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Preface:

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Preposed object pronouns in mainland Scandinavian*

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Abstract

We report on a study of preposed object pronouns using the *Scandinavian Dialect Corpus*. In other Germanic languages, e.g. Dutch and German, preposing of unstressed object pronouns is restricted, compared with subject pronouns. In Danish, Norwegian and Swedish, we find several examples of preposed pronouns, ranging from completely unstressed to emphatically stressed pronouns. We have investigated the type of relation between the anaphoric pronoun and its antecedent and found that the most common pattern is *rheme-topic chaining* followed by *topic-topic chaining* and *left dislocation with preposing*. The phonetic realization of the pronouns, however, is not correlated with the type of anaphoric chain; rather it reflects the type of the antecedent (VP, clause or entity) and whether or not the speaker has a contrast in mind.

Previous studies have found a subject-object asymmetry with respect to clitic pronouns. Since we were not able to search for Swedish clitic pronouns in the corpus, we gathered some data on Swedish clitics and *r*-pronouns using a questionnaire. The results from the questionnaire confirm that object clitics resist preposing, whereas *r*-pronouns can be preposed. Given the results from the corpus study, we conclude that we need to distinguish clitics, unstressed pronouns, pronouns with word stress and emphatically stressed pronouns in order to account for the full range of variation.

*We have presented earlier versions of this article at the N'CLAV workshop at Lysebu, August 2012, the 25th Scandinavian Linguistics Conference in Reykjavík, May 2013, at the Grammar Colloquium in Stockholm, October 2013, and at Grammar in Focus in Lund, February 2014. We thank participants at these events for good questions and helpful comments, in particular Maia Andréasson, Gerlof Bouma, Nomi Erteschik-Shir, Fredrik Heinat, Janne Bondi Johannessen, Valéria Molnár, Rickard Ramhöj and Anna-Lena Wiklund. Special thanks to Merete Anderssen for help with the Norwegian examples.

1 Introduction

Preposing of object pronouns is quite common in Danish, Norwegian and Swedish, for instance in question/answer exchanges, as illustrated in (1)–(2).

(1) A: Var är cykeln?
*where is bike.*DEF
'Where is the bike?'
B: *Den* ställde jag i garaget.
*it put I in garage.*DEF
'I put it in the garage.'

(2) A: Har dialekten här ändrat sig?
*has dialect.*DEF *here changed* REFL
'Has the dialect here changed?'
B: Nej, *det* tycker jag inte.
no it think I not
'No, I don't think so.'

A's question introduces a referent (the bike in (1)) or an issue (whether the dialect has changed in (2)) and B starts the reply by referring back to this referent or issue, using an anaphoric pronoun. For perspicuity we use underlining for the antecedent and italics for the preposed anaphoric pronoun. Throughout the article we follow Ward (1985) in using the term *preposed* for constituents that appear in Spec,CP, i.e. that precede the finite verb in main clauses.[1]

In English, this type of preposing is hardly used. The unmarked answer to the English equivalent of question (1) above would be as in (3a) with the anaphoric object pronoun in situ; preposing leads to ungrammaticality (3b). Preposing of a demonstrative pronoun is possible (3c), but not appropriate in this context as this would invoke a contrast, not present in the Swedish original.

(3) Where is the bike?
a. I put *it* in the garage.
b. * *It* I put in the garage.
c. # *That* I put in the garage.

Similarly, whereas it is possible to resume the issue introduced by the question in (4) with an anaphoric *so* in situ in English, preposing *so* sounds very strange.

[1] In the Scandinavian grammar tradition, this position is often referred to as *fundament* ('foundation'). We avoid the term *topicalized* since this suggests that the preposed constituent has a particular discourse function.

(4) Has the dialect around here changed?
a. No, I don't think *so*.
b. * No, *so* I don't think.

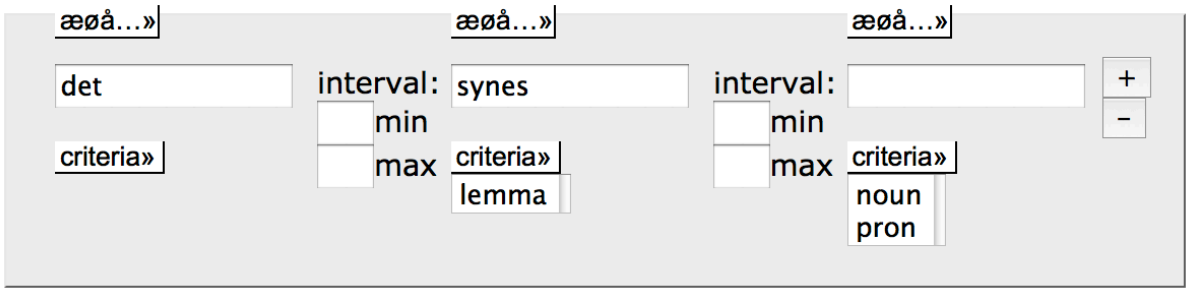
By looking at a number of spontaneously produced Danish, Norwegian and Swedish examples with preposed pronouns like in (1) and (2), we are able to re-evaluate some claims in the literature which are based on constructed examples. We start by describing our data collection. In section 3, we analyse in what contexts preposing is used, looking in particular at the relation between the antecedent and the pronoun, and in section 4, we look closer at the variation in phonetic realization of the pronouns. We also investigate a claim in the literature that there is a systematic difference between Norwegian and Swedish. Previous studies have shown that there is a subject-object asymmetry with respect to preposing of pronouns in Dutch and German. This is discussed in section 5 where we look at clitics and so called *r*-pronouns in Swedish. While this article concentrates on the mainland Scandinavian languages, some relevant data from Icelandic are presented in section 6.

2 Preposed object pronouns in the *Nordic Dialect Corpus*

Preposing of object pronouns has been occasionally mentioned in the literature (e.g. Holmberg 1986:123f.; Vallduví & Engdahl 1996:500f.; Engdahl 1997:58ff.; Platzack 1998:97ff.; Erteschik-Shir 2007:7f.) but with the advent of the *Nordic Dialect Corpus* (NDC) (Johannessen et al. 2009a) it has become possible to investigate more systematically to what extent such preposing is used in ordinary conversations, what discourse functions it serves and how the pronouns are realized phonetically.

The NDC consists of recordings and transcripts of some 800 speakers from Denmark, the Faroe Islands, Iceland, Norway and Sweden. For the present study, we investigated the Danish, Norwegian and Swedish sub-corpora. The recordings contain both interviews with speakers in various regions and conversations between two speakers from the same region. The transcripts are annotated with morpho-syntactic information like part of speech, tense, case and number, but are not parsed. Consequently we were not able to extract examples with preposed object pronouns automatically. After some pilot investigations, we identified the following eight frequent verbs in Swedish, and their Danish and Norwegian counterparts, which often occurred with preposed objects: *få* ('get'), *göra* ('do'), *ha* ('have'), *se* ('see'), *säga* ('say'), *tro* ('believe'), *tycka* ('think'), *vilja*

('want', 'will'). We used search strings as shown in the screen shot below with an initial pronoun (*den* ('it' non neuter), *det* ('it' neuter) or *dem* ('them'), followed by a verb lemma[2], followed by a noun or pronoun.



An overview of the results of the search is given in Table 1.

Table 1: *Preposed pronouns with eight transitive verbs in the NDC*

	Danish	*Norwegian*	*Swedish*	*Total*
No. of words	211 266	2 169 693	293 569	2 674 528
No. of prep. pron.	781	3 692	814	5 287
/1000 words	3,7	1,7	2,8	2,0

Preposing the neuter pronoun *det* was by far the most common and accounted for 95% of the 5 287 hits, across all verbs. This was expected, given that *det* is used both as an entity level anaphor, as a propositional anaphor (see example (2)) and as a VP anaphor (see section 4).[3] The slightly higher frequency in Danish may reflect the strong tendency in this language to front VP anaphors (Ørsnes 2013, Mikkelsen to appear). The highest proportion of *den* and *dem* was found with *få* (13%) and *ha* (10%). For further details, see the appendix.

Table 1 by itself does not show whether preposing of object pronouns is common or not. In order to get an idea how common preposing is, we can look at a different study, carried out by Andréasson, Lindahl & Engdahl (2013), also using the NDC. In this study we extracted all occurrences of the verbs *förstå* ('understand'), *se* ('see') and *tro* ('believe') that were followed by a negation within ten words.[4] We then went through the hits and identified examples that

[2] At present the Swedish sub-corpus is not fully lemmatized which meant that we had to search for all tensed forms of the verbs. We also searched for the object forms *henne* ('her'), *honom* ('him'), *dig* ('you.ACC'), *mig* ('me'), *oss* ('us') and *er* ('you.PL.ACC') but found no or very few examples, presumably because the corpus is fairly small.

[3] See Engdahl (2012) for an overview of different uses of *det.*

[4] Using the following type of search string:

contained a pronominal object. The reason for including negation was that we wanted to look at all positions where pronominal objects could be realized, i.e. preposed, preceding the negation (=shifted) and in situ, (cf. Andréasson 2010). The positions are shown in bold in (5), using examples from the NDC.

(5) a. PREPOSED: **det** tror jeg ikke (Da. bornholm 6)
it think I not
'I don't think so.'

b. SHIFTED: jag såg **den** inte (Sw. indal_ow2)
I saw it not
'I didn't see it.'

c. IN SITU: vi forsto ikke **det** heller (No. stordal_ma_01)
we understood not it either
'We didn't understand it either.'

d. ELLIPTICAL: jeg skjønte ikke heilt (No. kvæfjord_02uk)
I understood not quite
'I didn't quite understand.'

The distribution of pronominal objects in a sample of 189 utterances is shown in Table 2.

Table 2: *Distribution of pronominal objects with* förstå*,* se *and* tro *in Danish, Norwegian and Swedish*

Preposed	*shifted*	*in situ*	*ellipsis*	*Total*
92	46	40	11	189

In about half of the utterances, the object pronoun was preposed. The rest were fairly evenly divided between shifted and in situ.[5] We conclude that preposing is a common realization strategy, at least with the investigated verbs, but that this needs to be studied further.

([((lemma="se" %c))] []{0,10} [((lemma="ikke" %c))])

[5] Further analysis revealed different preferences for shifting and in situ depending on the verb, on the referent type of the object and to some extent on the language (see Andréasson 2013 and Engdahl & Lindahl in prep.).

3 Antecedent-anaphor relations

As a first step in our analysis of how the preposed object pronouns are used, we looked at the relation between the pronoun and its antecedent. We took a sample of 50 examples from each language.[6] The sampling procedure was biased in favour of preposed *den* and *dem* examples, since there were so few of them, but was the same for the three languages. We distinguished three common patterns:

(i) ***Rheme-topic chain***: the antecedent is introduced in the preceding utterance. This type is also called *focus chaining* (Erteschik-Shir 2007) and *switch* or *shift topic* (van Kampen 2008). We have already seen two examples of this type in examples (1)–(2) above. In (6) below (taken from the NDC), a Swedish speaker from Villberga describes when he bought his first car.[7]

(6) villberga_om1: de ville ha reda på när man hade gjort sin första
they wanted find out when one had made REFL *first*

bilaffär
car-purchase

och *den* gjorde jag 1950 strax före julen (Sw.)
and it made I 1950 right before christmas.DEF
'and I made mine in 1950, right before Christmas'

(ii) ***Topic-topic chain***: the antecedent is already established as a topic, or discourse *theme*, in the preceding turn. This type is also called *continuous topic* (Daneš 1974) or *topic chaining* (Erteschik-Shir 2007). We illustrate this type with a Danish example in (7) and a Swedish example in (8).

