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90**

**Ermenegildo Bidese, Andrea Padovan,
Alessandra Tomaselli**

A binary system of complementizers in Cimbrian relative clauses
1–21

Camilla Thurén

The syntax of Swedish copular clauses
23–52

Eva Klingvall

Topics in pseudo passives
53–80

Fredrik Heintz

Finiteness in Swedish.
81–110

Gunlög Josefsson

”Disagreeing” doubling *det*
111–140

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Preface

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Christer Platzack
editor

Address
Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax
Christer Platzack. ed.
Center of Language and Literature
Box 201
SE-221 00 Lund
Sweden

A binary system of complementizers in Cimbrian relative clauses

Ermenegildo Bidese* – Andrea Padovan[#] – Alessandra Tomaselli[#]
University of Trento / MIT* – University of Verona[#]

Abstract

The system of Cimbrian relative clauses manifests itself in a complex scenario: two different complementizers occur in this context: i) the ‘autochthonous’ (Germanic) *bo*, cognate of Southern German *wo*, and ii) the ‘allochthonous’ *ke*, borrowed from Italian (*che*), which is gradually spreading. In our paper we provide empirical evidence for a crucial specialization of both complementizers: the former shows up only in restrictive relative clauses, the latter in both restrictive and non-restrictive relatives, giving rise to a binary system. In our analysis we aim to explain the binary system of Cimbrian relative complementizers directly addressing the general discussion about relative clauses, showing once more the relevance of both linguistic contact and microvariation for the theory of grammar.

Introduction¹

Cimbrian is a minority language spoken in the area between the Province of Trento and the Veneto Region in Northeast Italy. It belongs to the group of Southern Bavarian-Austrian dialects. According to the traditional view, the first settlements of Southern German people in this area of Northern Italy occurred during the 11th Century (cf. Bidese 2004): Cimbrian has been isolated ever since from the Southern Bavarian-Austrian varieties, still, it has preserved

¹ The present contribution was written by the authors in complete collaboration. For the formal definition of scholarly responsibility, as required by the Italian academic system, we declare that Ermenegildo Bidese draws up the introduction and § 1, Andrea Padovan §§ 2 and 4, Alessandra Tomaselli § 3. The contents of this article were presented at CIDSIM (Leiden, 2012). We thank the audience for discussion.

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morpho(no)logical features in common with its medieval cognate languages (cf. among others Kranzmayer [1923] 1981–1985; Panieri 2008, 2010). Moreover, several syntactic features of Cimbrian have developed possibly under the influence of the Romance local varieties and Standard Italian (cf. Bidese/Tomaselli 2007; Bidese 2008). Nowadays, the three major varieties of Cimbrian are spoken in Luserna-Lusérn in the Province of Trento; in the so-called area of the *Tredici Comuni* (lit. “Thirteen Municipalities”) in the Province of Verona (where Cimbrian is spoken in the village of Ljetzan-Giazza only); in the so-called area of the *Sette Comuni* (lit. “Seven Municipalities”) close to Asiago in the Province of Vicenza (where only few speakers of Cimbrian are found in the village of Robaan-Roana. This paper focuses on the Cimbrian variety of Luserna, since the actual number of fluent speakers is still high in this village. Moreover, all the measures taken by the local government to endorse language planning make this variety the most fruitful to investigate.

As regards the main point of this paper, traditional grammatical descriptions² of Luserna Cimbrian have pointed out that the system of relative clauses (RC) manifests itself in a complex scenario. Even if Cimbrian disposes of just one relative complementizer, i.e. *bo* – the cognate of Southern German *wo* (for details on Bavarian, cf. Bayer 1984) – nevertheless this invariable form must co-occur with weak elements (either weak pronouns or the invariable particle *da*) in a non-trivial way.

Furthermore, Cimbrian displays a manifold, contact-induced condition w.r.t. relative clauses, since the invariant form *ke* (borrowed from Italian) can also show up, alternating with *bo* and acquiring a dedicated function as non-restrictive relative complementizer, as we will see.

The aim of this paper is twofold: (i) to provide evidence for a binary system of Cimbrian relative clauses (restrictive vs. non-restrictive) which has been hitherto neglected, to say the least; (ii) to provide an adequate analysis of this split.

²Bacher (1905); Tyroller (2003); Panieri et al. (2006).

As for the structure of the paper, restrictive RCs are described in paragraph 1. Paragraph 2 is devoted to non-restrictive RCs. In paragraph 3 we propose an analysis of the phenomena taken into account in terms of (i) the different syntactic position of *bo* and *ke* and (ii) the specialization of *ke* for non-restrictive RCs showing in which way Cimbrian data contribute to the general discussion about the structure of RCs. In paragraph 4. we resemble the dichotomy between *bo* and *ke* in the Cimbrian relatives to the opposition *az* vs. *ke* in the declarative clauses as showed by Grewendorf/Poletto (2011) and Padovan (2011) proposing a similar analysis for both phenomena.

1. Restrictive relative clauses (RRs)

RRs behave differently with respect to the syntactic function (subject vs. object) of the relative element *bo*.

Let us consider **subject relatives** first: in this case, *bo* must always co-occur with the enclitic particle *-da*³. Therefore, we find the invariable complex form *bo-da*, used both for singular and plural reference⁴:

- (1) a dar libar **bo-da** redet vo Lusérn ist vil interessánt
 b *dar libar **bo** redet vo Lusérn ist vil interessánt
 the book THAT tells about L. is very interesting
 (the book dealing with L. is very interesting)
 c di mǎnnen **bo-da** arbatn in balt soin tshelln von Mario⁵
 d *di mǎnnen **bo** arbatn in balt soin tshelln von Mario

³ *Da* is a polysemous element in Cimbrian: (i) it has a locative meaning, ‘there’; (ii) is an allomorph of the III person plural tonic (/demonstrative) pronoun *se* ‘they’/‘these’ and (iii) it shows up along with both relative and declarative complementizers. See Kolmer (2005) for a first analysis of the different functions of *-da*.

⁴ All examples – except for those taken from Panieri et al. (2006) – come from the questionnaires we administered to our excellent Cimbrian consultants. Heartfelt thanks to Andrea and Luisa Nicolussi Golo, Adelia Nicolussi Baiz and Gisella Nicolussi.

⁵ According to a recently introduced spelling reform, we use the grapheme <â> to indicate /ǝ/.

the men, THAT work in wood are friends of Mario
 (the men working in the wood are Mario's friends)

Formally: $(\mathbf{bo-da})_{\text{subj}} \mathbf{V}_{\text{fin}} / * \mathbf{bo}_{\text{subj}} \mathbf{V}_{\text{fin}}$

Object relatives display a twofold behavior as regards the presence of *-da*: as a matter of fact, *-da* is obligatory if the internal subject is a full DP, see examples under (2):

- (2) a 'z proat, **bo-da** hatt gekhoaft dar nono...
 b *'z proat, **bo** hatt gekhoaft dar nono
 the bread THAT has bought the grandpa
 (the bread that grandpa bought)
 c di libardar **bo-da** lest dar Mario...
 d *di libardar **bo** lest dar Mario...
 the books THAT the M. reads

Formally, $(\mathbf{bo-da})_{\text{obj}} \mathbf{V}_{\text{fin}} \mathbf{DP}_{\text{subj}} / * \mathbf{bo}_{\text{obj}} \mathbf{V}_{\text{fin}} \mathbf{DP}_{\text{subj}}$

Notice incidentally that the post-verbal position of subjects is the unmarked one, the pre-verbal being connected with a contrastive Focus reading:

- (3) a 'z proat, **bo-da** DAR NONO hatt gekhoaft (nètt di nona)...
 the bread THAT the grandpa has bought (not the grandma)
 b di libardar **bo-da** DAR MARIO lest (nètt dar Gianni)...
 the books that the M. reads (not the G.)

At any rate, the syntax of *bo-da* is not affected by the particular position of a subject DP.

On the contrary, if the subject is expressed by a pronoun, it must be enclitic onto *bo-*, the cooccurrence of *-da* definitely degrading the sentence:

- (4) a 'z baibe **bo-bar** hãm gegrüazt iz di muatar von Mario
 b *'z baibe **bo-da-bar** hãm gegrüazt iz di muatar von Mario
 the woman *bo-WE* have greeted is the mother of M.
 (the woman we greeted is M.'s mother)
 c di turtn **bo-se** macht soin guat
 d *di turtn **bo-da-se** macht soin guat
 the cakes *bo-SHE* makes are good
 (the cakes she cooks are delicious)

Formally, $\text{bo}_{\text{obj}}\text{-Pron}_{\text{Subj}} \text{V}_{\text{fin}} / * (\text{bo-da})_{\text{obj}}\text{-Pron}_{\text{Subj}} \text{V}_{\text{fin}}$

Finally, **ditransitive constructions** prove to be the trickiest ones: in fact, if the subject is a full DP occurring post-verbally – which is the most natural position, as we have seen in (2) – *-da* can, but need not, cooccur with *bo*:

- (5) a 'z proat, **bo-da-mar** hatt gètt *dar nono* ...
 b 'z proat, **bo-mar** hatt gètt *dar nono* ... [Panieri et al. 2006:344]
 the bread *bo-(da)-to:me* has given the grandpa ...
 (the bread that grandpa gave me ...)

In case of contrastive Focus – which implies the preverbal position of the subject DP (cf. 3) – indirect object pronouns may also occur lower, in enclisis onto the finite verb: in this case, *-da* turns out to be obligatory again:

- (6) a 'z proat, **bo-da** DAR NONO hatt-*mar* gètt ...
 b *'z proat, **bo** DAR NONO hatt-*mar* gètt ...
 the bread THAT the grandpa has-to:me given ...

Formally, $\text{bo}_{\text{obj}}\text{-(da)-Pron}_{\text{IO}} \text{V}_{\text{fin}} \text{NP}_{\text{subj}}$ or $\text{bo}_{\text{obj}}\text{-da NP}_{\text{subj}}\text{-(FOC)} \text{V}_{\text{fin}}\text{-Pron}_{\text{IO}}$

To sum up, it seems that Cimbrian RRs show the following properties:

- i) the complementizer that introduces RRs is always “complex” being made of an invariable element “*bo-*” and a referential element (either *-da* or a subject pronoun) cf. *bo-da* vs. *bo-bar* (or optionally *bo-mar*), but *bo* alone can never introduce a RR.
- ii) the expletive element *-da* is clearly connected with the lower subject position forming a chain with it.

2. Non-restrictive relative clauses (NRRs)

Cimbrian NRRs can be introduced either by *bo-* (much in the same way as RRs, the distribution of *-da* w.r.t. *bo-* being the same) or – crucially – by *ke* both in subject and in object relatives (cf. examples 7 through 9 below).

As far as the alternation between *bo-da* and *ke* in NRRs is concerned, a sociolinguistic observation is in order here: when asked about their own insight into current aspects of Cimbrian language, older fluent speakers usually consider the use of the “Italian” complementizer *ke* as a sign of sloppy, juvenile style. In fact, these speakers are likely to prefer *bo-* despite the fact that *ke* has been fully integrated in the complementizer system for more than a century (as of 1905 – when Bacher gathered and published Cimbrian oral tales – the use of *ke* was already widespread). Conversely, younger fluent speakers spontaneously use *ke* alternating with *bo*, proving thus that younger generations of speakers feel “more comfortable” inside a binary system of relative clauses that has been showing signs of emergence for more than a century. In what follows, we go into the data concentrating in particular on *ke*-constructions: we put deliberately aside the parallel constructions with *bo-da* for the moment.

The most striking feature in the usage of *ke* lies in the fact that this complementizer is a stand-alone element, the cooccurrence with *-da* being ungrammatical. Recall that in RRs introduced by *bo-*, *-da* is obligatory with subject relatives and object relatives with full DP subjects. Conversely, in non-

restrictive contexts this particle is totally out along with *ke* (cf. 7a-b and 8a-b):

- (7) a dar Mario, **ke** z'iz a guatz mentsch, khinnt pitt üs
the M. WHO it is a good person comes with us
- b *dar Mario, **ke-da** iz a guatz mentsch, khinnt pitt üs
the M. WHO-**da** is a good person comes with us
(Mario, who is a nice guy, is coming along)
- (8) a di lusernar, **ke** dar vorsitzar khenntze alle, soin guate läüt
the people from L. WHOM the president knows them all, are good people
- b *di lusernar, **ke-da** dar vorsitzar khenntze alle, soin guate läüt
the people from L. WHOM-**da** the president knows them all, are good people
(the inhabitants of L., whom the president all knows, are nice)

As *ke* refuses to incorporate *-da*, we expect that even weak pronouns are excluded in the same way. In fact, this is precisely what we find: if the subject is expressed by a pronoun, it has to be a strong one (cf. 9a) the clitic form being excluded (cf. 9b):

- (9) a di Lusernar **ke biar** khennen se alle soin guate läüt
the people from L. WHOM we know all, are good people
- b *di Lusernar **ke-bar** khennen se alle, soin guate läüt
the people from L. WHOM-**we** know all, are good people
(the inhabitants of L., whom we know, are nice)

Now, the fact that *ke* cannot incorporate either *-da* or weak pronouns whereas *bo* can in both case, is crucially relevant to determine the syntactic nature of the

two complementizers: on the one hand, *bo-* seeks for an element to agree with, on the other hand, *ke* seems not to need a matching element. In the next paragraph, we give a detailed analysis of this dichotomy.

One last diverging aspect in the usage of *bo-da* and *ke* consists in the different word order triggered by either: *bo-da* gives rise to the typical Germanic asymmetry between matrix and subordinate word orders, like the one found in the Scandinavian languages.⁶ *Ke* just triggers matrix word order as shown in the following examples where the negation and weak object pronoun appear post-verbally in the same fashion as in matrix clauses (cf. 10-11):

(10) du, **ke** du boast *nicht* söllast sbaing!

You ke you know nothing should shut up
(you, who know nothing, should shut up!)

(11) Di Ingrid **ke** du kennst *se*(du o) iz sa vortgånt

the I. ke you know *her* (you also) is already away-gone
(Ingrid, whom you've met too, has already left)

This fact is confirmed by the comparison with the same utterances provided by those consultants who alternate *bo-da* and *ke* in NRRs.

(12) du, **bo-do** *nicht* boast söllast sbaing!

(13) Di Ingrid **bo-do** kennst (du o) iz sa vortgånt

To sum up, as regards the difference between the two types of relative clauses, it must be emphasized that in Cimbrian the presence of *ke* in RRs is totally out, whereas the occurrence of *ke* alternating with *bo-da* is possible – and in some case even better – in NRRs. Moreover, as examples (10-11) already point out, *ke*

⁶ Cf. Grewendorf/Poletto (2005) and Bidese/Cognola/Padovan (2012).

and *bo-* trigger two different word orders w.r.t. negation and weak pronouns. As we will see in the next paragraph, this fact suggests that the two complementizers are merged in different positions and have a different internal structure.

3. Analysis

As already pointed out at the end of the preceding chapter, the differences between *bo-da* and *ke* could be summarized as follows:

- a) Verb movement: *ke* triggers matrix clause word order i.e. [*ke* NP_{Subj} V_{fin} - Cl_{Obj} (Neg.) (Adv.)]: this implies that – in the same way as in matrix clauses – there is V-movement to a low C projection, whereas *bo-* forces the verb to stay in a lower T position (i.e. no V-to-C movement), [*bo-da* (Neg.) (Adv.) V_{fin}]. This word order maintains the well-known Germanic asymmetry between matrix and embedded clause.
- b) Clitics: *ke* is an unsuitable landing site for clitics differently from *bo-* in RRs; this suggests that *ke* occupies a position higher than *bo-*.
- c) Distribution of features: *ke* is opaque to matching relations as it is presumably not endowed with Φ -features. Possibly, this is the reason why the antecedent (head of the RC) has to be resumed by a personal pronoun in its thematic position (cf. 10–11).

3.1 *Bo-*

Let us now get into the details of our analysis. First of all, recall that *bo-* is a WH- word primarily meaning ‘where’ and is always interpreted as such when it shows up in isolation (*Bo?*= ‘where?’).

Differently from its WH- counterpart, which binds a variable to receive interpretation, relative *bo-* is endowed with an uninterpretable D feature (where [D] simply stands for $u\Phi$) and consequently acts as a probe seeking an element (crucially, a pronominal one) to check its unvalued Φ -features against. If we

assume that *-da* represents the prototypical $i\Phi$ goal ($i\Phi$ being the D feature which *bo-* looks for), the obligatory presence of either *-da* or the weak pronoun immediately follows.

Now, the next issue to be addressed concerns what *-da* and subject pronouns have in common.

Going back to the actual features that *-da* is endowed with, we assume *-da* to be underspecified w.r.t. personal pronouns:

- (14) a *-da* [**D**; +Case_(Nom)]
 b personal pronoun [**D**; +Case; +Person; +Number]

Given this hypothesis, *-da* and clitic subject pronouns share exactly the feature required to satisfy the matching relation with *bo-*.⁷

Bo- searches for a [D] goal in the lower phase: the first element it finds on its way down is the subject pronoun in complementary distribution with expletive *-da*. In ditransitive constructions, there is one more goal available, namely the indirect object pronoun, that we take to occur in a lower position within the clitic layer.

Thus, what we propose under (15) explains why in relatives with a post (or pre)-verbal full DP subject *-da* must be present: (i) since it represents a goal for the $u\Phi$ of *bo-* and (ii) it enters a chain with the subject VP-internal position.

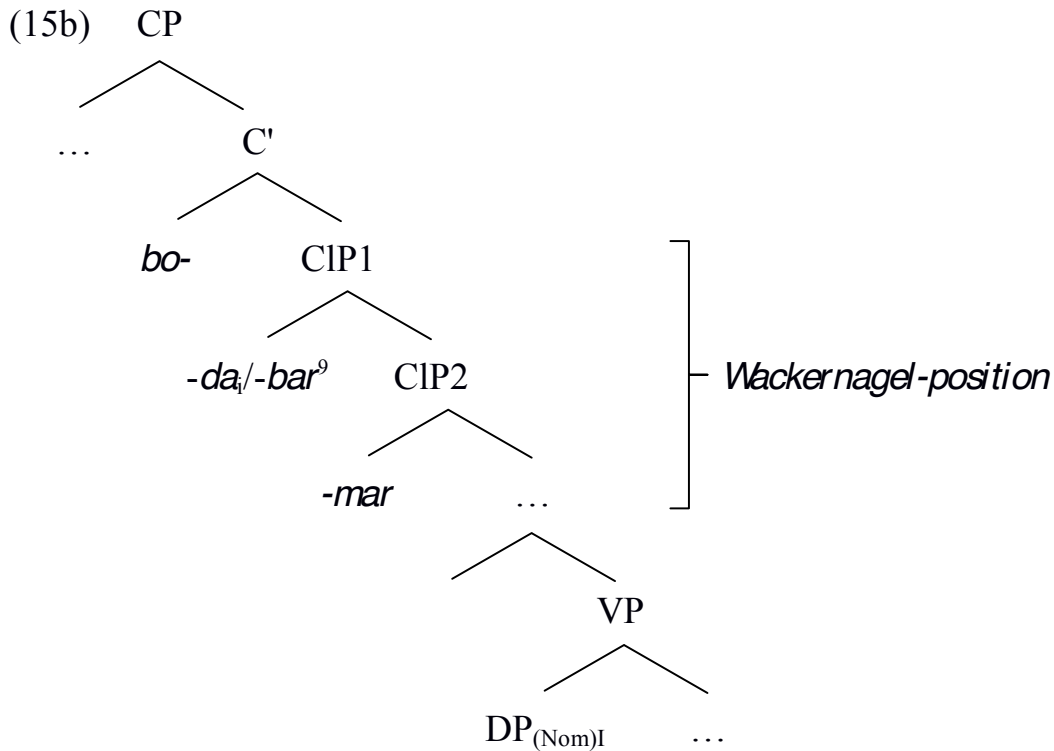
The hierarchy we propose can be represented as follows:

- (15a) [_{CP} [_{C'} *bo-* [_{CIP1} *-da/-bar* [_{CIP2 IndirObj} *-mar...*]]]]...[_{VP} [_{Subj. VP-int. position} DP_i]]⁸

Our analysis in (15a) can be graphically represented as in (15b).

⁷ See Bidese (2008) and (2011) for a similar proposal concerning a D feature to be thought of as a ‘deictic’ or ‘referential’ characterization.

⁸ All elements given in (15) – *da*, *bar*, *me* and *mar* – are not supposed to occur in the same sentence; they just instantiate a clitic of their class.



The analysis in (15) clearly implies that full subject DPs never represent a suitable goal for *bo-*: VP-internal subjects are too low, whereas DP subjects in preverbal position are always interpreted as Foci in Cimbrian relative clauses, (see examples 3 and 5 above) and hence are opaque occupying an A'-position.

Cimbrian data seems to confirm Haegeman/van Koppen's (2012:450, fn. 12) suggestion that both C^0 and T^0 are endowed with Φ -features probing for the subject (cf. also Carstens 2003). Moreover, the obligatory occurrence of Cimbrian *-da* (when the DP subject occurs in a lower VP position, i.e. is 'out of reach') constitutes indirect evidence for the presence of what they call 'high agreement'. In the context of the present article we cannot discuss these subjects leaving them for further examinations.

