear structure of the “embedded” V2-clause, the head of the lower CP will then be occupied by the finite verb, whereas the head of the higher one will be occupied by the complementizer (see Vikner 1995 and Holmberg & Platzack 1995).

The advantage of a recursive CP-analysis is that it seems to be able to explain the coexistence of a complementizer and a verb in the second position. At a first glance, it does appear as if a recursive CP-analysis can solve the problems that follow from the contradictory properties of “embedded” V2-clauses: Firstly, it seems to provide a satisfying account for the relation between the first clause and the “embedded” V2-clause. The *att*-clause holds the complement position of the VP in the first clause and, consequently, it functions as an argument in the first clause. Secondly the presence of the word *att* is given an explanation. It is a complementizer which embeds the clause under the matrix. Finally, the analysis accounts for the position of the finite verb. It has in fact moved from V to C; it has moved to the lower C.

However, the recursive CP-analysis is in no way as unproblematic as it might seem at a first glance. In fact, what assuming a double CP, actually boils down to is an attempt to eat the theoretical cake and have it too. If one claims that a clause displays V-to-C movement and has illocutionary force, and at the same time claims that it is subordinated, then, in my opinion, the notion subordination has become quite watered down.

In sections 3.1 - 3.3, I will show that there are empirical facts suggesting that the recursive CP-analysis is not on the right track. In fact, it does not even seem

adequate to analyze “embedded” V2-clauses as embedded or subordinate. Instead the observations to be presented rather point towards an analysis according to which the “matrix” clause, as well as the “embedded” clause, are main clauses. The observations that are presented in sections 3.1 and 3.2 draw on de Haan (2001) who investigates West Frisian. He argues that the complementizer *dat* ('that') is in fact a conjunction and that the “embedded” V2-clause should be analyzed as, in some sense, coordinated with its “matrix” clause.

3.1. “Embedded” V2-clauses cannot be topicalized

There are of course a number of possible ways to define the concepts main clause and subordinate clause. One of the more common ways, however, is to apply a functional perspective and define the two categories of clauses on the basis of their interrelations. That is, for instance, what Teleman et al. (1999) propose. They define a main clause as “a clause which is not a constituent of another clause”[4] (Teleman et al., volume 4, 679). A subordinate clause, on the other hand, is defined as “a syntactically subordinate clause”[5] (Teleman et al., volume 4, 462). Now, one might of course say that the definition “syntactically subordinate clause” is quite vague. But given their definition of the notion main clause it seems reasonable to assume that the defining criteria, that Teleman et al. use to separate the two categories of clauses, is whether any given clause constitutes an element within an other clause or not.

No matter if one thinks that a functional definition as the one outlined above is reasonable or not, it is clear that clauses that are regarded as subordinate typically also function as constituents within a superordinate structure. So, for the sake of the discussion, let us assume that a subordinate clause is a part of another clause, as opposed to a main clause, which is not.

Now, as mentioned in section 2.1, one of the characteristics of a declarative

4 my translation
5 my translation

main clause in Swedish is that the first position (the highest available Spec-CP position) is open to almost all kinds of constituents. Since we above, tentatively, defined subordinate clauses as clauses which function as constituents within other clauses, we predict that they are possible to topicalize. This prediction is carried out. As illustrated by (8), (9) and (10) there normally aren't any problems topicalizing a Swedish subordinate clause that functions as a primary clause constituent.

(8) När Gusten tar emot sitt nobelpris i grammatik ska han bära smoking.
When Gusten accepts his Nobel.prize in grammar will he wear smoking
'When Gusten accepts his Nobel Prize for grammar, he will be wearing smoking.'

(9) Att Nobels grammatikpris inte finns glömmer Gusten ofta bort.
That Nobels grammar-prize not exists forgets Gusten often PART.
'That the Nobel Prize for grammar doesn't exist is something that Gusten often forgets'

(10) Om man jobbar som kung måste man överräcka priser och klippa band.
If one works as king must one hand.over prizes and cut ribbons
'If you work as king, you have to hand over prizes and cut ribbons'

As we can see, all of the sentences in (8) – (10) contain topicalized subordinate clauses which function as constituents within the matrix clause. Described within a syntactic model containing a split CP (with the projections FinP and ForceP) this would mean that the subordinate CP has moved into the Spec-ForceP position of the matrix CP. This movement yields a grammatical result.

If an "embedded" V2-clause is a subordinate clause which functions as a

constituent within a matrix clause, it should be possible to topicalize it just like any other subordinate clause. However, as shown in (11), this is not the case. [6]

(11) * Att Nobels grammatikpris finns inte glömmer Gusten ofta bort.
That Nobels grammar.prize exists not forgets Gusten often PART.
'That the Nobel Prize for grammar does not exist is something that Gusten often forgets'

As we can see, topicalizing an "embedded" V2-clause yields an ungrammatical result.

3.2. "Embedded" V2-clauses are islands for movement

Another problem associated with the recursive CP-analysis is that constituents cannot be extracted from the "embedded" clause and moved into the "matrix" clause. This kind of movement is normally possible in the case of a regular *att*-clause. In (12), below, extraction out of an *att*-clause, which is a complement of a matrix verb is illustrated.

(12) Den boken vet jag att Gusten inte har läst ~~den boken~~.
That book.the know I that Gusten not has read ~~that book.the~~
'That book, I know that Gusten hasn't read'

In (12) the noun phrase *den boken* ('that book') has been moved out of the subordinate clause (in which it is an argument of the verb *läst* ('read') and into the Spec-ForceP position of the matrix clause.

If one tries to extract a constituent out of an "embedded" V2-clause, the result

6 It should be pointed out that not everyone agrees that all cases of topicalized "embedded" V2 are completely ungrammatical. For instance, Julien (2007, p. 145), finds the following Norwegian sentence "only marginally less acceptable" than its counterpart with a topicalized non-V2-clause: (i) at den gutten var ikke som andre glemte de alltid. To my ear, however, the Swedish version of this sentence is ungrammatical.

becomes ungrammatical[7]. Below, (13) is an "embedded"-V2 counterpart of the example presented in (12).

(13) ??/* Den boken vet jag att Gusten har inte läst ~~den boken~~.
That book.the know I that Gusten has not read ~~that book.the~~
'That book, I know Gusten hasn't read.'

What (13) illustrates is that "embedded" V2-clauses are islands for movement. This fact is a serious problem for the recursive CP-analysis and, consequently, for the assumption that these clauses are subordinate clauses. In the following, I will suggest that analyzing "embedded" V2 as an instance of subordination is not on the right track.

Two requirements have to be met in order for extraction out of a Swedish *att*-clause to be grammatical. Firstly, the clause must be a CP that occupies a node within a superordinate CP; it has to be a constituent within a matrix clause. Secondly, extraction requires the presence of an empty Spec-CP position in the subordinate clause which the extracted constituent can use as an escape hatch on its way into the superordinate clause. Both of these prerequisites are at hand in the case of a prototypical Swedish *att*-clause and, as far as I can see they should, according to the recursive CP-analysis, also be at hand in the case of "embedded" V2-clauses. Following the recursive CP-analysis, the "embedded" clause ought to occupy the complement position of the matrix VP. This would mean that the clauses involved should be connected in the same way as a regular *att*-clause is connected to its matrix. Furthermore, there is no reason why the highest CP of an "embedded" V2-clause should have a different set of nodes than other *att*-clauses. That is, I take the highest CP in an "embedded" V2-clause, minimally, to contain a head, a complement and a specifier and that would mean that the position Spec-

7 According to Julien (2007) some Swedish speakers from Dalecarlia and Finland can extract from "embedded" V2-clauses. However, to my ear such extraction is quite ungrammatical.

CP would be available for the extracted constituent to move out through. In short, one would expect extraction out of an “embedded” V2-clause to be possible if it is subordinated in accordance with the recursive CP-analysis. However, as was shown in (13) this is not the case.

3.3. Deictic adjustment is not necessary

Quotation can be done by the use of either direct or indirect speech. Direct speech is presented as a literal reproduction of the original utterance, whereas indirect speech rather is a reproduction of the propositional content of an utterance. Below, one example of each kind of quotation is given. (14) represents the original utterance, which in (15) is quoted in direct speech and in (16) in indirect speech.

(14) Jag äter gröt här.
I eat porridge here
'I eat porridge here'

(15) Han sa, jag äter gröt här.
He said, I eat porridge here
'He said: I eat porridge here.'

(16) Han sa att han åt gröt där.
He said that he ate porridge there
'He said that he ate porridge there.'

In direct speech, the quoted utterance corresponds to the original utterance, with respect to space, time and person (cf. Teleman et al., volume 4, 846). In (15) this manifests itself in three ways. Firstly, the personal pronoun *jag* (*I*) refers to the speaker who uttered the quoted clause, and not to the person who utters the

sentence as a whole. Secondly, the finite verb *äter* (*eat*) is in the present tense, as opposed to the verb of the reporting clause which is in the past tense. This means that the reported event took place at the time for the original utterance. Finally, the adverbial of place *här* refers to the place where the quoted clause was first uttered.

In indirect speech, the quoted utterance has the form of a prototypical subclause. Deictic expressions refering to person, space and time are related to the matrix clause (cf. Teleman et al., volume 4, 850). The point of reference of the reported clause is the 'here' and 'now' of the matrix clause. In (16), this is shown in three ways. To begin with, we can see that the personal pronoun of the reported clause *han* (*he*) is coreferential with the personal pronoun in the matrix clause. Secondly, we see that the tense of the verb *äter* has been altered from present to past. Thirdly, the adverbial of location has been changed so that it is related to the place where the sentence as a whole is uttered.

The deictic differences between direct and indirect speech can be related to the typical asymmetry between main clauses and subordinate clauses. The fact that a quoted clause, in the case of indirect speech, is deictically adjusted to the matrix clause, could be described and explained along the following lines:

Finiteness can be understood as a feature or property which gives a linguistic expression a point of reference, to which grammatical and deictical categories such as tense, person and location can be related. In effect, this means that finiteness provides a kind of origo, which gives a value to the parameters 'here', 'now' and 'I'. The finiteness feature is assumed to be located in the CP and in the case of Swedish it is either checked by the finite verb (main clauses) or lexicalized by a complementizer (subordinate clauses). A main clause has an independent finiteness value, whereas a prototypical subordinate clause does not. Instead, it would seem that a subordinate clause normally is anchored in its matrix clause through the complementizer which links the subordinate clause to the finiteness value specified in the matrix CP. This means that there can only be one

point of reference anchored in the context and discourse, in a structure containing a matrix clause and a prototypical subordinate clause, as is the case in indirect speech. This would explain why deictic expressions, in indirect speech, are adjusted to the ‘here’ and ‘now’ of the matrix clause.

In the case of direct speech, on the other hand, the deictic expressions within the quoted clause are not adjusted to the “matrix” clause. This could be understood as a consequence of the quoted clause having an independent finiteness value. Consequently, direct speech must be construed as two clauses with independent speech act and finiteness values (cf. Petersson, 2008).

Let us now return to the “embedded” V2-clauses. It is a well known fact that these clauses can follow after verbs of saying, which means that they are found in reported speech-constructions. (17) is an example of an “embedded” V2-clause which is used as a quote. This can be compared to the indirect speech construction containing a prototypical subordinate clause, given in (18).

(17) Han sa att jag köper inte sill här.
He said that I buy not herring here
‘He said that I don’t buy herring here’

(18) Han sa att jag inte köper sill här.
He said that I not buy herring here
‘He said that I don’t buy herring here’

As we can see the sentences in (17) and (18) differ in how the deictic expressions in the clauses that represent the quoted utterance are related to the 'here' and 'now' of the matrix clauses *Han sa* ('he said'). In (18) both the personal pronoun *jag* ('I') and the adverbial of place *här* ('here') are adjusted to the 'here' and 'now' of the matrix clause. More specifically, this means that *jag* ('I') refers to the person who utters the sentence as a whole and that *här* ('here') refers to the

place where the whole sentence is uttered. In (17), on the other hand, the deictic expressions of the quoted clause are not adjusted to the finiteness value of the matrix clause. Instead, the personal pronoun *jag* ('I') refers to the speaker who is quoted and *här* (‘here’) to the place where he made the quoted utterance. It might be worth pointing out that the first person pronoun of the “embedded” V2-clause cannot be understood as being coreferential with the speaker who utters the sentence in (17) as a whole.

The original utterance which is quoted in (17) must have looked like the clause in (19).

(19) Jag köper inte sill här.
I buy not herring here
‘I don’t buy herring here’

As we can see the original utterance in (19) is identical to the “embedded” V2-clause in (17), except for the word *att*. This means that “embedded” V2 after verbs of saying patterns with direct speech rather than indirect speech. I take this as an indication that the “embedded” V2-clause has an independent finiteness value as well as an independent speech act value. And this would mean that the complementizer of the “embedded” V2-clause does not anchor its finiteness in the preceding clause.

Deictic adjustment in “embedded” V2-clauses is discussed in Julien (2007). She argues that “pronoun change sequence of tense obtains” to some “embedded” V2-clauses and takes this to indicate that they are in fact embedded. The sentences that she uses to show this are cited below, in (20) and (21). (20 a.) and (21 a.) contain “embedded” V2-clauses and (20 b.) and (21 b.) represent what she takes to be “the form that the original utterance or thought must have had” (Julien, 2007, p. 142-143). [8]

8 It should perhaps be pointed out that the sentences in (20) are in Swedish and the ones in (21) are

(20) a. Han sa till GP att han **hade** *inte* ens hunnit tänka på OS.
he said to GP that he had not even had.time.to think about the Olympics
'He told GP [a Swedish newspaper] that he had not even had time to think about the Olympics.'

b. Jag **har** *inte* ens hunnit tänka på OS
I have not even had.time.to think about the Olympics
'I have not even had time to think about the Olympics.'

(21) a. Hel-e tid-en visste han at det **var** *ikke* dette han skulle sagt.
all.DEF time-DEF knew he that it was not this he should said
'All the time he knew that this was not what he should have said.'

b.Det er ikke dette jeg skulle sagt.
it is not this I should said
'This is not what I should have said.'

What Julien means by saying that "pronoun change and sequence of tense obtains" in these "embedded" V2-clauses is of course that the tense and the personal pronouns of the original clauses have been changed and adjusted to the "matrix" clauses in (20 a.) and (21 a.) However, I would argue that this is jumping to conclusions. I see three problems in connection with the claim that (20) and (21) can be taken to indicate that the "embedded" V2-clauses have been deictically adjusted to their "matrix" clauses.

Firstly, to me, it's not clear why the clauses in (20 b.) and (21 b.) represent "the form that the original utterance or thought must have had". If (20 b.) and (21

in Norwegian.

b.) must be the original clauses, then the subjects of the "embedded" V2-clauses also must be coreferential with the subjects of the "matrix" clauses. As far as I can see this is not the case. The pronouns of the "embedded" clauses could just as well have a third referent. This means that the original utterance and thought respectively, may well have had the form of the clauses in (22) and (23), in which case the "embedded" V2-clauses would not be adjusted to their "matrices".

(22) Han hade inte ens hunnit tänka på OS.
he had not even had.time.to think about the Olympics
'He hadn't even had time to think about the Olympics.'

(23) Det var ikke dette han skulle sagt.
it was not this he should said
'This wasn't what he should have said.'

The second problem with concluding that the "embedded" V2-clauses are really embedded on the basis of the evidence presented in (20) and (21) is that the same changes to the deictic categories could apply if the utterances and thoughts were reported in a paratactic construction. In other words, these changes do not necessarily have to indicate subordination. This is illustrated in (24) and (25).

(24) Han sa detta till GP: Han hade inte ens hunnit tänka på
he said this to GP: He had not even had.time.to think about
OS.
the Olympics
'He said this to GP: He hadn't even had time to think about the Olympics.'

(25) Hele tiden visste han dette: det var ikke dette han skulle sagt.
all time-DEF knew he this: it was not this he should said
'All the time he knew this: this wasn't what he should have said.'

The third, and perhaps most important, objection against Julien's line of reasoning is that the pronoun *han* ('he') can be either deictic or anaphoric. If we change the pronouns of the "embedded" clauses in (20) and (21) to an unambiguously deictic first person singular *jag*/*jeg* ('I'), the result is a quite clear indication that the "embedded" V2-clause normally will have an independent finiteness value. In (26) the personal pronoun *han* ('he') has been replaced by *jag* ('I'). As a comparison, an equivalent sentence where the *att*-clause is a typical subordinate clause, is given in (27).

(26) Han sa till GP att jag hade inte ens hunnit tänka på OS.
he said to GP that I had not even had.time.to think about the Olympics
'He told GP that I hadn't even had time to think about the Olympics.'

(27) Han sa till GP att jag inte ens hunnit tänka på OS.
he said to GP that I not even had.time.to think about the Olympics
'He told GP that I hadn't even had time to think about the Olympics.'

What the sentences in (26) and (27) show is that "embedded" V2-clauses differ from regular subordinate clauses with respect to the application of deictic adjustment. In (26) the pronoun *jag* ('I') refers to the same person as the subject of the first clause *han* ('he'). In (27), *jag* ('I') is coreferential with the speaker who utters the sentence as a whole. It can, under no circumstances, be interpreted as referring to the subject of the matrix clause. In short, the *att*-clause in (27) is

deictically adjusted, whereas the “embedded” V2-clause in (26) is not.

I will not completely rule out the possibility that “embedded” V2-clauses, under certain pragmatic circumstances, can display properties which may be regarded as some kind of deictic adjustment. However, I argue that deictic adjustment normally does not apply to “embedded” V2 and that it, in any case, never is necessary. This is clearly shown in (26) and (27). Furthermore I take this to indicate that the complementizer of an “embedded” V2-clause doesn't anchor it in or relate it to the finiteness- or speech act value of its “matrix”.

3.4. If an “embedded” V2-clause is a subordinate clause - what is subordination?

How the phenomenon “embedded” V2 is understood and analyzed is largely dependent upon how the notions main clause and subordinate clause are defined. In this section, I will discuss what a definition of the concept subordination might look like, if one assumes that “embedded” V2-clauses are in fact subordinate clauses and that the recursive CP-analysis is on the right track.

Andersson (1975) discusses how the notions subordinate clause and main clause are best defined. He argues that there is reason to make a division between syntactic and semantic subordination. The definitions that he proposes for subordinate clauses and main clauses respectively are given below (Andersson, 1975, 57):

A) “A semantically main clause is a clause that makes a statement, asks a question or gives a command”.

B) “A semantically subordinate clause is a clause that does not make a statement, ask a question or give a command”.

C) “A syntactically main clause is a clause that is not introduced by a complementizer”.

D) “A syntactically subordinate clause is a clause that is introduced by a complementizer”.

If the definitions quoted above are applied, four possible categories of clauses can be distinguished:

I) Semantically and syntactically main clauses (prototypical main clauses).
II) Semantically and syntactically subordinate clauses (prototypical subordinate clauses).
III) Semantically main but syntactically subordinate clauses.
IV) Syntactically subordinate but semantically main clauses.

Let us now relate the recursive CP-analysis, which is proposed in Julien (2007), to the clause categories that follow from Anderssons definitions.

According to Julien, “embedded” V2-clauses are subordinate clauses that have illocutionary force. If the definitions proposed by Andersson are applied to this analysis, this ought to mean that “embedded” V2-clauses would belong to category III. The reason for this is of course that an “embedded” V2-clause, according to Julien, expresses a speech act and at the same time is introduced by a complementizer (*att*). Such an analysis would perhaps appear to be on the right track since it would seem to account for the structural as well as the pragmatic/semantic properties of “embedded” V2. But in my opinion the status of the presumed complementizer *a t t* ('that') must be questioned in the case of “embedded” V2-clauses. In the following, I will highlight the differences between prototypical subordinate clauses and “embedded” V2-clauses, concerning the word *att*.

In section 2.2, I showed that “embedded” V2-clauses deviate from the typical pattern of Swedish subordinate clauses in two significant ways: Firstly, they display V2 word order and secondly, they have independent speech act values. I argued that these properties could be analyzed as the results of the V-to-C movement. More specifically, I assumed that the finite verb had moved from V to Force°. This would account for the syntactic properties (V2 word order) as well as the semantic/pragmatic ones (speech act value) of “embedded” V2-clauses.

In sections 3.1 – 3.3, I pointed out three problems associated with analyzing the phenomenon “embedded” V2 in terms of a recursive CP. I showed that the possibilities of topicalization of and extraction out of an “embedded” V2-clause are very limited (if not completely ruled out), contrary to what one would expect if the recursive CP-analysis is on the right track. Furthermore, I showed that deictic adjustment does not have to take place in “embedded” V2-clauses. I took this as an indication that the complementizer of an “embedded” V2-clause does not anchor it in the finiteness- and speech act value of the “matrix” clause.

Given that the observations presented in 3.1 – 3.3 are valid, an analysis according to which the “embedded” V2-clause is a subordinate clause has considerable consequences for the definition of the notion subordination. In the following, I will show that the recursive CP-analysis, in effect, means defining subordination on the basis of one formalistic and/or one functional property.

It is possible to topicalize a prototypical Swedish *att*-clause. It is also possible to extract a constituent out of a prototypical *att*-clause. Furthermore, deictic adjustment applies to these clauses. In my view, this is an indication that a regular Swedish subordinate clause is anchored in its matrix clause through a complementizer located in the highest head position of its C-domain. More specifically, I assume that the role of the complementizer is to relate the propositional content of a subordinate clause to a higher CP-structure which, in turn, is directly or indirectly anchored in the context or discourse. The finite verb of the matrix CP that has undergone V-to-C movement, gives the structure an

independent finiteness value as well as and independent speech act value. A complementizer plays a different role. It relates a subordinate clause and its propositional content to the values specified in the matrix CP. As we have seen, this does not seem to apply to "embedded" V2-clauses: Normally neither topicalization, nor extraction is possible. Furthermore, it has been shown that deictic adjustment normally does not apply.

Let us begin by looking at deictic adjustment. The observation that it is not necessary to adjust an "embedded" V2-clause to its "matrix" could be explained if it is related to the assumption that the finite verb of the "embedded" clause has moved from V to Force°. This verb movement gives the "embedded" clause two important properties, namely an independent finiteness value, through a specification in FinP, and an independent speech act value through a specification in ForceP. This is a direct consequence of the independent speech act- and finiteness values which are the results of the V-to-Force° movement. If a clause is to express an independent speech act, it cannot be anchored in a matrix clause in the sense that it is directly related to the specifications in the CP of this matrix. A clause that expresses a speech act must have its own point of reference (finiteness) and its own illocutionary force. If a complementizer anchors a clause in a matrix by relating it to the values specified in the higher CP, the clause cannot express a speech act. In other words, a clause cannot represent an independent speech act and at the same time be deictically adjusted to a matrix.