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[6] The sample includes eight examples where the preposed pronoun is the subject of an embedded clause, as shown in (i). A Danish woman is commenting on a coffee thermos.

(i) sjaelland4: *den – den* synes jeg er så flot
it – it think I is so nice
'I think it is so nice.'

[7] See Johannessen et al. (2009b) for details about the transcription format in the NDC. # indicates a short pause, ## a longer pause. Interruptions are marked with a hyphen (*viss-*) and overlapping speech is marked with *, but the exact stretch of the overlap is not shown. A final ? indicates that the transcriber understands the utterance to be a question. The examples are prefixed with the location. *villberga_om1* thus identifies an old male informant from Villberga. When you search the NDC, the location is shown on a map if you click on the information symbol, displayed to the left of the hit.

(7) aarhus1: og den udstilling hed "cable_and_pipe" # (Da.)
and that exhibition was called

og den fandt sted I herning øh hverandet år
and it took place in Herning every second year

og øh # *den* fik vi lavet på fællesskandinaviske vilkår
and oh # it got we made on inter-Scandinavian terms
'and we arranged it on inter-Scandinavian terms'

(8) int-Skinn: har du någon kontakt med dem som gjorde lumpen (Sw.)
have you any contact with them that did military-service.DEF

samtidigt som du?
at-same-time as you

Skinn-ym1: ja #det var två stycken andra plutonsjukvårdare
yes there were two other paramedics

de var från Fagersta så *dem* har jag ganska bra kontakt med
they were from Fagersta so them have I pretty good contact with
'they were from Fagersta so I have pretty good contacts with them'

(iii) ***Left dislocation with preposed pronoun*:** the antecedent is introduced in a dislocated position and immediately resumed by an anaphoric pronoun in Spec,CP. Andersson (1982) refers to this type as *topic movement*.[8] In the Danish example in (9), the informant talks about how they used horses to pull the farm equipment, and then introduces the new machine, the tractor, in dislocated position.

(9) fyn5: ja men øh f - i starten da k - eller s- i mine drengeår # (Da.)
yes but in beginning.DEF *then or in my boyhood*

da kørte vi jo med heste for # plov og harve og #
then drove we with horses for plough and harrow and

såmaskinen og alt sådan_noget
sow-machine.DEF *and all such stuff*

[8] Zaenen (1984) calls a similar construction in Icelandic *contrastive dislocation* and this term is also used by Holmberg (1986:113f.). Eide (2011) uses the term *copy left dislocation* and makes a further distinction depending on whether there is a pause before the preposed pronoun or not. See also SAG 4:438–449, Vangsnes (2008) and Josefsson (2012).

og # traktor *det* fik vi jo først her i hvad har det været i 1957
and # tractor it got we PRT first here in what has it been in 1957
'and as for a tractor, we didn't get one until – what was it – 1957.'

Note that the bare noun *traktor* (non-neuter gender) is resumed by the neuter pronoun *det,* which is quite common (cf. Borthen 2004, Platzack 2012, Josefsson 2010). The dislocated constituent is often an instance of a set that is mentioned in the context or inferable from it (cf. Daneš' (1974) notion *hyper-theme*). In the Norwegian example in (10), the informant is talking about TV programs. This then provides the background set and the left dislocated *ski-sytinga* ('the biathlon') is one type of sports program in this set. Here the pre-posed pronoun *den* agrees with the dislocated *skisytinga.*

(10) stamsund_02uk: bare svitsjer innom og ser resultatene (No.)
only switch back and see results.DEF

men jeg gidder ikke se på #
but I can't-be-bothered look at

og skisytinga *den* ser jeg på
and biathlon.DEF *it look I at*
'and the biathlon. that I watch.'

This kind of doubling by an initial pronoun is also very common with subjects, but these were not included in our study.[9]

Table 3 shows the distribution of the three types of antecedent-anaphor re-lations in the sample.

Table 3: *Antecedent-anaphor relations in a sample of 150 sentences*

	Da(50)		No(50)		Sw(50)		**Total(150)**	
Rheme-topic	30	60%	31	62%	31	62%	**92**	**61%**
Topic-topic	12	24%	6	12%	6	12%	**24**	**16%**
Left disl. w prepos.	4	8%	9	18%	7	14%	**20**	**13%**
Cataphoric/deict.	4	8%	4	8%	6	12%	**14**	**9%**
Change of speaker	12	24%	10	20%	15	30%	**37**	**25%**
Not clause bound	3	6%	7	14%	7	14%	**17**	**11%**

[9] See Johannessen (2013) who investigates subject left dislocations in the NDC.

In all three languages, the rheme-topic chain is the most common type, amounting to 61%. Left dislocation with preposed pronoun is quite common in Norwegian (18%) and Swedish (14%), but noticeably less so in Danish (8%), where topic-topic chain is the second most common type (24%). Given that the sample is quite small, we cannot tell whether these differences are systematic. A larger investigation is obviously called for.

We also found some examples which did not fit the definitions of the three types. In some examples, the preposed pronoun is *cataphoric* and the antecedent appears later in the utterance. One Swedish example is shown in (11) where an older man talks about the importance of wearing safety helmets while working in the forest.

(11) vaxtorp_om1: dom är ju- *det* vill jag säga, (Sw.)
they are PRT it want I say

gå i skogen utan hjälm *det* gör jag inte
*walk in forest.*DEF *without helmet it do I not*
'This I'll say, I don't walk in the forest without a helmet.'

Talking about safety helmets, the speaker *vaxtorp_om1* starts with *dom är ju* ('so they are...') then interrupts himself and starts again with a preposed *det* which points forward to the following direct quote, which in turn is a left dislocation with another preposed *det.*

A few examples involve *deictic* uses, as in (12), where the preposed pronoun is clearly demonstrative.

(12) lommedalen_01um: på slutten av kvelden så hadde jeg # (No.)
*at end.*DEF *of evening.*DEF *so had I*

spurt M10 hvor barskapet hans var
*asked M10 where bar.*DEF *his was*

lommedalen_02uk: mm

lommedalen_01um: og (laughter) ## lurte på om det var noe som
and wondered if there was some that

skulle tømmes #
should be emptied
og da hadde M10 pekt på " ja *den* vil jeg ikke ha
and then had M10 pointed at "yes it want I not have

den vil jeg ikke ha *den* vil jeg ikke ha
it want I not have it want I not have
'Yes, that (one) I don't want (to drink), that I don't want,…'

In about a quarter of the 150 examples, the antecedent is produced by one speaker and the preposed pronoun by another speaker. In the Norwegian and Swedish samples, 14% of the pronouns are arguments of a subordinate clause. In Danish, only 6% involve a non-local dependency, but since the numbers in this study are small, we cannot jump to any conclusions about systematic differences. These examples typically involve the verbs *synes* 'think'/'find', as in the Danish example in (13), or *tru* 'believe' as in the Norwegian example in (14).

(13) spjald_07: det er en meget speciel dans (Da.)
it is a very special dance

altså - *det* synes a i hvert fald det er
well – it think I in any case it is
'Anyway, I think it is.'

(14) ifg: ja nei menda er # konklusjonen er at # (No.)
yes no but then is conclusion.DEF *is that*

Valdres er en bra plass
Valdres is a good place

vest_slidre_04gk: ja *det* trur jeg *det* trur jeg trygt en kan si
yes it think I it think I safely one can say
'Yes, I think so. I think one can safely say so,'

When the interviewer in (14) suggests *at Valdres er en bra plass* 'that Valdres is a nice place', the older woman from Vestre Slidre responds with an affirmative *ja,* followed by a short *det trur jeg* 'it think I' with a preposed *det,* and then confirms her own utterance with the comment *det trur jeg trygt en kan si* 'it think I safely one can say', this time with a preposed *det* from the subordinate clause.

4 Phonetic realization

4.1 Variation in the NDC

We listened to the 150 examples and found that there was considerable variation in the way the preposed pronouns were realized. To some extent, this was ex-

pected given that the recordings involve a large number of speakers with different dialects. In addition to the dialectal variation, we found, not very surprisingly, that the duration, intensity and pitch contours of the pronouns varied, presumably as a function of the information structure of the utterance.[10] To illustrate the range of this variation, consider the two following examples, both produced by an older woman from S:t Anna in south east Sweden. The reader can easily access the sound files by searching the NDC, using a few words in the examples, and clicking on the sound or video symbol to the left of the hits. We have added the following notation to the NDC transcripts: subscript $_0$*det* for reduced pronunciation, i.e. without word stress, '*det* when word stress is present, and capitals *DET* for emphatic stress.

(15) st_anna_ow3: vet ni vad jag gjort just nu i vinter? (Sw.)
know you what I done just now in winter
'Do you know what I have done this past winter?'

jag har gått på datakurs ni tror inte att jag är klok va?
I have gone to PC-course you think not that I am clever PRT
'I have taken a PC course. You think I'm crazy, don't you?'

$_0$*det* HAR jag i alla fall
it have I anyway
'That's what I did, anyway.'

In (15) the woman tells the interviewers that she has taken a PC course, elicits a reaction from the interlocutors and then asserts that she has indeed done this. The initial *det* is a VP anaphor, referring back to *gått på datakurs* 'taken a PC course' and is produced very fast. The main stress is on the finite verb *HAR* which conveys a verum focus.

(16) INT: vad har du att berätta om Halland då? (Sw.)
what have you to tell about Halland then

st_anna_ow3: '*det* är väl inte nej *DET* vill jag inte berätta något om
it is PRT not no THAT want I not tell some about
'It isn't particularly, no that I don't want to talk about.'

[10] See Bruce (2007:116f.) and Riad (2013) for details about the phonetic correlates of stress in Swedish.

Right before the excerpt in (16), the speaker *st_anna_ow3* has told the interlocutors that she has been part of a study group that has studied Halland (a county on the west coast of Sweden) probably with the aim of a joint visit there later in the spring. The interviewer invites the woman to say something about Halland. The woman starts somewhat hesitantly *det är väl inte* 'it isn't particularly') interrupts herself with *nej* 'no' and states clearly that she does not want to talk about THAT, thereby also conveying that she can talk about other things. Here the initial *DET* is clearly stressed and noticeably longer.

We analysed the sound files of (15) and (16) using PRAAT (Boersma & Weenink 2014) and the results are shown in Figure 1 and 2. The black line indicates the pitch level (F_0) and intensity is shown above the pitch track.