⁹ The hypothesis that *-da* occupies the same position as clitic subjects is not crucial here; the alternative assumption that *bo+da* is directly base-generated in C^0 does not compromise our analysis.

3.2 *Ke*

As we have seen, *ke* does not trigger a different word order in subordinate clauses (cf. 10–11 above and 16–17 below): this leads to the immediate conclusion that it is merged in a different position w.r.t. *bo-*.

Sticking to the fact that the dichotomy *bo* vs. *ke* mirrors the dichotomy *az* vs. *ke* in subordinate declarative clauses (cf. the chapter 4 below), we take relative *ke* to show up in the same position of declarative *ke*. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that both declarative *ke* and relative *ke* are to be analyzed as generalized subordinators. Following Grewendorf/Poletto's (2011) path, we take *ke* to be merged in the topmost C position, dubbed Subord(inator)P, hosting subordinating elements, crucially different from clause-typers:

$$[\text{SubordP } ke [\dots [\text{FinP } [\text{Fin}^0 V_{\text{fin}} [\text{TP}\dots] \text{VP}]]]]^{10}$$

- (16) a dar Mario, **bo-da** iz a guatz mensch, khinnt pitt üs
 the M. *bo-da* is a good man comes with us
- b dar Mario, **ke z'**iz a guatz mensch, khimmt pitt üs
 he M. ke it-is a good person comes with us
 (Mario, who is a nice guy, is coming along)
- (17) a Di belesan **bo-da** trinkhan vil bira gevaln-mar
 the Italians *bo-da* drink lots-of beer indulge me
 (I like the Italians that-who drink a lot of beer) (ambiguous)
- b Di belesan **ke se**o trinkhan vil bira gevaln-mar
 The Italians, *ke*they also drink lot of beer indulge me
 (I like the Italians, who also drink a lot of beer) (strictly NRR)

¹⁰ Independently from different hypotheses on the internal structure of CP, what matters for us is the assumption that *ke* realizes the topmost CP layer whereas *bo* realizes a position within FinP.

3.3 Two different derivations for Cimbrian RCs

The alternative choice between two different “types” of relative complementizers is not peculiar to Cimbrian syntax only, even if in this variety it is reinforced by the obvious fact that just one of them belongs to the German lexicon (*bo* = *wo*) while the other is borrowed from Italian (*ke* = *che*). Recall the differences between *who/that* in English (cf. 18, Comrie 1999) or *che/il quale* in Italian (cf. 19):

- (18) a The boy **who/ that** collects stamps is sick
 b Peter, **who/ *that** collects stamps, is sick¹¹
- (19) a Il ragazzo **che/ *il quale** colleziona francobolli è malato
 b Pietro, **il quale/ che** colleziona francobolli, è malato

The fact that English *that* cannot be used in non-restrictive contexts (cf. 18b) and, on the other hand, that Italian *il quale* is restricted just to this context (cf. 19a) seems to suggest i) that the alternative choice between the two classes of relative complementizers is due to the different type of relative clause and ii) that the occurrence of both English *who* (the WH-type) and Italian *il quale* pertains to NRR clauses.

As a consequence, Cimbrian data does not represent such a ‘wired’ constellation as it could seem at a first glance. Rather, on the contrary, it enters directly the actual debate on the structure of RCs.

As recently proposed by Resi (2011) the opposition between the Movement Analysis (*Head Raising Analysis*) *a la* Kayne¹² and the Adjunction Analysis

¹¹ Moreover, it is well-known that the complementizer *that* in (18a) can be elided, when it is not the subject of the relative verb, while *who* in (18b) cannot (cf. Comrie 1999:81):

(1)a The boy, (**that**) I gave my book to, is sick
 b Peter, **whom** I gave my book to, is sick

¹² Cf. Kayne (1994) and more recently Cinque (2008).

(*Matching Analysis*), newly reinterpreted as *Late Merge Hypothesis*¹³, finds a reasonable solution assuming that the former represents the proper analysis for RRs, while the latter is more appropriate for NRRs, offering a straightforward explanation of some of the syntactic differences of NRRs such as: i) the non-deletability of the relative complementizer *who* in English (cf. the footnote 12), ii) the adjacency requirement between antecedent and NRRs in Standard German¹⁴ and iii) the binary system of complementizers in Cimbrian RCs and their different syntax (cf. the contrast between *bo-* and *ke* as summed up in 3)¹⁵. In particular, the accuracy of the solution proposed by Resi (2011) is directly evidenced by two phenomena rising from Cimbrian data, namely a) the occurrence of the expletive particle *-da* in subject RRs and b) the restriction of the complementizer *ke* on NRRs only.

As shown in § 1, Cimbrian subject RRs require the occurrence of the particle *-da* encliticized to the relative element *bo-* (cf. above 1a, repeated here as 20):

- (20) dar libar **bo-da** redet vo Lusérn ist vil interessánt
 the book THAT tells about L. is very interesting
 (the book dealing with L. is very interesting)

According to the *Head Raising Analysis*, the subject NP *libar* has to be interpreted as an internal head, generated inside of the VP of the relative clause and moved to a SpecCP position, assuming RRs to be in fact CPs selected by an

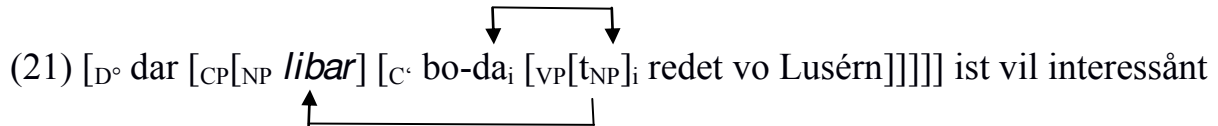
¹³ Cf., among others, Chomsky (1965), Sauerland (1998), Fox/Niessenbaum (2000); for further literature concerning these two approaches see Resi (2011).

¹⁴ For the adjacency requirement in Standard German, data are subtler and more controversial and could be exemplified as follows (cf. for the discussion Resi 2011):

- (2)a Nur Studenten haben mit dem Professor gesprochen, die die Prüfung nicht bestanden haben (*RRs*)
 b ?*Karin hat mit dem Professor gesprochen, die die Prüfung nicht bestanden hat (*NRRs*)

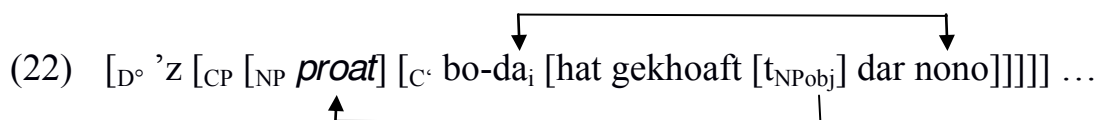
¹⁵ The hypothesis that RRs and NRRs imply different structural derivations has been already proposed even if in a slightly different approach by Platzack (2000), who assumes that the head of the RC (the antecedent) occupies N⁰ in RRs and SpecNP in NRRs.

external D^0 (in 20 *dar*) as complements (cf. Resi 2011: 94):



The Cimbrian sentence crucially requires the presence of *-da* which forms a chain with the VP-internal trace of the raised NP, providing, in this way, direct evidence for the main assumption of the *Head Raising Analysis* w.r.t. the structure of the RRs.

Of course, when the raised element is an object, as is the case of object RRs, the NP subject remains in its lower position forming a chain with *-da*:



the bread THAT has bought the grandpa
(the bread that grandpa bought)

If the subject is a pronoun the presence of *-da* is ruled out since *bo*'s unvalued feature is checked against the pronoun itself.

- (23) di turtn **bo-se** macht soin guat
the cakes *bo-SHE* makes are good
(the cakes she cooks are delicious)

The mandatory presence of *-da* in the subject RRs entering a chain with the NP trace of the raised element constitutes a direct evidence for movement as the *Head Raising Analysis* predicts.

Even with regard to the structure of NRRs the Cimbrian data seems to confirm that the *Matching Analysis* is the proper one, as shown in Resi (2011).

According to the *Matching Analysis* the head of the NRRs is not to be

4. Declarative complementizers and *-da*

The analogy between relative and declarative *ke* is further confirmed by the parallelism between relative *bo-* and declarative *az* in fact, both of them occupy a suitable landing site for the expletive particle *-da* (cf. Kolmer 2005), as shown by the comparison of the following examples under (27) with the ones above (cf. 4), here repeated under (28):

- (27) a *i bill az-*(ta) dar Pürgarmaistar gea ka schual* (-*da* obligatory)
 I want that-*da* the mayor go-SUBJUNCT. to school
 (I want the mayor to go to school)
- b *i bill az-(*ta)-to geast ka schual* (-*da* impossible)
 I want that-*da*-you go-SUBJUNCT to school
 (I want you to go to school)
- (28) a *'z baibe bo-bar hãm gegrüazt iz di muatar von Mario*
 b **'z baibe bo-da-bar hãn gegrüazt iz di muatar von Mario*
 the woman *bo-WE* have greeted is the mother of M.
 (the woman we greeted is M.'s mother)
- c *di turtn bo-se macht soin guat*
 d **di turtn bo-da-se macht soin guat*
 the cakes *bo-SHE* makes are good
 (the cakes she cooks are delicious)

Thus, clitic subjects and *-da* are mutually exclusive in this case too. Further recall that the two complementizers give rise to different word orders (cf. 29a-b vs. 29c-d):¹⁶

¹⁶ Declarative *ke* is typically selected by strongly assertive verbs like 'say', perception verbs such as 'see' and some weakly-assertive/non-factive verbs like 'believe' as already noted by

- (29) a i boaz **ke** du geast *nètt* ka Tria (V Neg)
 b *i boaz **ke** du *nètt* geast ka Tria
 I know that you go not to Trento
 (I know you not to go to Trento)
 c schraimar disa lettär, **as**-to *nètt* geast ka Tria(Neg V)
 d *... **as**-to geast *nètt* ka Tria
 write to me if you not go to Trento

Given its resemblance to *az* – especially in its blocking V movement to C – we suggest that *bo-* is merged in the same CP layer as *az*

This leads to assuming that the ‘autochthonous’ (Germanic) complementizers are merged lower giving rise to a subordinate structure while they establish a selecting relationship with the lower heads (T and V); on the contrary, the complementizers borrowed from Italian are merged very high into the syntactic spine; we take them not to select a dependent clause, but a root structure instead. Whether the tendency we observe for Cimbrian *ke* can be confirmed by data from other minority languages is an open question whose answer could contribute to a theory of language change in contact situation.

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The syntax of Swedish copular clauses^{*}

Camilla Thurén, Malmö University

Abstract

In this article, we argue, in accordance with Lohndal et al. (2008), that Swedish allows for two syntactic structures for copular clauses. The analysis provides the means to distinguish between copular clauses that simply attribute a property to a subject from more complex copular constructions where eventualities are involved. More particularly, the analysis explains a number of syntactic differences between the two, namely modification properties, the ability to appear/not appear in embedded exclamatives vs. embedded interrogatives, the ability to/not to VP topicalize, and the ability to be replaced by the proverb *göra* ‘do’.

1 Introduction

It is a well-known fact that Swedish adjectival predicates, such as *arbetslös* ‘unemployed’ in examples (1) and (2), not only appear with copular *vara* ‘be’ as in example (1) but also with a number of other verbs such as posture and motion verbs, as in example (2) (see Teleman et al. 1999[3]).

- (1) Har du varit arbetslös?
Have you been unemployed
- (2) Hon hade alltså gått arbetslös i nära två månader (PAROLE¹)
She had thus gone unemployed for nearly two months

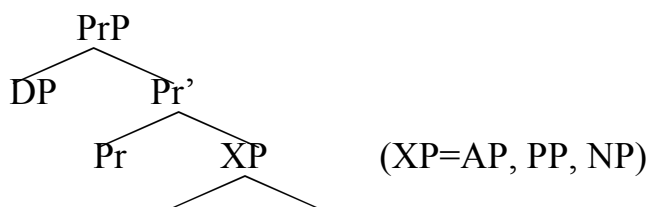
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¹ Corpus of written Swedish available at sprakbanken.gu.se
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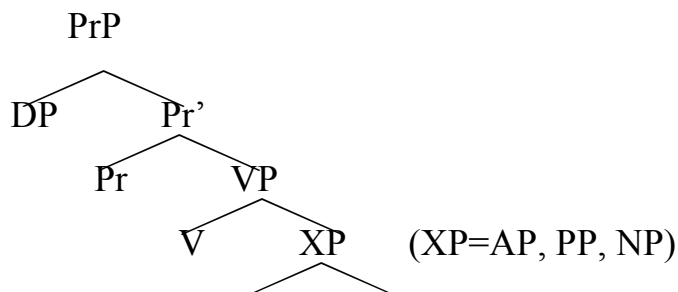
Neither *vara* ‘be’ nor *gå* ‘go’ can in this context be said to have independent meaning; they are copular verbs in the sense of van Gelderen (2009)². On the surface, examples (1) and (2) can be said to have the same linear analysis: a (copular) verb selects for an adjectival predicate. However, the behavior of examples (1) and (2) differ for instance with respect to modification, VP ellipsis, and VP topicalization. We argue that these differences reflect different underlying syntactic structures, drawing on an idea of Lohndal, Nyqvist and Åfarli (2008).

Following Bowers’ development of the small clause analysis of copular clauses (1993, 2001), Lohndal et al. (2008) argue that Norwegian copular clause allows for two syntactic structures, both of which include a PrP where the subject is merged; in the unmarked case the copula is merged directly in Pr, as in example (3), and in the marked case, it is merged in V, then raised to Pr, as in example (4).

(3) The unmarked analysis of copular constructions



(4) The marked analysis of copular constructions



² Another possible analysis would be to distinguish the copular verb in example (1) from a light verb in example (2), as explored in Thurén (2008). However for the purposes of this paper, such an account would not contribute anything that the current account cannot.

We argue that this analysis can be extended to Swedish. In particular, the distinction between structures (3) and (4) accounts for the syntactic differences between examples (1) and (2) mentioned above.

The paper is organized as follows. In section 2, we outline the PrP approach to copular clauses, in particular Lohndal et al.'s (2008) version. In section 3, we show that adjectival predicates of *vara* 'be' as well as of motion and posture verbs are selected. Section 4 demonstrates how Lohndal et al.'s approach can be applied to explain the syntactic differences between examples (1) and (2). In section 5, we conclude our findings.

2 The PrP approach outlined

One of the questions that relates to non-finite predication, such as the adjectival predicates at hand, is that of how the relation between the predicate and its subject is established. An early take on this problem is Stowell's (1983) Subject Across Categories proposal. Under this view, the maximal projection of any lexical category may contain a subject. Stowell's (1983) proposal accounts for the predication relation established in small clauses, such as examples (5 a-b).

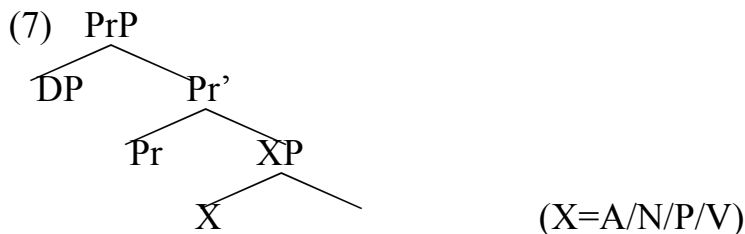
- (5) a. I consider [_{NP} John a good fellow] (Bowers 2001: 300)³
 b. Eleverna målade [_{AP} klassrummet gult]
 The students painted the classroom yellow

The proposal cannot however account for the fact that the maximal projection of a nominal or an adjectival predicate contains modifiers, as shown in examples (6 a-b); there is in fact no room for the subject, neither in the extended projection of the noun, nor in the extended projection of the adjective.

³ Notably, small clauses cannot be NPs in Swedish (for a thorough account, see Lundin 2003).

- (6) a. Kalle är en fantastisk lärare
 Charlie is a marvelous teacher
- b. Eleverna målade [klassrummet lysande gult]
 The students painted the classroom bright yellow

In order to solve among other things this problem, Bowers argues for a functional category, labeled Pr⁴ (hence the PrP approach), that selects for the maximal projection of any lexical category A, N, P or V, as illustrated in example (7). Pr also introduces an external argument. A, N, P or V thus is the predicate of the subject.⁵



According to Bowers (2001), the functional category Pr furthermore explains why expletives are allowed in small clauses, as shown in example (8).

- (8) I consider it nice of Mary to do that (Bowers 2001: 306)

Another argument in favor of Pr is lexical realization candidates of Pr such as *as* in English (Bowers 1993, 2001), and *som* ‘as’ in Norwegian (see Eide 1996, Eide & Aafarli 1997). *Som* ‘as’ is also available in Swedish, as shown in example (9).

⁴ Pr is the mnemonic for predicate. Other accounts, such as Baker (2003), use Pred.

⁵ There are of course other ways to explain the presence of a subject with an NP or an AP. Lundin (2003) argue for the functional categories *n*, *a* and *p*, parallel to *v*.

- (9) Hon ansågs som en duktig lärare
 She consider.PASS as a good teacher
 ‘She was considered a good teacher’

Notably, *som* ‘as’ is sometimes interchangeable with *vara* ‘be’ in Swedish, as illustrated in example (10).

- (10) Hon ansågs vara en duktig lärare
 She consider.PASS be a good teacher
 ‘She was considered to be a good teacher’

For a thorough account of Swedish small clauses such as the raising construction in example (10), see Lundin (2003).

Consider next the PrP approach in detail. A question under debate that directly relates to this paper is whether the copula *vara* ‘be’ is directly merged in Pr, as in example (1) or needs to be merged in V and then moved to Pr as in example (2). For the purposes of this article we shall adopt Lohndal et al’s (2008) take on the PrP approach. They argue, using data from Norwegian, that example (3) represents the unmarked, most economic approach, whereas example (4) represents the marked approach; UG, they show with reference to Pustet (2003), allows for both options. Most Norwegian copular clauses can be accounted for by the structure in example (3), although for a subset of Norwegian copular clauses the structure shown in example (4) is needed. The arguments for Lohndal et al’s (2008) take mostly relates to case marking and the fact that accusative case within the Minimalist Program is taken to be assigned by V.

Given Bowers' account of predication, the nominative case of the subject is assigned by Pr. However in Norwegian the typical post-copular pronoun is accusative (cf. Lohndal 2006), as in example (11).

(11) Dette er meg (Lohndal et al. 2008: 33)

‘This is me’

Accusative, as opposed to nominative case, is usually argued to be assigned by V. Given this assumption example (11) has the structure given in example (4). As pointed out by Lohndal et al. (2008), some Norwegian dialects and Swedish use the nominative with the post-copular pronoun, even though Swedish has an accusative counterpart. For a thorough account of the nominative/accusative distinction in the Germanic languages, see Sigurðsson (2006). The Swedish equivalent of example (11) is given in example (12).

(12) Detta är jag

‘This is me’

Since the nominal predicate shows nominative case, example (12) would rather imply the structure in given in example (3). Hence, Lohndal et al. (2008) argues that there are good reasons to assume that both of the structures given in examples (3) and (4) are available for Norwegian copular clauses.

Another argument given by Lohndal et al (2008) is that of predicates with indirect objects, such as examples (13) and (14) (Lohndahl et al.'s examples 25b, and 27b), that show dative case.

(13) Jeg mener/anser at lånet er oss litt i største laget (Lohndal et al 2008: 35)

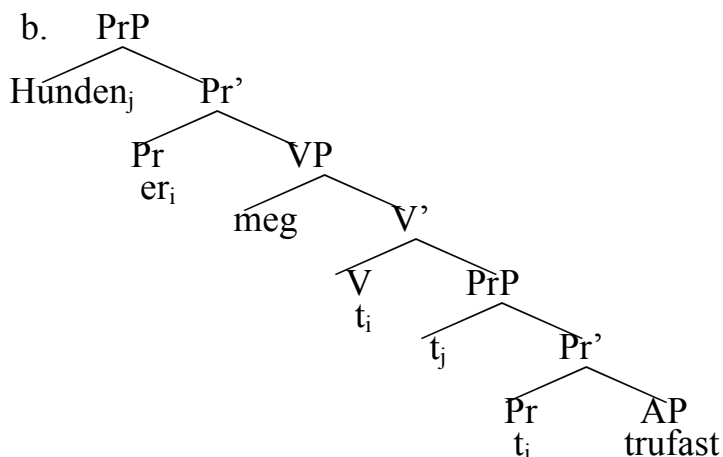
I think/consider that the loan is us a little too big

(14) Jeg regnar med at hunden er meg trofast (Lohndal et al 2008: 35)

I count on that the dog is faithful to me

Indirect objects such as *oss* ‘us’ in example (13) and *meg* ‘me’ in (14) are conventionally taken to be licensed by V. Hence we can consider examples (13) and (14) as arguments in favor of the analysis given in (4). However, as pointed out by Lohndal et al. (2008), the structure in example (4) does not predict the fact that *trofast* ‘faithful’ “is the predicational property of the subject, *hunden* ‘the dog’”, not that of *meg* ‘me’ (Lohndal et al. 2008: 38). The subject, *hunden* ‘the dog’, has to be merged in the specifier of a lower Pr, then raised to the specifier of a higher Pr. The indirect object is merged in the specifier of V. The structure is represented in example (15).