Now, let us turn to topicalization and extraction. A prototypical Swedish *att*-clause can be topicalized and it can also be extracted out of. If one follows the recursive CP-analysis and assumes that the "embedded" V2-clause is merged as the complement of V° and that its highest CP has the same set of nodes as a regular CP, one would expect that both operations should be possible also if the complement of the matrix verb is an "embedded" V2-clause. However, as was shown in 3.1 and 3.2, neither topicalization of, nor extraction out of an "embedded" V2-clause is possible. In my opinion, this would suggest that the

“embedded” V2-clause is not connected with its “matrix” clause in the same way as a prototypical Swedish subordinate clause.

The facts concerning topicalization, extraction and deictic adjustment clearly indicate that there is a significant difference between prototypical subordinate clauses and “embedded” V2-clauses, concerning the role of the word *att*. In regular subordinate clauses it functions as a typical complementizer and anchors the subordinated clause in the matrix. This means that the subordinate clause is an integrated constituent of the matrix, which allows for topicalization as well as for extraction. Furthermore, the complementizer relates the finiteness- and speech act values of the subordinate clause to those of the superordinate clause, which means that the subordinate clause has to be deictically adjusted to its matrix. In the case of “embedded” V2-clauses, the complementizer does not anchor the “embedded” clause in its matrix with respect to finiteness and speech act value, nor does it connect the “embedded” clause to the “matrix” in a way that allows topicalization or extraction.

Consequently, analyzing an “embedded” V2-clause as a subordinate clause means that the notion subordination does not necessarily have to have any semantic/pragmatic implications. In effect, this means that only two possible definitions are available: Firstly, the formal definition that a subordinate clause is a clause which is introduced by a complementizer. Secondly, the functional definition that a subordinate clause is a clause that functions as a constituent within another clause. However, I find both of these definitions to be problematic if they are to include “embedded” V2-clauses.

If a subordinate clause is defined as a clause that is introduced by a complementizer and “embedded” V2-clauses are to be analyzed as subordinate, then the question arises: “what does the complementizer do?” As we have seen, the complementizer of an “embedded” V2-clause doesn’t anchor the clause in its “matrix” with respect to finiteness or speech act value. That is, the presence of the complementizer does not seem to have any semantic/pragmatic implications.

Nor does it seem to integrate the “embedded” clause as a constituent of the matrix in the same way as a prototypical subordinate clause is integrated in its matrix. Had this been the case, topicalization and extraction would be possible.

The functional definition, according to which a subordinate clause is a clause that functions as a constituent within another clause, seems problematic to apply to “embedded” V2-clauses. Certainly, from a logical point of view, the “embedded” clause constitutes an argument in relation to the verb of the “matrix” clause. But if it functions as a constituent of the “matrix”, then why isn’t topicalization or extraction possible?

These problems can be solved if, firstly, the word *att* is not analyzed as complementizer in the case of “embedded” V2 and secondly, if “embedded” V2-clauses are not regarded as subordinate but rather independent main clauses, syntactically as well as semantically/pragmatically.

In the following section, I propose an alternative definition of the notion subordination and present a new analysis of “embedded” V2, according to which “embedded” V2-clauses are regarded as independent main clauses.

4. “Embedded” V2-clauses are not embedded

4.1. Defining main clauses and subordinate clauses

To say that a subordinate clause is a clause that is introduced by a complementizer means giving the notion subordination a formalistic definition. For many purposes such definitions can be very useful. For instance, a formalistic definition of subordination may facilitate the identification of subordinate clauses in a specific language. There are however also certain drawbacks to defining subordination in terms of formal properties. One is that such a definition will exclude many of the world’s languages. It would seem reasonable to assume that all natural languages would have some means of expressing the semantic/pragmatic relations that in many European languages

are expressed through subordinate clauses which can be identified from the presence of complementizers. No matter which language is used as the point of departure for the definition, a formalistic definition will exclude other languages because they will lack the particular formal property which is used as a definition of the notion subordination. That is, a formalistic definition will always give rise to a typological mismatch problem (cf. Cristofaro, 2003, 20-22).

Cristofaro (2003) conducts a typological study of the concept subordination. In order to get around the problems that formal definitions inevitably give rise to, she turns the perspective the other way around. That is, rather than trying to determine which functions that can be linked to a specific form, she looks at what forms can be put in connection with a given function. Her basic assumption is that all languages, in some way, make a distinction between asserted and non-asserted linguistic expressions. She writes: "By subordination will be meant a situation whereby a cognitive asymmetry is established between linked SoAs [state of affairs], such that the profile of one of the two (henceforth, the main SoA) overrides that of the other (henceforth, the dependent SoA). This is equivalent to saying that the dependent SoA is (pragmatically) non-asserted, while the main one is (pragmatically) asserted. This situation exists in all languages, and there are consistent criteria allowing us to identify the dependent SoA cross-linguistically" (Cristofaro, 2003, p. 33).

Further, Cristofaro discusses which semantic/pragmatic relations that can exist between two linked states of affairs. She concludes that there are two possibilities: "In principle, then, semantic relations between SoAs can be construed as either conceptually symmetrical (i.e. both SoAs are asserted and have an autonomous profile) or conceptually asymmetrical (i.e. one SoA is non-asserted, and has no autonomous profile)" (Cristofaro, 2003, p. 38).

I will follow the general outline of Cristofaro's proposal, but apply it in a somewhat modified way. Firstly, I will not use the term SoA, but rather speak simply of clauses. Secondly, I will broaden the definition so that it includes all the basic speech acts (assertion, question and command) and not just assertions.

In the following, I will apply these semantically/pragmatically oriented definitions of the concepts main clause and subordinate clause to Swedish.

I argue that the categories main clause and subordinate clause form a strict dichotomy. This dichotomy is quite simple. It is built on the basic assumption that the semantic/pragmatic interpretation of a Swedish clause can be directly related to its syntactic properties. In practice, this means that the criterion which decides whether a clause is a main clause or a subordinate clause is its speech act value. If the clause in question has a speech act value, it is a main clause. If it lacks speech act value, it is a subordinate clause.

As already mentioned, speech act value (or illocutionary force) is a property which is coded in ForceP, in the C-domain. I assume that all clauses, main as well as subordinate, contain a C-domain. Furthermore, I assume that all C-domains, in their turn, contain a ForceP. However, not all CPs can be coded for an independent speech act value.

Clause structures resemble onions or Russian dolls in the sense that they are recursive. A CP can contain a subordinated CP (which thus fills a function within the superordinate one) and that CP can contain yet another CP which in its turn can contain another CP, and so on. I take it that all of these CPs, in principle, should have identical structures. That is to say that they, among other projections, ought to contain a ForceP. However, the idea that all CPs are copies of each other in the sense that they contain the same set of functional projections does in no way mean that they are identical in every respect, especially not as far as their function is concerned.

In the case of Swedish, a clause gets an independent speech act value if the finite verb moves from V to ForceP. In the case of questions and declarative clauses, the verb must check the finiteness feature in FinP, before moving up to ForceP. In effect, this means that only those CPs which do not their selves function as constituents of higher CPs, can have an independent, positive speech act value. The reason for this is that a subordinate clause is an embedded CP and

its subordination manifests itself through a complementizer which occupies a position within the C-domain. The role of the complementizer is to anchor the proposition of the subordinate clause in the higher CP, which in its turn, directly or indirectly, is anchored in the context or discourse in which the utterance is made. That is to say, a complementizer relates the clause which it introduces to a superordinate origo, or point of reference (finiteness). This means that it provides a kind of specification for finiteness value as well as speech act value. If anything, these specifications are to be considered references to the values given in a higher CP. They are not independent values. Thus, subordinate clauses are, through their complementizers, specified for speech act value and finiteness but these values are not independent. Instead, they are references to the specifications that are found in the highest CP.

Put in syntactic terms, speech act value means that a clause has an independent specification in ForceP and such a specification is, in principle, only possible if the clause is the highest CP of the clause structure, and thus anchored directly in the context and speech situation. Irrespective of whether they are lexical elements or operators, the C-domain must be open and available to the elements that can provide an independent, positive value in ForceP. In effect, this means that a clause cannot have an independent speech act value if it is subordinated. The reason for this is that the C-domain of a subordinated clause is occupied by a complementizer that anchors the clause in a higher CP and at the same time prevents the finite verb from moving to ForceP.

As mentioned, the speech act value of a Swedish clause is associated with verb movement from V to C. More specifically, the finite verb of a clause that expresses a speech act first moves from V to FinP (at least in questions and assertions) and then on to ForceP. This means that the line of argument concerning the connection between semantic/pragmatic status and syntactic structure in Swedish can be summed up in the following way:

Within one clause structure, there can be no more then one given speech act

value. This value is coded by the finite verb moving from V to ForceP. Specification for an independent speech act value can only be given in the highest available CP. The specifications that the complementizer provides in subordinate CPs are not independent. Instead, they are related to the speech act value that is specified in the highest CP. Thus, the following applies to Swedish: A clause which C-domain contains a complementizer is anchored in a higher CP and lacks an independent speech act value. A clause that constitutes the highest CP of a clause structure and has a finite verb which has undergone V-to-Force movement, has an independent speech act value.

We can now apply a functional perspective on clause categories and allow for the semantic/pragmatic status regarding speech act value to define the criteria for the categories main clause and subordinate clause: A main clause has an independent speech act value and a subordinate clause lacks speech act value. Applied to Swedish, this means that a main clause contains the highest available CP, to which the finite verb has moved, whereas a subordinate clause is a subordinated CP, the C-domain of which is occupied by a complementizer. In the case of Swedish, the application of speech act value as a defining criterion further means that the term subordination is synonymous to the term subordinate clause.

4.2. The status of *att*

In this section, the main clause/subordinate clause dichotomy that was outlined in the previous section, will be applied to sentences containing an "embedded" V2-clause. Consider (28):

(28) Vi inser att hästar äter inte gurka.
We realize that horses eat not cucumber
'We realize that horses don't eat cucumber.'

The sentence in (28) contains two clauses: *Vi inser* and *hästar äter inte gurka* (For now, the word *att* is left out of the analysis). Both of these clauses express speech acts; they are assertions. This is mirrored in their syntactic structures. The first, as well as the second clause displays V2 word order. In both cases, this word order must be analyzed as instances of V-to-Force movement.

In 4.1, a subordinate clause was defined as a clause that lacks speech act value. Further, it was established that speech act value is directly linked to V-to-Force movement. Since both of the clauses in (28) have an independent speech act value and display V2 word order, none of them can be analyzed as a subordinate clause; they are both main clauses. This means that the term "embedded" V2 is misleading, since an embedded clause undoubtedly must be a subordinate clause. Instead an "embedded" V2-clause should perhaps simply be called a V2-clause. In order to keep the terminology consistent, however, I will continue to use the term "embedded V2" throughout this paper.

For the sake of the discussion, let us follow Cristofaro (2003, p. 38) and assume that there are two possible relations between two linked clauses within any given sentence, with regards to speech act values. The relation can be either symmetrical or asymmetrical. If it is symmetrical, the clauses are on the same hierarchic level, i.e. they are coordinated. If the relation is asymmetrical, the clauses are on different hierarchic levels, which in effect means that one of the clauses is subordinated to the other.

Since both clauses in a sentence containing an "embedded" V2 have been categorized as main clauses, due to their speech act value and word order, the relation between them cannot be asymmetric. If the clauses are to be analyzed as somehow syntactically linked to each other, the remaining alternative is to assume a symmetric relation. In other words, that the clauses are somehow coordinated. This is what de Haan proposes for "embedded" V2 in West Frisian: "we assume such clauses to be structural root CPs, not subordinated, but 'coordinated' with the clauses to their left. Consequently, the complementizer *dat*

is not a subordinator but a conjunction, connecting two root CPs" (de Haan, 2001, 21). Such an analysis can however, quite easily, be ruled out. First of all, coordination would require some kind of coordinating conjunction. The only possible candidate is the word *att* and to analyze *att* as a coordinating conjunction seems quite far fetched. Secondly, the only possibility, in case the clauses were coordinated, would be an additive relation between the two clauses. That the clauses in a sentence containing an "embedded" V2-clause do not stand in such a relation to each other is illustrated by the examples in (29) and (30).

(29) Vi inser att hästar äter inte gurka.
we realize that horses eat not cucumber
'We realize that horses don't eat cucumber.'

(30) * Vi inser och hästar äter inte gurka.
we realize and horses eat not cucumber
'We realize and horses don't eat cucumber.'

The sentence in (29) is a construction containing an "embedded" V2-clause. In (30), *att* has been replaced with the coordinating conjunction *och*. Apart from the fact that this yields an ungrammatical result, it is obvious that the relation between the clauses in (29) doesn't correspond to the relation between the clauses in (30).

Now that both a subordination analysis and a coordination analysis has been ruled out there is only one logical possibility left. A sentence containing an "embedded" V2-clause must be analyzed as two clauses which are separate units. In other words, both clauses have to be considered independent main clauses which, in principle, are related to each other in the same way as other main clauses in a text.

I have now concluded that both clauses in a sentence containing an

“embedded” V2-clause must be analyzed as two independent main clauses. That, however, does not alone solve all problems associated with the phenomenon “embedded” V2. The reason for this is that my paratactic analysis gives rise to two new problems which have to be solved. Firstly, since the word *att*, according to my analysis, cannot be analyzed as a complementizer, nor as a coordinating conjunction, it has no status for the moment. Secondly, given the assumption that a main clause cannot be an argument of a verb, the verb of the first clause in a sentence like (28), would seem to lack an argument, if my paratactic analysis is applied. In the following, I will propose an analysis where both of these problems are solved.

As I have shown, the word *att* does not fill the prototypical function of a complementizer in the case of “embedded” V2-clause. That is, it doesn't anchor the “embedded” clause in a higher CP, with respect to illocutionary force or finiteness. If it had, then the “embedded” clause would have been deictically adjusted. Nor does it integrate the “embedded” clause as a regular constituent within a “matrix”. If it had, then both extraction and topicalization would have been possible.

My conclusion is that *att* shouldn't be considered a complementizer in the case of “embedded” V2-clauses. Instead, the word *att* is a pronominal element which functions as an argument within the first clause of a sentence containing an “embedded” V2-clause. According to my analysis, the word *att* does not occupy the C-domain of the “embedded” V2-clause. Instead it holds the complement position of the VP in the first clause. Its referent is the “embedded” V2-clause.

According to this analysis, the first clause of a sentence containing an “embedded” V2-clause has minimally three constituents, namely a subject, a finite verb and an object (*att*). The referent of this object is the second clause, which means that *att* is semantically identical with the “embedded” clause[9]. The

9 Another possibility would be to analyze *att* as a kind of citation marker and assume that the first

second clause, which is separate and independent from the first clause, has the structural and semantic/pragmatic properties of a prototypical Swedish main clause. That is, the clause expresses a speech act and its finite verb holds the second position, Force°, normally preceded by a topicalized constituent in Spec-ForceP.

In analyses of contemporary Swedish, it is normally assumed that *att* is a subjunction. In other words, *att* is normally considered to be a complementizer and nothing else. Thus, a proposal according to which *att*, in the case of "embedded" V2, is a pronominal constituent within the clause which is traditionally considered a matrix might, at a first, seem somewhat odd. However, if one looks at it from a historic point of view, it will no longer seem that far-fetched to assume that the word *att*, in some constructions, can have a pronominal function. The reason is that the Swedish complementizer *att*, just like German *dass* and English *that*, has developed from the demonstrative pronoun *þat*/*þät*. It has originally had a demonstrative use, functioning as a constituent within the "matrix". Gradually, however, "it has moved into the subordinate clause, lost its accent and its actual meaning and finally turned into a pure conjunction[10]" (Wessén, 1965, 74-75)[11].

Furthermore, *at*(*t*) is still used as a (normally enclitic) pronoun in some Swedish dialects. It is neuter, singular and corresponds to the standard form *det*. The sentences in (31)-(33), which are taken from Hagren (2008, p. 156, 194 and 211), contain examples of *at*(*t*) used as enclitic pronouns (underlined).

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clause of an "embedded" V2-construction contains a Ø-pronoun. According to such an analysis, *att* would resemble the Swedish particle *ba* which is used to mark citation. However, an important difference between *ba* and *att* is that the former can be used without a finite verb, whereas the latter cannot: (i) Hon ba: Gusten är typ miljonär eller nåt! ('She said: Gusten is like a millionaire or something'). (ii) * Hon att: Gusten är typ millionär eller nåt! ('She that: Gusten is like a millionaire or something'). I take this difference to indicate that *ba* has verbal features whereas *att* only has nominal features.

10 My translation

11 From a typological point of view, it is interesting to note that the Russian complementizer *что* and the Hungarian complementizer *hogy* have also developed from pronouns (Vasmer, 1958; Valéria Molnár, personal communication).

(31) ja agade ma lainge för å tal-åmm-att. (province of Blekinge)
'jag ängslades länge för att tala om det'
'For a long time, I was anxious about telling it'

(32) så ja va ine guför o komma på-at en gång (south-eastern Blekinge)
'så jag klarade inte ens av att komma på det'
'so I didn't even manage to come to think of it'

(33) tess han feck lôv å-na att få jör-at. (province of Östergötland)
'tills han fick av henne att göra det'
'until she let him do it'

I refer to the word *att* as a pronominal element. The reason that I do not straightforwardly analyze it as a regular pronoun, is that it doesn't seem to have the full set of noun phrase-features that other pronouns have. In particular, it differs from regular, full pronouns with respect to distribution. Unlike other pronouns it can only occupy one structural position, namely the complement of the VP. This difference between *att* and regular, full pronouns is illustrated in (34) and (35).

(34) Detta sa han: Gusten tycker inte om sin hyresvärd.
this said he: Gusten likes not PART. REFL landlord
'This he said: Gusten doesn't like his landlord.'

(35) *Att sa han: Gusten tycker inte om sin hyresvärd.
that said he: Gusten likes not PART. REFL. landlord
'That he said: Gusten doesn't like his landlord.'

A further difference between *att* and regular, full pronouns is that it must be immediately followed by its antecedent[12]. This difference is illustrated in (36) and (37).

(36) Gustens hyresvärd sa detta igår: du får inte något varmvatten.
Gusten's landlord said this yesterday: you get not any hot.water
'Yesterday Gusten's landlord said this: you won't get any hot water.'

(37) *Gustens hyresvärd sa att igår: du får inte något varmvatten.
Gusten's landlord said that yesterday: you get not any hot.water
'Gusten's landlord said that yesterday: you won't get any hot water.'

I take the fact that *att* does not have the same possibilities with respect to distribution as regular pronouns as an indication that it has lost some of its noun phrase-features. Nevertheless, it has phi-features which are sufficient for allowing it to function as an argument in relation to a verb. Furthermore I assume that *att*, in addition, has at least one semantic feature, namely [+ proximity]. This feature can account for the fact that *att* must be immediately followed by its antecedent. Furthermore it makes the reference cataphoric.

That the feature [+ proximity] makes the reference cataphoric is worth commenting on. It seems that *att* can be used either on its own or together with a regular pronoun. In the former case, it functions as the argument of the verb. In the latter case however, it doesn't seem to function as an argument. Instead it just seems to add the feature [+ proximity] by which it makes the reference of the regular pronoun cataphoric. The function of *att* when it is combined with another pronoun is illustrated in (38) - (41).

12 Another difference between the pronominal *att* and regular, full pronouns is that the verb of the first clause may be factive if a a regular cataphoric pronoun is used. This is ungrammatical if the pronominal *att* is used. The difference is illustrated in (i) and (ii): (i) Han ångrar detta: han köpte inte bilen. (’He regrets this: he didn’t buy the car.’) (ii) *Han ångrar att han köpte inte bilen. (’He regrets that he didn’t buy the car’).

(38) ? Han sa det: Gusten har faktiskt inte höns längre.
he said it: Gusten has actually not chickens any.more
'He said it: Gusten actually doesn't have chickens any more.'

(39) Han sa det att Gusten har faktiskt inte höns längre.
he said it that Gusten has actually not chickens any.more
'He said that Gusten actually doesn't have chickens any more.'

(40) Han sa detta: Gusten har faktiskt inte höns längre.
he said this: Gusten has actually not chickens any.more
'He said this: Gusten actually doesn't have any chickens any more.'

(41) ?? Han sa detta att: Gusten har faktiskt inte höns längre.
he said this that: Gusten has actually not chickens any.more
'He this that: Gusten actually doesn't have chickens any more.'

The sentence in (38) contains two clauses: *Han sa det* and *Gusten har faktiskt inte höns längre*. The reason that this sentence is very odd is that the pronoun *det* normally has anaphoric (or sometimes deictic) reference. In this sentence, however, the reference must be cataphoric in order for the sentence to be grammatical. If we compare (38) with (39) we notice that the only difference is that the first clause in (39), in addition to the regular pronoun, also contains an *att*. This combination yields a grammatical result. I take this to indicate that *att*, through its feature [+ proximal] changes the reference of the pronoun *det* from anaphoric to cataphoric. One way of describing this would be to think of *att* as spell out of the feature [+ proximal].

The only difference between the sentences in (38) and (39), on the one hand, and those in (40) and (41) on the other, is that the pronoun, in the latter ones, has

been changed to *detta*. This yields the opposite result. (40), which only contains the regular pronoun is completely grammatical, whereas (41) which contains a regular pronoun plus *att* sounds rather odd. The explanation is probably that the pronoun *detta*, in this case, is cataphoric to begin with. Adding an *att*, which is also cataphoric, just results in a kind of tautology.

The conclusion is that *att* can be used on its own or combined with the regular anaphoric pronoun *det*. If it is used on its own, it is an argument which has phi-features as well as the semantic feature [+proximal]. If it is used in combination with the pronoun *det*, it is not the argument of the verb. In that case its nominal features are overridden by those of the regular pronoun. Instead it just adds the proximal feature, making the reference of *det* cataphoric.

In this section, I have presented a new analysis of "embedded" V2, which can be summarized in the following way: Sentences containing an "embedded" V2-clause consist of a minimum of two clauses. Both of them are independent main clauses. The word *att* is not a complementizer, but a pronominal element. It functions as an object within the first clause. Its distribution differs from that of regular pronouns since its set of nominal features is incomplete. Apart from phi-features, I assume that *att* has a semantic feature [+ proximal] which can explain the fact that its antecedent must follow immediately. This feature also ensures cataphoric reference.

4.3. Arguments in favor of the proposed analysis

In this section, I intend to give a brief presentation of arguments which support the paratactic analysis that was outlined in 4.2.

Let us, to begin with, once again consider the facts concerning topicalization and extraction. As was shown in sections 3.1 and 3.2, neither topicalization, nor extraction yields a grammatical result when applied to "embedded" V2-clauses. If "embedded" V2 is analyzed as an instance of subordination this is quite

strange. But if the clauses in a sentence containing an “embedded” V2-clause are analyzed as two independent main clauses, it is exactly what one would expect. A prerequisite for both topicalization and extraction is that the clause which is to be topicalized or extracted from is integrated as a constituent within a matrix. According to my analysis, the “embedded” V2-clause is an independent main clause. Consequently it is not a constituent within another clause and thus it cannot be topicalized or extracted from.