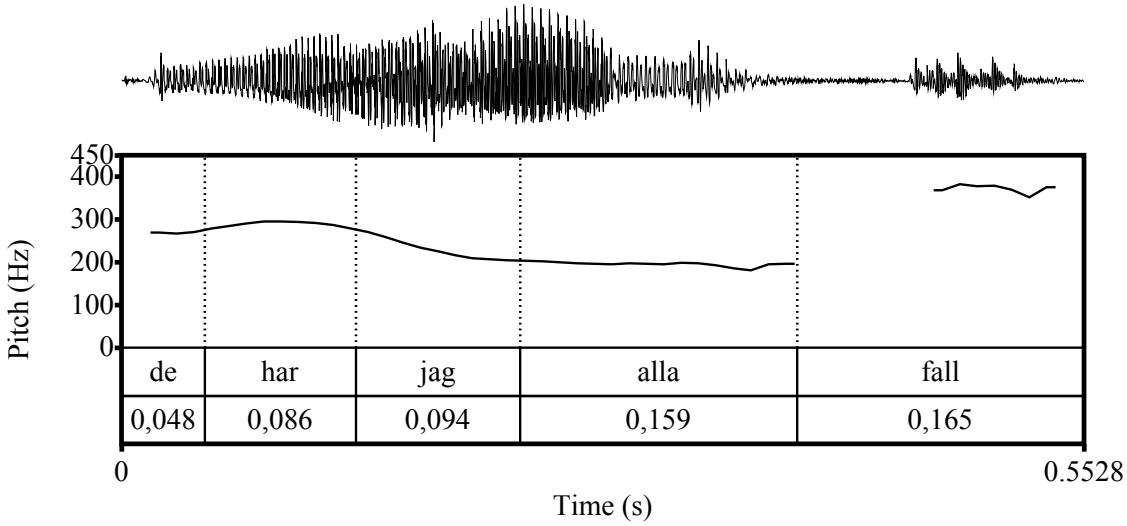

Figure 1: PRAAT analysis of example (15)

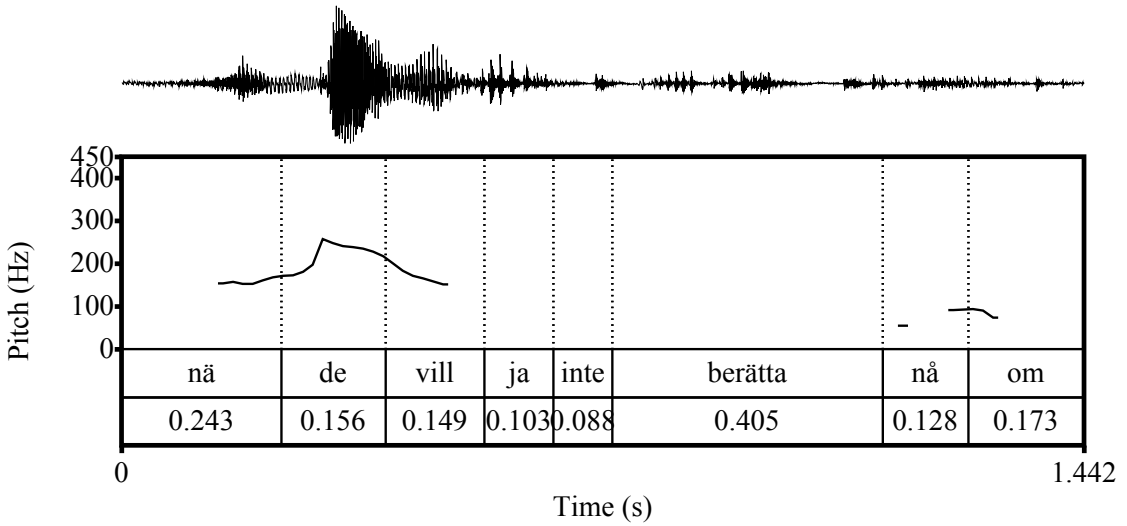

Figure 2: PRAAT analysis of example (16)

Figure 1 shows that the length of the initial *det* in (15) is only about 50 milliseconds. In Figure 2, the initial *det* is about three times as long, 156 milliseconds. In addition the word is produced with a clear prosodic gesture which contributes to the perception that it is stressed.

Figures 1 and 2 show clear cases of an unstressed *det* and an emphatically stressed *det.* There were also a number of intermediate cases, varying in length, intensity and/or pitch level. Given the number of different speakers, we did not attempt to classify these. We did, however, look for a possible correlation between antecedent-anaphor relation and prosodic realization, but did not find any clear evidence for this in this material. It is not the case that e.g. proposed pronouns in rheme-topic chains are systematically realized in a way that is distinct from preposed pronouns in topic-topic chains or in left dislocations in our examples. Instead the prosodic realization seems to reflect whether the speaker intends to invoke a contrast or not. In (15), the preposed *det* seems to be purely anaphoric whereas in (16), the heavily stressed *DET,* together with the negated clause *vill jag inte berätta nå om* ('I don't want to tell anything about'), conveys that the speaker is unwilling to talk about this particular issue, but may very well talk about other issues.

In the left dislocation type, we also find both completely unstressed occurrences of preposed pronouns, as in (17), and heavily stressed pronouns, as in (18), both Norwegian examples.

(17) fusa_01um: nää # norsk tradisjonell mat $_0$*det* liker jeg godt (No.)
no Norwegian traditional food it like I well
'No, Norwegian traditional food is what I like.'

(18) INT: du har lest mye i di tid kanskje? (No.)
you have read much in your time maybe

hjartdal_ma: å ja slikkt nokko sånn natursjilldringar *DÆI* likar eg '*dæi* #
oh yes such thing as nature-description them like I them

menn ee dinnan politikken *DENN* synns eg ikkje nokko omm
*but eh this politic.*DEF *that think I not something about*
'Oh yes, things like nature accounts, I like them, but the politics, I don't care much about it.'

In (18) the interviewer asks whether the informant has read a lot, which then functions as a hypertheme for the answer (Daneš 1974). The speaker *hjartdal_ma* picks out two different types of reading material, to which he has

very different attitudes. Both the dislocated phrase and the pronouns are clearly stressed[11].

Of the 87 *det*-initial examples in the 150 sample, 64 (74%) are VP anaphors, as in (13) and (15), or have a proposition as antecedent, as in (14). There is a clear tendency for this kind of *det* to be short and unstressed, as in the Danish example in (19).

(19) oestjylland4: og det var i_hvert_fald utænkeligt dengang (Da.)
and it was in any case unthinkable then

at det var omvendt
that it was reversed

at en pige gik over og bød en mand op eller en dreng op
that a girl went over and asked a man up or a boy up

$_0$*det* gjorde man bare ikke
it did one just not
'that a girl walked over and asked a man or a boy to dance. You just didn't do that.'

But there are also examples when VP and clausal anaphors are stressed, as in (20) where an older man from Våxtorp is talking about the horses they used to have.

(20) vaxtorp_om1: men hästarna # DOM kanske trivdes (Sw.)
but horses.DEF *they maybe thrived*

men $_0$det var ett hårt liv för hästarna, '*det* vill jag säga
but it was a hard life for horses.DEF *it want I say*
'That's what I think.'

After saying that life was hard for the horses, he comments on his own utterance, starting with a *det* which is clearly longer and more prominent than *det* in the

[11] Since the Hjartdal dialect differs quite a lot from the standard orthographic version, example (18) is given in the semi-phonetic transcription format also provided for the Norwegian sub-corpus.

preceding utterance.[12] This has the effect of giving more emphasis to his statement.

4.2 A proposed difference between Norwegian and Swedish

In a recent article, Anderssen & Bentzen (2012) propose that the various types of pronominal objects in Norwegian are in complementary distribution with respect to the three possible positions illustrated in (5) and Table 2 above, i.e. preposed, shifted and in situ. Objects referring to recently introduced entities which are non-contrastive have to occur in the shifted position, (21), whereas VP and clausal anaphors cannot be shifted but are OK in preposed position, (22) (cf. Anderssen & Bentzen 2012, ex. (29)–(30)).[13]

(21) Har du spist bananen din? (No.)
have you eaten banana.DEF *your*
'Have you eaten your banana?'

a. * Nej, *den* likte jeg ikke.
no it liked I not
b. Nej, jeg likte *den* ikke.
no I liked it not
'No, I didn't like it.'
c. * Nej, jeg likte ikke *den.*
no I liked not it

(22) Spiste du noe frukt?
ate you any fruit
'Did you eat any fruit?'

a. Nej, *det* gjorde jeg ikke.
no it did I not
'No, I didn't.'
b. * Nej, jeg gjorde *det* ikke.
no I did it not
c. Nej, jeg gjorde ikke *det.*
no I did not it
'No, I didn't.'

[12] The reduced $_0$*det* here is a matrix subject and is not included among the 150 examples. In the Swedish transcriptions, a comma is sometimes used to indicate a short pause, in addition to # (Henrik Rosenkvist, personal communication 8 April, 2014).

[13] Type anaphors in Norwegian behave like VP anaphors, see Anderssen & Bentzen 2012, ex. (23).

According to Anderssen & Bentzen, preposing of a non-contrastive entity referring pronoun, as in (21a), is strongly degraded in Norwegian, in contrast with Swedish. They further claim that the initial position in Norwegian is only available for entity level object pronouns which are used contrastively, as shown in (23) (Anderssen & Bentzen's (31)).[14]

(23) Kjøpte du den siste boka til Camilla Läckberg igår? (No.)
*bought you that last book.*DEF *to Camilla Läckberg yesterday*
'Did you buy the most recent Camilla Läckberg novel yesterday?

a. Nei, *DEN* kjøpte jeg ikke (men jeg kjøpte en annen bok).
no that bought I not but I bought an other book
'No, THAT I didn't buy (but I bought some other novel).'

b. * Nei, jeg kjøpte *DEN* ikke (men jeg kjøpte en annen bok).
no I bought that not but I bought an other book

c. Nei, jeg kjøpte ikke *DEN* (men jeg kjøpte en annen bok).
no I bought not THAT but I bought an other book
'No, I didn't buy THAT one (but I bought another novel).'

The question is now whether Norwegian and Swedish really differ in the way proposed by Anderssen & Bentzen. This is where the NDC becomes very useful since we can investigate both whether preposed entity pronouns are always strongly stressed and whether they always invoke a contrast with other referents. In our sample of 50 Norwegian examples, there are 24 preposed object pronouns with entity antecedents. Among them there are some which are clearly stressed and where the pronoun is contrasted with other occurrences. We have already seen one such example in (20) above, and another is given in (24). This use of left dislocation structures seems to be particularly common in Norwegian.

(24) aasnes_ma_02: men den ble separert altså # og mjølka kj- (No.)
*but it was separated PRT and milk.*DEF

[14] Anderssen & Bentzen's c-example is a cleft construction, shown in (i).
(i) Det var ikke *DEN* jeg skulle ha (men en annen bok)
it was not that I should have (but an other book)
'I didn't want THAT one (but some other novel).'
In the text we have replaced it with an in situ version.

ja rømmen *DEN* gjorde de kinna de smør av
*yes cream.*DEF *it made they churned they butter of*
'yes, the cream they churned into butter'

og ## osten # *DEN* løypte de sund med
*and cheese.*DEF *it curdled they with*

noe de kalte sundløyp
something they called xx
'and the cheese they curdled using something
they called sundløyp'

But there are also several examples of non-contrastive uses of preposed pronouns. In (25), an old woman from Kvinnherad has just mentioned that she has bought a laptop and adds a comment about how she uses it.[15]

(25) kvinnherad_04gk: ja # inn å sjå ka e får i lønn vet du (No.)
yes in to see what I get in salary know you
'Yes, I can just go in and check my salary, you know.'

kvinnherad_03gm: ja '*denn* får dåkke vel sennt via der dåkke åg
yes it get you PRT sent via there you too
'Yes, you probably get it sent to the computer, you too,'

After the speaker *kvinnherad_04gk* has said that she uses the computer to check what her salary will be, the speaker *kvinnherad_03gm* comments that *it*, i.e. the salary, also gets sent via the computer. *kvinn-herad_03gm* realizes the preposed *denn* with normal word stress, indicated as '*denn*, but there is no emphasis or lengthening. There is only one referent, the salary, and no contrast is invoked. This kind of example is thus unexpected in Norwegian on Anderssen & Bentzen's account.