(15) a. Hunden er meg trofast ‘the dog is faithful to me’ (Lohndal et al.’s example 33)



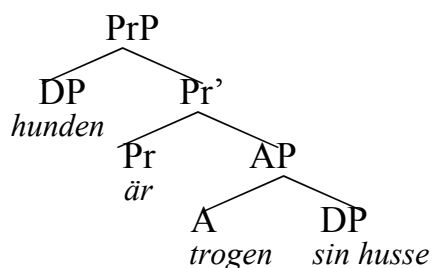
Notably, this type of construction is also available in Swedish with a small group of adjectives Platzack (1982) gives a number of old Swedish as well as modern Swedish examples such as *överlägsen* ‘superior’ and *motbjudande*

‘repulsive’. Notice also the word order variation with respect to indirect object of Swedish transitive adjectives, as illustrated in example (16 a-b).

- (16) a. Hunden är sin husse trogen
 The dog is his master faithful
 ‘The dog is faithful to his master’
- b. Hunden är trogen sin husse
 The dog is faithful his master
 ‘The dog is faithful to his master’

The word order in example (16 b), contrary to the one in (16 a), implies that the indirect object rather is merged in AP than in VP as that of structure (15 b). The structure of example (16 b) might actually be less complex than that of (15 b), thus more minimal, as represented in (17).

(17) Structure of (16 b)

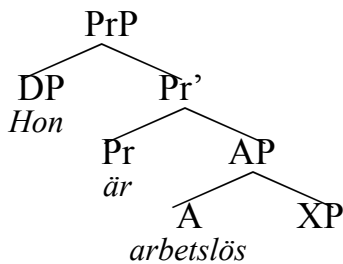


In conclusion, Lohndal et al. (2008) argue that there are reasons for assuming two available structures for Norwegian copular clauses. In the following, we argue that these two structures not only account for the accusative post-copular pronoun in Norwegian, but may account for the asymmetries found with alternations such as *vara arbetslös* ‘be unemployed’ – *gå arbetslös* ‘go unemployed’ in Swedish.

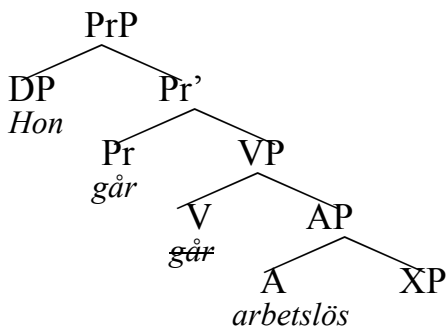
If we are correct in our assumption that the structures in both example (3) and (4) are available for Swedish copular clauses, and that the structure in example

(3) reflects copular *vara* ‘be’ selecting an adjectival predicate, as illustrated in example (18), and example (4) a motion or posture verb selecting an adjectival predicate as illustrated in (19), we expect copular clauses that reflect the structure in example (4) but not in example (3) to show a more verb-like behavior. In the following, we will demonstrate that this is in fact the case.

(18) *Hon är arbetslös* ‘she is unemployed’



(19) *Hon går arbetslös* ‘she goes unemployed’



3 Swedish copular clauses

In this section we show that the adjectival predicate of motion and posture verbs is selected rather than adjoined, a question that is particularly important to our notion of the motion or posture verb being a copular verb. If the adjectival predicate were adjoined to the motion or posture verb, the verb would be a full verb rather than a copular verb.

An observation often made about adjectival predicates (see for instance Teleman 1974; Bolander 1980; Teleman et al. 1999[3]) is that some can be omitted freely without consequences for the grammaticality of the clause whereas some cannot. For instance, it is unambiguously observed for *vara* ‘be’

as well as *bli* ‘become’ ‘remain’ that omission of the adjectival predicate yields an ungrammatical sentence as shown in examples (20 a-b).

- (20) a. [...] han **är fri** att stanna eller gå som han finner bäst (Parole)
 He is free to stay or to go as he finds best
- b. *[...] han **är** att stanna eller gå som han finner bäst
 He is to stay or to go as he finds best

For posture and motion verbs, omission of the adjectival predicate either yields an ungrammatical sentence, as in (21 a-b), and/or strange semantics as in (22 a-b). In example (21 a) for instance, the posture verb *ligga* ‘lie’ combines with the adjectival *klar* ‘ready’ ‘done’.

- (21) a. [...] att boken nu äntligen **ligger klar**
 [...] that the book now finally lies ready
 ‘[...] that the book is now finally ready’
- b. *[...] att boken nu äntligen **ligger**
 that the book now finally lies

Omitting the adjectival predicate as in example (21 a) yields an ungrammatical sentence, as shown in example (21 b).

Consider also the motion verb *gå* ‘go’. *Gå* has at least two full verb readings in Swedish, one that corresponds to English ‘walk’, and one that corresponds to English ‘leave’, both of which appear in copular varieties, as illustrated in examples (22 a) and (22 b).

- (22) a. [...] men att gå sysslolös passade honom illa (SUC2.0)
 [...] but to go inactive suited him bad
 ‘[...] but being inactive suited him bad’
- b. ?[...] men att gå passade honom illa
 [...] but to go suited him bad
 ‘[...] walking/leaving suited him bad’

In example (22), omitting the adjectival predicate *sysslolös* ‘inactive’ does not yield an ungrammatical sentence. However the copular reading of *gå* ‘go’ is not available; the full verb readings are coerced. Thus, strange semantics is usually associated with the fact that the meaning of the posture or motion verb is underspecified compared to that of the corresponding full verb (Teleman et al. 1999[3]: 338), something we would expect with a copular verb or a light verb.

A contrasting example is given in example (23 a-b) where the adjectival predicate can be analyzed as adjoined rather than selected. First, omission of the adjectival predicate does not yield an ungrammatical or unsemantic reading, as shown in example (23 b). Second, the adjectival predicate appears in between the finite verb *gå* ‘go’ and the PathP *från bordet* ‘from the table’. Given that motion verbs take a path argument, be it sometimes null, and that the path argument appear in the complement of V, there is no room for a selected adjectival predicate. Moreover, example (23 c) shows that the adjectival predicate may appear after the path argument. We therefore conclude that the adjectival predicate is adjoined. This analysis is equivalent to that of Bolander (1980) and Teleman et al (1999) with respect to word order facts.

- (23) a. ... inte låter de sina gäster **gå hungriga** från bordet
 ... NEG let they their guest go hungry from the table
 '... they do not let their guest leave the table hungry'
- b. ... inte låter de sina gäster gå från bordet
 ... NEG let they their guests leave the table
 '... they do not let their guests leave the table'
- c. ... inte låter de sina gäster gå från bordet hungriga
 ... neg let they their guests go from table hungry
 '... they do not let their guest leave the table hungry'

From the examples given in (22) and (23), we can conclude that there has to be an intimate relation between the motion or posture verb and the adjectival predicate. In the following, we show that there are reasons to assume that some Swedish motion and posture verbs can select an adjectival predicate.

Another diagnostic that can be used to examine if the adjectival predicate of copular verbs is selected is that of ellipsis from a second conjunct. If ellipsis from a second conjunct is not available, the verb can be analyzed as a copular verb. In examples (24) and (25), we show that neither the adjectival predicate of *vara* 'be' nor the adjectival predicate of motion and posture verbs can be elided without yielding an ungrammatical clause.

- (24) *Anna är fri och Kalle är också
 Anna is free and Charlie is too
- (25) *Anna gick fri och Kalle gick också
 Anna went free and Charlie went too

In contrast the copular verb in combination with the adjectival predicate can be elided, as shown in examples (26) and (27).

(26) Anna är fri och Kalle också

Anna is free and Charlie too

(27) Anna gick fri och Kalle också

Anna went free and Charlie too

Notably, copular *vara* ‘be’ allows for VP pronominalization, as shown in example (28).

(28) Anna är fri och Kalle är också det

Anna is free and Charlie is too PRO

The facts are more complex with motion and posture verbs. VP pronominalization is allowed as long as the copula is replaced by proverb *göra* ‘do’, as shown in examples (29 a-b).

(29) a. *Anna gick fri och Kalle gick också det

Anna went free and Charlie went too PRO

b. Anna gick fri och Kalle gjorde också det

Anna went free and Charlie did too PRO

’Anna avoided being caught and Charlie did too’

The question of *göra* ‘do’-ellipsis is discussed in section 4.

Related to the VP pronominalization facts are those of pronominal doubling by the anaphor *det*. Telemann et al. shows (1999[3]: 339) that the adjectival predicate of both *vara* ‘be’, the adjectival predicate of motion and posture verbs can be duplicated by the anaphor *det*, as in examples (30) to (32)⁶.

⁶ According to Telemann et al (1999), adjectival predicates differ from adverbials in this way, since adverbials are duplicated by *så* ‘so’. Compare the predicate *glad* ‘happy’ *Glad, det var*

- (30) Sjuk, *det* vill han inte vara
 Sick, PRO want he not be
 'Sick, he does not want to be'
- (31) Arbetslös, *det* vill han inte gå (cf. Teleman et al. 1999[3]: 339)
 Unemployed, PRO want he not GO
 'Unemployed, he does not want to be'
- (32) Sjuk, *det* vill han inte ligga (Teleman et al. 1999[3]: 339)
 Sick, PRO want he not LIE
 'Sick, he does not want to be'

The fact that the adjectival predicate can be doubled by an anaphor, pairs it with other cases of pronominal doubling, see Josefsson (2010). Josefsson shows that the anaphor *det* 'it' in (33 a) and (33 b) refers to "a discourse element" (2010: 2113).

- (33) a. En DSB-cykel, *det* vill jag också ha (2010: 2113)
 a.COMMON DSB bicycle it.NEUTER want I too have
 DSB bicycle, I want to have one'
- b. Springer, *det* gör han (2010: 2115)
 runs, it.NEUTER does he
 'Runs, that is what he is doing'

Likewise, the anaphor *det* 'it' in examples (30) to (32) refers to discourse elements made available by the adjectival predicates. We take this as evidence that adjectival predicates with motion and posture verbs may be selected.

han inte! 'Happy, PRO he was not' with the adverbial *gladeligen* 'happily' *Gladeligen så kom han till festen* 'happily ADV he came to the party'.

Another argument in favor of adjectival predicates with motion and posture verbs being selected is the restrictions with respect to adjective type. According to Teleman et al. (1999[2]: 155), only adjectives denoting temporary states (with few exceptions), i.e. stage level predicates, appear with *stå* ‘stand’, *sitta* ‘sit’, *ligga* ‘lie’. A search in the SUC2.0 corpus⁷ yields only stage level predicates such as *sysslolös* ‘inactive’ in (34), *ensam* ‘alone’ in (35), *tom* ‘empty’ in (36), and *sömlös* ‘sleepless’ in (37) with motion and posture verbs.

- (34) Större delen av natten hade han sedan legat sömlös ... (SUC 2.0)
 For the remainder of the night had he then lain sleepless
 ’For the remainder of the night, he had then been sleepless’
- (35) ... en person som satt ensam och arbetade mot en persondator (SUC 2.0)
 ... a person who sat alone & worked towards a pc
 ’... a person who sat alone working towards a pc’
- (36) Vävstolarna ska aldrig stå tomma (SUC 2.0)
 The looms shall never stand empty
 ’The looms shall never be empty’
- (37) Efter två års sjukskrivning stod jag nästan inte ut med att gå sysslolös
 After two years sickleave stood I almost not PL PR to go inactive
 ’After two years of sickleave I almost could not take being inactive’
 (SUC 2.0)

There are a few logically possible analyses with respect to the stage level reading, depending on the version of the Minimalist Program you adhere to. First, the stage level reading of the adjectival predicate can be seen as inherent to some feature of the adjective. Second, the stage level reading can be the result of the adjectival predicate being selected by a posture verb. If the stage level

⁷ SUC2.0 is the acronym of the Stockholm-Umeå-korpus, a 1166593 word corpus of written Swedish, available at spraakbanken.gu.se.

reading is the result of the adjectival predicate being selected by a posture verb, one alternative is that the stage level reading is due to the verb, the other alternative is that it is the result of some agree relation between a feature of the posture verb and a feature of the adjectival predicate.

Consider finally how motion verbs with adjectival predicates differ from full motion verbs. It is a well-known fact that motion verbs take path arguments, albeit sometimes null path arguments (see among others Platzack 2011), as shown in (38).

- (38) Camilla sprang två mil
Camilla ran 20 K

Conversely, copular clauses with motion verbs do not take path arguments, as illustrated in (39).

- (39) *Camilla gick fri en mil
Camilla went free 10 K

Distinguish also from an adjunct adjectival predicate as in (40).

- (40) Camilla gick en mil, fri
Camilla walked 10 K, free

The selectional patterns of motion verbs are represented in (41 a-b):

- (41) a. [_{PrP} DP $g\acute{a}_{\text{cop}}$ [_{VP} $g\acute{a}_{\text{cop}}$ [_{AP} A]]]
b. [_{VP} $g\acute{a}_{\text{full}}$ [_{VP} DP $g\acute{a}_{\text{full}}$ [_{PathP} Path]]]

Thus far we have shown that we conclude that there is evidence that both *vara* ‘be’ and motion and posture verbs select for adjectival predicates. Thus we argue that *vara* ‘be’ and motion and posture verbs can be analyzed on par when motion and posture verbs select for an adjectival predicate⁸.

4 The Data

Thus far, we have presented arguments in favor of the adjectival predicate of motion and posture verbs being selected. In the following, we discuss data that distinguishes *vara* ‘be’ + adjectival predicate from motion and motion/posture verb + adjectival predicate, and argue that these differences can be derived from a VP in the structure of motion and motion/posture verb + adjectival predicate.

4.1 Embedded exclamatives vs. embedded interrogatives

A contrast that Bolander (1980) observes for the copular constructions at hand is that the adjectival predicates of *vara* ‘be’ form embedded exclamatives with *hur* ‘how’, as shown in (42a). In (42b) is represented the corresponding ungrammatical embedded interrogative.

- (42) a. Hon mindes hur sjuk hon [hade] varit (Bolander 1980: 34)
 She remembered how sick she [had] been
- b. *Hon mindes hur hon hade varit sjuk (Bolander 1980: 34)
 She remembered how she had been sick

Embedded exclamatives are often taken to involve degree or scales (see for instance Zanuttini and Portner 2003). Example (43) illustrates that the embedded exclamative involves degree since the adjectival predicate is modified by the degree adverbial *väldigt* ‘very’.

⁸ Quite possibly, the analysis also extends to motion and posture verbs that select for prepositional predicates. See Ekberg (1989) for an account.

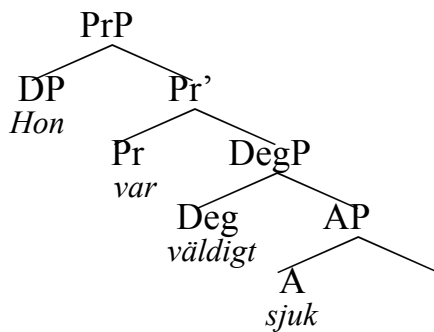
(43) Hon mindes hur väldigt sjuk hon [hade] varit.

She remembered how very sick she had been

Given that copular clauses with *vara* ‘be’ appear in embedded exclamatives, and that exclamatives typically involve degree or scale, we take it as initial evidence for the structure in (10), or rather for a structure that also includes a DegP, as represented in example (44).

(44) Hon var väldigt sjuk

‘She was very sick’



As opposed to adjectival predicates of *vara* ‘be’, Bolander (1980) observes that adjectival predicates of posture or motion verbs cannot form embedded exclamatives, as shown in example (45).

(45) *Hon mindes hur sjuk hon [hade] legat (Bolander 1980: 34)

She remembered how sick she [had] lain

Conversely, adjectival predicates of posture and motion verbs embedded interrogatives, as shown in example (46).

(46) Hon mindes hur hon hade legat sjuk (Bolander 1980: 34)

She remembered how she had lain sick

Bolander (1980) observes that forming an embedded exclamative is available as long as the function of the copula is to assign a property to the subject and that the property can be degree modified (compare Zanuttini and Porter 2003). Degree modification is a characteristic usually attributed to adjectives, and used as a diagnostic to distinguish adjectival participles from verbal (see for instance Borer 1991; Embick 2003, 2004). Under our analysis, the VP separates the two copular constructions. We therefore hypothesize that the VP plays a role here.

If a VP in fact blocks degree modification, our analysis predicts that a transitive adjectival predicate cannot appear in an embedded exclamative since it contains at least one VP (see Section 2). As shown in (47) this prediction is correct; (47 a-b) shows that the embedded exclamatives are ungrammatical whereas the embedded interrogative in (47 c) is grammatical. Notice also in (47 e) that the embedded exclamative is grammatical as long as the object is not spelled out, which we would expect since *trofast* ‘faithful’ can be degree modified.

- (47) a. *Han mindes hur trofast hunden honom var
 He remembered how faithful the dog him was
- b. *Han mindes hur honom trofast hunden var
 He remembered how him faithful the dog was
- c. Han mindes hur hunden var honom trofast (interrogative)
 he remembered how the dog was him faithful
- d. Han mindes hur trofast hunden var honom
 ’He remembered how faithful the dog was [to] him
- e. Han mindes hur trofast hunden var
 ’He remembered how faithful the dog was’

4.2 Modification by a PlaceP

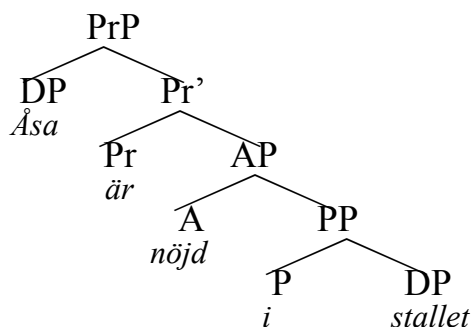
In section 3.2, we have shown that *vara* ‘be’ + adjectival predicate can be modified by degree modifiers. Motion and posture verbs + adjectival predicates on the other hand cannot. If our assumptions about the structure of motion and posture verbs + adjectival predicates are correct, i.e. if there is a V in the structure of the copular clause, we would expect that event modifiers optionally appear with motion and posture verbs with adjectival predicates.

Consider first an observation about PlacePs in copular clauses made by Bolander (1980). In (48 a), the subject *Åsa* is assigned the property of being *nöjd* ‘content’. If the sentence is modified with a locative adverb, in this case a PlaceP, such as *i stallet* ‘in the stable’, the PlaceP restricts where the property holds (see Bolander 1980); *Åsa* is *nöjd* ‘content’ as long as she is in the stable. The syntactic structure of the modification is given in (48 b).

(48) a. *Åsa är nöjd i stallet* (Bolander 1980: 38)

‘Åsa is content in the stable’

b. Structure of (47a)

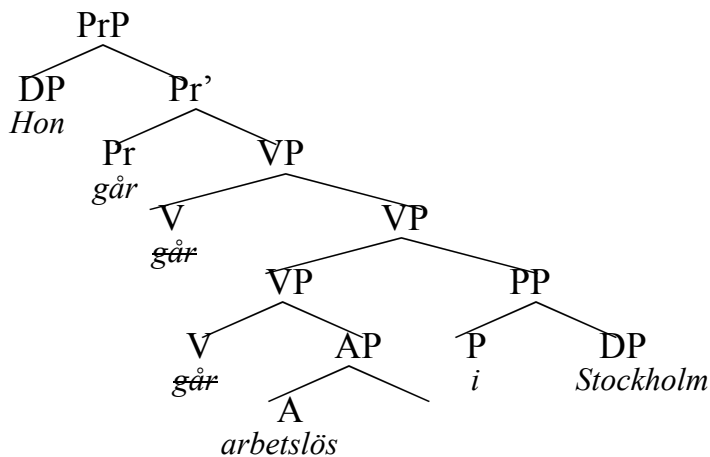


Conversely Bolander (1980) notes, modifying a posture or motion verb + adjectival predicate by a PlaceP restricts where the event takes place, as in (49).

(49) a. ...att fadern låg död på golvet (BT 33) (Bolander 1980: 39)

‘...that the father lay dead on the floor’

b. Structure of (48 a)



Thus, we take this as evidence of a VP being modified in the structure of posture and motion verb + adjectival predicate.

4.3 VP ellipsis and VP topicalization

A copular verb is often thought of as vacuous or semantically empty, and as such often given the status of an auxiliary⁹ (see Platzack 2011). A test, which is often considered to distinguish auxiliaries from full verbs, is that of VP ellipsis (see Bolander 1980, Teleman et al. 1999; Eide 2006): An auxiliary cannot be replaced by the proverb *göra* ‘do’ in ellipsis; the auxiliary has to be repeated, as shown in (50), contrasted with a full verb example in (51).

(50) Du kan väl baka en kaka, kan du inte?

You can PL bake a cake, can you NEG

(51) Du bakar en kaka, gör du inte?

You bake a cake, do you NEG

⁹ There are however other analyses that argue semantic content, even in *vara* ‘be’ (see Rothstein 1999).

It is a well-known fact that for Swedish that copular *vara* ‘be’ has to be repeated in VP ellipsis, as shown in example (52) (see for instance Teleman et al. 1999[3] 266n).

- (52) Du är själv arbetslös, är du inte?
 You are REFL unemployed, are you not?