The facts concerning deictic adjustment can be explained along the same lines. As was pointed out in section 3.3, deictic adjustment normally doesn't apply to “embedded” V2-clauses. Once again, this is a theoretical problem if the “embedded” V2-clause is analyzed as a subordinate clause. But if it is an independent main clause, then the observations concerning deictic adjustment are in complete accordance with what one would expect. A main clause has its own illocutionary force, as well as its own finiteness and those properties are incompatible with deictic adjustment.

The analysis does not only explain the facts regarding topicalization, extraction and deictic adjustment. All root transformations which are applicable to “embedded” V2-clauses can be explained along the same lines. In other words, the reason that “embedded” V2-clauses can display root phenomena such as initial dislocations or speaker oriented interjections[13], is that they are in fact main clauses, or roots. Root phenomena apply to root clauses.

A further argument in favor of the paratactic analysis has to do with which speech acts that “embedded” V2-clauses can express. It is commonly assumed that “embedded” V2-clauses can only express assertions. However, I have found surprisingly many examples of sentences where the “embedded” clause, quite clearly, is an imperative clause. In (42) - (45), a small selection of the authentic

13 (i) is an example of an ”embedded” V2-clause with an initial dislocation *den bilen* (’that car’). (ii) is an example of an ”embedded” V2-clause containing a speaker oriented interjection *fan* (’damn it’). (i) Han sa att den bilen, den skulle jag aldrig köpa. (’He said, that car, that car I would never buy’) (ii) Han sa att nu har jag fan fått nog. (’He said, damn it, I’ve had it’).

examples which I have found by googling is presented. The main verb of the first clause, the pronominal element *att* ('that') and the imperative of the "embedded" clause are in bold.

(42) Han hälsade mig välkommen i united states och **sa att drick**
he greeted me welcome in united states and said that drink
inte för mycket så du hamnar i finkan.
not to much so.that you end.up in jail.the

'He wished me welcome to the United States and said, don't drink to much, so that you end up in jail.'

(43) Min man **sa att köp** för guds skull ingen färs
my husband said that buy for god's sake no minced.meat
där, då vet man inte hur man mår i morgon
there, then know one not how one feels in morning

'My husband said, for god's sake, don't buy any minced meat there, if you do, there's no telling how you'll do tomorrow.'

(44) läkaren **sa att åk** hem och nys ut den.
doctor.the said that go home and sneeze out it
'the doctor said: go home and sneeze it out.'

(45) Hon **sa att "lägg** 10 minuter var dag på bön".
she said that "lay 10 minutes every day on prayer"
'She said "take 10 minutes to pray every day".'

One of the characteristics of imperative clauses is that they cannot be embedded (cf. Platzack & Rosengren, 1998, 178). This means that sentences such as those in (42) - (45) are hard to account for if the “embedded” clause is analyzed as an instance of subordination. To a paratactic analysis, on the other hand, they are not a problem. There are no grammatical restrictions to quoting an imperative clause, by means of paratax. That the sentences in (42) - (45) are in fact paratactic constructions in which the word *att* is a pronominal constituent within the first independent clause is shown by the paraphrase of (45) which is given below, in (46).

(46) Hon sa detta: lägg 10 minuter var dag på bön!
she said this: lay 10 minutes every day on prayer
'She said this: take 10 minutes to pray every day'

The sentence in (46), which is an unambiguous instance of paratax, is a paraphrase of (45). As we can see the paraphrase has the same meaning as (45).

Finally, I would like to put forth a prosodic argument in favor of the proposed analysis. According to Roll (2009) “embedded” V2-clauses (he calls them ‘embedded main clauses’) display a prosodic property that is typically associated with main clauses. Just like in prototypical main clauses, there is a ‘left-edge boundary tone’ in “embedded” V2-clauses:

“In Central Swedish, a H tone is phonetically associated with the last syllable of the first prosodic word of utterances (Horne, 1994; Horne et al., 2001). Roll (2004, 2006) found that H appears in embedded main clauses but not in subordinate clauses. It thus seems that this 'left-edge boundary tone' functions as a signal that a main clause is about to begin” (Roll, 2009, 34). Further, he writes: “The left-edge boundary tone is probably associated with main clause structure in general rather than specifically with assertions, since it also seems to appear in questions” (Roll, 2009, 34).

As we can see, Roll argues that “embedded” V2-clauses differ from regular *att*-clauses, regarding their prosodic properties. A prototypical subclause does not have a left-edge boundary tone, whereas an “embedded” V2-clause does. The boundary tone is related to main clause structure. I take this to indicate that the pronominal element *att*, prosodically, belongs to the first clause and not to the “embedded” V2-clause.

5. Summary

In this paper, I have discussed the phenomenon “embedded” V2 in Swedish. I have shown that “embedded” V2-clauses display two important properties that separate them from prototypical subordinate clauses: They have V2 word order and they express speech acts.

“Embedded” V2 has often been analyzed in terms of a recursive CP. According to such an analysis, the “embedded” clause is a subordinate clause which has a double set of CPs: a lower one to which the finite verb moves and a higher one which hosts the complementizer. In this paper, however, I have pointed at three problems related to a recursive CP-analysis. Contrary to what one would expect if the “embedded” V2-clause is in fact subordinated, extraction out of and topicalization of an “embedded” V2-clause yields ungrammatical results. Furthermore, I have shown that an “embedded” V2-clause, unlike a prototypical *att*-clause, does not have to be deictically adjusted to its “matrix” clause. The conclusion that I have drawn from these facts is that the “complementizer” *att* (‘that’) does not anchor the “embedded” V2-clause in, or relate it to, the finiteness and speech act values of the “matrix” clause.

I have applied a functional perspective and defined the categories main clause and subordinate clause on the basis of speech act value. A main clause is a clause that expresses a speech act, whereas a subordinate clause is a clause that does not. Furthermore I have argued that speech act value can be directly related to V-to-Force movement. If the finite verb moves to ForceP, the clause gets a

speech act value. If ForceP contains a complementizer, the finite verb is prevented from moving there and, consequently, the clause lacks speech act value.

Following the definitions above, I have concluded that both clauses in a sentence containing an "embedded" V2-clause must be analyzed as independent main clauses, since they both display V2 word order and express speech acts. Crucially, I have argued that, in the case of "embedded" V2, the word *att* ('that') is not a complementizer but a pronominal element in the first clause. This means that *att* functions as an argument in relation to the verb of the first clause.

The paratactic analysis was supported by the evidence regarding topicalization, extraction and deictic adjustment. Further, I have shown that it can account for the observation that the "embedded" clause can be an imperative clause. Finally, following Roll (2009), I have argued that the prosodic properties of "embedded" V2-clauses point towards an analysis according to which both clauses are main clauses.

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Referential Null Subjects in Germanic Languages – an Overview

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Abstract

Based on the assumption that there are no referential null subjects in the Germanic V2-languages, it has been claimed that the V2-property is universally incompatible with referential null subjects. However, in this paper it is demonstrated that referential null subjects occur in several Old Germanic languages as well as in a number of non-standard Modern Germanic vernaculars, all of them V2-languages. Hence the assumed connection between V2-word order and non-present referential null subjects can be refuted. It is also shown that the referential null subjects in the two groups of languages (Old and Modern) display different syntactic properties, in several respects. Hence it is plausible that the referential null subjects in the two language groups belong to typologically different types, which in turn leads to the conclusion that the referential null subjects in the modern vernaculars are syntactic innovations, rather than remnants of an archaic syntactic system.

1. Introduction[1]

In all of the Modern Germanic standard languages, referential null subjects (RefNSs) are disallowed.

1. Henne känner *(jag) inte. (Swedish)
   her know I not
   'her I do not know'

2. Sie kenne *(ich) nicht. (Standard German)

3. Ekki þekki *(ég) hana. (Icelandic)

4. Her *(I) do not know. (English)

This observation led Jaeggli & Safir (1989) and Rohrbacher (1999) to the (erroneous) assumption that RefNSs are incompatible with V2-word order. Although RefNSs do not appear in the contemporary standard languages,

[1] I thank David Håkansson and Christer Platzack for valuable comments on this paper. All remaining errors and inconsequences can only be blamed on me.

RefNSs are attested in the Old Germanic languages (cf. Sigurðsson 1993, van Gelderen 2000, Fuß 2005, Håkansson 2008 etc.) as well as in a number of Modern Germanic vernaculars (cf. Hoekstra 1997 or Axel & Weiß to appear for a discussion about RefNSs in Western Germanic). Here, RefNSs in four Old Germanic languages and in six Modern Germanic vernaculars will be briefly presented and discussed, focusing on the respective properties of the RefNSs.

However, in some cases (most notably in the case of Yiddish) there seem to be considerable empirical gaps – there has as yet been no broad systematic studies of RefNSs in Germanic languages, and the extant research is furthermore to some extent contradictory.

In the recent contributions to the scholarly discussion about null subjects (e.g. Holmberg 2005, Ackema et al 2006, Frascarelli 2007, Barbosa 2009 etc.), Germanic RefNSs are conspicously absent, perhaps due to the influential statements by Jaeggli & Safir (1989) and Rohrbacher (1999), perhaps due to the lack of accessible data. Hence, this paper has two main purposes: to present and discuss RefNSs in Germanic languages, from a syntactic viewpoint, and to point at a field of research which, I think, has been insufficiently explored.

First, in section 2, I will present RefNSs in the following Old Germanic languages: Old English (OE), Old High German (OHG), Old Icelandic (OIce) and Old Swedish (OSw). In the following section, section 3, I turn to the Modern Germanic vernaculars which allow RefNSs, discussing Bavarian (Bav), Schwabian (Schw), Zürich German (ZG), Frisian (Fri), Yiddish (Yid) and Övdalian (Övd). Each of these two sections is concluded with a summary of the syntactic features of the RefNSs in the respective language group (Old and Modern Germanic). The properties that are in focus are mainly syntactic distribution, relation to verb agreement, and frequency (null v. overt subjects), but also other relevant aspects, such as person reference, will be discussed. In section 4, I discuss the syntactic properties of RefNSs in Old and Modern Germanic in more detail, and the paper is concluded in the final section 5.

I do not discuss null subjects in coordinate structures or in topic drop-contexts (diaries, postcards etc.) in this paper (cf. Mörnsjö 2002 for a discussion about topic drop in Swedish). Neither will the distribution and syntactic properties of Germanic generic and/or non-referential subjects be addressed in the present paper (cf. Sigurðsson & Egerland 2009).

2. RefNSs in Old Germanic languages[2]

The Old Germanic languages are syntactically similar, and it has even been claimed that Old English, Old Icelandic, Old High German etc. should be considered to be mere dialects of one and the same language:

> I am proposing in this book that it is appropriate to think of a single Old Germanic language with dialects of Old English, Old Icelandic, Old High German and others. (Davis 2006:15).

The survey of the properties of RefNSs in Old Germanic that is presented in the subsections below gives partial support to the hypothesis presented by Davis (2006); the resemblance between the languages is quite remarkable. A possible reason why this has not been debated earlier may be that researchers have focused on one single Old Germanic language at a time.

It should be kept in mind that all Old Germanic languages are not of the same age; the earliest Old Swedish and Old Icelandic texts are 400–500 years younger than the earliest Old English and Old High German texts. Thus, the differences between the rate of null subjects in e.g. OSw and OE may depend on a pan-Germanic diachronic development that has just started in OE and OHG (in the 8th century) but is fading out in OSw and OIce (in the 13th century).

2.1. Old English

The presence of RefNSs in Old English (OE) is somewhat controversial. On the one hand, Hulk & van Kemenade (1995:245) explicitly state that there are no RefNSs in OE: ”The phenomenon of referential *pro*-drop does not exist in OE.”

On the other hand, Mitchell (1985) discusses RefNSs in OE and comes to the conclusion that “[...] a subject pronoun need not be expressed...” (Mitchell 1985 I:109) and that “This non-expression of a pronoun subject which can be supplied from a preceding clause must be accepted as idiomatic OE” (Mitchell 1985 I:633). Furthermore, there are a number of traditional linguistic studies discussing OE RefNSs in various texts, such as Pogatscher (1901), Berndt (1956) and Visser (1963–1973). Drawing on these earlier works (among others), van Gelderen (2000:149) concludes that RefNSs were relatively common in OE, especially in the earlier stages of the language. The examples that are rendered

[2] Parts of this section have been developed in collaboration with David Håkansson.

by van Gelderen (2000:125–149), as well as her argumentation for the existence of RefNSs in OE, are in my view convincing. Hence I will assume that there indeed were RefNSs in OE, *contra* Hulk & van Kemenade (1995).

Two examples of RefNSs in OE are presented below; both are taken from *Beowulf* (van Gelderen 2000:127).[3]

5. a þæt þone hilderæs hal gedigeð
that the battle-storm unhurt endure
'that **they** will withstand unhurt the heat of battle'

b. Sona þæt gesawon
soon that saw
'Soon **they** saw that'

In neither of the examples in 5 can the unexpressed subject be assumed to be an instance of topic drop (cf. Mörnsjö 2002), since the clause initial position is unavailable.

It is commonly assumed that the occurence of RefNSs in a given language is due to "rich" or "strong" verb agreement morphology (cf. e.g. the discussions in Holmberg & Platzack 1995:67 and in Ackema et al 2006:chapter 1), the idea being that agreement on the finite verb may provide supplementary information concerning the omitted subject pronoun, which then may be considered redundant and remain unpronounced.[4] In OE both singular and plural subject pronouns appear as RefNSs, irrespective of the fact that person agreement only was present in the singular verb forms: "In common with Old Saxon and Old Frisian, Old English did not distinguish person in the plural of any verb". (Mitchell 1985 I:9). The fact that there does not seem to be any difference between omission of subjects relating to number in OE is unexpected, if the presence of RefNSs is assumed to be connected with sufficiently rich verb agreement.

Rather than number, the distinguishing factor for OE RefNSs is person, as pointed out by van Gelderen (2000): "In summary, Old English has pro-drop, especially with third person [...]" (van Gelderen 2000:137). Hence, 3p subjects

[3] In the English translations of the examples, subjects that correspond to RefNSs in the source language are in bold.
[4] In the generative syntactic framework, this proposal was first presented by Taraldsen (1978).

are more frequently omitted than 1p and 2p subjects, and there are only marginal differences between the rate of omission of 3p singular and 3p plural subjects, although there is a distinct verb form for 3p singular (i.e, the OE verb form for 3p singular is unique in the agreement paradigm), but not for 3p plural.

In section 2.5, the facts about OE verb agreement and the frequency of different omitted subjects are summarized and further discussed, in comparison with similar data from Old High German, Old Icelandic and Old Swedish.

2.2. Old High German

In her comprehensive study of Old High German (OHG) syntax, Axel (2007) devotes an entire chapter to a discussion about the syntactic properties of OHG null subjects (referential as well as non-referential), with a focus on verb placement (Axel 2007:chapter 6).

RefNSs were most common in the earliest stages of OHG, i.e. in the eighth and ninth centuries. Two examples are presented below, both from Axel (2007:307, 310):

6. a. Druthin ist auh
Lord is also
'**He** is also the Lord'

b. uuanta sehente nigisehent
because seeing not-see-3pl
'Because seeing **they** do not see'

OHG is similar to OE when it concerns the person reference of RefNSs; third person null subjects are overrepresented:

> Referential null subjects are attested in all persons and numbers. However [...], it is only in third person singular and plural that the null variant is used more frequently than the overt one. (Axel 2007:314)

Another syntactic feature that Axel (2007) observes is that the RefNSs in OHG are restricted to main clauses: "[...] OHG null subjects occurred in main clauses and not in subordinate clauses". (Axel 2007:299). Although some RefNSs can be found in embedded clauses in OHG, these clauses display main clause word order and hence they do not contradict Axel's generalisation. All embedded

OHG clauses with the finite verb in final position thus require an overt subject; when the finite verb appears in second position, however, a RefNS is possible.

Unlike OE, the verb agreement in OHG distinguished six different verb forms in present tense indicative – each verb form was distinctly marked for person and number (see below). It thus seems to be possible to assume a connection between "rich" agreement and RefNSs in OHG; however, Axel (2007) notes that the diachronic development of OHG appears to contradict such an assumption:

> Summing up, referential null subjects were largely lost in the OHG period even though there was no substantial weakening of inflectional endings (Axel 2007:323)

If the OHG RefNSs were dependent on or facilitated by distinct verb agreement, it is surprising that they disappeared although the verb agreement paradigm remained intact.

2.3. Old Icelandic

Also in Old Icelandic (OIce), RefNSs can be found. Sigurðsson (1993), drawing on earlier work by Hjartardóttir (1987), is careful to distinguish between topic drop and "genuine *pro*-drop", and presents a number of examples of the latter:

7. a. þá skar Rögnvaldr jarl [hár hans], en aðr hafði verit úskorit
then cut R. jarl hair his but before had been uncut
'Then R. cut his hair, but **it** had been uncut before'

   b. ok kom hann þangat ok var Hoskuldr uti, er reið í tún.
and came he there and was H. outdoors when rode into field
'And he came there, and H. was outdoors when **he** rode into the field'

Just as in OE and OHG, third person RefNSs were more frequent than other types, as pointed out by Sigurðsson: "dropping of first and second person arguments was very rare" (1993:253).[5] Another apparent similarity is that the Icelandic RefNSs disappeared (during the 18th and 19th centuries (Hróarsdóttir 1996)) without any comcomitant changes in the verbal agreement paradigm:

[5] 1p and 2p pronominal subjects are frequent in OIce texts, as pointed out by David Håkansson (pc). The low frequency of 1p and 2p RefNSs is hence not caused by a general lack of such subjects.

”this development did not relate to any weakening of the verb inflection” (Sigurðsson 1993:248f).

Unlike RefNSs in e.g. OHG, it appears that RefNSs were quite common also in OIce embedded clauses (cf. 7 b. above). Sigurðsson claims that “null subjects were frequent in subordinate clauses, especially in adverbial clauses” (1993:262). However, there are no quantitative studies of RefNSs in OIce which may be compared with e.g. the OHG data provided by Axel (2007) or with the OSw data provided by Håkansson (2008; see below). The numbers given by e.g. Hróarsdóttir (1996:130) are absolute; although she reports that she has found 13 instances of OIce RefNSs in her text sample from 1730–1750, the number of overt subjects in the sample is not presented, nor is the clausal context of the RefNSs provided. Hence, the exact frequency and the syntactic distribution of RefNSs in OIce are unknown, and the question whether OIce RefNSs actually were frequent in subordinate clauses is as yet unanswered.[6]

2.4. Old Swedish

In his dissertation about subject positions and RefNSs in OSw, Håkansson (2008) presents a number of examples of RefNSs in OSw:

8. a. þar gierþi kirchiu aþra
there built church other
'There **he** built another church'

b. þy wildi ai land þula vtan brendu hana
that wanted not land stand but burned-3pl her
'that the land could not stand but **they** burned it'

Although there seem to be very few RefNSs even in the oldest texts (from the 13th century), Håkansson (2008) is nevertheless able to conclude that, as in OE and OHG, third person RefNSs are by far the most frequent:

> Omitted subjects that refer to third person dominate in all periods [...]. (Håkansson 2008:106; Old Swedish; my translation)

[6] There do in fact not seem to be any OIce-studies at all in which the relative frequency and syntactic context of RefNSs are accounted for, but in the near future it will be possible to extract such data from the web-based Icelandic Diachronic Treebank (Eirikur Rögnvaldsson, pc).

Furthermore, singular RefNSs were more common than plural RefNSs in OSw, although there was only one verb form for singular in OSw.[7] The OSw-data accordingly suggest (again) that the hypothesis that there is an equivalence relation between "rich" agreement and RefNSs is untenable, at least when it comes to the Old Germanic languages.

The OSw RefNSs also display the same pattern as OHG concerning the syntactic distribution; Håkansson (2008:101ff) concludes that RefNSs are most frequently found in main clauses. Only 18% of the OSw RefNSs appear in embedded clauses, and in only 2% of all embedded clauses can RefNSs be found.

2.5. Syntactic properties of RefNSs in Old Germanic

The examination of some properties of RefNSs in OE, OHG, OIce, and OSw leads to the observation that these Old Germanic languages display some striking similarities.[8]

First, the distribution of RefNSs does not in any language depend on the "richness" of verbal inflection. In table 1, the distinct verb forms (i.e, the verb forms that unambigously may identify an omitted subject) are in bold.

Table 1. *Verb agreement in Old Germanic.*

<table>
<tr><th>num.</th><th>pers.</th><th>OIce</th><th>OE</th><th>OHG</th><th>OSw</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">sg.</td><td>1</td><td>vaki</td><td>nerie</td><td>nimu</td><td rowspan="3">kalla(r)</td></tr>
<tr><td>2</td><td rowspan="2">vakir</td><td>nerest</td><td>nimis(t)</td></tr>
<tr><td>3</td><td>nereþ</td><td>nimit</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">pl.</td><td>1</td><td>vokum</td><td rowspan="3">neriaþ</td><td>nemem</td><td>kallum</td></tr>
<tr><td>2</td><td>vakið</td><td>nemet</td><td>kallin</td></tr>
<tr><td>3</td><td rowspan="2">vaka</td><td rowspan="2">nemen</td><td rowspan="2">kalla</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">inf.</td><td>nerian</td></tr>
</table>

[7] In some cases, 1p singular was marked by the suffix *–r*, however.

[8] A substantial part of the Old Germanic texts are translations from Latin, a classic null-subject language, and hence the hypothesis that the Old Germanic RefNSs are instances of loan syntax may seem plausible. This hypothesis is discussed and convincingly rejected by van Gelderen (2000:132ff) as well as by Axel (2007:319ff).

Had the properties of the agreement determined whether RefNSs were possible, then we would not expect 3p plural RefNSs in any of the languages, since this form is identical to the form of the infinitive (cf. the discussion in Vikner 1995, 1997) or since the person distinction is missing in plural (OE); still, 3p plural RefNSs are attested from each language. As a matter of fact, some of the non-distinct forms allow RefNSs to a greater degree than the distinct forms do – in OSw, 3p RefNSs are most frequent, and still none of the OSw verb forms for 3p is distinct.

Furthermore, the careful diachronic studies that have been used as sources above (van Gelderen 2000, Sigurðsson 1993, Axel 2007 and Håkansson 2008) all suggest that there is no relation between the loss of RefNSs and the gradual decrease of the number of distinct verb forms in the respective languages, or, as in OHG and OIce, that the loss of RefNSs did not correlate with any significant loss of agreement suffixes. It can accordingly be concluded that "richness" of inflection was not a vital feature for RefNSs in the Old Germanic languages.