After listening to all the examples, it seems to us that *det*, used as a VP or clause anaphor, is often reduced in all three languages. *Det,* with an entity antecedent, and *den* and *dem* normally retain a word stress, but there is a clear difference between the realization when the context does not invoke a contrast, as in (6)–(8) and (25) and the realization when there is a contrast set, as in (16), (18) and (24). Preposing of entity level pronouns in Norwegian and Danish is not limited to contrastive contexts but seems to be used also when there is only one relevant antecedent in the context, just as in Swedish. Whether or not pre-

[15] Example (25) is rendered in the semi-phonetic transcription format.

posed pronouns are in general more reduced in Swedish than in Norwegian or Danish needs further investigation, as does a possible correlation with the use of so called *topic drop.*

5 "Weak" pronouns, clitics and *r*-pronouns

We saw in the previous section that the preposed pronouns vary a great deal in their phonetic realization. In this section we will address some previous proposals which bear on this. We show that we need to make more fine grained distinctions when it comes to the realization of object pronouns than previous research has done and that generalizations about clitics don't necessarily hold about other unstressed pronouns

5.1 Clitics in Danish and Norwegian

We start by discussing how the data from NDC bears on a claim made by Schwarz & Vikner (1996) that there is an asymmetry between weak subject and object pronouns in Danish and Norwegian: "Weak subjects pronouns *can* but weak object pronouns *cannot* occur as the initial element in a V2 clause." (1996:18). In the context of arguing that the symmetric V2 analysis is more adequate than the asymmetric analysis proposed by Travis (1984) and Zwart (1991), Schwarz & Vikner refer to Danish and Norwegian data involving clitic pronouns. The Danish clitic, written *'d* (phonetically [ð]), used in Copenhagen, is a reduced form of *det* which can be used both as subject and object, provided that it is preceded by a word ending in a vowel. The Norwegian clitic *a,* used in the Oslo dialect, is both a subject and an object form which cliticises to a preceding word ending in a consonant (see Christensen 1984).

The relevant contrast involves examples like the following.

(26) a. For hun/a har ikke bodd her. (Christensen 1984:(1)) (No.)
*for she/she.*CL *has not lived here*
b. Hun/*a har ikke bodd her.
*she/she.*CL *has not lived here*

(27) a. For vi traff henne/a i går. (Christensen 1984:(26)) (No.)
*for we met her/her.*CL *yesterday*
b. For henne/*a traff vi i går.
*for her/her.*CL *met we yesterday*

(26a) shows that both a subject pronoun and a clitic are possible in Spec, CP when preceded by a suitable host, in this case the conjunction *for*. In the absence of a host, only the full pronoun *hun* is possible (26b). (27b) shows that an object pronoun may be preposed, but that an object clitic is infelicitous, despite the presence of a host. [16] The same pattern is found in Danish and, as we will see in 5.2, to some extent in Swedish.

Schwarz & Vikner's analysis builds on Rizzi (1990) and the notion of Relativized Minimality. According to them "the unstressed object pronoun (as opposed to the unstressed subject one) is impossible in CP-spec because it does not agree with C^0 and because it would have to move across the subject in IP-spec on its way to CP-spec." (1996:19). We will not go into the details of their analysis but note that Schwarz & Vikner do not distinguish between clitic, "weak" pronoun and "unstressed form of the pronoun". In their article, Schwarz & Vikner refer to Danish and Norwegian data with clitics, but the conclusion they draw is that unstressed object pronouns may not appear initially. The data from the NDC again provides a more nuanced picture (cf. also Mikkelsen to appear).

A search for the clitic *a* in the Norwegian sub-corpus returns several hundred post-verbal occurrences, as well as a few examples where the subject clitic appears following *men* 'but' or *for* 'for', as illustrated in (28) (cf. (26a)).[17]

(28) nannestad_ma_01: fårr a sku tjene litt pennger på de (No.)
for she.CL *should earn some money on it*
'for she was going to make some money on it'

As predicted by Christensen (1984), there were no hits with utterance initial *a*, nor any hits with preposed object *a* following a conjunction. It was more difficult to limit the search in the Danish sub-corpus to find instances of the clitic *'d*, discussed by Schwarz & Vikner (1996). A search for *d* in the Danish sub-corpus,[18] returned a large number of self-interruptions, hesitations and cases where *det* was co-articulated with a following copula, which did not involve the clitic *'d.*

But in addition to clitics, there are, as we have seen in previous sections, several examples in the NDC involving preposed object *det* where the pronoun is clearly unstressed (i.e. does not have word stress). See the Danish examples in

[16] Christensen (1984) also analyses the interaction between the clitic *a* and cliticisation of the negation *'kke,* but this is not discussed in Schwarz & Vikner (1996).
[17] Using the search string "([((word="for" %c))][((phon="a" %c))]) ;"
[18] Using the search string "([((start="start"))][((phon="d" %c))])".

(13) and (19), where *det* is a VP anaphor, and the Danish example (9) and Norwegian example (17), where it acts as a type anaphor.[19] There are also examples where the preposed pronoun refers back to a recently introduced entity, as in the Danish example in (7) and the Norwegian example in (25). In both cases, the preposed non-neuter pronoun *den* carries word stress, but it is not emphatically stressed. The fact that we find preposed unstressed pronouns or pronouns with only word stress in the Danish and Norwegian corpora shows that we need to distinguish full pronouns from clitics.

5.2 Clitics in Swedish

Does the same subject-object asymmetry with respect to preposed clitics show up in Swedish? Many Swedish dialects have clitic forms for object pronouns which retain older accusative forms, no longer in use in the standard language (cf. the *Swedish Academy Grammar* (SAG) 2:271). The feminine object clitic is *'na,* from the old accusative feminine *hana.* The masculine object clitic is *'en*, from the old accusative masculine *han.* The neuter object clitic is *'et*.[20] When the masculine and neuter pronouns cliticise onto a word ending in a vowel, they are often further reduced to *'n* and *'t*.

(29) a. Jag såg'na inte. (Sw.)
I saw 'er not
'I didn't see her.'
b. Jag såg'en inte./ Jag såg'et inte.
I saw 't not / I saw 't not
'I didn't see it.
c. Jag hörde'n inte./ Jag hörde't inte.
I heard 't not / I heard 't not
'I didn't hear it.'

These clitic forms are only used for objects as shown by the examples in (30).

(30) a. ..*Nu kommer'na. (Teleman 2013:20) (Sw.)
now comes 'er
b. *Där står'et.
there stands 't

[19] The clitics in Schwarz & Vikner's examples all refer to entities. It is not clear whether *'d* behaves differently as a VP or type anaphor.
[20] Some speakers also use the forms *'an* and *'at.*

c. Per får'et.
Per gets 't
'Per gets it.'

The near minimal pair in (30b,c), from SAG (2:271), is interesting. Despite the fact that the subject and object forms of the neuter pronoun *det* are identical, the clitic form *'et* can not be used as a subject clitic, (30b), but only as an object clitic, (30c).

Just as in Danish and Norwegian, we find that preposing of an object clitic is impossible. The example in (31) is modelled on the authentic example in (8); the relevant part is repeated here.

(8) Skinn-ym1: ja # det var två stycken andra plutonsjukvårdare (Sw.)
yes there were two other paramedics

de var från Fagersta så *dem* har jag ganska bra kontakt med
they were from Fagersta so them have I pretty good contact with
'they were from Fagersta so I have pretty good contacts with them'

(31) ja det var en sjuksköterska, hon var från Fagersta (Sw.)
yes there was a nurse she was from Fagersta

* så'*na* har jag ganska bra kontakt med
so'er have I pretty good contact with
'so I have pretty good contacts with her.'

But since *'na, 'en* and *'en* cannot be used as subject clitics, we cannot test whether there is a subject-object asymmetry. There is, however, another set of clitic pronouns in Swedish, which we turn to in the next section.

5.3 r-pronuns in Swedish

A characteristic feature of the Stockholm dialect is that the initial *d* in certain unstressed monosyllabic pronouns and adverbs is replaced with an *r* after a vowel or *r,* as recently described by Teleman (2013) and Riad (2014:99–102, 225f.).[21] The relevant forms are shown in Table 4.

[21] In addition to looking at phonetic and syntactic factors, Teleman discusses the possible origin and the historical development of these forms. Riad chooses the term *d*-continuization since it undoes the closure of the stop /d/ (Riad 2014:99).

Table 4: *Overview of* r-*pronouns in Swedish*

Spoken standard	***r*-form**	**Translation**
den	*ren*	it, non-neuter, nom/acc
det	*re*	it, neuter, nom/acc
dom	*rom*	they/them, nom/acc
du	*ru*	you, sing nom
dej	*re(j)*	you, sing acc
då	*rå*	then

We see that three of the forms, *ren, re* and *rom,* are used both as subjects and objects and consequently are relevant with respect to the subject-object asymmetry discussed above. Unfortunately there is hardly any data from Stockholm speakers in the NDC. The use of *r*-pronouns is however spread across the Mälardalen region, so we might expect to find examples from measuring points in that region. But since the Swedish sub-corpus is only transcribed using standard orthography, we cannot find these *r*-pronouns by searching the database.[22]

Instead we carried out a small questionnaire. Six informants, all born in Stockholm between 1945 and 1960, were asked to judge a set of 18 sentences containing *r*-pronouns and object clitics, using a scale from 1 (=impossible) to 5 (=perfectly natural).[23] The stimuli always included a host for the *r*-pronoun but the type and position of the host was systematically varied.[24] The average judgment is reported within brackets.

The results show that the most common form, *'re*, is accepted both as subject and object. In (32), the post-verbal subject *'re* is cliticised to the finite verb and in (33) an object *'re* is cliticised to the verb.[25]

[22] The Norwegian sub-corpus is transcribed both orthographically and in a phonetically adapted format. This is a big advantage as shown in Johannessen (2012) who carried out a search for *r*-pronouns in Norwegian dialects using the NDC.

[23] This scale was chosen as it is the same scale used in the Nordic Syntax Database (Lindstad et al. 2009b). Just as in this database, average judgments are reported, although this may be inappropriate given that it is an ordinal scale and not an interval scale. However, for small sets, as in this questionnaire, the average is more informative than the mean.

[24] Some of the test examples were adapted from Teleman (2013).

[25] Ahlberg (2014) provides a phonetic analysis of such *r*-pronouns, produced by a speaker from Uppland, north of Stockholm.

(i) villberga_om1: då va'*re* riktigt varmt väder
then was 't really warm weather
'Then it was really warm.'

(32) Nu snöar’re. (subj) [5]
now snows ‘t
‘Now it’s snowing.’

(33) Ja tar’re. (obj) [5]
I take ‘t
‘I’ll take it.’

We were particularly interested in looking at whether *r*-pronouns can be preposed. In (34a), a subject *’re* is adjacent to the interjection-like imperative *titta* (‘look’) and in (34b) to the subjunction *så* (‘so that’) which introduces a subordinate clause. In (34c) *’re* is used as a VP anaphor and follows the conjunction *så* (‘so’) which introduces a main clause.