A common assumption of the proverb *göra* ‘do’ is that it replaces for dynamic eventuality¹⁰. Under our analysis, the structure of copular *gå* ‘go’ but not copular *vara* ‘be’ contains a VP. The V carries by assumption some feature that yields an eventuality reading. This predicts that copular clauses with motion and posture verbs can be replaced by proverb *göra* ‘do’ in VP ellipsis. As shown in example (53), this prediction is borne out:

- (53) Hon går arbetslös sedan nära två månader, gör hon inte?
 She goes unemployed since nearly two months, does she not?

Notably, Teleman et al. (1999[3]: 266n) shows that there is one copular verb in Swedish, *bli* ‘become, remain’ that is ambiguous with respect to *göra* ‘do’-ellipsis. *Bli* ‘become’ can be repeated or *göra* ‘do’ can be used, see example (54):

- (54) a. Han blev rädd, blev han inte?
 He became scared, became he not?
 b. Han blev rädd, gjorde han inte?
 He became scared, did he not?

¹⁰ We take dynamic eventuality to include posture verbs.

VP ellipsis is often discussed alongside with VP topicalization, that is the topicalization of a full verb, as in example (55).

- (55) Läste boken sa Johan att han gjorde (Platzack 2012: 280)
 Read book.DEF said John that he did
 ‘Read the book, John said that he did’

As noted by for instance Platzack (2012), auxiliaries and copular verbs such as *vara* ‘be’ cannot be VP topicalized, as shown in example (56).

- (56) a. *Är arbetslös gör du väl?
 Is unemployed do you PL
 b. *Är arbetslös är du väl?
 Is unemployed do you PL

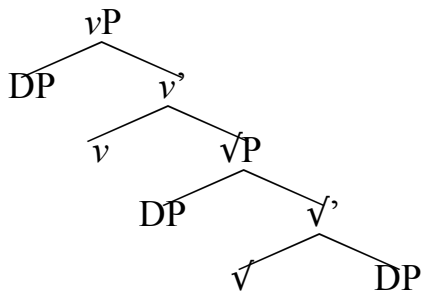
Thus far we have seen that motion and posture verbs pattern with full verbs with respect to VP ellipsis. We have argued that the fact that motion and posture verbs + adjectival predicate pattern with full verbs can be explained by a VP in their syntactic structure. If we are correct, we would expect that motion and posture verbs + adjectival predicate topicalize since *be* + adjectival predicate do not. As shown in example (57), this is borne out. Motion and posture verbs + adjectival predicate follow the pattern of full verbs.

- (57) Går arbetslös sedan nära två månader gör hon
 Goes unemployed since nearly two months does she

In the following, we attempt to account for the VP topicalization facts for copular clauses. To do so we follow Platzack (2012).

In his account of Swedish *göra* ‘do’-support, Platzack (2012) assumes a different version of the Minimalist Program than the one assumed for the purpose of this article. A verb phrase in this version has the structure in example (58).

(58) The verb phrase in Platzack (2012)



He argues that VP topicalization is actually the topicalization of a \sqrt{P} , which is the equivalent of VP in the version of the Minimalist Program assumed here. Hence, we do not assume PrP to move. Platzack (2012) presents a number of arguments for the \sqrt{P} and not the vP moving. For instance, he shows that you can neither negate nor modify by a sentence adverbial the topicalized constituent as you would expect if topicalized constituent were a vP . This is shown in examples (59 a-b).

(59) a. *Läste inte boken gjorde han (Platzack 2012: 290)

Read not the book did he

b. *Läste troligen boken gjorde han (Platzack 2012: 290)

Read probably the book did he

In example (60) we show that the same is true for motion and posture verbs + adjectival predicate.

- (60) a. *Går inte arbetslös sedan nära två månader gör hon
 Goes not unemployed since nearly two months does she
 b. *Går troligen arbetslös sedan nära två månader gör hon
 Goes probably unemployed since nearly two months does she

Moreover, Platzack shows that VP internal adverbials, i.e. adverbials adjoined to VP, contrary to VP external adverbials, i.e. adverbials adjoined to ν P, can be topicalized along with the verb, as illustrated in examples (61a-d).

- (61) a. Vi sjunger ofta i kyrkan (Platzack 2012: 292)
 We sing often in church
 b. [Sjunger] gör vi ofta i kyrkan (Platzack 2012: 292)
 Sing do we often in church
 c. *[Sjunger ofta] gör vi i kyrkan (Platzack 2012: 292)
 Sing often do we in church
 d. [Sjunger i kyrkan] gör vi ofta (Platzack 2012: 292)
 Sing in church do we often

In fact, the adjectival predicate has to be topicalized along with the copular verb¹¹, as shown in examples (62 a-b).

- (62) a. *Gick gjorde Johan arbetslös
 Went did Johan unemployed
 b. Gick arbetslös gjorde Johan
 Went unemployed did Johan

¹¹ In fact, this is a good argument in favor of the predicate being selected with motion and posture verbs.

We take the fact that motion and posture verbs + adjectival predicate pattern with full verbs as evidence for a VP in their structure, a VP that can topicalize¹². The fact that *vara* ‘be’ + adjectival predicate does not topicalize also follows from the structure in (10). It is not PrP that topicalizes, but the category that is selected by Pr, that is either VP or DegP/AP. In fact *vara* ‘be’ behaves more or less like *göra* ‘do’, being directly merged in Pr.

We also have to take into account the so-called transitive adjective, such as example (63).

- (63) Robin var sin hustru trogen
 Robin was REFL wife faithful

We have seen that Lohndal et al. (2008) argues that V is needed to introduce a second argument in the copular clause. If this is correct we expect that VP topicalization is available for example (63). However, as shown in example (64), replacement by the proverb *göra* ‘do’, which would indicate VP topicalization is not available.

- (64) *Var sin hustru trogen gjorde Robin
 Was REFL wife faithful did Robin

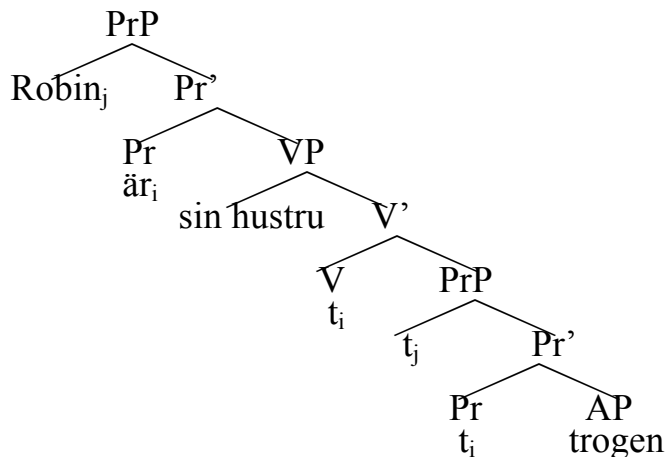
How is it that replacement by proverb *göra* ‘do’ is not available even though we expect there to be a VP in the syntactic structure of example (63)? Consider the relations that need to be established in the syntactic structure of example (63).

As pointed out by Lohndal et al. (2008), in order to establish the relations semantically needed to account for example (63) we have to assume that *vara*

¹² Platzack’s (2012) explanation for the topicalization involves both \checkmark and v , carrying sets of valued tense features. The valued tense features of \checkmark allow for the \checkmark P to topicalize, which in turn makes it possible for valued tense on v to surface as *göra* ‘do’.

‘be’ starts out in a Pr that selects for the adjective *trogen* ‘faithful’. Furthermore, it is in fact the subject *Robin*, not the wife who is in a <Spec, head> relation with the adjective. The subject thus starts out in the PrP that contains the Pr selects for the adjective; then the subject is raised to another PrP, see example (65).

(65) Robin är sin hustru trogen



What distinguishes example (65) from the examples of VP topicalization presented above is that the subject starts out low in a Pr. The subject is then raised to <Spec,Pr>. The subject raised to <Spec, Pr>, the VP is available for topicalization, as shown in example (66). An explanation would be something along the following lines: Since the copula *vara* ‘be’ is raised from the lower Pr to the higher, there is a trace of it in V. Thus, V does not need to be spelled out as neither *göra* ‘do’, nor *vara* ‘be’. Consequently, example (66) is grammatical.

(66) Trogen sin hustru var Robin

Faithful his wife was Robin

5 Conclusions

In this article, we have argued in accordance with Lohndal et al. (2008) that Swedish allows for two syntactic structures of copular clauses, one in which the copular verb is merged directly in the functional category Pr, and one in which

the copular verb is merged in V, then raised to Pr. As stated by Lohndal (2006) and Lohndal et al (2008), the two structures are spelled out as *vara* ‘be’ + AP/PP/NP in Norwegian.

In conclusion, the analysis provides the means to distinguish between copular constructions that simply attribute a property to a subject from more complex copular constructions where eventualities are involved, and more particularly to explain a number of syntactic differences between the two, namely modification properties, the ability to appear/not appear in embedded exclamatives vs. embedded interrogatives, the ability to/not to VP topicalize, and the ability to be replaced by the proverb *göra* ‘do’. As a consequence we find that copular *vara* ‘be’, spell out as the minimal structure in Swedish, contrary to Norwegian, whereas *bli* ‘become/remain’ spell out as either one of the two structures. Motion and posture verbs typically spell out as the larger structure, albeit not as their full verb counterpart. This explains their “light” verb behavior, although dispose of the term “light”. Their “light” behavior is a consequence of a specific syntactic configuration. Another advantage of the analysis is that it conserves the similarities between all selected adjectival predicates, which a light verb analysis would not do.

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Topics in pseudo-passives

Eva Klingvall, Lund University

Abstract

This paper is concerned with the derivation of pseudo-passives, in particular in Swedish (e.g. *den här sängen har sovits i* ‘this bed has been slept in’). Previous analyses of pseudo-passives typically focus on English and take the preposition to be unable to assign case in these sentences, with the result that the prepositional complement is forced to move to T to get case. Such analyses are problematic for Swedish (as well as for English). Based on the Swedish data, this paper instead proposes that pseudo-passives are a type of topicalization structures. The prepositional complement moves because it carries a topic feature.

1 Introduction

This paper looks at a type of non-canonical A-movement in Swedish. A-movement typically involves displacement of a DP from non-subject to subject position. A canonical example of this is the movement of the underlying object to subject position in passives:

- (1) a. John read the book.
b. The book was read.

There are different analyses of what triggers movement in (1b). A very widespread view has it that movement is triggered by the DP’s need to get case (see e.g. Chomsky, 1981; Burzio, 1986; Jaeggli, 1986; Baker et al., 1989; Áfarli, 1992). On an alternative view, it is triggered by the DP’s need to be fully A-licensed (basically, fully ϕ -licensed, as will be described below) (see e.g. Sigurðsson, 2011). Crucially, on both accounts, the key lies in the passive verb. It is argued that the passive verb differs from the active verb either in

being unable to assign case to the internal argument or in being unable to A-license this argument.

In view of this, it is not immediately obvious what triggers A-movement in pseudo-passives. Like canonical passives, pseudo-passives feature a passive verb. The derived subject, however, does not originate as an object of the verb but as the complement of a preposition:

- (2) a. Mary has slept in that bed.
 b. This bed has been slept in.

While movement of the *object* can be related to properties of the passive verb, it is not clear that these properties could also account for movement of the prepositional complement. Previous analyses have argued that pseudo-passives do not only have a verb that is unable to assign case, but also a preposition that fails to do so. According to these analyses, P's inability to give case in pseudo-passives is the result either of an optional reanalysis rule (which can be lexical or syntactic) (e.g. Bresnan, 1982; Hornstein and Weinberg, 1981), or of P being of the 'unaccusative' type (Ramchand and Svenonius, 2004), or of the passive morpheme's absorbing the case feature on P (Law, 2005). Movement of the prepositional complement is thus triggered by a need to get case also in pseudo-passives, according to these analyses. The analyses assume, then, that P in pseudo-passives has properties it does not have in other structures. An obvious problem is of course that if P has these properties *only* in pseudo-passives, there is no independent evidence for the analyses. Since the data do not give any positive evidence for a defectiveness in the PP, I am instead going to pursue the idea that movement in pseudo-passives takes place for information structural reasons and is thus neither case-driven nor to do with ϕ -licensing. The intuition behind the proposal is the semantic effect that movement in pseudo-passives leads to, namely that a DP inside an adjunct is turned into the subject of predication and becomes the Topic of the sentence. With this in mind, I will therefore propose that pseudo-passives in Swedish are structures involving topicalization. On this view, topicalization is movement triggered by agreement between a phrase carrying a Topic

(Top) feature and a (Topic) head in the C domain. By assumption, the Top feature on DP will make the DP visible to T even if it is not in need of case or ϕ -licensing. In the absence of any other DP, the Top marked complement of P will therefore pass through T on its way to the C-domain and thereby become subject of the sentence, (3a). If some other DP appears in T, such as the expletive element *det* in (3b), the Top marked DP will move directly to the C-domain:

- (3) a. Den sängen har sovits i.
 this bed-the has slept-PASS in
 ‘This bed has been slept in.’
- b. Den sängen har det sovits i.
 this bed-the has it slept-PASS in
 ‘This bed has been slept in.’

On this proposal, movement to T is triggered by an EPP feature. While EPP explains why a constituent has to appear in (or move via) the specifier of T, it does not in itself regulate which DP is to satisfy this requirement. This, I will argue, is instead determined by information structural features such as the Top feature and a focus feature, Foc.

The paper has the following structure: since the main issue in this paper is related to A-movement, I begin, in section 2, by looking at two different views on what triggers A-movement. My conclusion is that on neither view do pseudo-passives fall out naturally. After this background section, I present the relevant data in section 3. Section 4 discusses some previous analyses of these constructions and the problems they face. I conclude that the analyses, which are all concerned with English and argue that P can't assign case in pseudo-passives, are satisfactory for neither English nor Swedish. The Swedish data lead me to an analysis building on the information structural properties of these constructions, which I present in section 5. I argue, then, that A-movement in pseudo-passives is *not* case-driven (nor due to ϕ -licensing). Section 5.2 offers a short discussion on the cross-linguistic data and section 6 concludes.

2 Case and Argument licensing

It is a common view in the literature that A-movement is driven by a need to get case (see among many others Burzio, 1986). Passive objects can be taken to be prime examples of this. On such a view, it is thus because the passive verb fails to assign case to its internal argument that this argument has to move to the subject position to get case. This usually also means that particular cases are taken to be directly linked to specific positions in the clause: accusative case is assigned to the complement of V and nominative to the specifier of T.

Arguments against this view can be drawn from languages with ergative case systems as well as languages with quirky case, such as Icelandic (see among many others Sigurðsson, 1989; Marantz, 1991). These languages show that the relation between morphological case and argument position is not one-to-one cross-linguistically. In a number of papers, Sigurðsson has therefore argued that morphological case be divorced from abstract case, i.e. A-licensing (see Sigurðsson 1989, 2010, 2011, 2012 as well as, for instance, Marantz 1991, among others). On Sigurðsson's view, morphological case is a morphological reflex of properties of verbs and event licensing heads (Voice heads), under which the verbs are embedded (Sigurðsson, 2011, 2012). As in Chomsky (2001), Sigurðsson annotates an accusative assigning verb as v^* -V, although the $*$ -property is independent from the ϕ -properties of v (unlike in Chomsky, 2001).¹ If v lacks $*$, nominative case will simply be assigned (Sigurðsson, 2011, 163):

- (4) The central NOM-ACC system
- a. $v^* \rightarrow \text{ACC}$
 - b. $v \rightarrow \text{NOM}$

The actual morphological marking will also be affected by the event licensing Voice head that the verb is embedded under (Sigurðsson 2010, 168, see also Schäfer 2008). More precisely, certain types of Voice heads delete the $*$ on

¹Other cases, such as dative and genitive, are the result of several $*$ s on v or of a number of $+$ -signs following the $*$, see Sigurðsson (2011, 2012).

v , so that accusative case will no longer be assigned at PF. In a number of languages, this is what happens, for instance, in passives. In such languages, the object of a passive verb will thus get nominative case instead of accusative. In this system, then, morphological case marking is a PF phenomenon and there is no such thing as ‘lack of case’ (since nominative will be assigned in the absence of any other case instruction). Consequently, the need for morphological case cannot be a trigger for movement in syntax.

Movement to the subject position (high A-movement) is instead triggered by the DP’s need to get values for its ϕ -features and to match these features with context licensing heads in the C domain. The DP gets its ϕ -values from Person (Pn) and Number (Nr) heads appearing on top of T (see Sigurðsson, 2012, 207):

$$(5) \quad [_{TP} \dots Pn \dots Nr \dots T \dots Voice \dots [_{vP} \dots v \dots]]$$

A DP valued as +Pn denotes a person and needs to enter into a further matching relation with logophoric “Speaker” and “Hearer” heads in the C domain in order to be properly licensed (Sigurðsson, 2004, 2011).^{2,3} The latter matching relation can only happen locally, i.e. if the DP moves to T, otherwise T will intervene.⁴ For objects of active verbs, this matching takes place within the vP . If the features are not matched inside the extended vP , however, the DP has to move to T. In this way, definiteness effects are accounted for. That is, unlike definite DPs, indefinite ones do not have to match their features against the context licensing heads and therefore do not have to move to T but can stay in situ.

In brief then, “high A-movement boils down to full ϕ -licensing” (Sigurðsson, 2012, 211, ex 50):

²True person DPs as well as definite ones are probably valued as +Pn (see Sigurðsson, 2010).

³To exemplify, a DP valued as +Pn will be interpreted as 1st person if it matches the Hearer head, λ_A (logophoric Agent), positively, and the Speaker head, λ_P (logophoric Patient), negatively (see Sigurðsson, 2012, 208).

⁴Sigurðsson assumes that the DP tucks in to the right of the probe rather than to its specifier. Strictly speaking, movement is thus not to T itself, but to the *vicinity* of T (see e.g. Sigurðsson, 2010, 163, and references cited there). I disregard this in the present account.

- (6) High A-movement is driven by ϕ -licensing under Double Matching, NP_{+Pn} matching, and raising to $\text{T}\phi$, from where NP_{+Pn} matches $\text{C}\phi$, thereby getting fully ϕ -licensed.

On this account, passivization in a language like English would involve both *-deletion under passive Voice (yielding nominative case on the object in PF) and a change in v so that it can no longer A-license its object. It is this latter change that results in A-movement of definite DPs. As noted above, however, something more still needs to be said about pseudo-passives, since they do not involve movement of an object.

3 Pseudo-passives

While ordinary passives involve movement to the subject position of an underlying object, pseudo-passives promote the complement of a preposition:⁵

- (7) a. Nobody has walked on that floor.
b. That floor has never been walked on.

Pseudo-passives can be seen as a special instance of preposition stranding (see e.g. Law, 2005; Truswell, 2009). Unlike other contexts with preposition stranding, however, pseudo-passives involve A-movement into the subject position rather than A-bar movement. Agreement facts, (8a), case marking, (8b), and question tags, (8c)–(8d), show that the promoted DP is the subject in the pseudo-passive:

- (8) a. These beds have/*has not been slept in.
b. They/*Them have not been slept in.
c. These beds have not been slept in, have they?
d. This bed has not been slept in, has it?

Swedish has both genuine pseudo-passives and apparent ones which involve P stranding but not movement into the subject position. The latter ones are

⁵In both English and Swedish, pseudo-passives are subject to a number of semantic restrictions on the PP. For different characterizations of these restrictions in English, see e.g. Couper-Kuhlen (1979); Takami (1992); Truswell (2009).

a type of impersonal constructions with an expletive subject.⁶ In the latter, the expletive element can optionally be left out.⁷ Since these sentences too allow for the complement of the preposition to be moved to the sentence-initial position, they can look identical to pseudo-passives. Notably though, only in the pseudo-passive does the promoted DP behave as a real subject, as case marking, (9a)–(9b), and position in questions, (9c)–(9d), show:⁸

- (9) a. De här sängarna/De har sovits i.
these beds-the/they have slept-PASS in
'These beds/They have been slept in.'
- b. De här sängarna/Dem har (det) sovits i.
These beds-the/them has (it) slept-PASS in
'These beds have been slept in.'
- c. Har de här sängarna/de/*dem sovits i?
have these beds-the/they/*them slept-PASS in
'Have these beds been slept in?'
- d. Har det sovits i de här sängarna/dem?
has it slept-PASS in these beds-the/them
'Have these beds been slept in?'

⁶Pseudo-passives can furthermore be both of the morphological and periphrastic passive types. The examples given in this paper are mainly of the morphological type.

⁷See Platzack (To appear) for a recent syntactic account for when and how this can take place. See also Falk (1988); Engdahl (2010).

⁸Furthermore, in periphrastic passives, the subject agrees morphologically with the participle (showing neuter, (1a), non-neuter, (1b), or plural agreement (not illustrated below)):

- (1) a. Det har blivit klottrat på väggen.
it has been scribbled-NEUT on wall-the
'Someone's scribbled on the wall.'
- b. Väggen har blivit klottrad på.
wall-the has been scribbled-NON-NEUT on
'The wall has been scribbled on.'
- c. Väggen har (det) blivit klottrat på.
wall-the has (it) been scribbled-NEUT on
'The wall has been scribbled on.'

Lack of agreement between *väggen* ('the wall') and the participle *klottrat* ('scribbled') in (1c) indicates that the expletive *det* is the subject, whether it appears overtly or not.