Another robust generalization is that 3p RefNSs were by far the most frequent in all of these Old Germanic languages. Quantitative data from OE (taken from Berndt 1956:65ff and summarized by van Gelderen 2000:133), OHG (Axel 2007:315) and OSw (Håkansson 2008:115) are presented in table 2. The percentages for each language show how many of the respective subjects that are null – in the case of OSw, e.g., 5% of 3p subjects are omitted.

Table 2. *RefNSs in Old Germanic – person reference.*

person	**OE**	**OSw**	**OHG**
1	3%	2 %	21%
2	9%	0 %	25%
3	78%	5 %	57%

Widening the perspective, one may note that a similar observation has been made for Old Dutch (de Smet 1970), another language in which 3p RefNSs were more common than other types. Also Old French, which was a V2-language (albeit a Romance V2-language), may be relevant in this context (cf. Adams 1987 and Vance 1995); it appears that third person RefNSs were the most common type of RefNSs also in Old French (Barbara Vance, pc).

The syntactic distribution of the RefNSs does not at first sight suggest any possible generalization. van Gelderen (2000:128) notes that OE RefNSs may appear "after finite complementizers", although she does not examine the syntactic distribution of the RefNSs in detail; several of the examples of RefNSs rendered by van Gelderen seem to occur in embedded clauses, however. Likewise, Sigurðsson (1993; cf. the quote above) claims that RefNSs were common in OIce embedded clauses, despite the fact that no exact figures can be adduced. On the other hand, Axel (2007) as well as Håkansson (2008) clearly state that the respective RefNSs were strikingly more frequent in main clauses. In fact, Axel (2007:299) concludes that even if OHG RefNSs did appear in embedded clauses, all of these seemingly embedded clauses displayed main clause word order, and all OHG RefNSs accordingly appeared in what must be analysed as main clause contexts. The word order of the embedded clauses that allowed RefNSs in OE and OIce remains to be investigated; it is possible, however, that a closer look at OE and OIce data will reveal that the distribution of RefNSs in OE and OIce is reminiscent of the distribution of RefNSs in OHG and OSw.

Another similar feature of the Old Germanic RefNSs is that they all seem to depend on lexically realized antecedents in the preceding discourse. E.g, Sigurðsson (1993:264) points out that "those referential subjects that are here analyzed as *pro* were always coreferential with an NP in preceding discourse". As for OE, none of the examples provided by van Gelderen (2000) occur in a discourse-initial position, as it appears – many of the examples contain an adverbial that requires a preceding context, such as *þa* ('then') – but she does not remark upon this particular property of the OE RefNSs. Mitchell (1985 I:633) points out, however, that OE RefNSs only could be null if they were "supplied from a preceding clause" (cf. the full quote in section 2.1).

There also seem to be non-syntactic similarities between OE, OHG, OIce and OSw that indicate that RefNSs in these languages differ from RefNSs in canonical null-subject languages such as Spanish and Italian. First, RefNSs in the Old Germanic languages are relatively infrequent (cf. table 2), while a null subject in Spanish or Italian is the default choice.[9] Only in 3p and only in OE

[9] Cole (2009, to appear) shows that there are interesting differences between the use of null v. overt subjects that separate *inter alia* Italian and Spanish, however. His hypotheses are further discussed in section 5.

and OHG were null subjects more common than overt subjects. As for OIce, Hróarsdóttir (1996:130) found 13 RefNSs in her sample from 1730–1750, as was mentioned above, and although the number of overt subjects is not provided, the 13 RefNSs must constitute a small minority; the sample is made up of 30 letters plus some shorter texts.

The second non-syntactic generalization that seems to apply to all of the four Old Germanic languages in this survey is that there does not seem to be any semantic/pragmatic difference between overt and null subjects in neither of the languages. Again, this separates the Old Germanic languages from standard null-subject languages, in which overt subjects trigger an emphatic/contrastive interpretation. Axel (2007:324; cf. also p. 300) points out that in OHG, "the overt realization of a subject pronoun does not trigger an emphatic or contrastive reading", and van Gelderen's discussion (2000:chapter 3) indicates that there was no systematicity in the choice of overt or null subjects in OE, other than that 3p subjects were more often omitted. OSw followed the same pattern (Håkansson, pc); the low number of RefNSs in OSw also leads to the conclusion that overt subjects could not have had an emphatic/contrastive meaning – more than 95% of the subjects in a text are rarely emphatic/contrastive.

3. RefNSs in Modern Germanic vernaculars

As was mentioned in the introduction, a number of Modern Germanic vernaculars, all of them V2-languages, also allow RefNSs. The majority of these vernaculars are spoken in the southern parts of Germany, in Switzerland and in Austria, but also in Frisian, a Low German language variety, Yiddish and Övdalian (which is spoken in Dalecarlia, Sweden) RefNSs appear. As for the southern German vernaculars, Bavarian, Schwabian and Zürich German will be addressed here; however, RefNSs seem to appear in virtually all non-standard varieties of West Germanic spoken in the southern part of the West Germanic language area.

Hoekstra (1997) presents some of the similarities and differences between RefNSs in Bavarian, Zürich German, and a number of Frisian dialects, focusing on the relation between RefNSs, agreeing complementizers and the "richness" of verbal inflection, but otherwise, it seems, there are few studies of RefNSs with a cross-Germanic perspective. E.g, in Koeneman (2006), a paper about so

called partial *pro*-drop languages (like Bavarian etc. – see below), the sole objects of study are Finnish and Hebrew, even though the author has been active in a European dialect syntax project.

In this section, each of the Modern Germanic language varieties will be discussed, with a focus on the same properties that have been on the agenda above. A concluding discussion and summarizing tables can be found in section 3.7.

3.1. Bavarian

The syntax of Bavarian (which is spoken mainly in Bavaria and Austria) has been studied in depth by e.g. Bayer (1984) and Weiß (1998), and Fuß (2004, 2005) presents a detailed explanation of the emergence of RefNSs in Bavarian, among other languages.

In Bavarian, 2p singular and plural RefNSs are possible, as illustrated in 9.

9. a. ...obst noch Minga kummst (Bayer 1984)
if-2sg to Munich come-2sg
'whether **you** come to Munich'

b. Hobbds khoa geld nimma. (Fuß 2005:159)
have-2pl no money not-anymore
'**You** have no money anymore'

In 9 a. the complementizer is inflected for 2p singular –the suffix *-st* appears on both *ob* ('whether') and the finite verb. This type of double inflection is typical for the West Germanic vernaculars that allow RefNSs, and, crucially, an inflected complementizer is a prerequisite for RefNSs in embedded contexts in most of these language varieties (Hoekstra 1997). The Bavarian verb forms for 2p singular and plural are distinct; the former has the suffix *-st* and the latter *-ts* (or *-ds*). As demonstrated by Fuß (2004:60ff), the agreeing suffix on the complementizer is obligatory in Bavarian embedded clauses, but only in 2p singular and plural, and, in contrast with e.g. 1p singular, the suffix on the complementizer cannot be replaced by an overt subject. The contrast is illustrated in 10 and 11, with examples from Fuß (2004:60f).

10. a. ...obst (du) noch Minga kummst

    b. *...ob du noch Minga kummst

11. a. ...ob'e (*i) noch Minga kumm
    if-CL-1sg to Munich come-1sg
    'whether **I** come to Munich'

    b. ...ob i noch Minga kumm
    if I to Munich come-1sg
    'if I come to Munich'

The Bavarian forms for 2p singular *-st* and plural *-ts* on complementizers are accordingly not clitic pronouns, but rather actual inflectional suffixes.

In Lower Bavarian, spoken in the eastern part of Bavaria, also 1p plural may be null, in addition to 2p singular and plural. Interestingly, in this dialect the verb form for 1p plural is distinct (*-ma*), in contrast with the Bavarian form *-an*, which is identical with the infinitive (see table 3 below). An example of Lower Bavarian is presented in 12.

12. Fahrma noch Minga? (Bayer 1984)
    travel-1pl to Munich
    'Are we going to Munich?'

In Bavarian and Lower Bavarian the correlation between distinct verb agreement, agreeing complementizers, and RefNSs is accordingly absolute – only those inflectional forms that unambigously may recover the person and number features of an omitted subject allow RefNSs.

RefNSs are, if possible, the default choice in Bavarian, and an overt *du* ('you'), e.g, signals emphasis. Weiß (1998:125) remarks:

> [...] daß die pro-drop Version den unmarkierten Fall darstellt, dagegen clitic-doubling [an overt subject – my remark] nur unter spezifischen Bedingungen (Emphase) erlaubt ist.

As was demonstrated above, the Bavarian RefNSs occur in main clauses as well as in embedded clauses, and they are of course highly frequent, since an overt (but possibly null) subject only is permitted when the speaker wishes to emphasize the subject.

3.2. Schwabian

Schwabian (or Swabian) is spoken in an area west of Bavaria (with the city of Ulm as a geographic centre), and it is traditionally categorized as a northern Alemannic dialect.

The syntax of Schwabian pronouns is the topic of Christine Haag-Merz's dissertation (1996); all Schwabian examples in the present paper are taken from that work.

In Schwabian, 1p and 2p singular subjects may be null, as illustrated in 13.

13. a. ...daß scho des Buch kauft hasch.
that already the book bought have-2sg
'that **you** already have bought the book'

b. Geschtern han-mr en Bobbel Eis kauft.
yesterday have-1sg-me-CL a ball ice cream bought
'Yesterday **I** bought myself a ball of ice cream'

2p singular RefNSs seem to be acceptable in all contexts,[10] but 1p RefNSs are restricted to medial positions in clitic clusters, as illustrated in 13 b. In these positions, a clitic *e* ('I') is possible, unless the following clitic is realized as a single nasal consonant (but the clitic *mr* allows a RefNS). In those cases, an overt subject clitic is ungrammatical (Haag-Merz 1996:162f) (see 14 a. and b.). On the other hand, the accusative clitics *s* ('it') and *se* ('her') always prohibit 1p singular RefNSs (see 14 c. and d.), and hence require the presence either of the 1p singular clitic *e* or of a 1p singular subject pronoun.

14. a. *Geschtern han-e-m a bißle gholfe.
yesterday have-1sg-I-CL-him-CL a little helped
'Yesterday, I helped him a little'

b. Geschtern han-m a bißle gholfe.
yesterday have-1sg-him-CL a little helped
'Yesterday, **I** helped him a little'

[10] Haag-Merz (1996:155) underlines, however, that her syntactic intuitions do not always coincide completely with other speakers' and researchers' intuitions.

c. *Geschtern han-s ufgmacht.
yesterday have-1sg-it-CL opened
'**I** opened it yesterday'

d. Geschtern han-e-s ufgmacht.
yesterday have-1sg-I-CL-it-CL opened
'I opened it yesterday'

Having established these distributional differences between the two possible RefNSs in Schwabian, Haag-Merz proposes that the enabling conditions for these two possible RefNSs are inherently different:

> Zusammenfassend kann man fasthalten, daß ich-drop phonologisch bedingt ist und nur im Cluster auftreten kann. Du-drop stellt eine syntaktische Option dar. (Haag-Merz 1996:167)

Syntactic and phonological factors both seem to regulate the distribution of RefNSs in Schwabian, accordingly. However, in both of the cases, the verb agreement is distinct, as illustrated in table 3. below.

3.3. Zürich German

Zürich German (ZG) is an Alemannic language variety, spoken in the Swiss canton of Zürich.

The distribution of RefNSs in Zürich German has been discussed by Cooper & Engdahl (1989) and by Cooper (1995). 1p and 2p singular subject pronouns may be null in ZG. The examples below are taken from Cooper & Engdahl (1989:33, 38).

15. a. Ha der das nöd scho verzellt?
have-1sg to-you it not already told
'Haven't **I** told you that already?'

b. Wänn nach Züri chunnsch, muesch mi bsueche.
when to Zürich come-2sg must-2sg me visit
'When **you** come to Zürich, **you** must visit me'

Both possible RefNSs in ZG are restricted by syntactic and/or phonological factors, as discussed below.

Unlike the situation in Bavarian (cf. 10 b.), a 2p singular RefNSs in an embedded clause does not require an inflected complementizer:

16. ...öb nach Züri chunnsch.
whether to Zürich come-2sg
'whether you come to Zürich'

But on the other hand, an omitted *du* ('you') in an embedded clause requires the presence of a preceding lexical element in the same embedded clause – otherwise, a RefNS is not possible. Any lexical element seems to do: a negation, an adverb or a clitical object, e.g.

17. a. *Es chunnt aa wie frögsch.
it depends on how ask-2sg
'It depends on how **you** ask'

b. Es chunnt aa wie mir frögsch.
it depends on how me ask-2sg
'It depends on how **you** ask me'

Cooper & Engdahl (1989) conclude that null *du* in embedded clauses in Zürich German always requires a preceding lexical element:

> Summing up, we can say that *du*-drop is always ok if C is filled by a complementiser. If C is empty *du*-drop is only ok if there is some lexical material preceding the verb.

As in Schwabian, the 1p RefNSs require embedding in a clitic cluster (see 15 a. above), with one exception: a position in front of the masculine determiner *em*, which is homonymous with a dative masculine clitic, is also possible (Cooper & Engdahl 1989:39):

18. ...wil em Brüeder alli Artikel schicke.
because to-the brother all articles send-1sg
'because **I** send my brother all the articles'

An interesting combination of syntactic and phonological prerequisites is hence needed for 1sg RefNSs in ZG. The verb inflection is furthermore distinct in both 1p and 2p singular, meaning that a morphological condition also seems to apply.

3.4. Frisian

Frisian is spoken along the shores of the North Sea, mainly in the region of Friesland and in the southwest part of Jutland (north Frisia). A small number of speakers can still also be found in Saterland (Germany). In each region, a local dialect of Frisian is spoken.

RefNSs in Frisian were discussed by Hoekstra & Marácz (1989), and later de Haan (1994) as well as Hoekstra (1997) have explored Frisian RefNSs.

In Frisian, only the verb form for 2p singular is distinct, and only 2p singular RefNSs are possible: "An interesting property of Frisian syntax is that *-st* can license phonetically empty subjects ('pro drop')" (de Haan 1994:88). The examples in 19 are taken from de Haan (1994:81).

19. a. Miskien moatst my helpe.
perhaps must-2sg me help
'Perhaps **you** must help me'

b. Ik tink datst my helpe moatst.
I think that-2sg me help must-2sg
'I think that you must help me'

As in Bavarian and Zürich German, an inflected complementizer is obligatory whenever a RefNS appears in an embedded clause. However, Hoekstra (1997:73) notes that in the north Frisian spoken on the islands Föhr and Amrum, this restriction does not seem to apply (cf. the Schwabian example in 13 a. above).

20. Ik höobe, dat ilang komst.
I hope that tonight comes-2sg
'I hope that **you** will come tonight'

As pointed out by Hoekstra (1997:79), the clitic form for 2sg pronouns in this dialect was *'t*. Hence, the clitic may have merged completely with the inflectional ending *-st* as well as with the complementizer *dat*.

3.5. Yiddish

The presence of RefNSs in Yiddish is adamantly denied by Speas (2006:60): "Yiddish does not allow null referential pronouns", and in the same volume Koeneman (2006:86) makes a similar statement. However, according to Prince (1998:83), traditional Yiddish grammarians acknowledge that "*du*, the second person singular pronoun is deletable" and in his Yiddish grammar, Jacobs (2005:261) provides some examples of RefNSs in Yiddish, which are rendered in 21. *Du* ('you') is omitted in a main clause (21 b.) as well as in an embedded clause (21 a.):

21. a. Trink nit di kave, vorem vest nit kenen slofn.
drink not the coffee because get-2sg not no sleep
'Don't drink the coffee, because **you** won't be able to sleep'

b. Efser volst mir gekent lajen a finf rubl.
maybe would-2sg me loan a five rubles
'Maybe **you** could loan med about five rubles'

The verb form for 2p singular is distinct in Yiddish. Given these and other examples and the discussions in e.g. Prince (1998) and Jacobs (2005), it seems unreasonable to refute the existence of Yiddish RefNSs, and I will assume that RefNSs indeed are a feature of Yiddish grammar. It is however obvious that the conflicting statements need to be resolved – more research is required.

Prince (1998) recognizes the statements concerning omission only of 2p singular subject pronouns by earlier Yiddish grammarians, but she claims that all referential subject pronouns in Yiddish may be null. However, it is evident from her discussion that she does not separate RefNSs from topic dropped subjects, and the syntactic properties of the omitted subjects that she investigates actually suggest that the explored phenomenon is topic drop, and not RefNSs. E.g, according to Prince (1998:83ff) the omitted subjects must be clause initial and they must have an antecedent in the preceding discourse. Most syntacticians has separated these two forms of subject omission from each other at least since Sigurðsson (1993), who very clearly draws a line between topic drop, semi *pro*-drop (of expletive subjects) and genuine *pro*-drop (Sigurðsson 1993:247).

Hence, I do not find the argumentation in Prince (1998) fully convincing, but again it must be stressed that further research is essential.

Perhaps the different opinions about RefNSs in Yiddish are due to dialectal differences – Western Yiddish had a more prominent position in the 19th century than it has now, for instance, and if traditional grammars reflect the syntax of Western Yiddish (which possibly allowed RefNSs to a greater degree than Eastern Yiddish), then it is natural that the contemporary speakers of Yiddish do not immediately consent to the descriptions, since Eastern Yiddish now is predominant in the Yiddish speaking community.

3.6. Övdalian

Övdalian is spoken in the northwestern part of Dalecarlia, in central Sweden, by about 2 500 speakers. Traditionally classified as a dialect, it displays linguistic properties that differ from Swedish at all levels, and several scholars take it to be a separate language (Garbacz to appear).

In Övdalian, 1p and 2p plural may appear as RefNSs; the examples below come from Rosenkvist (in progress).

22. a. ...dar wilum glåmå min wennanan.
when want-to-1pl chat with eachother
'when **we** want to chat with each other.'

b. Nų irið iema.
now are-2pl. home
'now **you** are home'

The two RefNSs obey different restrictions. While 2p plural may be omitted from all positions, 1p plural require access to a position in front of the finite verb, both in main clauses and in embedded clauses. The topicalization of a non-subject in any type of clause will hence make a 1p plural RefNSs ungrammatical.[11] Hence, in 22 a. and b, only a 2p plural RefNSs is possible.

[11] Barbosa (1995:80) suggests that a postverbal position may be a general requirement for RefNSs in Romance and Germanic languages. Interestingly, 1p plural RefNSs in Övdalian have exactly the opposite distribution – they must be preverbal.

22. a. I Ståkkål *am/avið tjyöpt eð.
in Stockholm have-1pl/2pl bought it
'*We/you bought it in Stockholm'

b. ...at i Ståkkål *am/avið tjyöpt eð.
that in Stockholm have-1pl/2pl bought it
'that *we/you bought it in Stockholm'

The Övdalian verb forms for 1p and 2p plural are distinct, and an overt subject must be emphasized and/or contrastive. It should be noted, however, that an overt *wịð* (‘we’) only is understood as emphatic/contrastive in those cases where it could have been null.

In Övdalian, there are word order-variations in embedded clauses (cf. Garbacz to appear). The finite verb may appear after or in front of clause adverbials. In the latter case, it is in general assumed that the verb has moved to an intermediate position in the embedded clause (to I or T) – Holmberg & Platzack (1995) assume that this is one of the basic differences between e.g. Icelandic (verb movement) and Swedish (verb *in situ*). Recent studies show that both of the Övdalian RefNSs are restricted to embedded clauses with verb movement; if the verb is preceded by a clause adverbial such as *sakta* (‘actually’), then a RefNS is not possible. In this respect, Övdalian is partly similar to OHG (cf. above).

3.7. Syntactic properties of RefNSs in Modern Germanic

The exposition above shows that RefNSs (i.e, partial RefNSs) are a grammatical reality in several non-standard Modern Germanic vernaculars. In some cases there have been quite extensive syntactic studies of the features of the RefNSs (e.g. Bavarian), while other language varieties have been insufficiently investigated; most of all, this applies to Yiddish. The data that have been presented above must be judged accordingly.

None of the language varities discussed here allow all types of RefNSs; only 1p and 2p RefNSs are possible (in contrast with the Old Germanic languages).

The direct connection between distinct verb agreement and RefNSs is furthermore obvious – in neither of the Modern Germanic language varieties in this survey are RefNSs possible unless there is a verb form that uniquely can

identify the omitted subject. The relation between verb agreement and RefNSs is illustrated in table 3, where the verb forms that allow RefNSs are in bold.[12]

Table 3. *The relation between verb agreement and RefNSs in Modern Germanic*.

<table>
<tr><th>num.</th><th>per</th><th>Bav</th><th>LBav</th><th>ZG</th><th>Schw</th><th>Fris</th><th>Övd</th><th>Yidd</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">sg.</td><td>1</td><td>kumm</td><td>kumm</td><td>chume</td><td>komm</td><td>kom</td><td rowspan="3">kumb</td><td>kum</td></tr>
<tr><td>2</td><td>kummst</td><td>kummst</td><td>chunnsch</td><td>kommsch</td><td>komst</td><td>kumst</td></tr>
<tr><td>3</td><td>kummt</td><td>kummt</td><td>chunnt</td><td>kommt</td><td>komt</td><td>kumt</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">pl.</td><td>1</td><td>kumman</td><td>kumma</td><td rowspan="3">chömed</td><td rowspan="3">kommet</td><td rowspan="3">komme</td><td>kumum</td><td>kumn</td></tr>
<tr><td>2</td><td>kummts</td><td>kummts</td><td>kumið</td><td>kumt</td></tr>
<tr><td>3</td><td>kumman</td><td>kumman</td><td rowspan="2">kumå</td><td rowspan="2">kumn</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">inf.</td><td>kemma</td><td>kemma</td><td>chu</td><td>komma</td><td>kommen</td></tr>
</table>

It is important to observe that a distinct verb form does not *per se* imply that RefNSs are possible. E.g, 3p singular has a distinct suffix (*-t*) in five cases, but 3p singular subject pronouns must nevertheless be overt. One reason for this (which rarely has been taken into consideration in the research about RefNSs – cf. e.g. Rohrbacher 1999, the articles in Ackema et al 2006 or Frascarelli 2007) – may be that 3p singular subjects in general are not fully identified solely by person and number features on an agreeing element; it is common that 3p singular pronouns also have gender features. Accordingly, in many languages a 3p singular RefNSs cannot be fully recovered by mere verb morphology, unless the verb form for 3p singular is marked also for gender. In languages with gender features on 3p plural pronominal subjects (such as Spanish), the same applies to verb forms for 3p plural, of course.

In all of the Modern Germanic vernaculars, RefNSs are possible in both main clauses and in embedded clauses, and there do not seem to be any differences in frequency related to clause type – again, this is in sharp contrast to the distribution of RefNSs in Old Germanic.

[12] I thank Ute Bohnacker for providing the inflection pattern of the Schwabian verb *komma*.