(34) a. Titta’re snöar! (subj) [5]
look ‘t snows
‘Look, it is snowing.’

b. Dom tog i så’re bara small. (subj) [5]
they took in so ‘t just went-bang
‘We put so much effort into it that it just went bang.’

c. Mamma sa att vi fick äta upp matsäcken, så’re gjorde vi. (obj) [5]
mummy said that we got eat up picknick.DEF *so ‘t did we*
‘Mummy said we could eat our picknick, so that’s what we did.’

All the examples in (34) were judged as natural. We thus do not find any difference in acceptance of *’re* depending on whether it is a subject or object, but the type of host has an effect. An example where *’re* follows a vocative *du* (35a) was found slightly less natural and an example with left dislocation (35b) was unacceptable to most of the informants. This probably reflects a difference in prosodic structure, since the initial constituents in (35) are more likely to be followed by a pause than the ones in (34). This would presumably make cliticisation less felicitous.

(35) a. Du’re där funkar inte. (subj) [4,7]
you ‘t there works not
‘Hey you, that doesn’t work.’

b. Hugga ve’re orkar ja inte längre. (obj) [2,2]
chop wood ‘t have strength I no more
‘Chop wood, I don’t have the strength do do it anymore.’

For two of the informants, the judgments on the plural pronoun *’rom* differ from *’re*.

(36) a. Va sa’rom? (subj) [5]
what said ‘ey
‘What did they say?’

b. Kom killarna? – Nä’rom kom inte. (subj) [4,5]
came boys.DEF *no ‘ey came not*

c. Ja tittar på nyheterna varje kväll, så’rom har jag koll på. (obj) [4]
I watch on news.DEF *every evening so ‘em have I control on*
‘I watch the news every evening so I keep up with them.’

Whereas all the informants accept subject *’rom* following a verb, as in (36a), two of them were not entirely happy when subject *’rom* followed the response particle *nä* (‘no’) in (36b). The same two informants were even less happy when an object *’rom* followed the conjunction *så* in (36c). Only one example with *’ren* was tested, (37), and showed overall low acceptance among the informants.

(37) Ja köpte en ros å’ren ska ja ge te Anders. (obj) [2,8]
I bought a rose and ‘t will I give to Anders

Since we do not know how the speakers would have judged subject uses of *’ren,* we cannot say anything definitive about a subject-object asymmetry. Given that most of the informants judged (36c) to be grammatical, we believe that such an asymmetry would not be as clear cut for Swedish *r*-pronouns as it seems to be for the other Scandinavian clitics we have discussed. A larger study is clearly called for which should look at all the uses of the various *r*-forms and in addition investigate possible effects of the host. One idea might be to record informants who are asked to read a set of short dialogues aloud before giving their judgments. Such recordings would give us more information about how prosodically integrated the different types of hosts are (cf. (35a,b)) and how this affects the acceptability judgments.

We also included some examples with ordinary object clitics and the informants confirmed that these cannot be preposed or used as subjects (cf. (31), (30)).

(38) a. Där e Lisa! – Men 'na kände ja inte igen! [1]
there is Lisa but 'er recognised I not

b. Nu snöar'et. [1]
nowsnows 't

Given the differential behaviour of the examples discussed in sections 4 and 5, we conclude that in order to account for the full range of preposed object pronouns, we need to distinguish between clitics, unstressed pronouns, pronouns with word stress and emphatically stressed pronouns, as they are used in different contexts. Clitics are, not surprisingly, sensitive to the nature of the host, whereas the choice between, on the one hand, an unstressed pronoun or a pronoun with word stress and, on the other hand, a pronoun with emphatic stress reflects whether the speaker has a contrast in mind. As for the choice between an unstressed pronoun and a pronoun with word stress, this seems to vary with the type of antecedent (VP anaphors are more likely to be reduced) and possibly with the language. Swedish appears to use unstressed forms to a greater extent than Danish and Norwegian.

6 Beyond the mainland

This study has been limited to the mainland Scandinavian languages, but it would definitely be interesting to extend it to the insular Scandinavian languages Icelandic and Faroese. According to Halldór Sigurðsson[26], a direct translation of (1) into Icelandic is pragmatically marked, see (39). Leaving the pronoun in situ, (B'), would be more natural, like in the English version in (3).

(39) A: Hvar er bíllinn? (Is.)
*where is car.*DEF
B: #Hann setti ég í bílskúrinn.
*it put I in garage.*DEF
B': Ég setti hann í bílskúrinn.
*I put it in garage.*DEF

[26] Personal communication at Grammar in focus, March 2014.

We carried out a small search in the Icelandic part of the NDC, which now amounts to 56000 words. We found several examples with fronted *það* ('it') used as a propositional anaphor, as shown in (40) and (41).

(40) iceland_b1: reyndar býr Clinton í Harlem hverfinu vissir þú það (Is.)
indeed lives Clinton in Harlem block knew you it
'Clinton actually lives in Harlem. Did you know that?'

iceland_a1: það vissi ég ekki
it knew I not
'I didn't know that.'

(41) reykja_14gk: já # ég held þú fáir allavega ekki svona snið þar sko núna #
yes I think you get at-least not such model there PRT now
'Yes, I think at least you won't get such a model there now'

ekki enn þá
not yet

reykja_13gm: jú það held ég
yes it think I
'But I think you can,'

There were also examples when the neuter singular *það* was used to refer to an entity or a type, as in (42) where a couple from Reykjavík are talking about buying clothes for the summer.

(42) reykja_13gm: kannski jakka með bótum
maybe jacket with patches

reykja_14gk: já # já það væri smart og jafnvel kannski svolítið sumarlegar
yes yes it would-be smart and even maybe a little summery
[…]

reykja_13gm: já ákkúrat
yes exactly

reykja_14gk: *það* sá ég hjá Guðmundi Jör
it saw I at Gudmund Jör
'I saw that at Gudmund Jör (name of shop).'

The speaker *reykjavik_14gk* here uses *það* to refer back to the kind of summer clothes she talked about earlier.

We did not find any examples with preposed *það* used as a VP anaphor or other preposed object pronouns, but this may be due to the corpus being rather small. Halldór Sigurðsson provided the example in (43).

(43) A: Hefurðu séð Ólaf? (Is.)
have you seen Ólaf

B: Nei, *hann* hef ég ekki séð í allan dag
no him have I not seen in all day

en ég sá konuna hans núna rétt áðan
but I saw wife his now right before

svo að hann hlýtur að vera hérna einhvers staðar.
so that he must to be here somewhere
'No, I haven't seen him all day, but I saw his wife just now
so he must be somewhere around here.'

The referent is newly introduced in A's question, so this is a case of focus chaining. But note that B carries on contrasting *hann* ('him') with *konuna hans* ('his wife') which may indicate that preposing of an object personal pronouns carries with it a certain amount of contrast in Icelandic, like in English. More research on Icelandic, as well as on Faroese, is clearly needed.

7 Concluding remarks

Our study of pronoun initial utterances in the Nordic Dialect Corpus has revealed that preposed object pronouns have several different information structural functions. A preposed pronoun is often used as a way of connecting an utterance to a recently introduced referent or issue (*rheme-topic chaining*). It may also be used as a way of maintaining the same topic over a stretch of discourse (*topic-topic chaining*). Another context is in left dislocation or hanging topic constructions where the dislocated constituent is immediately followed by a co-referential pronoun. Judging from a study of 150 utterances, Danish, Norwegian and Swedish are quite similar with respect to how pronoun preposing is used, with some indications that the left dislocation strategy is more common in Norwegian.

The phonetic realization of the preposed pronouns varies to a great extent, from highly reduced to emphatically stressed. There does not seem to be any straightforward correlation between type of antecedent-pronoun relation and the phonetic realization. Rather, the degree of stress on the pronoun seems to reflect whether or not the speaker has a contrast set in mind. In addition, the type of referent matters; the VP anaphor *det* is highly likely to be unstressed (i.e. produced without a word stress), in all three languages. Preposed entity referring pronouns like *den* and *dem* tend to retain a word stress, but need not be emphatically stressed. Given that the NDC provides access both to the recording and the context of the utterance, we are able to show that a previous claim by Anderssen & Bentzen (2012) for Norwegian, based on constructed data, is too restrictive.

Schwarz & Vikner (1996) argue that there is a subject-object asymmetry with respect to preposing of what they refer to as "weak" pronouns. However, the data they use involve preposing of clitic pronouns. In our study, we find that unstressed object pronouns are preposed in all the three languages whereas real clitic pronouns, such as *a* in Norwegian and *'en* and *'na* in Swedish, cannot be preposed. The behaviour of so called *r*-pronouns is intriguing and requires further study.

Our main study has been limited to the mainland Scandinavian languages, but clearly needs to be extended to the insular languages Faroese and Icelandic. A search in the Icelandic sub-corpus in the NDC suggests that preposing of object *það* ('it.NEUT') is quite common, especially when it refers to an issue under discussion, but that other preposing may be less common than in the mainland languages.

In this study, we have focussed on the role of the context of the utterance. We are currently looking closer at the information structure of Swedish utterances which start off with preposed object pronouns in comparison with utterances where the pronoun is in situ or shifted (Engdahl & Lindahl in prep.). We have for instance seen that when there is a focus sensitive adverb such as negation in the utterance, the preposed pronoun is more likely to receive a contrastive interpretation and be realized in a more prominent way.

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Appendix

Occurrences of fronted (non-subject) det, den, dem *with eight verbs in the NDC*

Danish		**Swedish**	
verb	*Number (den/dem)*	*verb*	*Number (den/dem)*
gøre	209(0)	göra	228(2)
se	7(1)	se	15(1)
sige	26(0)	säga	23(0)
tro	88(0)	tro	58(1)
synes	36(0)	tycka	61(1)
ville	55(2)	vilja	19(2)
have	324(37)	ha	330(22)
få	36(9)	få	80(3)

Norwegian		**Total**	
verb	*Number (den/dem)*	*verb*	*Number (den/dem)*
gjøre	856(1)	do	1293(3)
se	143(3)	see	165(5)
si	132(2)	say	181(2)
tru	607(12)	believe	798(13)
tro	45(0)	think	348(6)
synes	251(5)	want/will	260(14)
ville	186(10)	have	1979(194)
ha	1325(135)	get	263(33)
få	147(21)		

An unexpected gap with unexpected restrictions

Subject deletion in a south-west Swedish dialect*

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Abstract

The aim of this article is to propose a syntactic analysis of a dialectal construction systematically displaying deletion of the subject, found in spoken south-west Swedish. The deletion appears in certain interrogative subordinated clauses and relative clauses, where standard Swedish requires a resumptive pronoun, which hence can be left out in the dialectal clause construction. The proposed analysis takes as its point of departure the assumption that the construction exemplifies a special kind of Topic drop. As a consequence, the syntactic analysis requires an elaborated C-domain, and a Split CP analysis is proposed. It is claimed that Spec,TP must be phonetically realized in standard Swedish but not in the dialect counterpart.

1 Introduction

This article focuses on a dialectal construction found in south-west spoken Swedish, characterized by systematically deletion of the subject, an element which is otherwise an obligatory part of a Swedish clause. The dialectal construction appears in certain interrogative subordinated and relative clauses, where a resumptive pronoun representing the subject of the clause is obligatory in standard Swedish but

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not in the dialect: in the dialect the subject is optional and found only occasionally in private speech. Example (1a) illustrates the standard Swedish unbounded extraction construction with the obligatory resumptive pronoun *han*, and (1b) illustrates the dialectal variant of unbounded extraction focused on in this article. The star (*) indicates that the construction is grammatically incorrect in written as well as spoken standard Swedish; the incorrectness is due to the lack of a visible subject. Note that (1b) is considered grammatically correct in the dialect, as marked in bold throughout the article.