In English, pseudo-passives lack expletive counterparts. This is perhaps not surprising, however, since English also lacks impersonal passives formed from intransitive verbs, although those formed from transitive verbs are acceptable (at least in some dialects):

- (10) a. *It/*There was slept in this bed.
 b. *It/*There was danced yesterday.
 c. There were many letters written yesterday.

In Swedish, where both ordinary passives and pseudo-passives have expletive counterparts, the former but not the latter give rise to definiteness effects. That is, only indefinites and weakly quantified DPs can stay in situ, (11a). These restrictions do not apply to the complement of the preposition, (11b):⁹

- (11) a. Det lästes en bok/många böcker/*böckerna igår.
 it read-PASS a book/many books/*books-the yesterday
 ‘A book/many books was/were read yesterday.’
 b. Det har sovits i många sängar/de där sängarna.
 it has slept-PASS in many beds/those beds-the
 ‘Many beds/Those beds have been slept in.’

In English, pseudo-passives do not generally allow for an object to be present:¹⁰

- (12) a. That stove has been cooked (*meat) on.
 b. That bed has been read (*many novels) in.

⁹With regard to the lack of definiteness effect, the expletive counterparts to pseudo-passives pattern with TCs:

- (1) a. Den där sängen är lätt att bädda.
 that bed-the is easy to make
 ‘That bed is easy to make.’
 b. Det är lätt att bädda den där sängen.
 it is easy to make that bed-the
 ‘It is easy to make that bed.’

¹⁰Exceptions such as *That stove has been cooked dinner on* can be found.

However, certain idiomatic expressions with an indefinite object can undergo pseudo-passivization (examples from Takami 1992, 104, see also Truswell 2009, 40–41):

- (13) a. Word processors are being made effective use of by many novelists nowadays.
 b. Don't worry about the children while you're away: they'll be taken good care of.
 c. Every lighter talent had been done full justice to.
 d. What the boss said was taken no/particular notice (note) of by the employees.

In Swedish, pseudo-passives can be formed even when there is an object present (although such sentences are less acceptable to some speakers). Crucially, however, the object cannot be a definite DP:¹¹

- (14) a. Den där ugnen har bakats (bullar/*bullarna) i.
 that oven-the has baked-PASS (buns/*buns-the) in
 'That oven has been baked in.'
 'In that oven, buns have been baked.'
 b. Den sängen har lästs (romaner/*romanerna) i.
 that bed has read-PASS (novels/*novels-the) in
 'In that bed, novels have been read.'

¹¹In Swedish, either of the objects in a double object passive can be promoted to subject. Interestingly, however, the prepositional complement in the corresponding construction can't be promoted to subject:

- (1) a. Anna gavs en bok.
 Anna gave-PASS a book
 'Anna was given a book.'
 b. En bok gavs (till) Anna.
 a book gave-PASS Anna
 'A book was given (to) Anna.'
 c. *Anna gavs en bok till.
 Anna gave-PASS a book to

Pseudo-passives are thus precisely like ordinary passives in showing a definiteness effect on the object.

4 Previous analyses

It has been quite widely assumed that passive verbs differ from their active counterparts in neither assigning their external theta-role (to a DP argument) nor checking case on the object (e.g. Chomsky, 1981; Jaeggli, 1986; Baker et al., 1989; Áfarli, 1992).¹² Since the external argument has been demoted, the object will have to raise to the subject position. As part of this process, it will also get case. Even on the view that A-movement is not driven by a lack of case (see section 2 above), the basic property of passives holds. That is, in the passivization process the object is no longer fully licensed in its vP-internal position and must therefore move to the subject position (unless it is indefinite). Irrespective of which of these views is taken on case and A-licensing, A-movement in passives comes as a result of a change in the verb.

While also pseudo-passives involve a passive verb, the promoted DP is not an object of this verb but originates as a complement of a preposition. As such, the DP would normally be given case by P and would not be accessible to higher probes. The question is therefore what happens in pseudo-passive formation such that the complement of P can become the subject.

Previous analyses of pseudo-passives have argued that the key to the problem lies in the preposition (see e.g. Hornstein and Weinberg, 1981; Brennan, 1982; Law, 2005; Ramchand and Svenonius, 2004). More precisely, in pseudo-passives, the preposition fails to give case to its complement DP. On one type of approach, P does not give case as a result of a *reanalysis* process resulting in P no longer heading its own phrase. A second type of approach takes P's case feature to be *absorbed* by the passive verb, and yet another approach argues that the PP in pseudo-passives is headed by an *unaccusa-*

¹²Collins (2005) takes a different view, arguing that there is indeed an external argument in passives and that accusative case is assigned.

tive functional little *p*. These analyses are concerned with pseudo-passives in English but if they are applied to Swedish, they run into the same problems as they do with English.

4.1 Reanalysis

The basic idea of reanalysis approaches to pseudo-passives is that the preposition is no longer the head of a PP but has become part of a complex verb:

$$(15) \quad V + PP \rightarrow V\text{-}P + DP$$

Since the preposition is part of the verb, and since this verb is passive, the DP will get case from neither P nor V and will therefore be available when T probes the structure.

Reanalysis is either taken to be a lexical operation involving intransitive verbs and their prepositional complements (e.g. Bresnan, 1982, 51) or a syntactic process involving V and elements appearing immediately to its right (e.g. Riemsdijk, 1978; Hornstein and Weinberg, 1981; Kayne, 1984).¹³ Lexical reanalysis presupposes that there is a pre-syntactic module where lexical operations apply. This view is rejected in non-lexicalist frameworks such as Distributed Morphology (e.g. Halle and Marantz, 1993; Harley and Noyer, 1999). The syntactic reanalysis operation, on the other hand, is theoretically problematic since it allows for removal of phrasal nodes in syntax (Hornstein

¹³ The syntactic rule of Reanalysis states that “a V and any set of contiguous elements to its right can form a complex V” (Hornstein and Weinberg, 1981, 60). The result is only well-formed, however, if the formed predicate is a “natural predicate” or a “possible semantic word” (Hornstein and Weinberg, 1981, 65–67):

- (1) a. * John was talked to Harry about.
 b. Who did Sam talk to Harry about.
 c. * The table was put the mouse on.
 d. What table did Harry put the mouse on?

The sentences in (1a) and (1c) are filtered out because ‘talk to Harry about’ and ‘put the mouse on’ are not possible semantic words.

and Weinberg, 1981, 60).¹⁴

Reanalysis approaches also face empirical problems. Both approaches predict that nothing should be able to appear in between the verb and the preposition. Takami (1992) shows, however, that there are well-formed pseudo-passives where an adverb is situated between these elements (examples from Takami, 1992, 99):

- (16) a. John was spoken critically/severely to.
 b. John's lecture was listened carefully/attentively to by his students.
 c. These toys have been played outside with.

Such examples are also found in Swedish:

- (17) a. Den här sängen har sovits bekvämt i.
 this bed-the has slept-PASS comfortably in
 'This bed has been slept in comfortably.'
 b. Den här ugnen har bakats länge i.
 this oven-the has baked-PASS long in
 'This oven has been baked in for a long time.'

Law (2005) maintains that reanalysis approaches also make the wrong predictions about morphology. Although it is argued that a V-P complex is formed, the passive morpheme does not appear at the end of this complex word but appears between the verb and the preposition, attaching to the right end of the verb.¹⁵ Reanalysis approaches furthermore predict that the DP complement of the preposition should behave like other object DPs, and that the verb and preposition should be syntactically inert. This is however not the case, as discussed in detail by, among others, Baltin and Postal (1996) and Alsina (2011).¹⁶

¹⁴For an overview on reanalysis approaches in the context of restructuring predicates, see Wurmbrand (2003, 11ff), and references cited there.

¹⁵Bresnan (1982, 51) states, however, that it is not "necessary to stipulate [in the rule, EK] that verbal inflections attach to the verbal base or the complex verb (*paid for* vs. **pay for-ed* [...]), for endocentric inflection is characteristic of English complex verbs."

¹⁶As discussed by Truswell (2009), there are also examples where movement has to precede reanalysis, and examples where non-contiguous material must have been reanalyzed. These

4.2 Feature movement

Law (2005) proposes an analysis of pseudo-passives where the inability of P to assign case to its DP complement is the result of the case properties of the passive verb. More precisely, in English the passive morpheme obligatorily absorbs the case feature on V (Law 2005, see also Baker 1988 and Áfarli 1992). Passivization can therefore not take place if there is no case feature to absorb, as is the situation with intransitive verbs. If the intransitive verb is followed by a PP, however, the passive morpheme can absorb the case feature on P and passivization is legitimate (Law, 2005). Since P's case feature moves to the verb to satisfy the absorption requirement of the passive morpheme, the DP in the complement of P position cannot be assigned case and is therefore available as a goal for T.

Law's analysis faces at least two empirical problems. The first one is the fact that idioms with objects can form pseudo-passives.

- (18) a. This should be made considerable allowance for.
 b. This man should be paid close attention to.
 c. She has been taken advantage of.

Crucially, the post-verbal noun-phrase can be promoted to subject in the passive. It thus behaves like a real object in the sense of being affected by passivization (examples from Takami, 1992, 104):

- (19) a. Considerable allowance will be made for special cases.
 b. Close attention is being paid to present movements in the money market.
 c. Proper advantage is not being taken of this splendidly equipped sports hall.

Sentences like (18)–(19) are problematic for Law because they would mean that the case feature of P could be affected even in the presence of an object.

The second problem is that of intervening adverbs. Law discusses examples where adverbs are ill-formed between the verb and preposition, arguing that things are problematic for Hornstein and Weinberg's analysis, see footnote (13) above.

in those cases the PP is in an adjoined position from which both NP movement and features movement are banned. The observation that adverbs are not always illicit in this position then becomes problematic. It would either have to be stipulated that the PP is *not* in an adjoined position in the well-formed cases or be shown that the illicit adverbs are out for some other reason.

From a theoretical point of view, it is worth noting that the analysis presupposes a representation rather than a derivation: although case is a syntactic feature on this account, P does not assign case to the DP as soon as the two are merged but case assignment is deferred until the passive morpheme has been merged.

In his analysis of pseudo-passives, Law thus argues that the same mechanism is responsible for the absence of impersonal passives and availability of pseudo-passives in English. The analysis is not without empirical problems though, as discussed above. In the case of Swedish, the analysis would run into problems, since both impersonal passives and pseudo-passives are found in the language.¹⁷

4.3 Unaccusative *p*

A third type of analysis takes P not to assign case to its DP complement because, like unaccusative verbs, it lacks the functional head responsible for case assignment.

Following the line of thought in among others Riemsdijk (1990), Rooryck (1996) and Koopman (2000), Svenonius (2003) argues that *p*Ps have the same structure as *v*Ps. That is, the external argument, the Figure, is assigned by *p*, while the internal argument, the Ground, is assigned by P:

- (20) a. [Figure *p* [P Ground]]
 b. We loaded [hay]_{figure} on [the wagon]_{ground}.

If *p* is missing or inert, the Figure will not be assigned in the usual way but

¹⁷Law (2005) does not claim however that the analysis should be applicable to Swedish. In fact he claims, based on Maling and Zaenen (1990), that Swedish lacks pseudo-passives, and only has the expletive counterparts.

can appear in a separate PP, and the Ground argument will not get case. In the following Dutch examples (originally from van Hout 1998, 48, cited by Svenonius 2003), the sentence in (21a) has a full *p*P structure, as in (20a), while the sentence in (21b) has an inert *p*:

- (21) a. Ingrid smeert henna in haar haar.
Ingrid smears henna in her hair
- b. Ingrid smeert haar haar in (met henna)
Ingrid smears her hair in (with henna)

Ramchand and Svenonius (2004) propose that the PPs undergoing pseudo-passive formation in English are of the unaccusative type (contra Svenonius, 2003).¹⁸ Similarly to (21b), thus, the complement DP (i.e. the Ground) does not get case from the preposition in the pseudo-passive and can therefore function as a goal when a higher head probes the structure (T in the pseudo-passive, *v* in (21b)).

Crucially, the analysis hinges on the claim that there are unaccusative prepositions in English. There is indeed a group of locative alternating verbs in English that seem to allow either full or unaccusative *p*P as complements. These verbs belong to the *spray/load* group (see Levin, 1993, 50–51, 117–119):

- (22) a. John loaded hay on the truck.
b. John loaded the truck with hay.

However, unlike the unaccusative member of the pair in (21b), the sentence in (22b) lacks the preposition found in the transitive member of the pair (*on* in (22a)). This, then, makes it radically different from the Dutch counterparts, and also, and even more importantly, radically different from the allegedly unaccusative prepositions in pseudo-passives. Furthermore, although

¹⁸Truswell (2009), building on Abels (2003), proposes a similar analysis. According to Truswell, the features responsible for case assignment have been suppressed in pseudo-passives. Since the complement of P lacks case, it will have to move. Precisely as with the unaccusative analysis, it seems problematic that this feature suppression happens only in pseudo-passives.

spray/load-verbs show the location-locatum alternation, other verbs that are semantically similar do not (cf Svenonius, 2003, 441):

- (23) a. * Would you put the refrigerator in?
 b. * They poured the glass in.
 c. * We set the table on.
 d. * We loaded the baggage cart off.

The transitive and (potentially) unaccusative forms thus cannot be used interchangeably, except in the *spray/load* alternation.

4.4 Summing up

The analyses of pseudo-passives discussed in the previous sections focus on English. As pseudo-passives in English do not have expletive counterparts, it is tempting to locate the trigger for A-movement in these constructions to the preposition. Pseudo-passivization would thus always affect the preposition such that it cannot assign case to its complement. The complement would therefore be available as a goal for T. As discussed, however, there is a lack of independent evidence for a defective P (or *p*) in English. While it has been argued that there are unaccusative prepositions in English, the ones appearing in pseudo-passives do not behave and look like the putatively unaccusative ones. The fact that the verb and the preposition do not behave like a single syntactic unit is problematic for reanalysis approaches. Furthermore, the observations that pseudo-passives can be formed even when there is an object present (in idiomatic expressions) or when an adverb appears between the verb and the preposition are a problem for all the analyses.

In Swedish unlike in English, pseudo-passives and passives in general have expletive counterparts. There is however no visible difference between the prepositions in the two variants and thus, as in English, no overt evidence for P manipulation in pseudo-passives. Furthermore, in the expletive counterpart to passives (and pseudo-passives), objects show definiteness effects. Crucially, however, the complement of the preposition is not affected in this way.

The fact that pseudo-passives alternate with expletive constructions in Swedish is an indication that A-movement in these cases is triggered neither by a need to get case nor by a need to be A-licensed. In the next section, I will instead propose that pseudo-passives in Swedish are a type of structure involving topicalization. DP movement in these structures is thus the result of feature checking between the Top marked DP and a head in the C domain.

5 Towards an analysis

Passive formation typically involves movement of an object argument to the subject position. In pseudo-passive formation, in contrast, where the moved element is the complement of a preposition, it is a DP that originates inside an adjunct that is turned into a subject. This movement operation could be seen as a means of making a non-topical element a topic, i.e. as an instance of topicalization.

As argued above, the type of movement I look at here is not case-driven, nor to do with ϕ -licensing. The moving elements are complements of P which are otherwise well-formed in situ. In this respect, they are similar to indefinite objects of passive verbs and different from definite objects of passive verb. As we have seen, indefinite objects of passive verbs unlike definite ones are not forced to move to the subject position. For definite objects, I assume the analysis in Sigurðsson (2012), according to which they need to move to be fully ϕ -licensed. Prepositional complements and indefinite objects of passive verbs, in contrast, are thus different and both of these will be relevant in the discussion below.

5.1 Topic and Focus

I will take all movement to be feature-driven. In the case of topicalization, movement is triggered by agreement between a head in the C domain and a phrase carrying an optional topic (Top) feature.¹⁹ Since movement is obligatory, I will assume that agreement in this case can only take place locally, such

¹⁹I do not take a stand here on the exact lay-out of the heads in the C domain.

that the relevant DP needs to appear at least as high as Spec,TP (cf Sigurðsson, 2010, 166ff, on local matching between DPs and the logophoric heads in the C domain).²⁰ The Top marked phrase will either move directly to the C domain, or move via the T projection. More specifically, in the absence of another element in the specifier of T, the Top marked phrase will also pass through this position, thereby satisfying T's EPP feature. This is the case in the pseudo-passives in (24a)–(24b), where *den här ugnen* ('this oven') is the subject. In the expletive and passive sentences in (25a)–(25d), on the other hand, some other element appears in the subject position:

- (24) a. Den här ugnen har bakats i.
 this oven-the has baked-PASS in
 'Someone has baked in this oven.'
- b. Den här ugnen har bakats bullar i.
 this oven-the has baked-PASS buns in
 'In this oven, buns have been baked.'
- (25) a. Den här ugnen har (det) bakats i.
 this oven-the has it baked-PASS in
 'Someone has baked in this oven.'
- b. Det har bakats i den här ugnen.
 it has baked-PASS in this oven-the
 'Someone has baked in this oven.'
- c. Bullar har bakats i den här ugnen.
 buns have baked-PASS in this oven-the
 'Buns have been baked in this oven.'

²⁰In case some other element appears in the C domain, the DP stays in Spec,TP and agrees from there with the relevant head in the C domain:

- (1) a. Nu har den här ugnen bakats i.
 now has this oven-the baked-PASS in
 'Now this oven has been baked in.'
- b. [_{CP} XP [_{TP} DP_{Top} T [_{vP} v V [_{PP} P <DP_{Top}>]]]]

- d. Den här ugnen har bullar bakats i.
 this oven-the has buns baked-PASS in
 ‘In this oven, buns have been baked.’

To account for the sentences in (24)–(25), I will assume the following:

- (26) a. A DP carrying a Top or Foc feature is visible to T even if the DP’s ϕ -features have already been valued.
 b. Minimality: In the absence of any DP in need of ϕ -feature valuation, T targets the closest possible DP marked with a Top or Foc feature.

Importantly, as stated in (26b), T cannot target a Top or Foc marked P complement if there is a definite DP closer to T than the P complement. The definite DP will always need to move to T to get values for its ϕ -features (see Sigurðsson, 2011, 167ff). It is also worth noting, however, that in the absence of a definite DP, Spec,T can be filled not only by an indefinite DP or an expletive element, but also by one of the adverbs *här* (‘here’) or *där* (‘there’) (for discussion and examples, see Falk, 1988, 5):

- (27) a. Kan där finnas ormar?
 can there be snakes
 ‘Can there be snakes there?’
 b. Brukade här städas till jul?
 used-to here clean-PASS for Christmas
 ‘Did they use to clean here for Christmas?’

In Swedish, thus, T’s EPP property can be satisfied by elements of different types. As seen for instance in (24b), however, T does not simply attract the closest DP, but can in fact by-pass an indefinite object in favour of a prepositional complement further away. The analysis of pseudo-passives needs to be able to account for this.²¹

²¹As stated in (26a)–(26b), I take the presence of a Top or Foc feature on the DP to be crucial when T searches its C-command domain for an appropriate goal in pseudo-passives. The Top or Foc marked DP needs to move in order to match its features against a head in the C domain. Potentially problematic are then pseudo-passives embedded under ECM verbs, (1a),

Let's now return to the sentences in (24)–(25) to see how they can be derived. To begin with, it can be established that the DP *den här ugnen* ('this oven') is a Topic in all sentences except (25b)–(25c). In all these cases, it is the entity over which something is predicated, and it can fill the topic slot in questions of the type *What about X?* ($X = \text{topic}$). In all these cases, then, the DP *den här ugnen* carries a Top feature. In accordance with (26a), this means that the DP is visible to T, although it is not in need of ϕ -licensing.

The derivations of (24a) and (25a) are straight-forward. In the former, the Top marked DP moves through Spec,T while in the latter, it moves directly to the C domain:²²

- (28) a. Den här ugnen har bakats i.
 $[_{CP} \dots DP_{Top} \text{ Top } \dots [_{TP} \langle DP_{Top} \rangle T [_{vP} v V [_{PP} P \langle DP_{Top} \rangle]]]]$
- b. Den här ugnen har det bakats i.
 $[_{CP} \dots DP_{Top} \text{ Top } \dots [_{TP} \text{ Expl } T [_{vP} v V [_{PP} P \langle DP_{Top} \rangle]]]]$

The sentence in (25b), repeated as (29) below, is like the one in (25a)/(28b) except that the complement of P does not have a Top feature, and therefore does not move. In contrast to (28a)–(28b), which ascribe a property to the sentence-initial phrase *den här ugnen*, the sentence in (25b)/(29) involves

since the verbal complement in these cases are taken to include T but not the C domain. Note though that also the simple EPP analysis is problematic in these cases, since strict minimality can be violated, (1b) (and some mechanism for choosing one DP over another has to be stated):

- (1) a. Jag såg barnet bytas på.
 I saw child-the become changed-PASS on
 'I saw that they were changing the child's nappy.'
- b. Jag såg barnet bytas blöja på.
 I saw child-the become changed-PASS nappy on
 'I saw that they were changing the child's nappy.'