Another possible generalization is that an overt subject (which could have been omitted) appears to trigger emphatic/contrastive interpretations in all of these language varieties – but there are not clear data concerning the pragmatic effects of overts subjects from all of the language varieties in the survey.

Apart from these generalizations, the rich and very evident microvariation concerning language-internal restrictions for RefNSs in this set of closely related languages is quite spectacular. In West Germanic, there seem to be complex interdependencies between agreeing complementizers, clitic pronouns, and verbal agreement (cf. de Haan 1994, Fuß 2004), which indicate that the licensing of RefNSs in some cases is dependent on syntactic as well as morphological and phonological factors. It has of course not been possible to include all details of these language-specific intricacies in the discussion in this paper. Rich clitic systems and agreeing complementizers are however absent from Övdalian and Yiddish,[13] two languages that nevertheless offer intriguing problems regarding the distribution of the respective RefNSs. It can only be concluded that more research is necessary. Much more, in fact.

4. Syntactic similarities and differences – Old Germanic RefNSs vs. Modern Germanic RefNSs

Above, I have presented syntactic data from four Old Germanic languages and six Modern Germanic vernaculars which all allow (partial) RefNSs. These data falsify beyond doubt the recurrent assumption that RefNSs always are illicit in V2-languages.

In the survey, the focus has been on a number of mainly syntactic features of the respective RefNSs: the relation to verb agreement, person reference, the distribution in different types of clauses, frequency, and the pragmatic significance of overt subjects. Although I have not been able to access relevant data from all the language varieties, a general pattern emerges: RefNSs in the Old Germanic languages and RefNSs in Modern Germanic vernaculars form two groups, readily distinguishable from each other. In table 4. below, the

[13] The idea that RefNSs always require an agreeing element in C (cf. e.g. Weiß 2005) is thus contradicted by the RefNSs in Övdalian and Yiddish.

findings are summarized; the abbreviations in the table are explained in the accompanying key.

Table 4. *Systematic syntactic differences between RefNSs in Old Germanic and in Modern Germanic*.

feature / language	**agr.**	**type**	**3p.**	**prag.**	**infreq.**
Old Germanic					
Old High Ger.	-	+	+	-	+ (?)
Old English	-	?	+	-	+ (?)
Old Icelandic	-	?	+	-	+
Old Swedish	-	+	+	-	+
Modern Germanic					
Bavarian	+	-	-	+	-
L. Bavarian	+	-	-	+	-
Z. German	+	-	-	+	-
Schwabian	+	-	-	+	-
Frisian	+	-	-	+	-
Övdalian	+	-	-	+	-
Yiddish	+ (?)	- (?)	- (?)	+ (?)	- (?)

key to table 4:

agr. = the person and number features of the RefNSs can be reconstructed from verb agreement.

type = RefNSs are sensitive to clause type (they are more frequent or only possible in main clauses).

prag. = an overt subject (which could be null) is understood as emphatic and/or contrastive

3p. = third person RefNSs are possible.

infreq.= RefNSs are less frequent than overt subjects.

The data in table 4 clearly indicate that RefNSs in Old Germanic inherently had other syntactic properties than the RefNSs in Modern Germanic, and,

accordingly, a proposal that the latter have developed from the former must account for this typological shift.

In section 5 below, I discuss this further, as well as some other implications for general theories about RefNSs that the Germanic RefNSs bring about.

5. Conclusions

In generative grammar, the research about RefNSs has to a large extent concentrated on the Romance languages, taking influential works by Rizzi (1982, 1986) as a starting point. Eventually other languages and language families have been included, such as Mandarin (Huang 1984), Hebrew (Borer 1986) and Finnish (Vainikka 1989). Data from these (and many other languages – cf. Gilligan 1987) have influenced the theoretical development considerably. However, the Germanic null-subject languages, spoken in central parts of Europe, have not had any real empirical or theoretical impact on the ongoing research. It is my conviction that further studies of the syntactic patterns of RefNSs in Germanic V2-languages may contribute significantly to the research about RefNSs, partly because V2-languages in general have relatively strict word order regulations, and hence allow for meticulous and elaborate investigations of which syntactic contexts allow or prohibit RefNSs.

In this final section, I will, in relative brevity, address two issues that the survey above has brought to the fore: the diachronic relation between RefNSs in Old and Modern Germanic, and which implications the syntactic features of Germanic RefNSs may have for current assumptions about RefNSs.

5.1. The diachronic relation between Old Germanic and Modern Germanic

The traditional view of RefNSs in Modern West Germanic vernaculars is that they are linguistic innovations. E.g, Fuß (2004, 2005) demonstrates how universal principles of grammaticalization have transformed Old Bavarian pronouns to clitics and clitics to inflectional markers, thereby laying the ground for the Modern RefNSs in Bavarian:

> [...] enclitic pronouns were reanalyzed as (dissociated) agreement morphemes on C. This change forced the learner to assume that the subject position is occupied by *pro*, giving rise to partial pro-drop [...] (Fuß 2004:89)

Hoekstra (1997:78ff) assumes a similar point of view, and Björklund (1958) reaches virtually the same conclusion when speculating about the possible source of the 2p plural RefNSs in Övdalian.

In a recent paper, Axel & Weiß (to appear) in stead propose that RefNSs in Modern West Germanic are direct descendants of the Old Germanic RefNSs. Their idea builds on the observation that RefNSs both in OHG and in the Modern West Germanic vernaculars must be c-commanded by verbal agreeement: ”[...] it is precisely pronominal Agr-in-C that licenses *pro*” (Axel & Weiß to appear:13). When inflection started to appear on complementizers, they argue, RefNSs were eventually licensed also in embedded clauses. However, not all of the Modern Germanic vernaculars that have been presented in the present paper have agreeing comple-mentizers. As for West Germanic, RefNSs are possible in both Zürich German and Schwabian, apparently without agreeing complementizers (cf. examples 13 a, 16 and 18), and neither Yiddish nor Övdalian exhibit such elements. Hence RefNSs are possible without Agr-in-C in Germanic, and the vital factor for the presence of RefNSs in embedded clauses cannot be the emergence of agreeing complementizers. Another counter-argument against the hypothesis presented by Axel & Weiß (to appear) is that there is a cluster of other syntactic features (e.g, person reference, frequency etc.) that must be included in a diachronic explanation of how RefNSs developed in the Modern Germanic vernaculars (as was mentioned above).

5.2. Germanic RefNSs – theoretical consequences

Rich agrement and RefNSs seem to be tightly related in many languages, and many linguists have argued that “rich” agreement is a necessary prerequisite for RefNSs (cf. Taraldsen 1978, Chomsky 1981:240ff, Rohrbacher 1999 etc.). In this vein, Borer (1986) suggested that the inflectional affixes may function as pronominal subjects *per se*, being I-subjects. This has become a standard analysis:

> Indeed, the possibility of null subjects in a given language has been generally attributed to the pronominal character of its agreement morphology. (Frascarelli 2007:692).

Similar ideas have been presented by e.g. Barbosa (1995, 2009), Platzack (2004) and Koeneman (2006).

The notion of *pro*, a certain non-pronounced subject (or object) pronoun identified by agreement, is on the other hand not tenable in current versions of generative grammar (Chomsky 1995, 2001), since features that express phi-features only are interpretable in a NP/DP. The subject agreement features of the verb must hence be eliminated in the syntactic derivation, and therefore the verb cannot act as a subject identifier in overt syntax, as noted by Holmberg (2005).

> The theory of pro [...] cannot be maintained in a theory making the distinction between interpretable and uninter-pretable features that plays a crucial role in Chomsky 1995:chapter 4 and subsequent work by Chomsky and others. (Holmberg 2005:536)

The theoretical development has led to a revitalized interest for RefNSs, and new analyses have been presented by e.g. Holmberg (2005; Finnish, 2007), Ackema et al. (2006), Barbosa (2009; Portuguese), Frascarelli (2007; Italian) and Sigurðsson (2008). The new analyses depart either from Borer's (1986) notion of I-subject (e.g. Holmberg 2005, Alexiadou 2006 and Barbosa 2009), or from the assumption that RefNSs are identified through the discourse context (e.g. Frascarelli 2007 and Sigurðsson 2008).

The syntactic characteristics of the Old and Modern Germanic languages suggest that there are indeed two fundamentally different strategies for the identification of RefNSs. In the Old Germanic languages, we have seen that verbal agreement is of little importance and that RefNSs are rare in embedded clauses. Furthermore, some authors, for instance Sigurðsson (1993), explicitly point out that RefNSs in Old Germanic need an overt antecedent in the preceding discourse, and Håkansson (2008) arrives to the conclusion that the OSw RefNSs were directly dependent on a link to discourse antecedents (with a few exceptions). On the other hand, RefNSs in Modern Germanic are directly dependent on verb agreement, they appear in all clause types and they do not need overt antecedents but are in general the default choice of subject. Hence, it seems to me that any explanation of how RefNSs in Old Germanic are identified requires a clause-external approach, while RefNSs in Modern Germanic are best understood as being identified by a clause-internal mechanism. Typologically, a similar difference may separate isolating languages, such as Mandarin, from inflectional languages, such as Italian.

In two recent papers, Cole (2009, to appear) suggests that both reference to an antecedent and subject verb agreement decide whether RefNSs are allowed in a

language. The access to an antecedent is dependent on the antecedents' salience, whereas "richness" of inflection is defined within separate languages, according to Cole. If verbs may agree for e.g. person and number in a certain language, then verb forms that express features for both person and number are morphologically maximal in that language, and will allow RefNSs. Cole (2009, to appear) provides several examples of how data from Italian and other languages may be explained by his theory. In Rosenkvist (in progress), I argue that also Övdalian may be a language in which RefNSs are identified by different mechanisms. The distribution of the 1p plural RefNSs in Övdalian indicates that it requires not an overt antecedent, but some form of escape hatch where access to the discourse context is provided, while the distribution of the 2p plural RefNSs suggests that it is identified within the clause; this is not the place for a detailed presentation of Övdalian RefNSs, however. Suffice it to say that it is worth exploring the hypothesis that multiple mechanisms may be active in the identification of RefNSs.

A remaining problem is however the phonological conditions for RefNSs in West Germanic language varieties, such as e.g. Schwabian; it is not obvious how such prerequisites for the occurrence of RefNSs are to be explained in an analytic model where only agreement and access to antecedents decide whether RefNSs are allowed or not.

In the near future, I intend to investigate RefNSs in Övdalian (and in other Germanic language varieties) further, in the research project GReNS (*Germanic Referential Null Subjects*) that will commence in 2010. Some of the gaps in our knowledge of RefNSs in Germanic will then eventually be filled.

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The Syntax of Surprise:
Unexpected event readings in complex predication*

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Abstract

In many languages, the 'light' verbs *take* and *go* combine with another predicate to yield a reading where the initiation of the event denoted by the main predicate is in some sense focalized (inceptive). Some of these cases involve a touch of surprise, unexpectedness, or suddenness to the event denoted. Looking at data mainly from Swedish but also from English, Yiddish, and Salish, this paper seeks to identify the components that are responsible for this *surprise* reading. It is claimed that surprise in the construction investigated is dependent on three factors: the particular event structure(s) associated with the predicates involved, choice of lexicalization of this structure, and pragmatic inferences about the particular event involved. It is shown that the inceptive reading in combination with punctuality is crucial to the emergence of surprise in these constructions. Two different ways of deriving inceptive surprise readings are identified that depend on whether punctuality is brought by the light verb or by the embedded verb.

1 Introduction

In a wide variety of languages, including Swedish, the verbs *go* and *take* may combine with another verb to produce certain aspectual readings:[1]

(1) Peter **gick** och läste en bok. (Swedish)
Peter go.PAST *& read*.PAST *a book*
'Peter went and read a book.'

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[1] Abbreviations: CAUS = causative, CIRC = circumstantial modal, DEF = definite form, DET = determiner, ERG = ergative case/(transitive) subject, EXIS = existential, F = feminine agreement, INF = infinitival form, M = masculine agreement, NOM = nominative case, PAST = past tense, RED = redirective (relational) transitivizer, SG = singular, SUP = supine, PERF = perfective, SUBJECT = (indicative) subject.

(2) John **tog** och läste en bok. (Swedish)
John take.PAST *&* *read*.PAST *a book*
'(%)John took and read a book.'

The construction in (1) is present also in English (see e.g. Carden and Pesetsky 1977; de Vos 2005), and related constructions can be found in Hebrew (Idan Landau p.c.) and the Marsalese dialect of Italian, see (3) (from Cardinaletti and Giusti 2003).

(3) Vaju a pigghiu u pani. (Marsalese)
*go.1*SG *to fetch.1*SG *the bread*
'I go to buy bread.'

The literal translation of (2), in turn, is fine in Irish English and certain American dialects. Similar constructions are also attested in the Romance, Slavic, Baltic, and Finno-Ugric languages (see Ekberg 1993) and in Hindi/Urdu, see (4) (from Butt and Ramchand 2005).

(4) nadya=ne xɑt lɪkʰ li-ya. (Hindi/Urdu)
Nadya.F=ERG *letter*.M.NOM *write take*-PERF.M.SG
'Nadya wrote a letter (completely).'

Common to all of the above constructions is the fact that the predicates involved are conceived of as making reference to one single (albeit complex) event. Syntactically, the concept of a single complex event is reflected for instance by the fact that the predicates involved cannot be independently tensed and higher level adverbial modification can only apply to the event as a whole and not to its subparts. Semantically, the presence of some kind of emphasis on the initiation/onset of the event denoted by the second predicate is often mentioned in descriptions of the interpretation yielded.[2] Sometimes there is also a touch of surprise, unexpectedness, or suddenness in the reading produced. To my knowledge, no systematic

[2](1) is ambiguous between this reading and a reading of the embedded event as being in progress. The progressive reading is irrelevant here, see Wiklund (2007) for discussion.

investigation of the contexts in which such *surprise readings* are present in the above constructions has been carried out. This paper is a first step, using data mainly from Swedish but also from English and Yiddish. (1) will be labelled *go-V* and (2) will be referred to as *take-V* when they need to be distinguished. The *inceptive construction* will be used as a cover name for both types.

In what follows, I will seek to identify the circumstances under which the surprise reading is present and eliminate factors that seem irrelevant to this surprise. It is argued that surprise is dependent on three factors: the particular event structure(s) associated with the predicates involved, choice of lexicalization of this structure, and pragmatic inferences about the particular event involved. It is shown that an inceptive reading in combination with a punctuality is crucial to the emergence of surprise. Using the framework of Ramchand (2008), the inceptive reading required can be stated as a requirement that a light verb identifies the initiation component of the embedded event and introduces the event variable that is relevant to tense anchoring. The punctuality condition, in turn, can be stated as a requirement that the process component and the result state are simultaneously identified by one predicate. Depending on whether punctuality is brought by the light verb or by the embedded verb, surprise is derived in two different ways, both of which are dependent on syntactic structure.

2 Background

In the literature on Swedish, the *go-V* and *take-V* constructions (repeated below) have been included in the class of *pseudocoordinations* (Teleman et al. 1999: III; 902-909, Josefsson 1991, Wiklund 1996).

(5) a. Peter gick och läste en bok. (Swedish)
Peter go.PAST *&* *read*.PAST *a book*

b. John tog och läste en bok.
John take.PAST *&* *read*.PAST *a book*

Both verbs carry identical inflectional morphology (past tense in the examples above) and the element *och* that appears in between the verbs is pronounced the same as the conjunction element *och* 'and', the reduced form of which is pronounced /ɔ/ (used in casual speech). Similar constructions exist also in the other Scandinavian languages, e.g. Norwegian *gå/ta og V* 'go/take and V' (see Lødrup 2002 and Vannebo 2003); Icelandic: *fara og V* 'go and V'. Extensive arguments for treating the linking element as a subordinating conjunction and for treating the multiple occurrence of inflection in terms of agreement (obtained via Agree) are presented in Wiklund (2007). Argument and adjunct extraction is possible from the second 'clause'. The prosodic properties of the construction pattern with complementation structures and not with coordination structures in that the first verb does not bear phrasal stress.[3] The doubling of inflection can be shown to be top-down, subject to locality, and to involve some kind of feature sharing. I refer the reader to Wiklund (2007) for a detailed review of these and additional arguments. In what follows, the second predicate will be referred to as the *embedded* predicate and I will in large part abstract away from the agreement between the verbs involved.

[3]Both verbs belongs to the same intonational phrase and phrasal stress is on the final phonological word before a phrase boundary. On the relevant single event reading of (5a) above, *Peter* and *bok* carry phrasal stress, see (6a). The (irrelevant) independent event reading that arises from a coordination structure has the prosodic bracketing in (6b). On this reading, *gick* and *bok* carry phrasal stress and argument and adjunct extraction is impossible (unless Across-The-Board).

(6) a. [Peter [gick och läste en bok]].
Peter go.PAST *&* *read*.PAST *a book*
b. [Peter gick [och läste en bok]].
Peter go.PAST *&* *read*.PAST *a book*

3 Surprise, inception, distance, and (in)voluntariness

3.1 The surprise reading

In both (5a) and (5b) above, the superordinate predicate has – in coarse semantic terms – the effect of emphasizing the *initiation/onset* of the event denoted by the embedded predicate. On top of this reading, (5b) also has a touch of surprise, suddenness, or unexpectedness to it:

(7) John tog och läste en bok. (Swedish)
John take.PAST *& read*.PAST *a book*
'≈{Surprisingly, unexpectedly, suddenly} John read a book.'

Curiously, this reading is not present in (5a), despite the fact that (5a) seems to share the crucial syntactic and semantic characteristics of (5b)/(7). Importantly, the prosodic properties of the two are also identical; in none of the examples does the superordinate verb bear phrasal stress. Moreover, no reflection of the emotional state of being surprised is required in the prosody of (5b)/(7) for the sentence to yield a surprise reading.[4] Obviously, finding out why the surprise is absent in (5a) and present in (5b) will be a key to identifying the ingredients required for the production of a surprise reading.

Before we go on to look at what I will call the inceptive reading in some detail, let me first point out that I have not found any distributional difference between *surprise*, *unexpectedness*, and *suddenness* that does not bear on the context in which the examples are uttered. It is not even clear that the three cannot be subsumed under the same reading, granted that a *surprise* is a *sudden* and therefore to some degree *unexpected* event. For want of evidence to the contrary, I assume that *surprise*, *unexpectedness*, and *suddenness* can be unified in the linguistically relevant sense and I will therefore continue to use the term *surprise reading* to refer to

[4]The difference is subtle but is identifiable when the examples are seen as possible replies to the question: What did they do then?

the touch of suprise/unexpectedness/suddenness that is under investigation here. I thus take differences between these to follow from pragmatic inferences. In the examples that follow, the relevant reading(s) will be marked as [SURPRISE]. I will briefly touch upon potential cognate readings below. Finally, surprise readings are most evident in and sometimes restricted to past reference. All examples that follow will therefore be in the past tense. A discussion of this restriction is deferred until §6.2 below.

3.2 The inceptive reading

Attempts to describe the readings associated with the Swedish *take-V* and *go-V* constructions can be found in e.g. Ekberg (1993), Teleman et al. (1999: IV; 907), and Wiklund (2007), see also Vannebo (2003) for Norwegian. Prima facie, the reading looks very similar to that of *starting* or *setting off to do something*, the Swedish counterpart being *börja att göra något* (start to do something):

(8) a. Han började att springa.
he start.PAST *to run*.INF

b. Han tog och sprang
he take.PAST *&* *run*.PAST

Whereas a denial of the completion of a telic event selected by *börja* is impeccable, see (9a), however, such a denial is not possible with *ta*, cf. (9b) (cf. Ekberg 1993).

(9) a. Han började att springa 20 km (men stannade efter halva
he start.PAST *to run*.INF *20 km but stop*.PAST *after half*
vägen).
way

b. Han tog och sprang 20 km (*men stannade efter halva
he take.PAST *&* *run*.PAST *20 km but stop*.PAST *after half*
vägen).
way

Likewise, only *take-V* can be modified with respect to the final temporal bound, cf. (11a) vs. (11b).[5]

(11) a. Han började att springa 20 km (*på 2 timmar).
he start.PAST *to run*.INF *20 km in 2 hours*

b. Han tog och sprang 20 km (på 2 timmar).
He take.PAST *& run*.PAST *20 km in 2 hours)*

In this sense, *take-V* is similar to its counterpart without *ta* (henceforth *plain-V*):

(12) Han sprang 20 km (*men stannade efter halva vägen).
he run.PAST *20 km but stop*.PAST *after half way*

(13) Han sprang 20 km (på 2 timmar).
He run.PAST *20 km in 2 hours)*

The same results obtain with *gå-V*:

(14) Han gick och simmade 400 meter (*men simhallen var stängd).
he go.PAST *& swim*.PAST *400 meters but swimming-hall was closed*

(15) Han gick och simmade 1000 meter (på 20 minuter).
He go.PAST *& swim*.PAST *1000 meters in 20 minutes*

Thus, whereas *börja-V* restricts reference to the beginning of the event denoted by the embedded predicate, *take-V* and *go-V* may include a final temporal bound or a result state while also adding emphasis to the initiation of the event. For ease of exposition, I label the restrictive reading imposed by *börja* the *ingressive* reading and the non-restrictive reading yielded by

[5](11a) is marginally possible on the (irrelevant) iterative reading where the subject referent started the habit of running 20 km on 2 hours, e.g every day:

(10) Han började att springa 20 km på 2 timmar varje dag.
he start.PAST *to run*.INF *20 km on 2 hours every day*

ta and *gå* the *inceptive* reading. In the examples that follow, the latter reading will be indicated by [INCEPT]. Note that this lack of restriction with *ta* and *gå* can not be derived from the presence of tense inflection on the selected verb seen in *take-V* and *go-V*. In many varieties of Swedish, also the verb *börja* can combine with an inflected verb and still keep the semantics of the infinitival counterpart, not to be confused with the irrelevant coordination reading involving ellipsis. Replacing the infinitival form *springa* in the examples involving *börja* by an agreeing past form *sprang* does not change the acceptability of (9a), cf. (16), nor the unacceptability of (11a), cf. (17).[6]

(16) Han började och sprang 20 km (men stannade efter halva
he start.PAST *& run*.PAST *20 km but stop*.PAST *after half*
vägen).
way

(17) Han började och sprang 20 km (*på 2 timmar).
he start.PAST *& run*.PAST *20 km in 2 hours*

Note also that the inceptive construction (*take-V* and *go-V*) does not imply a resultative reading of the embedded event, even if the whole complex event seems to yield a momentaneous interpretation (Ekberg 1993). Adding *ta* to an activity predicate (in the terminology of Vendler 1967) does not give rise to telicity in the event denoted by the embedded verb, see (18a). Also in this sense, *take-V* is similar to *plain-V*, cf. (18b).