(1) a. Kalle$_i$ vet du ju var han$_i$ bor.
Kalle know you mod.prt where he lives
'Kalle, you know where he lives, right?'

b. * Kalle$_i$ vet du ju var e_i bor. **= Dialect OK**
Kalle know you mod.prt where lives
'Kalle, you know where he lives, right?'

The examples in (2) illustrate the corresponding construction when part of a relative clause, where (2a) is the standard Swedish construction and (2b) the dialectal counterpart.

(2) a. Kalle$_i$, som$_i$ du ju vet var han$_i$ bor.
Kalle who you mod.prt know where he lives
'Kalle, who you know where he lives, right?'

b. * Kalle$_i$, som$_i$ du ju vet var e_i bor. **= Dialect OK**
Kalle who you mod.prt know where lives
'Kalle, who you know where he lives, right?'

The examples in (3) below illustrate another variant of the construction found in the same dialect and accepted by the same informants, but not by standard Swedish speaking informants. Example (3a) illustrates the basic structure, where (3b) corresponds to the constructions in (1a) and (2a) above, which is well-formed in standard Swedish as well. Examples (3d,e) correspond to the constructions in (1b) and (2b), which are ungrammatical in standard Swedish but accepted in the dialect. For the ease of reading, I have marked the crucial parts in bold. Note that the English translation is the same in all four cases (3b–e), although presented only in the (3b) example.

(3) a. Jag vet var universitetet ligger. →
I know where university.def lays
'I know where the university is situated.'

b. Universitetet$_i$, det$_i$ vet jag var det$_i$ ligger.
university.def it know I where it lays
'The university, I know where it is situated.'

c. Universitetet$_i$ e_i vet jag var det$_i$ ligger.
university.def know I where it lays

d. * Universitetet$_i$, det$_i$ vet jag var e_i ligger. **= Dialect OK**
university.def it know I where lays

e. * Universitetet$_i$ e_i vet jag var e_i ligger. **= Dialect OK**
university.def know I where lays

The examples in (3) differ from the ones (1) and (2) above with respect to the presence of the resumptive pronoun *det* 'that', indicating that its antecedent, *universitetet* 'the university' is posited in the so-called annex of the clause (Teleman et al 1999, part IV:438ff), according to Platzack (2011b) adjoined to CP. Note that impersonal *det* 'it' is used as a resumptive pronoun with several types of referents/antecedents. The omission of an explicit subject of the interrogative, subordinated clause is however the same phenomenon as in example (1b) and (2b).

As stated earlier, this paper focuses on the type illustrated in (1b) and (2b), but examples like (3d,e) are also interesting since they display the same syntactic pattern (an omitted subject of the subordinated clause, introduced by the *wh*-word). The examples are well-formed in the dialect under investigation, but ungrammatical in standard Swedish.

1.1 Outline of the article

After a presentation of the informants and the method for collecting empirical data, I present the dialect construction in (1b) and (2b) more thoroughly in section 2. Different aspects of the dialectal clause structure are discussed, and furthermore the construction is presented in the light of similar constructions in the other mainland Scandinavian languages Danish and Norwegian. This discussion is not exhaustive, however, but serves as background; a more thorough investigation of corresponding constructions in the other mainland Scandinavian languages and

possibly other south-west Swedish dialects as well is beyond the aim of this article, but the results presented here can be seen as prerequisites.

Section 3 is devoted to some crucial points in the chosen theoretical framework. These concepts will prove important for the proposed analysis of the dialectal clause construction. In section 4, I present a Split CP-analysis, which I propose is the basis for the syntactic structure of the dialectal clause construction. In section 5, I discuss some crucial restrictions in order for the dialect construction to be grammatically correct according to the informant. Since there are questions regarding the dialect clause construction that need to be addressed more thoroughly, I also propose a subject for further research. In section 6, finally, I give some concluding comments.

1.2 The informants

The investigation of the acceptance of the dialectal construction exemplified in (1b) and (2b) was performed in the landscape Halland in the south-western part of Sweden, more specifically in the small town Laholm and its vicinities. In all, 37 persons were asked to judge the grammatical correctness of 20 different sentences. One of the informants chose not to fill out the inquiry scheme with respect to all 20 sentences, and is therefore not included in the empirical material. The informants were between 30 and 64 years old and had lived at least their last 20 years in the area. Several of them had never lived outside the area at all.

The informants were asked to mark the grammatical correctness of the 20 sentences according to three different levels: “impossible” (*), “a bit strange but possible” (?), and “correct” (OK). Since none of the informants had taken part in an investigation like this before, I considered the three different answering possibilities enough. The informants got the instruction that focus is on spoken language only.

Based on the informants’ judgments, I also carried out 10 interviews. My purpose was to discuss their judgments further in order to get more information, e.g. with respect to the different verb types possible to use in the construction. As a consequence, the interviews cannot be described as structured or even semi-structured but as question based conversations aiming at focusing different aspects of the dialectal construction. In addition, these 10 interviewees were asked to fill out a second and later on also a third inquiry scheme with 10 specific following-up sentences, which they marked for grammatical correctness according to their lin-

guistic intuition. The second schematic investigation aimed at exploring patterns regarding different types of auxiliaries possible in the dialectal clause construction. The third schematic investigation focused on certain specific presumably acceptable word orders in the dialect, based on my proposed analysis of the dialectal clause construction.

To properly account for the syntactic and semantic restrictions regarding the dialect clause structure, further empirical data is needed. Hence, the proposed feature-based Split CP-analysis should in the first place be taken as a point of departure for a major investigation regarding the specific clause construction.

The overall result shows that there is very little variation within the informant group. The informants clearly display a matching linguistic intuition; one could claim that their mental grammars collectively display the same possibilities and limits in this respect, still deviating from the collective mental/internal grammar of standard Swedish speakers.

2 The dialectal clause structure

Teleman et al (1999, part IV: 428f) point out that language users differ with respect to their tolerance to omit resumptive pronouns. Furthermore it is stated that only in some cases a resumptive pronoun is more or less optional. The more deeply embedded the clause is, the more necessary is the resumptive part. Engdahl (1986: 98f) describes resumptive pronouns as pronouns that cannot refer freely, although they are morphologically and phonologically identical to personal pronouns. A resumptive pronoun is co-indexed with a relativized, topicalized, or questioned NP, which is also the case in the construction focused on in this article. The obligatory resumptive pronoun in Swedish is discussed also in for instance Zaenen & Maling (1982) and Lohndal (2007). Example (4) from Wessén (1965: 337) is discussed in Engdahl (1982: 154), who states that a gap in a position like the one in (4) is impossible in Swedish, hence a resumptive pronoun is obligatory.

(4) Jag steg av vid en station som jag har glömt$_j$ vad$_i$/*—$_i$
I stepped off at a station that I have forgotten what
heter —$_j$.
is-named
'I stepped off at a station that I have forgotten the name of.'

The construction in (4) is directly comparable to the dialectal construction under investigation, which, as stated, is considered grammatically correct by the south-west Swedish dialect speakers (35 out of 36). The informants were asked to judge the grammaticality of exactly this sentence in the first, schedule-based part of the inquiry.

The examples below in (5) are taken from Teleman et al (1999, part IV: 427ff) and illustrate some further cases where the resumptive pronoun constitutes the subject of a subordinated clause, introduced by a complementizer or a *wh*-phrase. Most speakers of Swedish need an explicit, resumptive pronoun in such cases (Teleman et al 1999, part IV: 427ff). Engdahl (1982: 154) claims that there are contexts "where there seems to be free variation between gaps and pronouns" and contexts where resumptive pronouns are either obligatory or impossible; the examples in (5) belong to the former category, where the resumptive pronouns are obligatory elements of Swedish subordinated clauses.

(5) a. Rektorn$_i$ trodde jag inte att hon$_i$ skulle komma.
headmaster.def thought I not that she should come
'I did not think that the headmaster would come.'

b. [Vilka elever]$_i$ var det oklart om de$_i$ skulle klara sig?
which pupils was it unclear if they should make refl.
'Which students was it unclear whether they should pass?'

c. [Vilket ord]$_i$ visste ingen hur det$_i$ stavades?
which word knew nobody how it was-spelt
'Which word did not anybody know how it was spelt?'

d. [Hans akt]$_i$ visste ingen riktigt var den$_i$ var.
his file knew nobody exactly where it was
'Nobody knew exactly where his file was.'

e. Mauretanien$_i$ vet jag var det$_i$ ligger.
Mauretania know I where it lays
'I know where Mauretania is situated.'

f. [En del av dessa förändringar]$_i$ vet vi bestämt vad de$_i$
a part of these changes know we for-sure what they
beror på.
are-due to
'We know for sure what some of these changes are due to.'

In order to get the dialect speakers' judgment of the grammaticality of the sentences in (5), the informants were exposed to exactly the same sentences, with the resumptive pronoun/subject present, but also with the corresponding interrogative subordinated clauses with the subject omitted. The examples in (5c–f) with the subject omitted are repeated in (6). According to all informants (36 out of 36), the examples in (6) are grammatical and fully accepted. They all contain indirect questions, which seemingly is a requirement for the dialect construction to be considered grammatically correct. In standard Swedish they are all ungrammatical.

(6) a. * [Vilket ord]$_i$ visste ingen hur e_i stavades? **= Dialect OK**
which word knew nobody how was-spelt
'Which word did not anybody know how it was spelt?

b. * [Hans akt]$_i$ visste ingen riktigt var e_i var. **= Dialect OK**
his file knew nobody exactly where was
'Nobody knew exactly where his file was.'

c. * Mauretanien$_i$ vet jag var e_i ligger. **= Dialect OK**
Mauretania know I where it lays
'I know where Mauretania is situated.'

d. * [En del av dessa förändringar]$_i$ vet vi
a part of these changes know we
bestämt vad e_i beror på. **= Dialect OK**
for-sure what are-due to
'We know for sure what some of these changes are due to.'

However, none of my informants (0 out of 36) can omit the resumptive pronoun in example (5a,b), hence in these cases the dialectal rules correspond to the ones in standard Swedish. This is illustrated in example (7).[1]

(7) a. * Rektorn$_i$ trodde jag inte att e_i
headmaster-the thought I not that
skulle komma. **= Not OK in dialect**
should come

[1]Note, however, that example (7a) is grammatically correct in standard Swedish as well as in the dialect with the subject *han* 'he' omitted if the complementizer *att* 'that' is omitted as well: *Rektorn trodde jag inte e_i skulle komma*, 'I did not think that the headmaster would come'. Omission of the complementizewr *att* 'that' is common in spoken standard Swedish.

b. * [Vilka elever]$_i$ var det oklart om e_i skulle
which pupils was it unclear if should
klara sig? **= Not OK in dialect**
make refl

To conclude so far: subordinated clauses introduced by *att* 'that' and *om* 'if' with the resumptive subject pronoun omitted are not accepted in standard Swedish and do not seem to be accepted neither in the dialect. If the subject is to be omitted in the dialectal construction, the subordinated clause in which deletion takes place has to be initiated by an interrogative *wh*-word.