²²I take the auxiliary (*har*) to be merged in a verbal projection on top of vP , and to subsequently move to one of the head positions in C. This is not shown in the structures in (28)–(32).

existential quantification over the event variable (see e.g. É. Kiss, 2002, 117), essentially stating that a baking event has taken place:

- (29) Det har bakats i den här ugnen.
 [_{CP} Expl C [_{TP} <Expl> T [_{vP} v V [_{PP} P DP]]]]

The sentences in (24b) and (25c)–(25d) are seemingly more complicated because they contain two non-expletive DPs each: the prepositional complement as well as an indefinite object. In (25c), repeated as (30), the indefinite object receives stress (indicated with capital letters below) and has narrow focus.^{23,24} It serves as the answer to the question *What has been baked in this oven?*, and evokes the idea of a set of things that can be baked. In (25c)/(30), then, the indefinite object has a Foc feature, making it visible to T and a goal for a Focus head in the C domain:²⁵

- (30) BULLAR har bakats i den här ugnen.
 [_{CP} ... DP_{Foc} Foc ... [_{TP} <DP_{Foc}> T [_{vP} v <DP_{Foc}> V [_{PP} P DP]]]]

Finally, the sentences in (24b) and (25d) (repeated as (32a)–(32b)) differ only as to whether the indefinite object remains inside the VP or moves to T. When the indefinite DP appears in the subject position, it gets a narrow focus reading, similarly to (25c)/(30). Crucially, however, there is no focus reading when it stays in situ.²⁶ In (24b)/(32a), then, the prepositional complement has a Top feature, while the object has neither a Top nor a Foc feature and is therefore not visible to T. In (25d)/(32b), in contrast, the prepositional complement is Top marked, while the object is Foc marked. In this case, minimality comes into play: T will target the closest possible DP with a Top or Foc feature and cannot bypass one in favour of another one further away:

²³Narrow focus on the sentence-initial phrase is necessarily contrastive (see e.g. Molnár, 2006).

²⁴Both topic and contrastive focus relate to the context and this explains why both types move to the C domain (Molnár, 2006).

²⁵In the structures in (30) and (32), I take the object to appear in the specifier of V, and the PP to be the syntactic complement of V.

²⁶Focus here refers to structural narrow focus, see e.g. É Kiss (2006).

- (31) * Bullar har den här ugnen bakats i.
 buns have this oven-the baked-PASS in

The derivations of (24b) and (25d) are the following:

- (32) a. Den här ugnen har bakats bullar i.
 $[_{CP} \dots DP_{Top} Top \dots [_{TP} <DP_{Top}> T [_{vP} v DP V [_{PP} P <DP_{Top}>]]]]$
- b. Den här ugnen har bullar bakats i.
 $[_{CP} \dots DP_{Top} Top DP_{Foc} Foc \dots [_{TP} <DP_{Foc}> T [_{vP} v <DP_{Foc}> V [_{PP} P <DP_{Top}>]]]]$

To sum up the proposal sketched above, I analyze movement of the prepositional complement and the indefinite object in the sentences in (24)–(25) to be due to these DPs carrying a Top or Foc feature. The Top or Foc marked DP moves to T in the absence of another DP in this position. These DPs can thus undergo either A-movement or A-bar movement. Movement to T (A-movement) is in these cases not forced by a lack of case on the DP but is a response to T's EPP feature. The DP is visible to T because it carries a feature not yet valued by the corresponding head in the C domain. As Sigurðsson (2010, 2011, 2012), I take morphological case marking to be post-syntactic and language-specific. In Swedish, where there are no quirky subjects and where only pronouns show a morphological case distinction, it might be argued that pronouns get accusative case-marking in PF unless they move through T. Alternatively, since pronouns need to match their features with the logophoric heads for the actual person value to result (see Sigurðsson, 2011, 166), case marking could perhaps follow from this. Matching with these heads in the C domain would result in Nom in PF, while matching with these heads vP internally (and pP internally) would result in Acc.

5.2 Pseudo-passives cross-linguistically: some remarks

In the proposal for Swedish pseudo-passives presented above, I take movement to be triggered by a Top feature on the DP complement of P. The Top marked DP is visible to T although it is not in need of case (or ϕ -licensing).

The question that arises is then if this analysis can be applied to other languages as well.

An important thing to note is that very few languages have pseudo-passives, but that this might be *not* because T can only target DPs in need of case (or ϕ -licensing) but for independent reasons. Thus, a pre-requisite for having pseudo-passives is that the language in question allows for preposition-stranding in general. Cross-linguistically however, P-stranding is very rare, which means that languages that have pseudo-passives are even more rare (see e.g. Truswell, 2009).

One property that seems to be crucial for the possibility of P-stranding in a language is that the DP complement of P remains morphologically separate from P. That is, a potential property blocking P-stranding (and thereby also pseudo-passive formation) is incorporation of the complement DP's determiner into the preposition (see Law, 2005). This happens in both Romance and German (see e.g. Law (2005) for Romance, and Riemsdijk (1998, 653) for German). In (33) this is illustrated for French (from Law, 2005):

(33) French

- a. au = à le, aux = à les 'to the'
- b. auquel = à lequel, auxquels = à lesquels 'to the which'
- c. du = de le, des = de les 'of the'
- d. duquel = de lequel, desquels = de lesquels 'of the which'

Possibly, if there is morphological evidence that D incorporates into P in some cases in these languages, it could be argued that D always incorporates into P, even when there is no suppletive form. If this is the case, the fact that P-stranding is blocked across the board in these languages is expected. The DP can't move out of the PP if D has incorporated into P.

In English, P and its DP complement remain morphologically separate and both P stranding in general and pseudo-passives in particular are possible. If, as discussed in section 4, there is very little (if any) independent evidence for analyses which take P to be unable to assign case in English, then the question is if there is any evidence that T can see a DP merely because it carries a Top

feature?

Recall that the motivation for treating the Swedish cases as involving topic-triggered movement, rather than movement for case or ϕ -licensing reasons, is the observation that the DPs in question are not forced to move. That is, precisely like indefinite objects of passive verbs, they are well-formed in situ if some other element appears in the subject position. While there are more restrictions than in Swedish, English in fact has impersonal passives of sorts. That is to say, in English too, indefinite (or weakly quantified) objects need not raise to the subject position in passives (at least in some varieties of English):

- (34) a. There were many letters written yesterday.
 b. Many letters were written yesterday.

While (34a) is about the existence of an event (or events) of letter-writing, (34b) talks about a property of the subject *many letters*, namely that they were written yesterday. In the latter case, then, the subject is also the topic of the sentence. Tentatively, then, it could be assumed that the object in (34b) moves to the subject position because it carries a Top feature, not because it needs case. The situation is not as clear as in Swedish, however, since the object moves to the left of the participle even when it does not raise all the way to the subject position, (34a).

6 Concluding remarks

In this paper I have discussed the derivation of pseudo-passives in Swedish. Pseudo-passives involve movement of a DP from inside an adjunct PP, into the subject position. While previous analyses of pseudo-passives have argued that the DP moves for case reasons (because P is unable to assign case in these structures), I have proposed that it moves for information structural reasons. There are two observations motivating this analysis. Firstly, similarly to indefinite objects of passive verbs, prepositional complements can always stay in situ if some other element appears in the subject position. There is thus no independent evidence for P's inability to assign case (or license its complement). Secondly, the prepositional complement receives a Topic interpreta-

tion when it appears in the left periphery, but not otherwise. Pseudo-passives are thus similar to other structures involving topicalization. If the proposal sketched in this paper is on the right track, it would mean that not all high A-movement is for case-reasons (or ϕ -licensing reasons, contra e.g. Sigurðsson 2012, 211).

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Finiteness in Swedish*

Fredrik Heinat, Stockholm University

Abstract

This paper investigates tenseless finite clauses in Swedish. In certain contexts the finite perfect auxiliary, *ha* ‘have’, is optional. These contexts are finite non-V2 clauses and V2 clauses in which the V2 position is filled by a modal adverb, for example *kanske* ‘maybe’. The analysis of these tenseless clauses is presented in the constraint based lexicalist theory, lexical functional grammar. The analysis builds on, and develops, the one presented by Sells (2007).

1 Introduction

Finiteness is an illusive concept and linguistic theories differ in how they treat it. One thing that most researchers agree on is that there are various ways to realize finiteness, if it is realized at all. The conclusion that Nikolaeva (2007) arrives at is that the realization of finiteness is language particular. In V2 languages the standard account is that finiteness is indicated by the placement of the finite verb in second position in main clauses.¹ This is also the case in Swedish. In main clauses the finite (tensed) verb occupies the second position. Embedded clauses have SVO order. However, there are cases where main clauses do not show V2. The clausal adverbs, *kanske*, ‘maybe’ *kanhända* ‘maybe’ and *måhända* ‘maybe’, may put the V2 requirement out of play. Compare (1) and (2).

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¹V2 languages differ in how finiteness is realized in subordinated clauses.

- (1) a. Lisa kanske gick tidigare.
Lisa maybe left earlier
'Maybe Lisa left earlier.'
- b. Lisa kanhända läser boken imorgon.
Lisa maybe reads the book tomorrow
'Maybe Lisa will read the book tomorrow.'
- c. Lisa måhända läste boken redan igår.
Lisa maybe read the book already yesterday
'Maybe Lisa read the book already yesterday.'
- (2) a. Lisa gick kanske tidigare.
Lisa went maybe earlier
'Maybe Lisa left earlier.'
- b. Kanhända läser Lisa boken imorgon.
maybe reads Lisa the book tomorrow
'Maybe Lisa will read the book tomorrow.'
- c. Måhända läste Lisa boken redan igår.
maybe read Lisa the book already yesterday
'Maybe Lisa read the book already yesterday.'

These modal adverbs interact in interesting ways with another grammatical phenomenon, *ha*-deletion. As pointed out by Andersson and Dahl (1974), in Swedish it is possible to delete finite *ha* 'have' in embedded clauses. However, Sells's (2007) claims that this is possible in main clauses too, as long as *kanske* occupies the second position in the clause. As seen in (3a), *hade*, the past tense form of 'have' is optional in the embedded clause. In main clauses finite *ha* cannot be deleted, (3b). The only exception, Sells claims, is when the modal adverb is present in second position, (3c).

- (3) a. Johan sa att Lisa (hade) gått tidigare än vanligt.
Johan said that Lisa (had) gone earlier than usual
'Johan said that Lisa had left earlier than usual.'
- b. *Lisa gått tidigare än vanligt.
Lisa gone earlier than usual
'Maybe Lisa has/had left earlier than usual.'

- c. Lisa kanske gått tidigare än vanligt .
 Lisa maybe gone earlier than usual
 ‘Maybe Lisa has/had left earlier than usual.’

However, the data for finite *ha* deletion is even more complex than this. The modal adverb does not have to appear in second position. The only requirement is that it appears before the main verb:

- (4) a. Kanske Lisa gått tidigare än vanligt.
 maybe Lisa gone earlier than usual
 ‘Maybe Lisa has left earlier than usual.’
- b. Idag kanske Lisa läst boken.
 today maybe Lisa read the book
 ‘Maybe Lisa has read the book today.’

The structure of this paper is as follows. The first section after the introduction gives an overview of Swedish clause structure and makes explicit some of the assumptions about word order and clause type. Section 3 provides more information on in what contexts *ha*-deletion is possible. In section 4 we take a closer look at the modal adverbs that are obligatory in main clauses without finite verbs. In section 5, Sells’s (2007) analysis of finiteness is presented. Section 6 presents an account of the deletion of finite *ha* in Swedish main clauses. The last section is a conclusion.

2 Word order and clause type

Word order phenomena in the Scandinavian languages are often phrased in type of clause in the sense that V2 clauses are said to have “main clause word order” or that main clauses have V2. Embedded clauses do not have V2, and are said to have “embedded clause word order”, which in Swedish is SVO. However, these orderings are only the prototypical word orders that we find. It is important to make a distinction between clause types on the one hand, and clausal word order on the other. I will follow Teleman et al.’s definition of main clauses, or root clauses. Teleman et al. (1999, Vol IV, 674) define a

main clause as a clause that does not have a clause function in another clause. Consequently, an embedded clause is a clause that has a clause function in another clause.

Concerning word order, Teleman et al. (1999) make a distinction between two types: a-f order and f-a order.² The a stands for clausal adverb and the f for finite verb. The rule of thumb is that main clauses have f-a order, as in (5a) and embedded clauses have a-f order, as in (5b).

- (5) a. Lisa kan_f inte_a komma idag.
 Lisa can not come today
 'Lisa can't come today.'
- b. Kalle sa att Lisa inte_a kan_f komma idag.
 Kalle said that Lisa not can come today
 'Kalle said that Lisa can't come today.'

As seen in (5a) f-a order is the same as V2. However, all four combinations of the two parameters, clause type and word order, are possible. In (6a), the embedded clause has f-a order. Typically, this clause shows all characteristics of main clauses, for example topicalization of a constituent is possible. This is not possible in embedded a-f clauses, as in (6b).³

- (6) a. Kalle sa att idag kan_f Lisa inte_a komma.
 Kalle said that today can Lisa not come
 'Kalle said that Lisa can't come today.'
- b. *Kalle sa att idag Lisa kan_f inte_a komma.
 Kalle said that today Lisa can not come
 'Kalle said that Lisa can't come today.'

The fourth possibility is a-f order in main clause. This is not a very common order but in addition to the modal adverbs mentioned in the previous section, there are certain (exclamative) phrases that are not clauses themselves, but which subcategorize for a-f clauses. Examples are, *aldrig*, 'never' *så tusan*

²The ordering is based on Diderichsen's (1946) clause schema.

³This paper is not concerned with these phenomena, often called embedded root phenomena. For an overview, see Heycock (2005).

‘the hell’ and *i helvete heller* ‘the hell’. We will look at these in more detail in the section 3. As mentioned, the modal adverbs may change the word order between a (a clausal adverb) and f (the finite verb). The result is an a-f clause that shows the characteristics of f-a clauses. These clauses are not V2 in a strict sense, but they show the properties of V2 clauses. We will get back to these clauses, too. All four combinations of main vs. subordinate and a-f vs. f-a order will be relevant in teasing out the properties of *ha*-deletion.

3 *Ha*-deletion

It seems that of the Scandinavian languages only Norwegian and Swedish allow deletion of (some instances) of non-finite *ha*. This is possible in both main and subordinate clauses:

(7) *Swedish*

- a. Lisa skulle (ha) gått tidigare.
Lisa should (have) gone earlier
‘Lisa should have left earlier.’
- b. Jag sa att Lisa skulle (ha) gått tidigare.
I said that Lisa should (have) left earlier
‘I said that Lisa should have left earlier.’

(8) *Norwegian*

- a. Lisa skulle (ha) gjort det før.
Lisa should (have) done it before
‘Lisa should have done it before.’
- b. Jag sa att Lisa skulle (ha) gjort det før.
I said that Lisa should (have) done it before
‘I said that Lisa should have done it before.’

There is no difference in meaning between the sentences with and without ‘have’.⁴ However, only in Swedish do we find deletion of finite *ha*. The fact

⁴It has been claimed that *ha* cannot be deleted if we want to maintain the “result reading” (Wiklund, 2001), but this is not the case. The temporal adverbs are very important in the

that omission of finite *ha* is possible in embedded clauses was noted by Andersson and Dahl (1974) and used as an argument against Ross's claim (1973) that there are no syntactic processes that apply only in embedded clauses, and not in main clauses. Andersson and Dahl point out that deletion of finite *ha* in embedded clauses is unrestricted. It is more common in written language, even if it's becoming increasingly common in spoken language (Teleman et al., 1999, 272). It is only mentioned indirectly in the Swedish reference grammar (Teleman et al., 1999, Vol IV, 22) that finite *ha* can be omitted in main clauses. It is indicated by means of parenthesis, as in (9).^{5, 6}

- (9) a. Han kanske inte (har) varit där idag.
 he maybe not (has) been there today
 'Maybe he hasn't been there today.'
- b. Kanske han inte (har) varit där idag.
 maybe he not (has) been there today
 'Maybe he hasn't been there today.'

interpretation and given that the adverbial specifies a "deadline" with the preposition *tills* 'until', a result reading is default:

- i Jag sa till dig att du skulle (ha) läst boken tills i lördags/imorgon.
 I said to you that you should (have) read the book until Saturday/tomorrow
 'I told you to have read the book by Saturday/tomorrow.'

⁵The reason that Teleman et al. (1999) do not discuss this might be that the examples in (9) are embedded clauses according to one definition: a clause that has adverbial-finite verb order and allows deletion of *ha* (1999, Vol IV, 675), but they are also main clauses according to the definition in section 2: a clause that has no clause function in another clause (1999, Vol IV, 674). This is yet an example of how closely connected word order and clause type are in the literature.

⁶With *ha*-deletion it is strictly speaking impossible to identify the position of *ha* since it could overtly be in V2 in (9), as in (i).

- i Han har kanske inte varit där idag.
 he has maybe not been there today
 'Maybe he hasn't been there today.'

But since *ha* must be present in (10), where it cannot occur in any other position, it is a reasonable generalization that it does not occupy the V2 position in (9).

Semantically, there seems to be no restriction on the deletion. In all the uses of perfect listed in Dahl (1985, 132–133), the meaning of the perfect is maintained under *ha*-deletion. Consequently, the conditions that govern *ha*-deletion must be grammatical rather than semantic.

As noted in (9), it is possible to exclude *har* when it is preceded by the adverb *kanske* ‘maybe’. If the adverb comes after *ha*, *ha* is obligatory in second position:

- (10) a. Idag *(har) han kanske inte varit där.
 today has he maybe not been there
 ‘Today maybe he hasn’t been there.’
- b. Han *(har) kanske inte varit där idag.
 he has maybe not been there today
 ‘Maybe he hasn’t been there today.’

This indicates that the possibility of *ha*-deletion is not related to the semantics of the adverb, only its effect on word order. There are other adverbs that have similar meaning as *kanske*, *måhända*, and *kanhända* (all corresponding to ‘maybe’). However, these adverbs do not affect the word order and they do not allow *ha*-deletion:

- (11) a. Möjligen *(har) han (*har) varit där idag.
 possibly (has) he (has) been there today
 ‘Possibly he has been there today.’
- b. Antagligen *(har) han (*har) varit där idag.
 probably (has) he (has) been there today
 ‘Probably he has been there today.’
- c. Troligen *(har) han (*har) varit där idag.
 probably (has) he (has) been there today
 ‘Probably he has been there today.’

What is striking about the deletion of *ha* in main clauses is that it is only possible when *ha* does not occupy the second position and we get a-f word order. As we saw in (10b), *ha* is obligatory in f-a, V2, word order clauses. There are further indications that the word order is of special importance.

Certain phrases that questions or confirms the degree of truth in a clause may get a-f word order. Since these clauses do not have a clause function in another clause, they are by definition main clauses (Teleman et al., 1999, Vol IV, 22). In these clauses, too, is it possible to omit finite *ha*:

- (12) a. *Aldrig* att han inte (har) varit där idag.
 Never that he inte (has) been there today
 ‘No way he hasn’t been there today.’
- b. *Så fan* (att) han inte (har) varit där idag
 so damn (that) he inte (has) been there today
 ‘Hell no, he hasn’t been there today.’
- c. *I helvete (heller)* (att) han inte (har) varit där idag.
 in hell PART (that) he not (has) been there today
 ‘Hell no, he hasn’t been there today.’

In the examples in (12), the position of the negation clearly shows that these clauses have a-f word order, even though they are not embedded clauses. The complementizer *att* ‘that’, which is optional, is also a clear indication that the clauses with *ha*-deletion are a-f clauses. The sentences in (12) are, to my knowledge, the only examples of unembedded clauses, introduced by a complementizer and with a-f word order. These clauses have a fixed structure and it is impossible to have V2 clauses instead, and no element, such as a wh-word, can be extracted from the *att*-clause. It’s not even possible to reformulate these sentences into questions.

As mentioned in section 2, some contexts allow embedded clauses with V2 word order. Interestingly, the embedded V2 clauses do not allow *ha*-deletion, (13a). However, if one of the modal adverbs is present preverbally, as explained in connection to (11), *ha*-deletion is possible, (13b). Since the adverb *där* ‘there’, is topicalized in the embedded clauses in both (13a) and (13b), these embedded clauses are only superficially a-f clauses. It is impossible to topicalize a constituent in an embedded clause with a-f word order.

- (13) a. Lisa sa att där *(har) han inte varit idag.
 Lisa said that there has he not been today
 ‘Lisa said that he hasn’t been there today.’
- b. Lisa sa att där kanske han inte (har) varit idag.
 Lisa said that there maybe he not (has) been today
 ‘Lisa said that he hasn’t been there today.’

We will look closer at the effect these adverbs have on word order in section 4. For now, we come to the conclusion that the answer to the question when deletion of finite *ha* is possible will depend on clause type and word order. Another way to pose the question is: when is *ha*-deletion *not* possible? The answer to this question is that it is possible as long as *ha* does not occupy the V2 position, (see also Sells, 2007). As will be clear in section 6 looking at the cases where *ha*-deletion is not possible, makes it possible to give a unified account of deletion of both finite and non finite *ha*.