(18) a. Hon tog och dansade i flera timmar.
she take.PAST *& dance*.PAST *in several hours*
'[SURPRISE][INCEPT] she danced for several hours.'

b. Hon dansade i flera timmar.
she dance.PAST *in several hours*
'She danced for several hours.'

[6]The irrelevant coordination reading of the sentences corresponds to: *He started [something] and ran 20 km...*

To the extent that (20a) below is possible, *på två minuter* measures the time up to the initiation of the event of dancing, cf. (20b).[7]

(20) a. ?Hon tog och dansade på två minuter.
she take.PAST *& dance*.PAST *on two minutes*
'[SURPRISE][INCEPT] she danced in two minutes.'

b. ?Hon dansade på två minuter.
she dance.PAST *on two minutes*
'She danced in two minutes.'

Similar examples can be constructed with *gå*. Although the above tests seem to show that *gå* and *ta* contribute to the aktionsart of the event in the inceptive construction rather than function as aspectual auxiliaries, another test demonstrates that there is a difference between the inceptive construction and their *plain-V* counterparts:

(21) a. Hon tog och dansade klockan elva.
she take.PAST *& dance*.PAST *clock*.DEF *eleven*

b. Hon dansade klockan klockan elva.
she dance.PAST *clock*.DEF *eleven*

Whereas (21a) implies that the subject referent did not dance before eleven, (21b) does not say anything about when the dancing started, only that there was an event of dancing taking place at eleven.[8] This is a property that the inceptive construction shares with the ingressive construction. Like (21a), the sentence in (22) below implies that the subject referent did not dance before eleven.

[7]This reading is yielded with durative events without a result state and with punctual verbs. It is reflected by the fact that *på två minuter* (in two minutes) can be replaced by *efter två minuter* (after two minutes), cf. (Piñon 1997):

(19) ?Hon tog och dansade efter två minuter.
she take.PAST *& dance*.PAST *after two minutes*
'[SURPRISE][INCEPT] she danced after two minutes.'

[8]Swedish present and past tense is vague between the progressive and the habitual (generic) reading.

(22) Hon började att dansa klockan elva.
she start.PAST *to dance*.INF *clock*.DEF *eleven*

The above facts – taken together – seem to suggest that the inceptive construction (*take-V* and *go-V*) is a case where two partially separate event structures still contribute to form one single albeit complex event. From the fact that the inceptive construction but neither the ingressive nor the *plain-V* construction involves an element of surprise, (23a) vs. (23b) and (23c), we may conclude that whatever it is that yields the inceptive reading must be partly responsible for the surprise reading.

(23) a. Han tog och sprang.
He take.PAST *&* *run*.PAST
'[SURPRISE][INCEPT] he ran.'

b. Han sprang.
he run.PAST
'He ran.'/'He was running.'

c. Han började och sprang.
he start.PAST *&* *run*.PAST
'He started running.'

The inceptive component can only be partly responsible, however, given that *ta* but not *gå* in the relevant contexts gives rise to an element of surprise (in the absence of prosodic cues), (24a) vs. (24b).

(24) a. Han tog och simmade 100 meter bröstsim.
He take.PAST *&* *swim*.PAST *100 meter breaststroke*
'[SURPRISE][INCEPT] he swam 100 meter breaststroke.'

b. Han gick och simmade 100 meter bröstsim.
he go.PAST *&* *swim*.PAST *100 meter breaststroke*
'≈[INCEPT] he swam 100 meter breaststroke.'

The readings yielded by (24a) and (24b) seem comparable to those produced by the English sentences in (25a) and (25b), respectively. The only reading available for (25a) is one that involves a touch of surprise, sudden-

ness, or unexpectedness (see also §7.6 below). (25b), on the other hand, can also be felicitously uttered in contexts that do not imply that the event is surprising in any way.

(25) a. He up and swam 100 meter breaststroke.
b. He went and swam 100 meter breaststroke.

Summing up, the surprise reading seems to be a special type of inceptive reading but the inceptive component alone is not enough to yield suprise readings or, alternatively, there must be factors that override the suprise reading in examples like (24b) and (25b). Obviously, we need to look for potential differences between the verbs *ta* and *gå* that can account for the facts.

3.3 The distantive reading

One fact that I have ignored in the discussion so far is that (24b) differs from (24a) in that the subject referent actually has to walk away from the reference location for the truth conditions of the sentence to be met.[9] This reading seems related to the *distantive* (or *andative*) aspect referred to in Cinque (1999) and Cinque (2004). In principle, the distantive reading may be the reason why *take-V* but not *go-V* yields a surprise reading in the examples we have seen so far. We will return to this difference between the two below. Anticipating that discussion, I will assume that the distan-

[9]Swedish *gå* is more restricted than English *go* in that it can only refer to a walking event when used with animates. Note that the feature encoding distinctness from the reference location must be divorced from the motion and path involved in the above examples because the first feature can also be present in stative contexts and thus without a path in Swedish, cf. (26). I abstract away from this here. (26) means that the subject referent was *away* swimming. The inceptive reading is absent in this context. See Ekberg (1983) for discussion.

(26) Han var och simmade.
he *be*.PAST *&* *swim*.PAST
'[DISTANT] He was swimming.'

tive reading derives from semantic features that we infer with *gå* in certain syntactico-semantic environments. This assumption is based on the more general hypothesis about the 'lightness' in these and similar verbs as being derived from their lexical-encyclopedic poverty (cf. Ramchand 2008), an issue to which we will return below. As we will see, the distantive reading of *gå* is in fact constrained also in the inceptive construction. When a distantive reading is available, this will be indicated by [DISTANT] in the translation. Thus, the reading of (24b) above is more appropriately rendered as in (27) below, including the distantive reading. The English counterpart is given in (28). It also involves a distantive reading.

(27) Han gick och simmade 100 meter bröstsim.
he go.PAST *& swim*.PAST *100 meter breaststroke*
'[DISTANT][INCEPT] he swam 100 meter breaststroke.'

(28) He went and swam 100 meter breaststroke.

3.4 The out-of-control reading

Returning to the surprise readings, I have concluded that they must form a proper subset of the inceptive readings. At first sight, the so-called *out-of-control* circumfix *ka-...-a* in St'át'imcets (Lillooet Salish) seems to yield readings that are similar to the surprise reading of the Swedish *take-V* construction in contexts like (29) and (30) below (from Davis 2006, cited in Davis et al. 2007), the latter involving an 'accidental flavour' of surprise.[10]

(29) qwaqwx-mín=lhkan ta=scwelálhp=a,
nightmare-RED=*1*SG.SUBJ DET=*ghost*=EXIS
ka-cwák=kan-**a** aylh. (St'át'imcets)
CIRC-*wake=1*SG.SUBJ-CIRC *then*
'I had a nightmare about a ghost, then I woke up suddenly.'

[10]St'át'imcets is a Northern Interior Salish language spoken in the southwestern interior of British Columbia, Canada. I am indebted to Gillian Ramchand for drawing my attention to this language.

(30) **ka**-sék'w-s-as-**a** ta=nk'wanústen'=a ta=twéww'et=a.
CIRC-*break*-CAUS-*3*ERG-CIRC DET=*window*=EXIS DET=*boy*=EXIS
'The boy broke the window accidentally.'

However, no inceptive reading is reported with *ka-...-a*; the onset of the event referred to does not appear to be focalized. Secondly, *ka-...-a* never yields a deliberate-but-sudden reading. It produces only an accidental reading where an agent – who could in principle be in control of the event – does not have a choice or has no control over what is happening, see Davis et al. (2007). The fact that there may be (in some varieties must be) an agent involved that has control over the event in the Swedish construction, cf. (31) below, enables us to distinguish this *inceptive* surprise reading from the *out-of-control* surprise readings attested in Salish.

(31) Peter tog och läste en bok.
Peter take.PAST *& read*.PAST *a book*
'[SURPRISE] [INCEPT] Peter read a book.'

In (31), the subject referent is responsible for bringing about the reading event; it is the subject of the initiation expressed by *ta* (*tog* in the example). The Swedish *take-V* counterpart of (30) above makes the picture even clearer; it does not have an accidental reading, only a reading where the boy broke the window deliberately and suddenly (or unexpectedly/surprisingly):

(32) Pojken tog och krossade fönstret. (Swedish)
Boy.DEF *take*.PAST *& crush*.PAST *window*.DEF
'[SURPRISE][INCEPT] the boy broke the window.'

Finally, the St'át'imcets circumfix *ka-...-a* has additional readings that the inceptive construction lacks, including *be able to* and *manage to*. This has led Davis et al. (2007) to hypothesize that the morpheme encodes circumstantial modality and that its various meanings reduce to either an existential (ability) or universal (involuntary action) reading. Not surpringly,

Swedish uses the modal *råka* in order to yield an unambiguous reading of the even as accidental (involuntary), cf. (33).

(33) Pojken **råkade** krossa fönstret. (Swedish)
Boy.DEF *happen*.PAST *crush*.INF *window*.DEF
'The boy accidentally broke the window.'

The modal construction in (33) has no inceptive reading but admittedly there is a touch of surprise to it. The potential surprise involved in (33), however, is arguably derivable from pragmatic inferences about accidental events; accidents are most often sudden or surprising in some sense. This is what Davis et al. (2007) proposes for the suddenness reading of *ka-...-a* that arises in similar contexts. The surprise reading of the inceptive construction, on the other hand, does not seem to be reducible to conversational implicatures alone, at least not as transparently. There is no immediate way to derive the surprise or suddenness of an event taking place from the mere emphasis on (or reference to) its onset, cf. the discussion of *börja* (start) and *ta* (take) in §3.2 above. As we have seen, the inceptive reading is not even enough for surprise to arise, cf. (24a) vs. (24b) above. In order to find out more about how the surprise involved in the inceptive construction comes about and why it is not present in all of these, we need to return to differences between *take* and *go*. Before we do, I will introduce my assumptions about how thematic properties and event types are derived.

4 Creating surprise; thematic properties and event types

I will assume that event structure is directly represented in syntax as argued in Ramchand (2008). Ramchand's proposal is that vP/VP is split in the same spirit that Pollock (1989) splits up IP and Rizzi (1997) splits up CP. In this spirit, event-structure syntax contains three subevental components, each represented as its own projection, hierarchically ordered as in

(34); a causing subevent (*InitP*), a process-denoting subevent (*ProcP*), and a subevent corresponding to a result state (*ResP*). These are linked by a rule of event composition; a generalized 'leads-to' or 'cause' relation, see Ramchand (2008) for details.

(34) [InitP [ProcP [ResP]]].

InitP licenses the external argument (*initiator*), ProcP licenses the entity undergoing the change or process (*undergoer*), and ResP licenses the entity that comes to hold the result state (*resultee*). There are no thematic roles in this system. Specifiers are interpreted systematically by the semantic component as initiator, undergoer, and resultee and a single argument may be in more than one position simultaneously, yielding argument variability in a systematic and predictable form. The selectional burden is shared between the strict ordering of projections and category features on lexical items. Through the latter, lexical items associate with nodes in the syntactic structure. In the verbal domain, the category features are *[init]*, *[proc]*, and *[res]*, which associate to the corresponding heads of the projections in (34) above. One lexical item may thus multiply associate to different syntactic heads within the same phrase. The Vendler (1967) class of *Activities* corresponds to the class of verbs that have [init, proc] or [proc] alone in their lexical specification, (35); *Accomplishments* correpond to verbs that are [init, proc] with an incremental theme or path object, (36); *Achievements* are [init, proc, res] or [proc, res], (37).

(35) [$_{\text{InitP}}$ she ran [$_{\text{ProcP}}$ <she> <ran>]]

(36) [$_{\text{InitP}}$ she baked [$_{\text{ProcP}}$ the cake <baked>]]

(37) [$_{\text{InitP}}$ she arrived [$_{\text{ProcP}}$ <she> <arrived> [$_{\text{ResP}}$ <she> <arrived>]]]

Three additional assumptions are noteworthy for the discussion that follows. These concern causativization, telicity, and underassociation of syn-

tactic category features. Ramchand pursues a causativization approach to the causative-inchoative alternation. Unavailiability of causativization is used as a diagnostic of presence of [init] in the lexical specification of verbs in English. The [init] feature is absent when causativization is possible (as e.g. with the verb *break*); the transitive version contains a null causative suffix in the [init] head built on top of the event structure to which the verb associates. Turning to telicity, there is no feature [+telic]. Telicity, in this system, derives from several interacting factors. (36) is telic because the DP argument *cake* is a definite bounded path, which produces telicity entailments with creation (and consumption) verbs. (37) is telic because the presence of ResP gives rise to telicity. Telicity can also arise from result augmentation; the merging of a ResP with an [init, proc] or [proc] verb.[11] Finally under certain circumstances, a verb may leave features unassociated in syntax. Ramchand labels this *underassociation*. In the specific case where a verb is underspecified for conceptual content (light verb), the system allows this verb to identify unassociated features of a second verb in a complex predication (light verb construction). This is what I will assume for the inceptive construction. The details of my analysis will be added as we proceed. For now, it is enough to say that in the inceptive construction, the light verbs (*take* or *go*) identify the unassociated [init] feature of the embedded predicate.[12] Leaving the subordinating conjunction element and the potentially bi-clausal nature of the construction aside for the moment, the simplified structure that I will assume for the inceptive construction is given in (39) below.

(39) $[_{InitP}$ subject *light verb* $[_{ProcP}$ verb2 $[_{ResP}$ <verb2>]]] (Inceptive)

[11] The resultative secondary predication below involves result augmentation in this sense:

(38) $[_{InitP}$ she painted $[_{ProcP}$ the wall <painted> $[_{ResP}$ <the wall> red]]]

[12] If the embedded predicate has no [init] in its lexical specification, the inceptive construction will essentially have a causative structure.

The inceptive reading arises (partly) from the fact that the light verb identifies the initiation component of the embedded predicate. In what follows, we seek to identify the additional syntactic ingredients that are responsible for the surprise reading. Recall that the inceptive reading alone is not enough to create surprise. In particular, we will investigate hypotheses based on the thematic properties of the verbs involved and the event types that are constructed when the verbs associate to syntactic structure.

4.1 Surprising initiators

Suppose that the difference between *take-V* and *go-V* with regard to distribution of surprise readings derives from the 'thematic' properties associated with the matrix (light) verbs involved. Using the terminology of Ramchand (2008), *gå* differs from *ta* (at least in their 'lexical' use) in that the *initiator* of the event is identical to the *undergoer*; the initiator of the walking event is also experiencing the change of location. The patient-like role associated with the subject of *gå* could in principle be responsible for suspending the surprise reading in inceptive constructions involving this verb. Another difference between *ta* and *gå* concerns animacy. The latter requires an animate subject in this particular construction, whereas the former allows inanimate subjects in some varieties.[13] Examples like (41a) and (41b) below, however, tell us that thematic differences between *ta* and *gå* are not likely to be responsible for differences between the two with respect to surprise readings:

(41) a. Han gick och vann två miljoner dollar.
he go.PAST *& win*.PAST *two millon dollar*
'[SURPRISE][INCEPT] he won two million dollar .'

[13] Weather predicates can participate in the inceptive construction in some variants:

(40) %Det tog och regnade.
it take.PAST *& rain*.PAST
[SURPRISE][INCEPT] it rained.'

b. Han gick och dog.
he go.PAST *& die*.PAST
'[SURPRISE][INCEPT] he died.'

The picture is now complicated by the fact that the surprise reading indeed *can* be present also with *gå*. The same is true for the English counterparts:

(42) a. He went and won two million dollar.
b. He went and died.

One way in which (41a) and (41b) differ from e.g. (27) above, is that the subject referent in the former two cannot be said to cause or (perhaps rather) have control over the events of winning and dying the way he causes the event of swimming in the latter example, repeated in (43) below. The English counterpart is given in (44).

(43) Han gick och simmade 100 meter bröstsim.
he go.PAST *& swim*.PAST *100 meter breaststroke*
'[DISTANT][INCEPT] he swam 100 meter breaststroke.'

(44) He went and swam 100 meter breaststroke.

Suppose therefore that the surprise readings in (41) and (42) arise from the clash between the initiator and the eventuality of the embedded predicate; e.g. from having the initiator be identical to the undergoer in the context of a verb that does not have an [init] feature in its lexical specification but with which a causativization would for some reason yield a funny result. Swedish *win* and *die* are like their English counterparts in that they do not causativize. Recall, however, that according to Ramchand's diagnostics they must therefore *have* an [init] feature in their lexical specification. If I am correct, this [init] feature is unassociated in the inceptive construction, identified by the matrix light verb. A closer look at the interpretation

yielded reveals that this analysis is on the right track. The reading yielded in (41a) and (41b) is one where the subject referent is in some subtle way involved in the force leading up to the events of winning and dying. Importantly, however, (41a) does not mean that the subject referent has any control over the event of winning (besides having undertaken the purchase of a lottery ticket or the like) and (41b) does not refer to a suicide, which we would expect if the structure would be one involving causativization. Moreover, the surprise reading of (31) above, repeated in (45a) below, remains unaccounted for on the quirky causativization hypothesis.

(45) a. John tog och läste en bok.
John take.PAST *& read*.PAST *a book*
'[SURPRISE] [INCEPT] John read a book.'

b. John läste en bok.
John read.PAST *a book*
'John read a book.'

In (45a), there is no clash between the existence of an initiator and the eventuality of the embedded predicate. The subject referent initiates the book-reading event also in the absence of *ta*, cf. (45b), yet there is an element of surprise in (45a). In fact, surprise readings with *gå* do not seem to be different from those with *take* in this respect, as shown by examples like (46a) below.

(46) a. Han gick och gifte sig med henne.
he go.PAST *& married*.PAST *REFL with her*
'[SURPRISE][INCEPT] he married her.'

b. Han gifte sig med henne.
he married.PAST *REFL with her*
'He married her.'

In (46a) above, the subject referent cannot be said to *not* have control over the (wedding) event that results in him being a married man. On the con-

trary, the reading yielded is one where the subject referent is responsible for the fact that he got married, a reading that the sentence shares with the corresponding sentence without *gå* in (46b). Nevertheless, (46a) has a touch of surprise to it. Again, the same is true of the English counterpart given in (47).

(47) He went and married her.

The above facts enable us to conclude that the surprise reading itself cannot be derived from some kind of unexpected causativization or clash between the existence of a controlling initiator and an event over which one cannot have control.[14] Note finally that focalizing the onset of the event of reading in (45a) above is not 'unexpected' in any sense. Therefore, the surprise reading cannot be derived from the mere expression of the initiation of an event (by the light verb). Crucially, the inceptive reading does not always give rise to surprise, as we have learned from examples like (43).

4.2 Surprising initiations of punctual events

The task in front of us at this point is twofold. First, we need to find the feature that unites (41a), (41b), and (46a) and that makes these different from examples like (43). This feature must be responsible for the uneven distribution of surprise readings within the class of *go-V* constructions. Then we need to investigate how *take-V* fits that picture. There is an obvious sense in which (41a), (41b), and (46a) above differ from (43). The embedded predicates of the former are *Achievements* in Vendler's (1967) terminology, whereas the embedded predicate of the latter denotes a bounded *Activity*.

[14]The surprise readings of (41a) and (41b) seem slightly stronger than that yielded by (46a) and examples given earlier. This 'extra' surprise, I do take to be due to the clash between *take* and *go* on the one hand, which are events of which we normally infer control on the part of the subject referent, and *win* and *die* on the other, which are events of which we infer non-control on the part of the subject referent. Although there seem to be degrees of surprise readings, this is a topic that I need to leave for future research.

At this point, we may hypothesize that a punctual event is a necessary ingredient for the surprise reading to arise. The intuition behind the proposal is that an emphasis on the initiation of an event that does not have much of a duration is surprising, yielding the touch of surprise that is present in examples like (41b), repeated below:

(48) Han gick och dog.
he go.PAST *& die*.PAST
'[SURPRISE][INCEPT] he died.'

If this is correct, then something more needs to be said about *take-V*. As noted above, there is nothing unexpected in emphasizing the onset of a reading event, which can be taken to last more than a couple of seconds, see (49). Yet there is an element of surprise.

(49) John tog och läste en bok.
John take.PAST *& read*.PAST *a book*
'[SURPRISE] [INCEPT] John read a book.'

So far, we know that whatever it is that yields the inceptive reading is partly responsible for yielding surprise. We also know that with *ta*, surprise is always present, whereas with *gå*, an embedded punctual event is required. Suppose then that *ta* and *gå* differ in that the former but not the latter has the effect of producing a punctual reading of the embedded predicate on its light verb use. Only the former yield surprise readings when combining with events that are not Achievements. On this hypothesis, the presence of an Activity in (49) would only be illusory. However, the fact that the 'aktionsart' of the embedded predicate does not change with the addition of the relevant light verbs, falsifies this hypothesis. Recall that the addition of *ta* to an activity predicate does not give rise to telicity in the event denoted by the embedded verb:[15]

[15]There is variation regarding what kind of event *ta* can combine with. In some varieties, all kinds of eventive predicates are possible, also certain 'stage-level' stative predicates (given the right

(51) Hon tog och dansade i flera timmar.
she take.PAST *& dance*.PAST *in several hours*
'[SURPRISE][INCEPT] she danced several hours.'

At present, we have a hunch that punctuality or a feature that is present in the lexical specification of punctual verbs must in some sense be involved in the creation of surprise readings. Nevertheless, facts concerning the aktionsart of *take-V* do not yet fit this picture. I ask the reader to keep this in mind as we proceed to investigate one more difference between *take* and *gå* that will lead us further.

4.3 The survival of the distantive killing the surprise

The attentive reader may have noticed that (41a), (41b), and (46a) above differ from (43) not only in yielding surprise readings. Interestingly, the distantive reading that was claimed to be present in *go-V* is lost in the examples referring to events of *winning*, *dying*, and *marrying*, cf. (52) involving *die* vs. (53) involving *swim* below. The English counterparts are given in (54) and (55), respectively.

(52) Han gick och dog.
he go.PAST *& die*.PAST
'**[SURPRISE]**[INCEPT] he died.'

(53) Han gick och simmade 100 meter bröstsim.
he go.PAST *& swim*.PAST *100 meter breaststroke*
'**[DISTANT]**[INCEPT] he swam 100 meter breaststroke.'

(54) He went and died.

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context), see (50).

(50) %Hon tog och var sur.
she take.PAST *& be*.PAST *grumpy*
'[SURPRISE][INCEPT] she was grumpy.'

(55) He went and swam 100 meter breaststroke.

The sentences in (52) and (54) above do not make reference to walking events (or other events of motion); the subject referent does not have to walk away from the reference location before he dies for the truth conditions of the sentences to be met. In contrast, the only reading available for (53) and (55) is one where the subject referent went away from the reference location and then swam. Taking this fact into consideration, we may hypothesize that the survival of the distantive reading kills the surprise or alternatively that whatever is responsible for the absence of the surprise reading rescues the distantive reading. As will become clear, the latter hypothesis seems to yield the correct predictions.