The informants were also asked to judge the correctness of the ruled out constructions in (5a,b) with *skulle komma* 'should come', replaced by *kom*, 'came' and *skulle klara sig* 'would make it' replaced by *klarade sig*, 'made it', in order to avoid a potential impact of the auxiliary verb. The judgments did not change, however — this type of auxiliary seemingly did not make any difference in these constructions, and all informants (36 out of 36) marked (5a,b) as ungrammatical, regardless of the presence of an auxiliary.

2.1 The presence of *ju*

The modality marker *ju* indicates that the speaker and the listener share some common knowledge regarding a person, an object, or an event. The matrix relative clause of the *wh*-clause complement contains a verb like *veta* or *känna (till)*, 'know'. Verbs of this type are often supported by the modal clause adverbial *ju* or other similar adverbials (Teleman et al 1999, part IV: 84f). In addition, *ju* is most commonly found in dialogues or when the speaker addresses the listener in retelling a story, when the speakers address each other with *du* 'you', hence creating a common ground for reference. The presence of the modality marker *ju* and the retelling of a story are not obligatory requirements for the dialectal construction to be considered syntactically correct by the speakers. They can, however, be seen as a kind of pragmatic reason for the possibility of omitting the subject of the clause, hence allowing for an unexpected gap in the structure. As we will see, this reasoning on pragmatics will prove important for the syntactic analysis where a kind of common of "givenness" seems to be a crucial restriction for the possibility to omit the subject.

Regardless of the verb type, the construction seems to include or presuppose a special kind of relation between – very simplified – the speaker and the listener of

the utterance, stating that they share a kind of common reference or topic,"about-who-ness" (see Mörnsjö 2002), which is related to the "givenness" of the omitted subjects in the dialect clause construction. The subject is the common ground of the speaker and hearer, and due to this fact it can be omitted. This fact, however, is important for the syntactic analysis of the construction, where givenness makes it easier to drop a clause subject.

2.2 The other mainland Scandinavian languages – a brief comment

Turning briefly to other Scandinavian languages, constructions with a non-explicit subject in an embedded *wh*-clause are well-formed in standard Danish, see example (8a,b). So are the Danish counterparts to the Swedish examples in (4d,e) above; see (8c,d), from Engdahl (1982:167).

(8) a. Kalle ved du ju hvor bor.
Kalle know you mod.prt where lives
'You know where Kalle lives, don't you?'

b. Kalle, som du ju ved hvor bor.
Kalle who you know where lives
'Kalle, who you know where he lives, don't you?'

c. Universitetet, det ved jeg hvor ligger.
university.def it know I where lays
'I know where the university is situated.'

d. Universitetet ved jeg hvor ligger.
university.def know I where lays
'I know where the university is situated.'

The examples in (8) indicate a match between the dialectal Swedish constructions and standard Danish. Like standard Swedish, Danish does not allow a subject gap after the complementiser *at* 'that', but the subject can be omitted in *om*-questions, 'if'-, which is neither the case in the dialect under investigation nor in standard Swedish (Engdahl 1982:167).

Furthermore, the Danish constructions in (9) below (taken from Engdahl 1982:167) share similarities with the ones focused on in this article. My informants accept (9b) (36 out of 36), but not (9a) (0 out of 36), with the sentences orally and directly translated into Swedish. Note the difference between (9a) and (9b): the

former exemplifies an impersonal construction, which behaves differently from other constructions in several ways. Impersonals will not be discussed any further here.

(9) a. Det$_i$ vet jeg ikke om $\_{}_i$ gaar an. (Diderichsen 1966: 183)
this know I not if goes alright
'I don't know if this is alright.'

b. De tjente en mann$_i$ som de ikke hviste vem$_j$ $\_{}_i$ var $\_{}_j$.
they served a man who they not knew who was
'They served a man they didn't know who he was.'

Engdahl (1982:168) stresses the fact that resumptive pronouns, just like gaps, behave as if syntactically controlled by the preposed constituents (cf. also Hansen 1974). Platzack (2011a) claims that the difference between Swedish and the other Scandinavian languages seems to be that Danish and Norwegian allow the subject to be adjoined to CP in the same way as the object. To explain the difference between standard Swedish and the dialect variant, however, other tools and structures have to be used.

Norwegian, on the other hand, allows a subject gap both after the complementizer *at* 'that' and any clause initial *wh*-phrase, hence is less restricted. Norwegian cases corresponding to the Danish constructions in (8) are marked and dialectal to a certain extent, but more common and much wider spread than in Swedish. Furthermore, for many speakers of Norwegian also examples corresponding to (9) are syntactically correct. Lohndal (2007) distinguishes at least four construction types of *that*-trace variants, one of which is the use of resumption. Data from Löwenadler (2007) stresses the patterns found. The corresponding constructions in example (10) are syntactically well-formed also in Icelandic and in the Swedish dialects spoken in Finland. Neither of my informants (0 out of 36) accepts the constructions in (10) when the sentences are translated into Swedish, based on the previous judgments of the corresponding construction. This was to some extent an expected result.

(10) a. Den här boka$_i$ visste jeg at e_i var bra.
this here book.def knew I that was good
'I knew this book was good.'

b. Den här boka$_i$ visste jeg inte om e_i var bra.
this here book.def knew I not if was good
'I didn't know whether this book was good.'

It seems as though the construction under discussion in this article is connected to the *that*-trace effect. However, as has been shown in the previous section, the dialect construction displays stronger restrictions, hence is not as an example of the *that*-trace effect. Lohndal (2007) claims that the variation between the languages is due to the lexicon. In Swedish, the resumptive pronoun can obviously never be omitted in *that*-clauses (except in Finnish-Swedish), whereas in indirect *wh*-questions, this is fine in the dialect under investigation. Danish and Norwegian display constructions in several and different respects reminding on the dialectal construction type under investigation, but none of the other mainland Scandinavian languages seems to contain a construction type that matches the south-west Swedish dialectal one with respect to selection of verb.

Since it is beyond the scope of this article to present a thorough investigation of the corresponding constructions in the other mainland Scandinavian languages, at the moment it is seemingly enough to claim that there seems to be a question of gradability in at least Norwegian — and in Swedish dialects — when it comes to acceptance of omitted resumptive pronouns. In order to account for the syntactic structure of the varying degrees of acceptance in different languages and dialects, certain specific features seem to needed.

3 Theoretical framework

In this section I present some relevant aspects of the theoretical framework, based in the relevant parts on the minimalist program (Chomsky 1995, 2008, also see Platzack 1998, 2011a). Some brief comments are also made regarding The Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH) and the Spurious topic drop analysis (Platzack 2011b), which to some extent constitutes the base of the analysis of the construction under discussing.

3.1 Features

According to the Minimalist Program, the computational system of human internal language is a feature driven system (see for instance Chomsky 1995: 22). The

computational system works on bundles of semantic, grammatical, and phonetic features. Pesetsky & Torrego (2001: 363ff, passim) furthermore argue that all features come in two guises, interpretable or uninterpretable, [F] and [uF] for the arbitrary feature F (see also Chomsky 2001, 2004, 2008). The uninterpretable must be deleted before the derivation reaches LF and PF by means of a matching of the interpretable feature and its uninterpretable counterpart.

The deletion of the uninterpretable features is formally accounted for by means of the operation Agree. The operation Agree is defined as a universal principle established between a probe and its goal when the probe has one interpretable feature and one uninterpretable, and the goal has the same set of features with the reverse interpretability (for instance Chomsky 2001, Pesetsky & Torrego 2001). If the probe c-commands the goal and there is no element closer to the probe with these features, the uninterpretable features are deleted.

The elements are put together by means of the operation Merge. Merge and Agree in combination drive the computational system. Chomsky (2001: 7ff, passim) distinguishes between internal and external Merge. In case of external Merge, a new, unbounded element is merged with what is already built, whereas in case of internal Merge, an already bounded element is merged with the already built-up structure. The θ-roles are assumed to be properties of a "first", merged DP. A consequence of internal Merge is that reconstruction falls out directly, and hence is not seen as a special operation. In fact, also the copy theory per se can be seen as a direct result of the availability of internal Merge. I use both terms Move and internal Merge in this article, without implying any difference.

According to Chomsky (1995, passim), the copy of the moving element marks the presence of an element in different positions in a structure at the same time, although materialized in one position only. In this view, a trace is seen as withholding a position in the structure. In a more recent view (see for instance Platzack 2011a), the trace is instead regarded as a copy of the moved element, displaying an identical set of features, however without form.

3.2 Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH)

A strong hypothesis with respect to the correspondence between thematic roles and syntactic structures is that the argument structure of a verb determines the different θ-roles it may assign (after Williams 1981, see for instance Chomsky 1995:30, Platzack 1998). For instance, a verb like see must have a subject EXPE-

RIENCER and a THEME direct object, and a verb like give under normal circumstances must assign an AGENT θ-role to its subject, THEME to its direct object, and GOAL/RECIPIENT to its indirect object.

A particular implementation of this hypothesis is Baker's (1988, 1997) Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH) which suggests that there is uniformity with respect to θ-role assignment. Simplifying, UTAH is a universal thematic hierarchy that determines the merging order of arguments in syntactic positions, where structural relations underlie identical thematic relationships. A rather thorough discussion on UTAH is relevant here, since well-formed dialectal cases of embedded *wh*-clauses with a subject copy immediately after the *wh*-word, must have a non-AGENT subject.

According to UTAH, an EXPERIENCER subject DP has its origin in a lower position than an AGENT subject DP (Grimshaw 1990), suggesting that the AGENT is externally, first merged in Spec,*v*P and the EXPERIENCER in Spec,VP. The EPP-feature in v° however still requires a filled Spec,*v*P in either case, hence when only an EXPERIENCER is present in Spec.,VP, it must move to Spec,*v*P. Per se, V cannot assign the AGENT θ-role.[2] In the dialectal construction at hand, it seems as if the auxiliary verb is responsible for the θ-roles involved, as suggested by Wurmband (1999).

3.3 A split CP analysis

Since the complementizer layer — the C-domain — with its anchoring of the clause in reality with respect to discourse, the speaker's here and now, point of view etc. is crucial for the dialectal construction under investigation, some additional comments are called for. The C-domain is dual in its nature in relating the propositional content of the clause with the linguistic as well as non-linguistic context. The dual function of the C-domain is discussed by Rizzi (1997, 2004a, 2004b), who proposes a split-up in (at least) two functional projections. The topmost projection is referred to as Force Phrase and faces outwards to a higher clause or to the discourse. ForceP links the sentence to the rest of the clause by means of features indicating clause type. The lowermost projection of the C-domain is labelled the Finite Phrase, facing inwards to the propositional content in the lower

[2]The reasoning is the same with respect to unaccusative verbs, where the subject DP is externally merged in the complement of V but forced to Spec,*v*P to satisfy the EPP-feature in v°.

layers TP and VP.[3] Between ForceP and FinP is situated a Focus phrase. Furthermore, in Rizzi's (1997) Split CP proposal, there are two Topic positions. The higher one is situated above FocusP (i.e. between ForceP and FocP) and the lower one below FocusP (i.e. between FocP and FinP), and the lower of the Topic positions can be interpreted as concerning givenness. As will be seen, the concept of givenness of the omitted subjects in the dialect construction will prove important.