Further evidence that *ha*-deletion is related to V2 comes from main clauses (defined as above) with wh-exclamatives (see Delsing, 2010). This is a type of main clause that has a-f order, and not f-a order. As predicted, *ha*-deletion is possible in these clauses:

- (14) a. Så/Vilken fin tavla Lisa (har) målat!
 so/what a nice painting Lisa (has) painted
 ‘What a nice painting Lisa has made!’
- b. Så/Vilka små servetter du (har) knypplat!
 so/what tiny napkins you (have) tatted
 ‘What tiny napkins you have tatted!’
- c. Så långt Eva (har) sprungit!
 so far Eva (has) run
 ‘What a distance Eva has run!’

However, when *ha* is not in V2 position it is always adjacent to the lexical verb. It is tempting to draw the conclusion that it is this fact, rather than non-V2 position that makes *ha*-deletion possible. If we look at VP topicalization, it seems that adjacency is really what matters. In (15) deletion is possible only

when *ha* is followed by a dummy verb in supine form, (15c). And contrary to the predictions of the non-V2 position, (15b) is not well formed without *ha*.

- (15) a. Läst boken har hon ?(gjort).
 read the book has she (done)
 ‘Read the book she has.’
- b. Läst boken kanske hon (*har).
 read the book maybe she has
 ‘Read the book, she maybe has.’
- c. Läst boken kanske hon (har) gjort.
 read the book maybe she done
 ‘Read the book, she has.’

But an account that relies on adjacency between *ha* and the main verb misses an important aspect of *ha*-deletion. Even though *ha*-deletion is possible when *ha* is both finite and non-finite, it seems that only finite clauses (to be discussed in section 5) allows deleted *ha*. If there is no finite verb (including deleted finite *ha*) deletion is not possible.

- (16) a. Lisa kunde (ha) läst boken innan.
 Lisa could_{fin} have read the book before
 ‘Lisa could have read the book before.’
- b. Lisa lovade att hon (hade) läst boken innan du
 Lisa promised that she (had_{fin}) read the book before you
 kom.
 came
 ‘Lisa promised that she had read the book before you came.’
- c. Lisa lovade att *(ha) läst boken när du
 Lisa promised to *(have-INF) read the book before you
 kommer.
 come
 ‘Lisa promised to have read the book before you come.’

In addition, if adjacency is all there is to *ha*-deletion, it remains a mystery why it is not possible when *ha* and the main verb are adjacent in V2 clauses:

- (17) Lisa *(har) lovat att göra det.
 Lisa has promised to do it
 ‘Lisa has promised to do it.’

Since V2 is connected to finiteness, and *ha*-deletion has connections to V2 in finite clauses, the most fruitful approach is one that tries to unite finiteness and V2, instead of pursuing an approach that only looks at linear adjacency and will have to make additional stipulations about finite and non-finite clauses. The reason *ha* cannot be deleted in (15b) may be that V cannot be empty in VP topicalization. Note that when *ha* occupies V2 the dummy verb *göra* ‘do’ is inserted in V, or a left-dislocation structure is used:

- (18) Läst boken, det har hon.
 read the book, that has she
 ‘Read the book, she did that.’

To sum up this section, it seems that *ha*-deletion is possible when finite *ha* does not occupy the V2 position. Whether this is in a main clause or in an embedded clause is irrelevant, as long as the clause is finite. Consequently, there is no need to stipulate different accounts of finite *ha*-deletion in embedded and main clauses. Having teased out the empirical intricacies of finite *ha*-deletion, we now turn to the questions that arise in connection to the data. The empirical generalization that *ha* can be omitted if it does not occupy V2 raises several questions. First, why is it only finite *ha* that can be omitted? In Swedish, no other finite auxiliaries can be omitted, no matter how “evident” they are from the context. The second question is what is the role of the V2 position. And in relation to V2, what is special about the three modal adverbs that change the word order. The remaining parts of the paper will deal with these three issues. In the next section we will look at the adverbs and how it comes about that they make *ha*-deletion possible. After that we will turn to the V2 position which is intricately connected to the notion of finiteness, but crucially not the same thing. In the analysis in section 6, I try to answer the question why *ha* is the only finite verb that can be omitted.

4 The modal adverbs

The adverbs that may appear in V2 are *kanske*, *kanhända*, and *måhända* (see also Holmberg and Platzack, 1995, 50). Etymologically they are based on verb forms: *kan*, *ske*, *må* and *hända*, ‘can’, ‘happen’, ‘may’ and ‘happen’, respectively. These verbs are still used in modern Swedish, even though *ske* and *må* may have an archaic ring to them. A quick corpus search gives the following numbers (approximately).⁷ *Kanske* occurs 630 000 times, *måhända*, 4 000 times, and *kanhända* gets 1000 hits. Since *kanske* is the most common adverb, I will concentrate the discussion around it.⁸

The fact that these adverbs are formed from verbs is apparent for several reasons. They can still easily be interpreted as separate with the paraphrase something like “It may happen (that ...)”. As mentioned above, they show slightly different behaviour, but even with *kanske* which usually is not split into *kan* and *ske*, the verbal behaviour is still present. First, in clause initial position *kanske* may be followed by the complementizer *att* ‘that’. The negation in (19b) shows that this clause is an ordinary embedded clause with a-f word order.

- (19) a. *Kanske att Malin skulle kunna vara där.*
 maybe that Malin would can_{inf} be there
 ‘Maybe Malin would be able to stay there.’
- b. *Kanske att hon inte har bestämt sig än.*
 maybe that she not has decided yet
 ‘Maybe she hasn’t decided yet.’

This is an indication that *kanske* is still verbal in nature. Verbs are not the only class that takes ‘that’-clauses as complements. Some nouns, such as *beslut*, *förslag* and *nyhet*, ‘decision’, ‘proposal’ and ‘news’, respectively, can have

⁷The searches were lexical searches in all available corpora at <http://spraakbanken.gu.se/korp/>

⁸The adverbs show slightly different behaviour in the corpora: only *kanske* occurs clause initially followed by ‘that’; *kanske* never occurs as *kan ske* (the other adverbs can be separated and can in those cases take a complementizer and in addition an expletive subject), there is one hit with *kanhända* + complementizer (no hits for the other adverbs).

them, too. However, *kanske* is the only adverb that selects for a ‘that’-clause. If *kanske* was a genuine verb (or two verbs) we expect it to take an expletive subject, as (20a), but this is not possible, as seen in (20b):

- (20) a. Det kan ske att minnet sviker mig.
 it may happen that the memory fails me
 ‘It may be the case that my memory fails me.’
- b. *Det kanske att minnet sviker mig.
 it maybe that the memory fails me
 ‘It may be the case that my memory fails me.’

In Swedish the complementizer *att* is optional in most contexts, and this is also a possible description of the sentences in (21), the case with initial *kanske*:

- (21) a. Kanske Malin skulle kunna vara där.
 maybe Malin would can_{inf} be there
 ‘Maybe Malin would be able to stay there.’
- b. Kanske hon inte bestämt sig än.
 maybe she not decided refl. yet
 ‘Maybe she hasn’t decided yet.’

It is worth pointing out that it is impossible to have the complementizer in case *kanske* is not in initial position.

- (22) a. *Hon kanske att inte har bestämt sig än.
 she maybe that not has decided refl yet
 ‘Maybe she hasn’t decided yet.’
- b. *Hon har inte bestämt sig än kanske att.
 she has not decided refl yet maybe that
 ‘Maybe she hasn’t decided yet.’

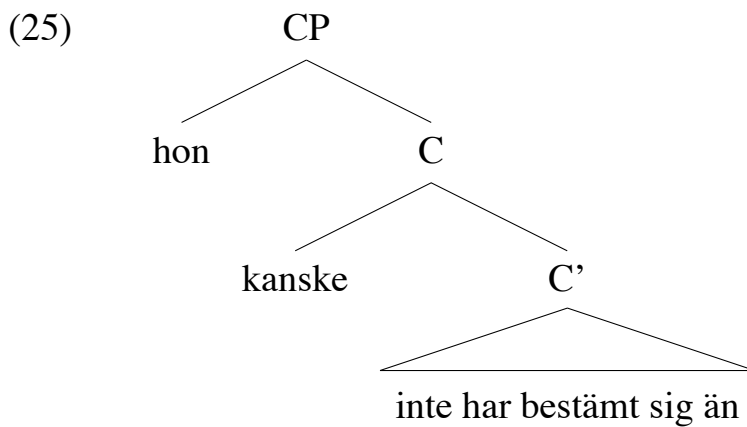
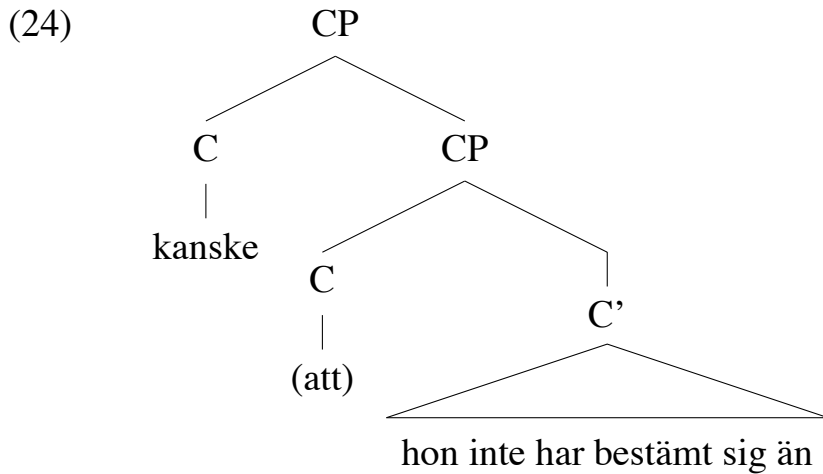
One way to account for the difference in the possibility of taking a complementizers would be to posit two types/synonyms of *kanske*. One *kanske* is “verb like” and takes a standard a-f clause as complement, with or without the complementizer *att*. The result is a bi-clausal structure, although the main clause is of a special kind. It does not allow any kind of subject. The other

kanske is an adverb (though a special one that may appear in V2 position) and it is integrated in the clause. In this case the result is a mono-clausal structure.

A further argument for positing two version of *kanske* is that in initial position the two *kanske* can give rise to different word orders. As we saw in (19b) and (21b) when the ‘verbal’ *kanske* is in initial position, the embedded clause has a-f word order, the prototypical word order in embedded clauses (it’s embedded by definition, since it is the complement of *kanske*). This is obligatory. When the ‘adverb’ *kanske* is initial, V2 word order, the prototypical main clause word order, is possible, as in (23a). With the verbal *kanske* this is impossible (at least with overt *att*), (23b).

- (23) a. Kanske har hon inte bestämt sig än.
 maybe has she not decided yet
 ‘Maybe she hasn’t decided yet.’
- b. *Kanske att har hon inte bestämt sig än.
 maybe that has she not decided yet
 ‘Maybe she hasn’t decided yet.’

One argument for not positing only a bi-clausal analysis (with or without *att*) is that a clause element that is part of the embedded clause can occupy the pre V2 position. This would be a very strange kind of raising. Firstly, because the “embedded” clause has a finite verb, and raising from finite clauses in Swedish is not allowed in general. Secondly, because the position the constituent is being raised to, is a non-thematic position, but as we saw above, in (20b), this position cannot be occupied by an expletive. The expletive is otherwise obligatory with raising verbs if nothing is raised. The conclusion we can draw from this behaviour is that there are two versions of *kanske*; one that takes an embedded clause as complement, see structure (24), and one which is an adverb that for some reason can occupy V2, see structure (25).



Presumably *kanske* in (24) and (25) occupies the same position as the finite verb. Whether V2 is the verb in C⁰, or in I⁰, is not important for the analysis (cf Börjars et al., 2003).

The lexical entries of the verbal *kanske* that takes a complementizer and the adverb *kanske* are given in (26a) and (26b), respectively.

- (26) a. *kanske*: PRED='maybe⟨(↑COMP)⟩'
 TENSE = PRESENT
- b. *kanske*: PRED='maybe'

Since *kanske* in (26a) does not subcategorize for a subject, not even a non-thematic one, the prediction is that the embedded 'that'-clause cannot function as a subject. Contrary to other raising predicates, such as *är möjligt* 'is possible' this is the case with *kanske*, and the prediction is borne out:

- (27) a. * Att hon inte har bestämt sig än kanske.
that she not has decided refl yet maybe
'That she hasn't decided yet maybe.'
- b. Att hon inte har bestämt sig än är möjligt.
that she not has decided refl yet is possible
'That she hasn't decided yet is possible.'

Given that there are two *kanske*, with the feature set up as described above, Sells's observation that *kanske* must occupy the V2 position in V2 clauses to make *ha*-deletion possible is still valid.

5 Finiteness

As pointed out in the introduction, finiteness is a very difficult notion to pin down. Sells (2007, 59) separates finiteness into four different uses of 'finite':

- (28) a. finite as a value of a form feature of verbs (Finite in Sells's terminology);
- b. finite as a formal grammatical property of clauses (typically expressed by a finite form) (FINITE in Sells's terminology);
- c. finite as a formal property that certain elements may be sensitive to, such as agreement, complementizer selection, or the presence or form of negation;
- d. finite as a property of clauses used to make an assertion.

In his analysis of Swedish, Sells (2007) assumes, in line with Andersson (1975) and Wechsler (1991) among others, that V2 is a property that indicates the speaker's commitment to an assertion, FORCE ASSERT, in Sells's terms. In order to type a clause as having FORCE ASSERT, the form Finite (a in list (28)) need to appear in V2. The main point is that V2 is not directly related to finiteness. This makes sense since non-V2 clauses can be FINITE (b in the list), too. Sells assumes that *kanske* has the form feature Finite (p.77), which types the clause as FINITE . According to Sells (pp80-81) it is possible to

omit *ha* since *kanske* in V2 position gives the finite clause its “finiteness”. The result is a non-tensed finite clause.

Since *ha*-deletion is possible in non-V2 clauses without *kanske*, the morphological feature Finite must come from somewhere else. According to Sells the fact that the embedded clause in (29) is FINITE is recoverable from the nominative case on the subject (from Julien, 2002).

- (29) Lisa sa att han/*honom gjort det.
 Lisa said that he/*him done it
 ‘Lisa said that he has/had done it.’

In Swedish, FINITE as a marker of clauses is necessary for complementizer selection. Sells claims that the relative complementizer *som* ‘that’ selects a clause of type FINITE:

- (30) Lisa hittade boken som (har/hade) varit försvunnen.
 Lisa found the book that (has/had) been lost
 ‘Lisa found the book that has/had been lost.’

In many respects Sells’s analysis of Swedish makes sense but there are still some questions that need answering. For example, where does the feature Finite come from in (30), when there is no overt subject with case? Why does not *kanske* type a non-finite clause as finite? Why is *ha* the only verb that can be omitted? In the following section I will try to answer these questions, or at least suggest approaches that seem promising.

6 Towards an analysis

This section develops Sells’s analysis, and deals with some aspects that are left out from it. First we look at *kanske* and its relation to the feature Finite. After that we examine how much information case can give us concerning FINITENESS. Next, we look at the subjectless clauses and *som*. I also give an analysis of why *ha* is not optional in non-finite clauses. Finally, in relation to why *ha* is the only verb that is optional, the perfect aspect is discussed.

6.1 *kanske*

The major problem with Sells's assumption that the adverb *kanske* has the feature Finite is that it occurs in non-finite clauses. In (31) *kanske* does not type the embedded clause as FINITE.

- (31) Vi har pratat om att kanske skaffa hund.
 we have talked about that maybe get dog
 'We have talked about maybe getting a dog.'

I will not present a solution to this problem here. One possibility is that V2 and its instantiation is sensitive to something else other than Finite; a feature which both finite verbs and *kanske* share. According to Sells *kanske* cannot have the feature tense (p77). He does not give any argument for this but it is a reasonable conclusion if tense on a verb is the morphological marking of Finite in Swedish. Just as *kanske* may have a formal feature Finite for historical reasons, it may still retain other verbal properties.

6.2 Finiteness and Swedish case

We next turn to embedded (non-V2) clauses typed as FINITE. According to Sells, nominative case on the subject in (29) tells us that this is a clause of type FINITE. There is one serious problem with this: case is morphologically virtually absent in Swedish, except on certain pronouns. Much the same as the situation is in English.⁹ A full NP is not morphologically marked for case so the form feature Finite cannot be part of case morphology in Swedish:

- (32) Lisa sa att den nya läraren (hade) gjort det.
 Lisa said that the new teacher (had) done it
 'Lisa said that the new teacher had done it.'

And even if we want to maintain that Finite is part of case morphology only when visible, we run into trouble. The reason is that nominative case is the default case marking in Swedish, if clause structure gives no clue:

⁹If we subscribe to abstract case, which LFG does not do anyway, it is not much help either since it is not visible.

- (33) Vem vill spela tennis? Jag!
 who wants to play tennis? I
 ‘Anyone for tennis? Me!’

The English translation indicates that languages vary in what forms they use in these contexts. The point is that we do not want to be forced to claim that *Jag* in (33) is FINITE because of nominative case.

In addition, if the pronoun indeed was in the accusative in (29), repeated below, the default interpretation is that the case of the subject is wrong, not that we are dealing with a non-finite clause. In Swedish it seems that only the infinitive form of a verb can type a clause as non-finite, so the supine form is a clear indication that it is the case marking on the subject, not finiteness that is the issue.¹⁰

- 29 Lisa sa att han/*honom gjort det.
 Lisa said that he/*him done it
 ‘Lisa said that he has/had done it.’

However, the solution to the problem is related to the subject. In Swedish, subjects can only occur in FINITE clauses. Since subjects, as just mentioned, do not have any morphological marking in Swedish, it’s impossible to introduce Finite as a morphological feature on them. But, as Sells also indicates (p69), subjects are structurally determined in Swedish (just as in English). In LFG, subjects in Swedish are given their function SUBJECT by means of the phrase structure rule in (34a) (Sells, 2007, 69). Since subjects can occur only in finite clauses and nowhere else in Swedish,¹¹ we can account for this

¹⁰Note that I’m not claiming that the supine form has a Finite feature. Other non-finite forms seem to function more like adjectives than verbs, or they appear with an auxiliary which type the clause. This is not relevant to the analysis and I will not discuss it further.

¹¹In contrast to other languages such as Portuguese, or even English, where, at least in some analyses, the complementizer *for* heads non-finite clauses with subjects. Swedish has no corresponding complementizer and *för* ‘for’ in (i) can only be interpreted as a preposition introducing a DP with the thematic role beneficiary as in ‘for Lisa’s sake’. This DP may in turn anaphorically control the covert subject, but is not itself the subject of ‘go’:

- i ?Vi ville för Lisa att gå i skolan.
 We wanted for Lisa to go to school

found in the lexical features of the relative complementizer *som*.¹² Since the complementizer *som* never takes a non-finite complement we can specify this as a rule in the lexical specification of *som*.

(35) *som*: (\uparrow TYPE=_CFINITE)

Since *som* is a complementizer it will be in C and (co)head the clause and as a consequence give its feature to the whole clause. LFG is a theory in which unification is of great importance. This means that as long as attributes (features) do not get different values, nothing prevents them from unifying. Unification prevents *som* to type a NON-FINITE clause as FINITE:

(36) * Lisa hittade boken som ligga under sängen.
 Lisa found the book that lie.INF under the bed
 ‘Lisa found the book that was under the bed.’

Since there is neither a subject nor a finite verb in the relative clause in (36), but a non-finite verb, the clause must be typed as NON-FINITE, and that value clashes, i.e. can’t unify, with the FINITE value that is introduced by *som*, and the sentence is ill formed, as predicted.¹³

A complicating factor in connection to the complementizer *som*, is that it is optional, as the English relative complementizer *that*. The derivation that gives the TYPE the value FINITE is part of the lexical item and if that is missing from the c-structure there is no element that introduces the value FINITE. Compare this to the PS-rule for subjects, if there is no subject, there is no value for FINITE. The question is if an absent complementizer coincides with a gapped subject, and we end up with a clause that should be typed FINITE, but lacks all such features. However, *som* and *that* have the same distribution and both are optional in all but one case. The complementizer is optional in (37a) and (37b), in which the gap is an object and an object of preposition, respectively. In both these cases FINITE comes from the overt

¹²*Som* is the only complementizer that selects for a FINITE clause with a possible subject gap. Other complementizers select FINITE clauses but crucially these clauses cannot have subject gaps, as far as I’m aware.

¹³The reason finite *ha* can be deleted has to do with its relation to the supine form. This is discussed in section 6.5.

subject ‘Kalle’ (see section 6.2). Crucially, there is one context where the relative complementizer is obligatory in Swedish and this is when the subject is gapped, (37c).

- (37) a. Lisa hittade boken (som) Kalle (hade) gömt.
 Lisa found the book (that) Kalle (had) hidden
 ‘Lisa found the book that Kalle had hidden.’
- b. Lisa hittade boken (som) Kalle (hade) skrivit i.
 Lisa found the book (that) Kalle (had) written in
 ‘Lisa found the book that Kalle had written in.’
- c. Lisa hittade boken *(som) (hade) legat under sängen.
 Lisa found the book *(that) (had) lain under the bed
 ‘Lisa found the book that had been under the bed.’

Since *som* and the subject cannot be absent at the same time, there is no context where the embedded clause fails to be typed FINITE.