I take the distantive reading that survives in (53) to be parasitic on the existence of an embedded event that involves more than a single transition. That is, in the presence of an event with some internal duration, the manner component of Swedish *gå* (walk) and the concomitant distantive reading are inferred. This is why the distantive reading is absent in (52) and other examples involving punctual verbs. That this proposal is on the right track is supported by the fact that punctual events that can be perceived of as taking place iteratively (so-called semelfactives) enable the distantive reading to survive:

(56) Han gick och hoppade på soffan.
he go.PAST *& jump*.PAST *on sofa*.DEF
‘**[DISTANT]**[INCEPT] he jumped on the sofa.’

As soon as an episodic interpretation is available, as in (57a), the reading produced approaches that yielded by *take-V*, cf. (57b).

(57) a. Han gick och hoppade i sjön.
he go.PAST *& jump*.PAST *in lake*.DEF
‘**[SURPRISE]**[INCEPT] he jumped into the lake.’

b. Han tog och hoppade i sjön.
he take.PAST *& jump*.PAST *in lake*.DEF
'**[SURPRISE]**[INCEPT] he jumped into the lake.'

The distantive reading fades away and a surprise reading is available. Again, punctuality seems relevant to surprise.[16]

5 Punctuality

We are looking for an explanation for the fact that surprise readings with *go-V* are more restricted than surprise readings with *take-V*. We have seen that thematic properties of the verbs involved seem to have little to say about the distribution of surprise readings. Event type of the embedded predicate seems relevant for *go-V* but not *take-V* in that the former require an embedded punctual verb for the surprise reading to emerge. Along with the emergence of a surprise reading in these goes the disappearance of the distantive reading. The question that we are posing at this point is what it is that *take-V* possesses regardless of embedded predicate that *go-V* only has when a punctual event is involved. I propose that this is the encoding of a result state; i.e. a [res] feature in the lexical specification of the light verb.

5.1 The presence of [res]

Using the [res] diagnostics of Ramchand (2008), the verb *ta* but not the verb *gå* can take locational state prepositions to describe the final location of the undergoer of the process involved. The sentences in (59a) and (59b) show that both Place PPs and Path PPs can describe the final location with *ta*.[17]

[16](57a) also has an irrelevant locative reading similar to (56). On that interpretation, the distantive reading survives and the jumping takes place iteratively.

[17]An additional example of a Place PP describing the final location with *ta*:

(59) a. Han tog henne i sin famn. (PP = goal)
he take.PAST *her in his arms*
'He took her in his arms.'

b. Han tog henne till sin famn. (PP = goal)
he take.PAST *her to his arms*
'He took her into his arms.'

With *gå*, a Place PP can not alone describe the final location; (60a) below only has a locative reading. In order for a resultative interpretation to be available, a Path particle is required, cf. (60b).

(60) a. Han gick i rummet. (PP ≠ goal)
he go.PAST *in room*.DEF
'He was walking in the room.'

b. Han gick **in** i rummet. (PP = goal)
he go.PAST *to in room*.DEF
'He went into the room.'

I take this to mean that Swedish *ta* but not *gå* has a feature encoding the result state of the event in its lexical specification: [res]. The semantics of the res head will enable a goal reading of a locative PP in (59a):

(61) ...[InitP han tog [ProcP <tog> [ResP <tog> [PP henne i sin famn]]]]

The hypothesis that [res] has to be present on either of the verbs in the inceptive construction in order to yield surprise seems to be the one that yields the correct predictions regarding the distribution of surprise readings.

(62) a. *ta*: [init, proc, res]
b. *gå*: [init, proc]

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(58) Ta saltet [i vattnet] och rör om. (PP = goal)
take.IMP *salt*.DEF *in water*.DEF *and stir*.IMP *about*
'Put the salt in the water and stir.'

Take-V will always yield surprise readings, since the light verb *ta* has a feature [res] in its lexical specification. In Swedish, *ta* is the only light verb that I know of that qualifies for this purpose but we predict that e.g. *throw* and *fall* in languages where these verbs can be used as light verbs should be capable of producing similar readings.[18] We have seen that with *gå*, which does not encode a result state, an embedded punctual verb like *win*, *die*, or *marry* is required to yield a surprise reading. These verbs have [res] in their lexical specification. They are independently able to identify the result state of a process. As will become clear below, it is in this sense that these verbs are punctual, along with the verb *take*. Before we proceed, a note on English *go* is warranted. To the extent that a PlacePP is capable of describing the final location with English *go*, in examples like (63a), I assume that there is a null Path head in (63a) and that *go* does not have a [res] feature in its lexical specification.

(63) a. He went in the room.
b. He went into the room.
c. He went in to the room.

Thus, English *go* is like Swedish *gå* in lacking [res] in its lexical specification (see discussion in Tungseth 2006) but differs from the latter in licensing a null Path head (corresponding to the preposition *to*) in environments like (63a).[19]

[18] This is provided that these verbs are conceptually poor enough to be used in a complex predication where their [init] feature can identify an unassociated [init] feature of the embedded predicate (see below for details).

[19] The structure is roughly as given below:

(64) ...[InitP he went [procP <went> [PathP TO [PlaceP in the room]]]]

The locative element *in* moves to the Path head, as seen in (63b), which I take to be structurally identical to (63a), albeit with an overt *to*.

5.2 Revisiting punctuality

We are now in a position to revisit the hypothesis that punctuality counts for surprise readings in the inceptive construction. One prerequisite for a punctual reading to arise is the presence of [res] in the lexical specification of the verb associating to event structure. I adopt the proposal put forth in Ramchand (2008) that an achievement (punctual) interpretation is yielded when a lexical verb simultaneously identifies both process and result. Duration, in this sense, requires a verb which does not simultaneously identify both process and result. In this sense, *ta* is a punctual verb, whereas *gå* is not (the latter has no [res] in its lexical specification), cf. (62) above.

If I am correct in taking punctuality to be a crucial ingredient in the creation of surprise, result augmentation should not be sufficient; i.e. the mere presence of a result state in the sentence should not yield a surprise reading. The feature [res] has to be present in the lexical specification on either of the two verbs for there to be punctuality. This prediction is borne out and can be demonstrated by the addition of a resultative particle to an accomplishment predicate under *gå*. An accomplishment verb does not itself encode a result state (Ramchand 2008). In (65) below, the particle *upp* is doing this job. As expected, the surprise reading is missing in this case; the distantive reading is the only one available.

(65) Han gick och åt upp mackan.
he go.PAST *& eat*.PAST *up sandwich*.DEF
'**[DISTANT]**[INCEPT] he ate the sandwich.'

Since the verb *eat* does not simultaneously identify both process and result ([res] is identified by the particle), the eating event refers to an extended process. On the assumption that the distantive reading is dependent on the presence of an extended process to emerge (§3.3), whereas the surprise reading is dependent on punctuality (identification of process and result

by one lexical item), the distantive-inceptive reading of (65) follows.[20] We have added substance to our hunch that punctuality is relevant to surprise. When the light verb brings punctuality, as in *take-V*, the event type of the embedded predicate is not restricted. Surprise readings will arise regardless of embedded predicate. When the light verb does not bring this ingredient, as in *go-V*, the embedded verb has to bring punctuality in order for surprise to arise. Below, I present facts from Yiddish that seem to support the hypothesis that punctuality in combination with an inceptive reading is crucial to the surprise reading under investigation.

5.3 Surprise in Yiddish

In Yiddish, a light verb corresponding to English *do* may combine with another verbal element to produce certain aspectual meanings. The construction is referred to as the *shtam-konstruktsie* (the stem construction), see Diesing (2000) and references cited there:

(66) Maks hot a gey geton af foroys. (Yiddish)
Max has a go done forward
'Max marched forward.'

Prima facie, the Yiddish stem construction resembles the English light verb construction of the form *Peter did a dance*. However, it can be shown to allow a wider range of complements. In addition, the "stem" appears to be verbal rather than nominal (despite the presence of what looks like the indefinite article).[21] The meaning of the stem construction is reported to vary with the type of event denoted by the stem (main predicate) (Diesing 2000). With activities, the stem construction has the effect of either reducing the event denoted to a singular action (in the case of serial actions) or to an event with a diminutivized interpretation (non-iterative actions). Telic

[20] On result augmentation with the light verb, see §7.5 below.

[21] The stem can be modified by adverbs but not adjectives. It can neither be pluralized, nor relativized, see Diesing (2000) for details.

events receive a "sped up" interpretation. The term *semelfactive* is recurrent in descriptions of the aspectual interpretation of the construction, see Aronson (1985) and Taube (1987). In essence, these descriptions appear to mean that the stem construction yields a punctual interpretation. Interestingly, an inceptive reading is also available, a fact which enables us to test our hypothesis that the inceptive reading in combination with punctuality is what yields surprise in the relevant construction type. Whenever the inceptive reading is available in the Yiddish stem construction, there should be an element of surprise, assuming the stem construction to involve the relevant kind of complex predication. Looking at the data presented in Diesing (2000), the prediction seems borne out. (67) and (68) below both have an inceptive reading and both are reported to involve a touch of suddenness or unexpectedness; in other words what is here referred to as *surprise*.

(67) Zi hot an efn geton di oygn. (Yiddish)
she has an open done the eyes
'She (suddenly) opened her eyes.'

(68) Es hot a doner geton. (Yiddish)
there has a thunder done
'(Suddenly), there was a thunderclap.'

In support of our hypothesis then, punctuality in combination with an inceptive reading yields a touch of surprise, unexpectedness, or suddenness to the event denoted.

6 Deriving surprise

Before we investigate how the simplified analysis proposed in §4 can be modified to capture the more fine-grained facts, I wish to summarize the situation and make a brief note on the tense restrictions observed.

6.1 Surprise ingredients

The present investigation suggests that surprise readings in the constructions that we are concerned with require the following ingredients in order to be available:

1. **Inceptive reading:** emphasis on the onset of the embedded event
2. **Punctual reading:** a punctual verb

In terms of event structure syntax, (1.) is a requirement that a light verb identifies the causation/initiation component of the embedded predicate; the feature [init], which remains unassociated to syntax on the embedded verb. (2.) in turn is a requirement that one of the verbs involved identifies both [proc] and [res].[22] A natural question to ask at this point is where the surprise comes from given these facts. Recall that *ta* is punctual, whereas *gå* is not. This means that we can take the surprise reading yielded by *take-V* to derive directly from the punctuality of the light verb. Since the light verb expresses the onset of the event denoted by the embedded predicate and since it is punctual, the onset will be interpreted as *sudden* and in this sense also *unexpected*, yielding what I refer to as *surprise*. With *go-V*, surprise must be derived in a slightly different fashion, where punctuality plays a more indirect role. This is so because *gå* is not a punctual verb. Instead, punctuality needs to be brought by the embedded verb in this construction. I propose that pragmatic inferences about the nature of events with no duration is a third ingredient in these cases. The idea I wish to pursue is that the surprise perceived with *go-V* is inferred from the fact that a punctual event is not readily compatible with an 'emphasis' on its

[22] A *punctual event* here refers to an event that can be linguistically represented as having no duration. As far as I can see, nothing hinges on this particular assumption. For an alternative view, see Engelberg (1999), who proposes that punctual events are events that do not last longer than two to three seconds, an interval that he labels a 'cognitive moment' because it seems to play a crucial role for perception, behaviour, and speech production. Durative events are in this sense events that exceed the three-second interval.

onset; it hardly begins before it ends so to speak. A parallel fact indicating this incompatibility is that aspectual verbs like *begin* and *stop* cannot embed punctual verbs unless special readings are available, e.g. an iterative reading, as in (69).[23]

(69) He began to win (local contests).

Summing up, in both *take-V* and *go-V*, the combination of the inceptive reading and punctuality is responsible for the production of surprise. In the former, this combination yields a sudden (punctual) onset reading (inceptive) of the event denoted by the embedded predicate. In the latter, this combination yields an onset reading (inceptive) of an event with no internal duration (punctual), which is funny from a pragmatic perspective, yielding surprise.[24] In the absence of an embedded punctual event, as we have seen, *go-V* does not yield surprise.

(70) *Surprise readings:*

a. S1: Sudden onset reading (*take-V*)
b. S2: Onset reading of an event with no internal duration (*go-V*)

A third way of deriving surprise was attested in Salish (§3.4), contrasting with the inceptive constructions under investigation here in that it seemed totally independent from event structure syntax, being derived solely from pragmatic inferences about events over which one cannot have control.

6.2 A note on tense/mood restrictions

As mentioned earlier, past tense seems to be a relevant factor for surprise readings. Although a detailed investigation of this factor will have to be

[23]The fact that there is no surprise reading available for (69) in the absence of *local contests* is expected on the present analysis, given that ingredient (1.) is missing. That is, *begin* does not identify the [init] feature of *win* (inceptive reading) but rather restricts reference to the onset of the event (ingressive reading), cf. §3.2 above. The latter, I take to be a case of external aspect.

[24]This reading is also available in *take-V* when the embedded verb denotes a punctual event.

left for the future, I wish to present some facts from Swedish. Consider *take-V* first:

(71) a. Han tog och läste en bok.
he take.PAST *and read*.PAST *a book*

b. Han hade tagit och läst en bok.
he had take.SUP *and read*.SUP *a book*

c. Han tar och läser en bok.
he take.PRES *and read*.PRES *a book*

d. Ta och läs en bok!
take.IMP *and read*.IMP *a book*

In the past tense and in the perfect, as in (71a) and (71b), the interpretation yielded is one involving a sudden onset of a reading event (S1 above). The sentence is felicitously uttered in a situation where the subject referent suddenly started reading a book or e.g. when we have the background knowledge that the subject referent dislikes reading and the onset of a reading event is therefore unexpected. (71c), in turn, involves present tense and seems to have two readings. On one reading, the speaker is either using present tense in the report of a past (real or putative) event or is reporting on 'hot news'.[25] A surprise component seems to be present in this case. On the second reading, the subject referent is going to read a book in the immediate future. If a surprise component is present at all, it is far more subtle than in (71a). Finally, (71d) involves the imperative, and is a call for the onset of a reading event to be brought about. There is no surprise involved in this example. Consider, *go-V* in turn:

(72) a. Han gick och gifte sig.
he go.PAST *and married*.PAST REFL

b. Han hade gått och gift sig.
he had go.SUP *and marry*.SUP REFL

[25]These readings are variously referred to as *historical-*, *hot news-*, *dramatic-*, *reportive-*, and *voyeur* present.

c. Han går och gifter sig.
I go.PRES *and marry*.PRES REFL

d. Gå och gift dig!
go.IMP *and marry*.IMP REFL

In the past tense and in the perfect, (72a) and (72b), the interpretation yielded is one involving an unexpected event of marrying; the initiation is perceived as emphasized (S2 above). There are at least two readings available for (72c) involving present tense. The first reading is one where the so-called historic or 'hot news' present is used, which involves a surprise component. The second reading is the immediate future reading mentioned above, where surprise appears to be absent or at least less available than in (72a).[26] Finally, (72d) involves the imperative and is a call for the onset of a marrying event to be brought about. It involves no surprise component. To the extent that these descriptions of its distribution is correct, the surprise reading seems unavailable in irrealis environments. This may be due to some pragmatic incompatibility between irrealis and surprise and/or the behaviour of punctual verbs in irrealis environments. I need to leave this restriction for future research.

7 The syntax of surprise

7.1 Restructuring at the event structure level

The fact that the aktionsart of the embedded predicate does not change in the inceptive construction forces a bi-clausal structure or minimally partially separate event structures that the verbs involved can associate to. Recall that an activity predicate embedded under *ta* is still compatible with durative adverbials (§3.2):

[26]On progressive readings with *go-V*, see Wiklund (2007) and references cited there.

(73) Hon tog och dansade i flera timmar.
she take.PAST *& dance*.PAST *in several hours*
'[SURPRISE][INCEPT] she danced for several hours.'

Therefore, the analysis proposed in (39) will have to be more complex. A bi-clausal structure for the inceptive construction and related constructions has been argued for in Wiklund (2007) for independent reasons. Along with Wiklund (2007), I shall assume that the complement of the light verb in the inceptive construction is a restructured 'clause'. The nature of this restructuring lies beyond the scope of this paper and I therefore leave it open whether we are dealing with a full clausal CP where the restructured functional heads of the embedded clause unify (via Agree) with the corresponding heads in the matrix, as proposed in Wiklund (2007), or whether the complement reduces to event structure syntax (which we may refer to as VP). The former proposal captures the agreement between the verbs involved, which appears to be proportional to amount of structure in the non-restructured infinitival counterparts, where these exist. I refer the reader to Wiklund (2007) for a more detailed discussion of restructuring and agreement in the relevant construction. The latter approach is in line with the VP-analysis of restructuring proposed in Wurmbrand (2001).

For ease of exposition, the embedded predicate will be represented as reduced to event structure syntax here and I will leave the status of the subordinating conjunction aside, representing it as '*&*' below. In Wiklund (2007), this element is argued to be a complementizer that spells out a restructured C.[27] In essence, my proposal is that the embedded predicate is merged as a rheme of matrix *Proc* in the case of *go-V*, (74), and as a rheme of matrix *Res* in the case of *take-V*, (75); recall that *gå* is an [init, proc] verb, whereas *take* is an [init, proc, res] verb. A rheme consists of material that further describes a subevent or a state, relevantly process and result

[27]Similar proposals have been made for English *and* in related constructions (Faraci 1970, Aboh 2004).

respectively (see Ramchand 2008). Since the [init] feature of the embedded predicate remains unassociated to syntactic structure in inceptive constructions, an issue that we will return to shortly, the size of the embedded predicate (labelled v2 in the structures below) will always be ProcP and never InitP. A ResP may but need not be present; it is included in the structures below. In effect, the inceptive construction instantiates restructuring at the event structure level; the initiation component of the embedded verb is restructured by virtue of being unassociated to syntactic structure.

(74) ...[$_{\text{InitP}}$ *gå* [$_{\text{ProcP}}$ <*gå*> & [$_{\text{ProcP}}$ v2 [$_{\text{ResP}}$ <v2>]]]]
go-V

(75) ...[$_{\text{InitP}}$ *ta* [$_{\text{ProcP}}$ <*ta*> [$_{\text{ResP}}$ <*ta*> & [$_{\text{ProcP}}$ v2 [$_{\text{ResP}}$ <v2>]]]]]
take-V

Below, we will see how constraints on underassociation restrict this restructuring.

7.2 Lightness and underassociation

In the context relevant to us, Swedish *ta* and *gå* appear to have a status in between that of auxiliaries and lexical verbs. They resemble auxiliaries in that they do not bear phrasal stress. They are also semantically light; less specified compared to other verbs within the same semantic domain.[28] In the inceptive construction, as we have seen, the verbs seem to have a 'functional' rather than a 'lexical' use, especially with *ta* this is very clear. As we have seen though, manner of motion survives with *gå* (walk) in certain environments. In these cases a distantive reading is present, whereas the surprise reading in unavailable. Moreover, unlike modal verbs and the

[28]They may both be used with inanimates and abstract expressions in other contexts. Examples include: *TV-tittande tar tid* (TV-watching takes time) and *Tiden går fort* (Time goes by quickly).

auxiliary *ha* 'have' used to form the perfect, *ta* and *gå* inflect for all forms in the inceptive construction, event though surprise is not present in all of these. Another indication that these verbs are not auxiliaries in the standard sense is the fact that they do not modify the Aktionsart of the embedded predicate (§3.2), which we would expect if they were functioning as aspectual operators higher up in the clause. Based on these facts, I have taken *ta* and *gå* to be light verbs in a complex predication in the construction that we are concerned with here. In this sense, I follow Wiklund (2007). However, I do not assume that light verbs necessarily associate to syntactic structure in a different fashion on their 'functional' use than they do on their 'lexical' use. I have argued that these verbs lexicalize all category features (event components) in their lexical specification. I follow Ramchand (2008) by defining the *lightness* of these and similar verbs from a semantic viewpoint; the lexical-encyclopedic content that these verbs (qua lexical items) contribute is non-specific and abstract. This is not to say that this *lightness* has no syntactic repercussions. It indeed has, also in the inceptive construction. It is this property that enables underassociation to take place. Ramchand (2008: 98) proposes that underassociation is possible only if the following conditions are satified:

(76) Underassociation:
If a lexical item contains an underassociated category feature,
(i) that feature must be independently identified within the phase and linked to the underassociated feature by Agree;
(ii) the two category features so linked must unify their lexical-encyclopedic content.

Given that it is the embedded verb and not the light verb that has a feature that remains unassociated to syntactic structure, condition (i) is met in the present analysis. The unassociated [init] feature of the embedded verb is

identified by the same feature of the light verb, via Agree. Condition (ii) in turn can only be met in cases where one of the two bearers of the relevant category feature has a fairly general meaning compared to other lexical items within the same semantic domain. This enables a unification of the lexical-encyclopedic content of the poorer item with the more contentful item. In the inceptive construction, the matrix verbs both qualify for this purpose. The verb *take* is poor compared to e.g. *steal*. The verb *go* is poor compared to e.g. *lumber*.

7.3 The inceptive reading revisited

The present proposal captures the difference noted above between (21a) and (21b), repeated below. Whereas (77a) implies that the subject referent did not dance before eleven, (77b) does not say anything about when the dancing started, only that there was an event of dancing taking place at eleven. The same fact holds for *go-V*.

(77) a. Hon tog och dansade klockan elva.
she take.PAST *& dance*.PAST *clock*.DEF *eleven*

b. Hon dansade klockan klockan elva.
she dance.PAST *clock*.DEF *eleven*

Because the two verbs involved in the inceptive construction have (partially) separate event structures, the event variable to which tense will be anchored is the one introduced by the light verb. A temporal adverbial will therefore modify the event expressed by the light verb. More specifically, since the [init] feature of the light verb identifies the unassociated (in this sense restructured) [init] feature of the embedded verb (via Agree), the temporal adverbial will be interpreted as specifying the time of the initiation of the event denoted by the embedded verb. These two factors, I argue, are crucial to the inceptive reading. The perception of an emphasis on the initiation of the event denoted by the embedded verb derives from identifi-

cation of embedded [init] by the light verb in combination with tense being anchored to the event variable introduced by the light verb.

Note that the facts presented here cannot be accounted for by assuming the light verb to lexicalize [init] alone in a mono-VP structure, unless we postulate two versions of *go* and *take*, respectively. We would then have to say that these verbs do not possess any other feature apart from [init] on the light verb version. If we did not, we would incorrectly predict verbs that lack a [res] feature in their lexical specification to be banned from combining with *take* in the inceptive construction. This is so, because the [res] feature of *take*, which would have to remain unassociated to syntactic structure on that analysis, would be left unidentified in these cases:

(78) ... [$_{\text{InitP}}$ *light verb* & [$_{\text{ProcP}}$ v2]]

In the approach pursued here, there is but one lexical item *go* and one lexical item *take*, the former an [init, proc] verb, the latter a [init, proc, res] verb. Because these verbs have a fairly general meaning, they enable restructuring at the event structure level in the embedded predicate. [29]

7.4 The surprise reading revisited

Regardless of the verb type in the complement, *take-V* will yield a sudden onset reading (surprise reading 1) because the light verb is punctual by virtue of lexicalizing both [proc] and [res] (in addition to [init]). An embedded punctual verb is therefore not necessary for surprise to arise:

(79) ... [$_{\text{InitP}}$ *ta* [$_{\text{ProcP}}$ <*ta*> [$_{\text{ResP}}$ <*ta*> & [$_{\text{ProcP}}$ v2]]]] (*take-V*)

[29] As Christer Platzack (p.c.) points out, there is a punctual reading of *gå* in Swedish, corresponding to English *leave*: *Han gick (iväg)*. (lit. He went away; 'He left.') The contrast in (60) and the difference between *ta* and *gå* with regard to surprise readings, however, makes an analysis of *gå* as a [init, proc, res] verb problematic. I therefore hypothesize that there is a null Path head present on the punctual reading of *gå*, which is unavailable in the inceptive construction. This analysis seems to me to make the correct predictions for the data presented here. It is of course possible that there is variation to be found.

In contrast, surprise readings with *go-V* are dependent on a punctual embedded verb because the light verb *go* does not have a [res] feature in its specification. When a punctual verb is present in the complement of the light verb, as in (74) above, the reading yielded is one where the initiation of the embedded event – which lacks internal duration – is emphasized, producing surprise (surprise reading 2). When v2 does not lexicalize both [proc] and [res], as in (80), punctuality is missing and a surprise reading is not available. The structure yields an inceptive-distantive reading (as in *Han gick och läste en bok* 'He went and read a book'):

(80) ... [$_{\text{InitP}}$ *gå* [$_{\text{ProcP}}$ <*gå*> & [$_{\text{ProcP}}$ v2]]] (*go-V*)

It remains to be shown how the surprise readings investigated here are related – if at all – to the so-called (ad)mirative mood that can be used to express surprise in the form of verbal inflection or particles in e.g. Albanian, Aromanian, and Western Apache, see e.g. Friedman (2005) and DeLancey (1997). Rather than expressing an unexpected event, however, this mood appears to express unexpected or surprising information (and also doubt and irony) along with information about available evidence (evidentiality). Interestingly, this mood also seems to display tense restrictions in that it cannot occur with non-past reference. This may be an indication of at least a pragmatic overlap with the inceptive surprise reading, perhaps an incompatibility between surprise/unexpectedness and irrealis as suggested above.

7.5 The distantive reading revisited

The fact that manner of motion (walk) is under certain circumstances perceived in the inceptive construction in Swedish, I have taken to derive from semantic inferences that are dependent on the syntactic environment to which *gå* is associated. In the case relevant to us, I have shown that manner of motion and motion away from a reference location are features that

seem dependent on internal duration in the embedded verb. Note that result augmentation with the light verb *gå* also prevents a surprise reading in favor of the distantive reading, see (81) below where the particle *ut* is combined with the light verb.

(81) Han gick ut och gifte sig.
he go.PAST *out & marry*.PAST *REFL*.DEF
'[DISTANT] he went out and married.'

In fact, the inceptive reading also vanishes in the presence of the particle, which explains the lack of a surprise reading. I propose that this is a locality effect. An unassociated [init] feature of *marry* cannot be identified by *gå*, due to the intervening particle. The two events of *going* and *marrying* therefore remain separate, i.e. no restructuring can take place. The presence of the directional particle therefore forces a distantive reading under which manner of motion can be inferred.

7.6 Surprise in English

Alongside with the *go-V* construction, English has a construction that seems to be parallel to those investigated here except that the particle *up* is used instead of a light verb (see Quirk et al. 1985):

(82) She *up* and left him.

The *up-V* construction yields what appears to be an inceptive reading and resembles *take-V* in that it produces a surprise reading regardless of embedded predicate.[30] I propose that the particle does the job of the light verb and is capable of identifying the [init] feature of the embedded verb. Abstracting away from potential bi-clausality, we have:[31]

(83) $[_{InitP}$ up & $[_{ProcP}$ left $[_{ResP}$ <left>]]

[30]There seems to be speaker variation regarding event types allowed in the complement.
[31]I remain agnostic about which feature of *up* is capable of lexicalizing *Init*.

In fact, some speakers allow the particle to take on verbal inflectional morphology, supporting the present analysis (example from Quirk et al. 1985: 979):

(84) She upped and left him.

8 Conclusion

In this paper, I have argued that the touch of surprise, unexpectedness, or suddenness that is produced in inceptive constructions involving *go* and *take* can be derived from a combination of two factors. First, the inceptive reading itself is a necessary ingredient; a reading where the onset of the event denoted by the embedded predicate is in some sense focalized. Second, a punctual verb is required. This punctuality can be derived from the light verb (as in *take-V*), in which case surprise arises regardless of embedded predicate, or from the embedded verb alone (as in *go-V*), in which case surprise is absent with durative verbs in the complement of the light verb. In the case of *take-V*, the surprise reading was argued to derive from the punctuality of the light verb expressing the initiation (sudden onset reading). In the case of *go-V* pragmatic inferences about the particular event encoded in the syntactic structure was argued to be what produces the touch of surprise. An emphasis on the onset of an event with no internal duration yields a quirky twist to the event, as it were. The generalizations presented in this paper can be taken to offer support for Ramchand's 2008 proposal concerning the decomposition of verbal meaning; event structure is directly represented in syntax. From the more theoretical perspective, surprise readings were thus claimed to be dependent on the particular event structure(s) associated with the predicates involved as well as choice of lexicalization of this structure.

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The force of the argument

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Abstract
In reply to Wiklund (2009), this paper addresses once again embedded V2 clauses in Scandinavian: the behaviour of certain discourse oriented elements in these clauses, the possibility of topicalising embedded V2 clauses, and the optionality of embedded V2. The conclusion is that the analysis according to which embedded V2 clauses have illocutionary force can still be maintained.

1. Introduction

Wiklund (2009) argues against the view that embedded declarative V2 clauses differ from embedded declarative non-V2 clauses in Scandinavian in that the former have illocutionary force — in other words, they are asserted — while the latter are characterised by absence of illocutionary force.

The idea that embedded V2 clauses are asserted was defended in Julien (2007) and Julien (2008), and consequently, it is only as expected that Wiklund (2009) explicitly argues against these contributions. However, since Wiklund's short paper does not quite give justice to the arguments put forward by Julien, I feel that a reply is in place in order to avoid further misunderstandings.

The following phenomena are discussed by Wiklund (2009) in connection with embedded V2: discourse oriented adverbial elements, topicalisation of embedded clauses, and the possibility of replacing embedded V2-clauses with non-V2 clauses. Here, I will deal with these phenomena in that order.

2. Discourse oriented adverbial elements

Wiklund (2009:33) claims that "according to Julien (2008), the V2 word order is preferred with discourse-oriented swear words", and she states that she and many other speakers do not agree. She then gives the following examples of

embedded non-V2 clauses containing discourse markers (her examples (10a-d), all in Swedish):

(1)a. Hon upptäckte att han ju inte hade rest.
she discovered that he you.know not had gone

b. Hon sa att han fasen inte hade gjort ett skit.
she said that he SwearWord not had done a shit

c. Hon sa att han ärligt talat inte hade betalat.
she said that he honestly speaking not had paid

d. Vi upptäckte att de nämligen/minsann inte hade kommit.
we discovered that they you.see/indeed not had come

I completely agree that the above examples are fully acceptable, and that many discourse oriented elements are just as good in non-V2 order as in V2 order in Scandinavian. But note that the examples given in Julien (2008) involved one particular swear word phrase, *for fanden* (Da)/*for faen* (No)/*för fan* (Swe), which appears to have a closer affiliation with certain types of illocutionary force than other discourse oriented expressions. It can strengthen an assertion or an imperative, and even the force in a simple 'yes' or 'no'. The Swedish examples in (2), which were given as (62a-c) in Julien (2008), illustrate this:

(2)a. Jag kan för fan inte gå och fika i mysbyxor!
I can for devil not go and have.coffee in sweat.pants
'I can for fuck's sake not go and have a coffee wearing sweat pants!'

b. Njut då för fan!
enjoy then for devil
'Enjoy then, for fuck's sake!'

c. Nej för fan!
no for devil
'No, for fuck's sake!'

My statement that "discourse oriented swearword phrases like *for fanden*" work in this way was a hedge, since I cannot say for certain that there are not other expressions with the same effect. But it is nevertheless clear that none of the discourse-oriented adverbs in (1) have exactly the same effect as *for fanden*.

Although they are all acceptable in a declarative clause like (2a), as shown in (3), they arguably do not make the same semantic contribution as *for fanden* (and variants):

(3) Jag kan ju /fasen /ärligt talat /nämligen/minsann
I can you.know/SwearWord/honestly speaking/ you.see /indeed
inte gå och fika i mysbyxor!
not go and have.coffee in sweat.pants
'I can [insert adverb here] not go and have a coffee wearing sweat pants!'

And if we replace *för fan* in (2b) and (2c) with the discourse oriented adverbs in (1), the result is ill-formed, at least if the adverb is in the same intonational phrase as the imperative or the interjection, as is the case with *för fan* in (2bc):

(4)a. Njut då #ju /#fasen /#ärligt talat
enjoy then you.know/SwearWord/honestly speaking
/#nämligen/#minsann!
/you.see/indeed

b. Nej, #ju /#fasen /#ärligt talat /#nämligen
no you.know/SwearWord/honestly speaking/you.see
/#minsann!
/indeed

The tag *ärligt talat* 'honestly speaking' can combine with imperatives and with 'yes' and 'no' if it constitutes a separate intonational phrase, which is an indication that it is not structurally integrated with the rest of the utterance. *För fan*, by contrast, can appear in the same intonational phrase as the imperative or interjection, which indicates that it is structurally integrated into the utterance.

In addition, *för fan* can appear inside imperatives, as in (5):

(5) Rekommendera nu för fan inte din egen blogg!
recommend now for devil not your own blog
'Don't you bloody recommend your own blog!'

This is completely impossible for the other discourse markers under discussion:

(6) Rekommendera nu #ju /#fasen /#ärligt talat
recommend now *you.know*/*SwearWord*/*honestly speaking*
/#nämligen /#minsann inte din egen blogg!
/you.see indeed not your own blog

Hence, I maintain that *för fan* (and its counterparts in other Scandinavian varieties) first and foremost serves as a strengthener of various kinds of illocutionary force. In other words, it was not randomly chosen in the examples given in Julien (2008).

A final point made in Julien (2008) was that *för fan* (and its counterparts) is better in embedded V2 clauses that in embedded non-V2 clauses (example (63) in Julien (2008)):

(7)a. Hon sa **att** hon **hade** för fan inte betalat räkning-en i tid.
she said that she had for devil not paid bill-DEF in time
'She said that she had for fuck's sake not paid the bill on time.'

b. ?? Hon sa **att** hon för fan inte **hade** betalat räkning-en i tid.
she said that she for devil not had paid bill-DEF in time

The difference is subtle, and not immediately noticed by everyone, but it is nevertheless there. If it is true that *för fan* is affiliated with illocutionary force, the contrast between (7a) and (7b) suggests that illocutionary force is present in the embedded clause in (7a), which has V2 order, in a way that it is not in the embedded clause in (7b), which has non-V2 order.

3. Topicalisation of embedded clauses

Wiklund (2009) further claims that embedded V2 clauses cannot be topicalised, i.e. moved to initial position in their matrix clause, and she suggests that this may be due to whatever is responsible for their root status, and not necessarily a consequence of their V2 order or their illocutionary force.

However, I showed in Julien (2007) that it is not completely impossible to have a V2 clause in the initial position. The following minimal pair of Norwegian sentences was presented as an illustration (example (51ab) in Julien (2007)):

(8)a. At den gutt-en *ikke* **var** som andre glemte de alltid
that that boy-DEF not was like others forgot they always
'That that boy was not like the others, they always forgot.'

b. ? At den gutt-en **var** *ikke* som andre glemte de alltid
that that boy-DEF was not like others forgot they always
'That that boy was not like the others, they always forgot.'

As indicated, I find (8b) only slighly less perfect than (8a), although (8b) involves a topicalised embedded clause with V2 order, whereas the topicalised embedded clause in (8a) has non-V2 order.

Furthermore, I proposed in Julien (2007) that the reason why embedded V2 clauses often resist topicalisation has to do with their discourse status. Let me quote from Julien (2007:44):

> Fronted constituents are often topics, and clauses that are topics must have a content that is given in the discourse. That is, the proposition that they represent should be presupposed rather than asserted, and since V2 clauses are necessarily asserted, they are normally not good as topics.

I then argued that some embedded V2 clauses, namely those that are embedded under factive or semifactive predicates, are both presupposed and asserted. That is, whereas the proposition that the embedded clause represents has to be presupposed by the speaker, it is not necessarily known by the hearer, so that it is possible for the speaker to treat it as new information for the hearer (in fact, this is very close to the characterisation that Wiklund (2009) gives of her example (4)). It is its presupposed status that makes the embedded clause in (8b) acceptable in initial position, while its V2 order is connected to its asserted status.

I also pointed out in Julien (2007) that if an embedded V2 clause is focused, for example in the sense that it represents the relevant new information in an answer to a *wh*-question, it can appear in the initial position of its matrix clause. Thus, (9), with an embedded V2 clause in initial position, is a possible answer to a question like "What did she say?" (again the example is Norwegian).

(9) At poet **kan** du *ikke* bli var det hun sa.
that poet can you not become was it she said
'That you cannot become a poet was what she said.'

My conclusion was that there are no structural difficulties with having an embedded V2 clause in the initial position of its matrix clause. Instead, it is the asserted status of embedded V2 clauses that in many cases prevent them from appearing in that position (as Faarlund, Lie & Vannebo 1997: 984 also suggest).

4. V2 versus non-V2

Wiklund (2009:31–32) notes that non-V2 order is always possible in Swedish embedded clauses, even in those cases where V2-order is an alternative, and that it is not clear in what sense embedded clauses with non-V2 order are not also assertions. This is then seen as another problem for the approach I have been defending, according to which only V2 clauses are asserted.

To illustrate her argument, Wiklund (2009) gives the following example of a question, given here as (10), with four possible answers, repeated here as (11ab) and (12ab):

(10) Varför kom han inte på festen?
why came he not on party.DEF
'Why didn't he come to the party?'

(11)a. Han påstod att han inte hade tid.
he claimed that he not had time
'He claimed that he did not have time.'

b. Han påstod att han hade inte tid.
he claimed that he had not time
'He claimed that he did not have time.'

(12)a. Någon sa att dom inte ville ha en idiot där.
someone said that they not wanted have an idiot there
'Someone said that they didn't want an idiot there.'

b. Någon sa att dom ville inte ha en idiot där.
someone said that they wanted not have an idiot there
'Someone said that they didn't want an idiot there.'

As we see, the a) answers involve an embedded clause with non-V2 order, while the b) answers involve an embedded clause with V2 order. And as Wiklund points out, the two versions are in either case equally acceptable, and moreover,

they have the same properties with respect to the main assertion — in (11a) and (11b), the embedded clause represents the main assertion, whereas in (12a) and (12b), the whole sentence represents the main assertion. I agree with this, and I am also not aware of any differences between the Mainland Scandinavian varieties in this respect.

However, as I see it the similarities between V2 and non-V2 noted by Wiklund only demonstrate that embedded V2 cannot be accounted for in terms of main assertion, contrary to the proposal put forward by Bentzen et al. (2007) and Wiklund et al. (2009). The analysis according to which embedded V2 clauses are asserted whereas non-V2 clauses are not still goes through. On this analysis, when the embedded clause has non-V2 order, as in (11a) and (12a), the proposition that the embedded clause represents is not in itself asserted. It is just reported, while it is the whole sentence containing the embedded clause that is asserted. But when the embedded clause has V2 order, as in (11b) and (12b), both the matrix clause and the embedded clause are asserted—in other words, both clauses have a Force head. The pragmatic difference between the two options is so subtle that it for many purposes can be ignored. It is there nevertheless, and as I have shown, the discourse marker *för fan* is sensitive to it. Speakers' intuitions also tend to point in the same direction. While I am perfectly aware that more convincing tests would be desirable, I also think that the lack of knockdown tests does not necessarily mean that the approach in itself is mistaken.

5. Conclusion

Embedded V2 clauses in Scandinavian are pragmatically different from non-V2 clauses. One piece of evidence is that certain discourse-oriented elements that are sensitive to illocutionary force are more acceptable in embedded V2 clauses than in non-V2 clauses.

The fact that V2 clauses often resist topicalisation, unlike non-V2 clauses, is also a consequence of the asserted status of V2 clauses. However, if the clause is also presupposed, which is the case if it is embedded under a factive or semifactive predicate, it can be treated as a topic and moved to initial position. Movement to initial position is also possible if the clause is focused.

Finally, it must be noted that there is only a subtle pragmatic difference between a construction with an embedded clause that is asserted in its own right and a construction where only the larger sentence containing the embedded is asserted. As a consequence, the illocutionary force of embedded V2 clauses is not easily perceived, and tests that unambiguously demonstrate its presence are hard to find.

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May the force be with you: A reply from the 5th floor*

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The main aim of Wiklund (2009) was to bring together the results of recent contributions to research on the difference between the verb second (1a) and verb-in-situ (1b) word orders in embedded clauses, of which the work by Marit Julien (e.g. Julien 2007) constitutes an important part, with what seems to be the common goal of understanding the difference between the two word orders.

(1) a. Olle sa att han inte hade läst boken. (non-V2)
Olle say.Past that he not had read.Sup book.Def
b. Olle sa att han hade inte läst boken (V2)
Olle say.Past that he had not read.Sup book.Def

Another aim was to facilitate an identification of points of agreement and potential disagreement, a sort of state-of-the-art report. When terminological issues were cleared up, the points of disagreement between e.g. me and Julien appeared to me to reduce to grammaticality judgements. From Julien (this volume), I understand that my attempts were not successful and that misunderstandings remain, which makes it difficult to know at what level to place the discussion. I fail to see where I state that embedded V2 clauses are not asserted. My point is that certain embedded clauses with the verb in-situ also qualify as assertions, given the definitions at hand. I also fail to see where I, or my co-authors, state that V2 can be accounted for in terms of *main assertion* (or *main point of utterance*); we spent half of our paper arguing quite the opposite (Wiklund et al. 2009) and the argument is repeated in Wiklund (2009). Verb second and main assertion have the same distribution but can occur independently of one another. Therefore, this test does not single out V2 from non-V2 word orders. The swear word

*I owe many thanks to Marit Julien, whose work has inspired me in my search for the force that we both wish to identify, and to Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson for discussion of Icelandic.

test introduced by Julien (2008) is a brilliant follow-up. Only, it fails to distinguish V2 from non-V2 word orders in the varieties that I have consulted, in the very same way that our own once so hope-inducing MPU test failed. In many contexts, the non-V2 word order is even slightly more natural to my ear, such as in the examples below including the supposedly crucial swear word *för fasen* (other examples can be found on the internet).

(2) a. Han blir förbannad och ropar att han för fa(se)n inte alls
he gets angry and shouts that he ϟ ⌒ not at-all
är doktor.
is doctor

b. Han blir förbannad och ropar att han är för fa(se)n inte alls
he gets angry and shouts that he is ϟ ⌒ not at-all
doktor.
doctor

(3) a. Du kunde ha sagt att man för fa(se)n inte kan jämföra vin
you could have said that one ϟ ⌒ not can compare wine
och öl.
and beer

b. Du kunde ha sagt att man kan för fa(se)n inte jämföra vin
you could have said that one can ϟ ⌒ not compare wine
och öl.
and beer.

Now we can either try to convince each other who has the most representative informants, or we can acknowledge variation. It is possible that the presence of *för fasen* has the effect of producing or identifying a "force" of some kind. But a force is also perceived in its presence with the V-in-situ word order, as is the case with the other discourse-oriented elements exemplified in Wiklund (2009: 33): "[a]lthough this fact does not preclude a difference between V2 and non-V2 word order with respect to illocutionary force in the absence of the above elements, verb movement does not appear to be obligatory in the presence of the purported illocutionary force features." If it was not clear enough, the difference between V2 and

non-V2 in the absence of the above mentioned elements may be the presence of a (perceived) force of some kind, which seems to be in line with what Julien herself wants to argue. The perception of a similar force in the presence of discourse-oriented elements but in the absence of verb second should be an interesting fact that arguably takes us one step further. Thus, I fail to see what is debated here, if the debate is about something else than grammaticality judgements. I am ready to engage in a discussion about how the "force" perceived can be derived when we know more about it, if that is a matter of disagreement. But then the discussion must be raised to another level, one where there is at least agreement on where the points of disagreement lie and where the logics behind my argumentation are properly referred to. A constructive next step would be to pin down what is meant by *force* here. One immediate possibility that comes to mind is that examples like (2a) and (2b) share assertoric force but differ from each other in *point of view-ness*. The importance of swear words *qua* evaluative elements indicates that sentience/evidentiality may be relevant. To me the point of view in (2a) seems associated with either the matrix subject or with the speaker (being responsible for evaluating the truth of the embedded assertion), whereas the point of view in (2b) appears associated with only the speaker (being responsible for evaluating the truth of the embedded assertion). Swear words that *prima facie* seem to include reference to the speaker, such as *fan i mig* (devil in me) are thus compatible with both word orders in my variety:

(4) a. Hon såg att han fan-i-mig inte hade läst brevet.
she saw that he devil-in-me not had read letter-the
b. Hon såg att han hade fan-i-mig inte läst brevet.
she saw that he had devil-in-me not read letter-the

Maybe there is intresting micro-variation in this respect. The swear word *för fasen*, in turn, can be taken to identify assertoric force from both points of view in my variant (as do other evaluative elements) but apparently

only the speaker-anchored point of view in the varieties reported on by Julien. If I am on the right track, verb second has to do with the "very fine" structure of the left periphery and encodes sentience/evidentiality, at least in declaratives. The quasi-marked (parenthetical) status of embedded verb second (vis-à-vis the canonical non-V2 word order) should then be deriveable from the interference of the speaker's point of view in environments where the subject of a verb of speech or propositional attitude would be the most natural binder of the relevant role from a semantic point of view but where it is prevented from establishing this relation due to the V2 clause being an island for such binding. A similar difference appears to be present in Icelandic (or varieties of Icelandic) between the subject-initial and non-subject initial verb second word orders in embedded clauses. The subject-initial word order is ambiguous between the two readings, whereas the non-subject initial word order yields speaker-anchored assertoric force. All of this, of course, is the topic of a different paper.

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