6.4 Non-finite clauses

Sells’s treatment of tense as a morphological marker of Finite raises a question about verb strings with more than one verb. The architecture of the syntactic theory forces us to pick one single verb as the one that will mark the clause as FINITE or NON-FINITE. In the normal case, i.e. when there is no *ha*-deletion, there is just one finite verb. If this is an auxiliary, the main verb and any other verbs will be in non-finite forms. The discussion above about unification stressed the fact that feature values must not clash. This is why only one verb can contribute its feature to the whole clause. This is always the first, or hierarchically highest verb. If this verb has a finite form, it will type the clause as FINITE and the following verbs, which must be non-finite, will not matter or there will be no unification (see Sadler and Spencer, 2001, for discussion). If the first verb is in a non-finite form it will type the clause as NON-FINITE (following verbs will be non-finite, too). As mentioned earlier, non-finite *ha* can be deleted, too:

- (38) a. Lisa skulle (ha) läst boken.
 Lisa should (have) read the book
 ‘Lisa should have read the book.’
- b. Lisa måste (ha) läst boken.
 Lisa must (have) read the book
 ‘Lisa must have read the book.’

What is perhaps surprising is that in certain clauses, non-finite *ha* cannot be omitted:

- (39) a. Lisa lovade att *(ha) läst boken innan måndag.
 Lisa promised to *(have) read the book by Monday
 ‘Lisa promised to have read the book by Monday.’
- b. Lisa försökte att *(ha) läst boken innan måndag.
 Lisa tried to *(have) read the book by Monday
 ‘Lisa tried to have read the book by Monday.’
- c. Lisa planerar att *(ha) läst boken innan måndag.
 Lisa plans to *(have) read the book by Monday
 ‘Lisa is planning to have read the book by Monday.’

The difference between the clauses with *ha* in (39) and the ones where omitted *ha* is allowed is that the clauses in (39) are NON-FINITE. The only thing that can provide the NON-FINITE value is non-finite *ha*. In (38) the clauses are typed by the finite auxiliary, and *ha* can be omitted. This indicates that the function of *ha* in perfect aspect is to provide the value of clause type, and if some other element can do that, *ha* can be omitted. This claim obviously raises questions concerning the perfect tense in Swedish.

6.5 The perfect tense/aspect

The fact that *ha* is the only finite verb that can be deleted in Swedish is not a coincidence.¹⁴ Together with the supine form it forms a compound tense. This is in itself nothing out of the ordinary. This is how the perfect is formed in many languages. In this section I show that in Swedish, the perfect tense is

¹⁴Under ellipsis all verbs can be deleted, but that is not the issue here.

slightly less “compounded” than in for example English, Latin and German (Börjars et al., 1997; Ackerman and Webelhuth, 1998; Sadler and Spencer, 2001). As will be evident, this gives an account of why *ha* is the only verb undergoing deletion.

Falk (2003) gives an analysis of the English perfect tense where ‘have’ provides values for both the tense and the aspect attributes. The reason is that the past participle in English does not, as Bresnan (1982) shows, unambiguously code for perfect aspect. On Falk’s analysis, ‘have’ has the lexical entry in (40).

- (40) *have* (↑TENSE=PRES)
 (↑ASP=PERF)

The sentence in (41a) gets the f-structure in (41b).

- (41)
- a. The children have eaten ice-cream
- b.
$$\left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{SUBJ} & \left[\text{PRED} \text{ “children”} \right] \\ \text{TENSE} & \text{PRES} \\ \text{ASPEKT} & \text{PERF} \\ \text{PRED} & \text{‘eat}\langle(\uparrow\text{SUBJ}),(\uparrow\text{OBJ})\rangle\text{’} \\ \text{OBJ} & \left[\text{PRED} \text{ ice-cream} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

However, in Swedish the perfect tense is slightly different. First, there is a separate verb form, the supine, which is used only together with ‘have’ in the perfect, (42a). In other contexts the past participle is used. The participle is like an adjective in that it shows concord with the noun it modifies, (42b). Depending on if we look at ‘the team’ in (42c) as a singular neuter noun, or as a collective plural, we get different agreement on the participle, *följt* and *följda* respectively.

- (42) a. Han har följt Zlatan hela hans karriär.
 he has followed Zlatan whole his career
 ‘He has followed Zlatan, his whole career.’

- b. Här kommer Zlatan, följd av resten av laget.
 here comes Zlatan followed by the rest of the team
 ‘Here comes Zlatan, followed by the rest of the team.’
- c. Här kommer laget, följt/följda av tränarna.
 here comes the team followed-NEUT/PLUR by the coaches
 ‘Here comes the team, followed by the coaches.’

Bresnan (1982) shows that English past participles can get a present tense reading and this is also the case in Swedish. The perfect tense gets a perfective reading, for natural reasons, but the participles in (42b) and (42c), get a present tense reading. They can be paraphrased by ‘the team/Zlatan who is followed ...’, not ‘were followed’.

Another difference between the two forms is that the supine form is active and can be passivized, (43b), whereas the past participle is passive and cannot be passivized further (43d).

- (43) a. Lisa har lagat bilen.
 Lisa has repaired the car
 ‘Lisa has repaired the car.’
- b. Bilen har lagat-s.
 the car has repaired-PASS
 ‘The car has been repaired.’
- c. Bilen är lagad.
 the car is repaired
 ‘The car is repaired.’
- d. * Bilen är lagad-s.
 the car is repaired-PASS
 ‘The car has been repaired.’

Since *ha* and the supine more or less always go together, it is difficult to say what part contains the perfect aspect. One indication is, of course, *ha*-deletion, which gets the perfective reading without ‘have’. But there is one further context where we find the supine without ‘have’. In some dialects it is possible to use the supine with the verb *få* ‘get’. In those contexts the interpretation is also perfective:

- (44) a. Jag fick fyllt flaskan.
I got filled_{sup} the bottle
'I got the bottle filled.'
- b. Jag fick flaskan fylld.
I got the bottle filled_{pst.prt}
'I got the bottle filled.'

Also, in cases where the VP is fronted the verb is in the supine form:

- (45) a. Läst boken har han gjort.
read the book has he done
'Read the book he has.'
- b. *Läsa boken har han gjort.
read the book has he done
'Read the book he has.'

Contrast this with (46) (Falk's (2003) example (17)).

- (46) a. Take linguistics they have!
b. *Taken linguistics they have!

In contrast to English, it seems that the perfective aspect can be tied to the supine form of the verb, and not the auxiliary 'have'. In fact, the supine form is a clear predictor of *ha*. The supine form is never present without *ha*, barring *ha*-deletion and dialectal use with *få* 'get'. *Ha* may on the other hand function as a main verb and in some other contexts without the supine form and without a perfect interpretation. The sole function of *ha* is thus to provide tense, or lack of tense to the compound perfect tense. The supine form is devoid of tense features and is neither finite nor non-finite. As a consequence the supine form cannot type a clause as neither FINITE nor NON-FINITE. As mentioned, one function of tense in Swedish is to be the morphological marker of Finite, which in turn types a clause as FINITE. Thus, one important function of *ha* in the perfect tense is to type a clause. In those cases *ha* and the supine are the only verbs in a clause and *ha* is finite it will type the clause as FINITE, and if *ha* is non-finite it will type the clause as NON-FINITE. If there are more auxiliaries in the clause *ha* will not type the clause. In all the contexts where

ha, finite or non-finite, can be omitted the clause has the possibility to get its Finite/FINITE value from something else. *Ha* cannot be omitted when it is the only marker of type or when it occupies the V2 position.

If the only function of *ha* is to provide tense, we can assume that *ha* has very little semantic content, if any at all. However, it cannot be “lack of meaning” that makes it possible to omit *ha* since the copula *vara* ‘be’ which is equally devoid of meaning can be deleted only in certain non-finite contexts, never when it is finite. One such possible context is given in (47a). It is important that the predicate is an adjective, *vara* cannot be deleted when the predicate is a predicative noun, as in (47b).

- (47) a. Styrelsen ansåg honom (vara) ansvarig för
 the board considered him (be) responsible for
 problemen.
 the problems
 ‘The board considered him responsible for the problems.’
- b. Styrelsen ansåg honom *(vara) orsaken till
 the board considered him *(be) the cause of
 problemen.
 the problems
 ‘The board considered him the cause of the problems.’

In contrast to the perfect tense, there is no reason to assume that the copula and an adjective should form the same kind of compound predicate as *ha* and the supine. There is nothing predictable in the relation between the copula and an adjective. Both can occur without the other with intact copular or predicative semantics. Contrast this with the supine form. The supine must occur with the auxiliary *ha* and the auxiliary (but not its tense) is completely predictable from the supine form. The structure of Swedish finite *har* would tentatively look something like (48), and non-finite *ha* as in (49).¹⁵

- (48) *har* PRED=‘have’
 TENSE = PRESENT
 Finite = +

¹⁵Whether TENSE should be included or not, in (49) is not relevant to the analysis.

- (49) *ha* PRED='have'
 TENSE = -
 Finite = -

7 Conclusion

This paper investigated the relation between so called *ha*-deletion and various notions of finiteness in Swedish. The conclusion is that *ha* cannot be deleted in all contexts where it is the only provider of a value for the clause type attribute, or in V2 position. The analysis presented also supports Sells's conclusion that there are different kinds of finiteness. In Swedish there are several ways that this feature can be realized. In fact some FINITE clauses get their FINITE value from no less than three different elements, the PS-rule that introduce the subject, the complementizer *som*, and a finite verb. In a framework that makes use of unification this unproblematic. Given the redundancy we find in language it is not surprising that there are several different ways to type a clause as FINITE. Also, the perfect aspect in Swedish is key to understanding why *ha* is the only (finite) auxiliary that can be omitted. Exactly how the auxiliary *ha* and the supine form of the lexical verb combine to form the compound perfect tense needs further investigation. Another issue is how the modal adverb *kanske* interacts with V2 and the various types of finiteness that Sells (2007) discusses.

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”Disagreeing” doubling *det* *

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

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

1. Introduction

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

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

*This paper has been presented at different occasions at the Grammar Seminar, Lund University. Thanks to the audience for many useful suggestions and constructive criticism. A special thanks to Christer Platzack and Elisabet Engdahl for valuable comments on an earlier version of this paper.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. Theoretical background

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

vinet → *det* → *konjaken* → *den*
 neut → neut common → common

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

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

(10) Pelle har snattat. Det var tråkigt.
Pelle has shoptlifted. It.neut was sad.neut.
 'Pelle has shoptlifted. That's sad.'

EVENT
 ┌───────────┐
 Discourse Gestalt ← *det*
 neut

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. Pancake-sentences

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

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

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

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

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

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

Let us now consider the three types in more detail.

3.1 Type 1: “Mustard is yellow”

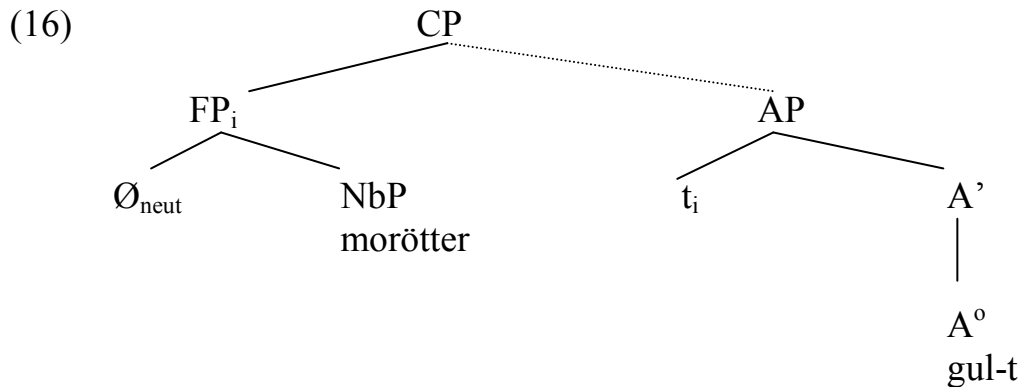
The subject *senap* 'mustard' in (13a) is a bare noun in the non-plural with a SUBSTANCE interpretation. A similar interpretation can be obtained when the noun is in the plural, too, which is shown in (14):

(14) Morötter är gul-t.
carrot.pl is yellow-neut
 'Carrots are yellow.'

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

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

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



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

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

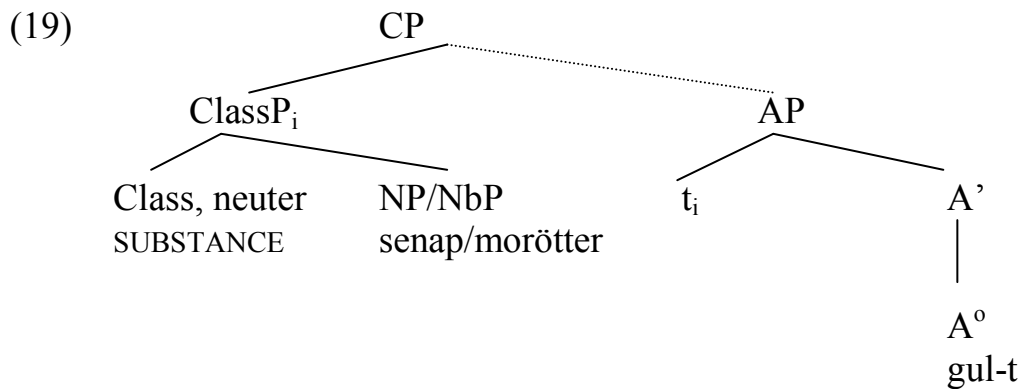
The fact that the classifier in (17) is neuter does not mean that all elements of this type are neuter. If the neuter noun *ämnet* ‘the substance’ is exchanged for

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

the common gender *substansen* ‘the substance’, agreement will be in common gender:⁷

- (18) Substansen olja är genomskinlig.
substance.common.def oil is transparent
 ‘The substance oil is transparent.’

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



The tree in (19) captures the core properties of the construction type. It should be pointed out that the classifier element in (19) has to be nominal, and that it has to be DP-related in such a way that it allows for the noun phrase to be an

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

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

- (i) en meter tyg
a meter tissue
 ‘a meter of tissue’
 (ii) en flaska vin
a bottle wine
 ‘a bottle of wine’

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

3.2 Type 2 'Two lovers is immoral'

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

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

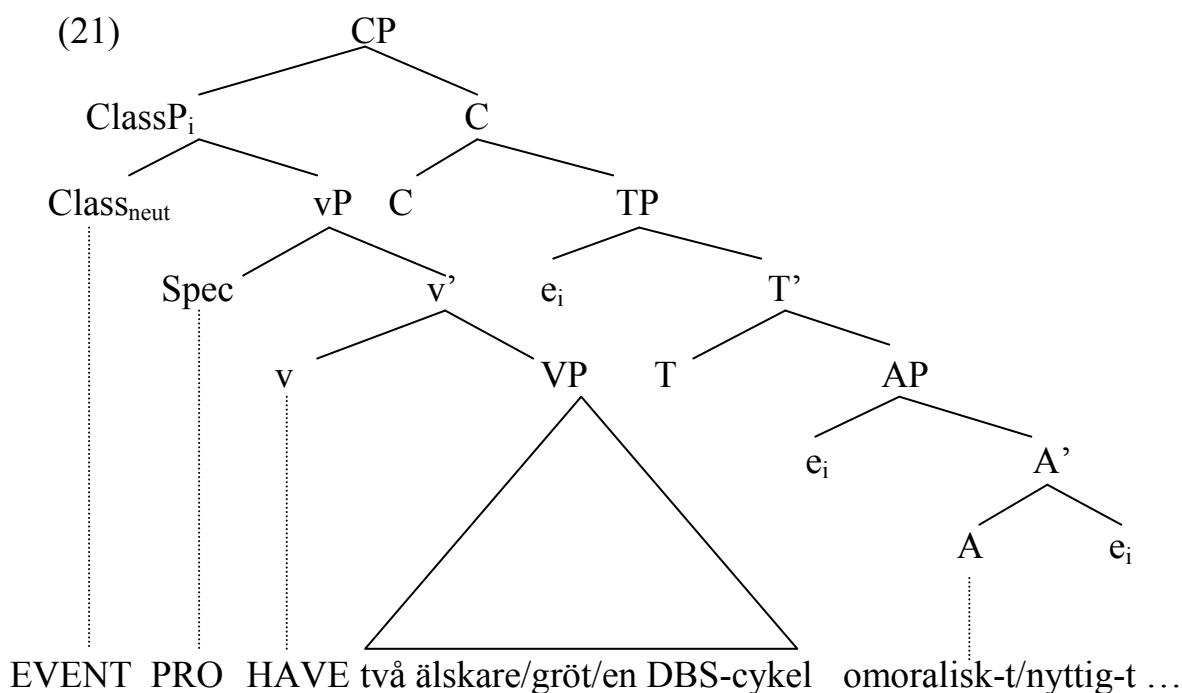
b Gröt är nyttig-t.
oatmeal is good-neut
 'It's good to eat oatmeal.'

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

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

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

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



To assume that Swedish has both a SUBSTANCE and an EVENT classifier might not be a very attractive solution, but the semantics of the classifiers in (19) and in (21) will be discussed in detail below, and a unified account will be presented.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thirdly, reflexive pronouns are allowed inside the subject:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

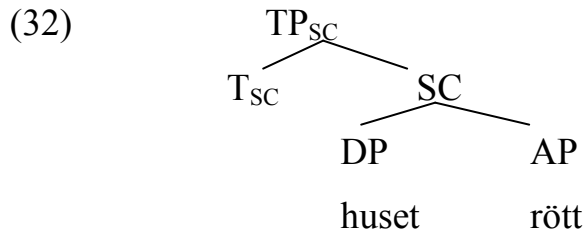
b *Inte två älskare är omoralisk-t.
not two lovers is immoral-neut

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

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

(31) Han målade huset_i [e_i rött]_{SC}.
he painted house.the e_i red.
 He painted the house red.'

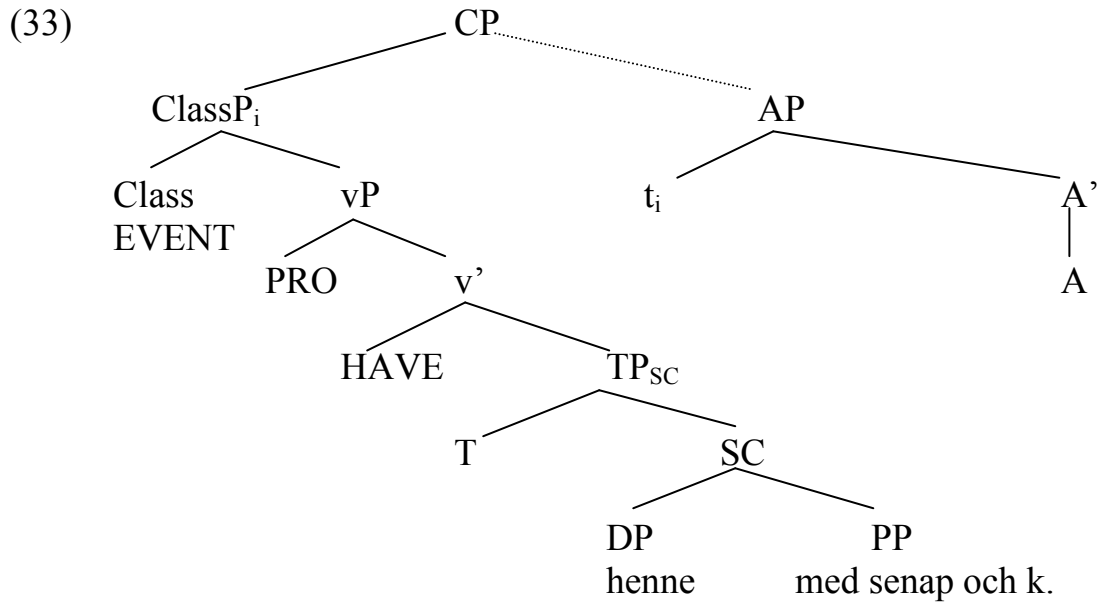
There are two temporal relations in (31), let us call them T1 and T2. The period of time when the painting is performed is T1. The point of time when the house, i.e. the whole house, has become red is T2. T1 and T2 do not coincide (although they are closely linked); T1 denotes a process, and T2 coincides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



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

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

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



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

4. Formal gender – what is it?

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

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

(34) a [A person stands in front of a desk full of exotic fruit, nuts etc.]

Seller, with a strange probably edible “thing” in his hand:

– Nå?

Well

‘Well?’

Buyer:

– Jag tar den.

I take it.common

‘I’ll take it.’

b [A and B standing in front of the freshly painted boat]:

A:

– Vad tycks?

what think.pass

‘What do you think?’

B:

– Det var snyggt!

it.neut was beautiful.neut

‘It was nice.’

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5. Doubling by *det*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.2 *Det*-doubling of Conversational Entities

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (46) Mannen där, han är jättelång.
man.the there, he is very.tall
 ‘The man over there is very tall.’
- (47) *Mannen där, det är jättelång-t.
man.the there, it is very.tall-neut

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

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

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

(48) A, pointing at a man:

– Vem är det där?
who is that there
 ‘Who is that?’

B:

– Det är min bror.
it is my brother
 ‘It’s my brother.’

6. Conclusion and summary

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

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

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

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87 *June 2011*

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88 *December 2011*

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89 *June 2012*

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90 *December 2012*

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