In order to account for the syntactic structure of the dialect clause construction, an elaborated CP is necessary. Platzack (2011b) argues in favour of two [Spec,CP]:s of a clause, where a first merged, usually stressed element is situated in the higher [Spec,CP] and a less stressed, internally merged element in the lower one. The element in the lower [Spec,CP] is dropped in a construction containing the specific kind of Topic drop referred to as "Spurious Topic drop" (Platzack 2011b). Platzack's (2011b) Spurious Topic drop analysis will prove important for the syntactic analysis of the dialectal subject deletion construction and is illustrated in example (11) from Platzack (2011b). A full DP or a stressed pronoun, posited clause initially, may be followed by a co-referent unstressed pronoun, whereas the reverse is not possible. In example (11) the co-referent, unstressed pronoun is the object of the clause, whereas in the dialect construction a similar reasoning is applied to the subject of the clause.

(11) CYKELN / Cykeln / DEN / den ställde han i köket.
bike.def bike.def it it put he in kitchen.def

Platzack (2011b) argues that the higher, first [Spec,CP] contains a first merged and usually stressed element and the lower, second [Spec,CP] contains internally merged and usually unstressed elements. The weaker element, which constitutes the object for topic dropping, targets the lower [Spec,CP]. In the dialectal construction focused on here, there are reasons to believe that there are two [Spec,CP]:s involved, which allow Topic drop in the lower one, as in Platzack (2011b).

4 The dialectal clause structure – a proposal

As pointed out, the dialect structure represents a subordinated clause introduced by a *wh*-word. The construction is well-formed in the dialect in focus of this article,

[3] A split C-domain is discussed also by for instance Rizzi (1997), Mörnsjö (2002), Beninca & Poletto (2004), and Poletto & Pollock (2004).

whereas it deviates from standard Swedish due to the lack of an obligatory overt subject, here in the guise of a resumptive pronoun.

The proposed syntactic analysis of the subordinated clause *Kalle vet jag var e bor* 'I know where Kalle lives' is presented below. As has been pointed out, the construction is syntactically incorrect in standard Swedish, whereas it is fully accepted in the dialect under investigation. My proposal is based on the split CP hypothesis (after Rizzi 1997, 2004a,b), as well as Platzack's analysis of Spurious Topic drop (2011b).

(12) $\ldots[_{CP}$ Q = var $_{C^0}$ (som) $[_{CP}$ ~~han~~ $[_{TP}$ ~~han~~ $[_{vP}$ ~~han~~ bor]]]]

In the proposed analysis, the requirement of a parallel movement of the subject is satisfied, hence also the request for Spurious Topic drop. This is indicated by the arrows, representing parallel movement of *han*, 'he' from [Spec,*v*P]. The difference between standard Swedish and the dialect would be that there is a Split CP in both cases, but whereas [Spec,TP] must be spelled-out in standard Swedish this is not the case in the dialect: [Spec,TP] does not have to be phonetically realized in the dialect. This is my base assumption and proposal.

In the structural proposal, the question operator Q is posited in [Spec,CP]. According to Platzack (2011a:110), C has a non-valued feature with EPP that forces the *wh*-word to [Spec,CP]. In general, the edge feature requires semantic meaning or phonetic form, or the two of them combined, i.e. the feature of the element moving to [Spec,CP] is not specified. In the dialectal structure, however, the element has to be a visible first merged question operator in the guise of a *wh*-word. The head [C^0] is the position for a potential complementizer *som*, glossed SOM, 'that.rel', used in embedded *wh*-questions and relative clauses as illustrated above.

In Platzack's (2011b) analysis the question marker is situated in the higher [Spec,CP]. The *wh*-word is first merged in this position. The resumptive pronoun in situated in the lower [Spec,CP], and does not have to be phonetically realized (i.e. the subject that can be omitted in the dialectal construction). Like in the Platzack (2011b) proposal, the element in the lower [Spec,CP] can be considered weak. Taking into account also the thoughts in Rizzi (1997), the omitted subject would be situated in a lower topic position, hosting "givenness" elements, which is in line with the proposed syntactic analysis of the dialect construction. The topic and focus phrases are however not presented in the analysis above.

Presumably *som* cannot be spelled out when immediately preceding an empty subject copy, whereas it may be spelled out when the subject pronoun *han*, 'he' is spelled out as well, see example (13) below. Note that (13a) is neither accepted in standard Swedish nor in the dialect, whereas (13b) is accepted in standard Swedish, though it is to some extent a marked construction.

(13) a. * Där kommer Kalle$_i$ som du ju vet var som e_i bor.
there comes Kalle who you mod.prt know where SOM lives
'There comes Kalle, who you know where he lives, right?'

b. Där kommer Kalle$_i$ som du ju vet var som han$_i$
there comes Kalle who you mod.prt know where SOM he
bor.
lives
'There comes Kalle, who you know where he lives, right?'

The unexpected subject gap in the dialectal construction appears at the left periphery or the upper layer of the clause structure. As is claimed, my base assumption is that we are dealing with a special type of Topic drop. Topic drop is usually defined as a drop of a weak element which heads an A-bar-chain in [Spec,CP]. Hence, [Spec,CP] is not pronounced in a Topic drop construction. According to Mörnsjö (2002) the subject is fronted (see below), and deletion takes place at PF under recoverability. Mörnsjö (2002) suggests the same analysis in connection with fronted and deleted Frame Topics.

Independent arguments in favor of a Spurious Topic drop analysis would be, for instance, that a *wh*-adverb is situated higher in the structure in the dialect than in standard Swedish. Example (14a), corresponding to the standard Swedish construction in (14b), is marked as "a bit strange but possible" (?) by 9 of the 10 interviewees asked to judge the grammatical correctness of the construction (in the third schematic inquiry). The fact that the construction in (14a) is not directly ruled out can possibly be taken as an argument in favor of the proposed analysis. In this case, the *wh*-word is posited in the lower [Spec,CP] in standard Swedish (according to Platzack 2011b), and the reverse word order in the dialect is acceptable due to the fact that the *wh*-word is posited in the higher [Spec,CP] in the dialect.

(14) a. * Jag känner till platsen var där som han bor. **= Dialect OK**
I know of place.def where there SOM he lives
'I know the place where he lives.'

b. Jag känner till platsen där var som han bor.
I know of place.def there where SOM he lives
'I know the place where he lives.'

With the structural analysis proposed above, we turn to crucial restrictions for the gap in the dialect construction to appear, which results in a request for a more elaborated proposal.

5 Restrictions regarding the dialect construction

In the dialectal variant of Swedish under discussion, one finds restrictions on different levels regarding the presence of a subject gap in embedded clauses. In this section I will present and discuss some additional restrictions regarding when, how, and where a gap is allowed.

In the relevant construction, the indirect *wh*-clause is the complement of a main verb; this verb may in turn appear inside a main clause or a subordinated clause. It seems as though only a verb category taking an EXPERIENCER as its subject/first argument allows a *wh*-clause complement in the relevant construction. As shown by Engdahl (1986), a group of non-mental verbs also take interrogative arguments, e.g. *avgöra* 'decide', *bero på* 'depend on and *påverka* 'have impact on', together with a category of adjectives like *viktigt*, 'important'. In the empirical material no such matrix verbs are included, but one could assume that the dialect speakers would accept a construction like (15) below, whereas the construction is considered grammatically incorrect by speakers of standard Swedish.

(15) * Det nya biblioteket måste vi avgöra var *e* ska ligga.
the new library must we decide where should situated
'The new library, we must decide where it should be situated.'

As we have seen, the dialect only allows a subject gap if the complement of the matrix clause is a *wh*-clause; subject gaps in *att*- 'that' and *om*-clauses 'if' are ruled out, although they are allowed in Danish or Norwegian. The fact that a gap is not under any circumstances allowed in the dialect when the subordinated clause is introduced by *att* 'that' was taken as an argument in favor of the dialectal construction not being directly related to the *that*-trace effect.

Furthermore, the results from the first inquiry showed a tendency for subject gaps with locative *wh*-words, but also examples like (16) were considered grammatically correct by the vast majority of the informants (35 out of 36).

(16) * Jag steg av vid en station som jag har glömt vad *e* heter.
I got off by a station that I have forgotten what called
'I got off at a station that that I have forgotten the name of'

In the second, interview-based inquiry a majority of the informants (9 out of 10) without doubt accepted constructions like (17).

(17) * Bussen vet jag inte när *e* kommer.
bus.def know I not when comes
'I don't know when the bus arrives.'

It thus seems that the introducing complementizer affects the possibility of a subject gap: in constructions introduced by *att* 'that' and *om* 'if', neither standard Swedish nor the dialect allows a subject gap. In clauses introduced by a *wh*-word, however, the dialect allows a subject gap. The pattern is clear in this respect and needs to be commented upon. In the construction under discussion, the subordinated clause is an obligatory element of the clause, constituting the direct object of a superordinate verb. Subordinated clauses constituting direct objects can be introduced by *att* 'that' and *om* 'if' as well as by *wh*-words in Swedish. The difference between the accepted and non-accepted categories is hence a question of interrogation: only subordinated clauses introduced by pure interrogative adverbials allow a non-explicit resumptive pronoun/subject, whereas subjuncts like *att* 'that' and *om* 'if' do not. In order to account for this fact in the syntactic analysis, the feature bundle [±interrogative] is added in the higher [Spec,CP], distinguishing between the accepted and the non-accepted dialectal clause construction.

Turning to the lexicon, the predicate of the subordinated clause must be either a STATE-verb (*bo* 'live'), a verb reminding of a light verb (*bruka* 'use to', *komma* 'come', *gå* 'go', *ligga* 'lay', *sitta* 'sit'), or a copula verb type (*vara* 'be', *bli* 'become', *heta* 'be named', *kallas* 'be called'). The light verbs and the copula verbs here function as STATE verbs. Transitive verbs seemingly never appear in the embedded clause, and the subject in the embedded clause is never an AGENT but rather a PATIENT or a THEME or sometimes an EXPERIENCER (Baker 1997). Note that these are all internally merged elements. The situation is illustrated in

example (18), where (18b) is neither well-formed in standard Swedish nor is considered grammatically correct in the dialect (0 out of 36). The incorrectness is probably due to the AGENT θ-role of *springa* 'run'.

(18) a. * Kalle$_i$ vet jag var e_i bor. **= Dialect OK**
Kalle know I where lives
'I know where Kalle lives.'

b. * Kalle$_i$ vet jag var e_i springer. **= Not OK in dialect**
Kalle know I where runs
Intended: 'I know where Kalle runs.'

c. * Kalle$_i$ vet jag var e_i brukar springa. **= Dialect OK**
Kalle know I where use-to run
'I know where Kalle usually runs.'

d. * Kalle$_i$ vet jag var har e_i sprungit. **= Not OK in dialect**
Kalle know I where have run
Intended: 'I know where Kalle has been running.'

On the other hand, *springa* 'run' is the main verb of the subordinated clause in (18c) as well, but example (18c) is still considered grammatical by all informants (36 out of 36). This needs to be commented upon, since the situation indicates that the auxiliary verb rather than the main verb assigns a θ-role to the subject, which is not at all expected. According to Wurmbrand (1999), however, modal verbs have a θ-role of their own, which would explain why (18c) but not (18d) is considered grammatical. According to the informants answering the first following-up inquiry scheme, constructions in the supine, like example (18d), were considered grammatically incorrect (10 out of 10). The auxiliary in this case does not assign a θ-role to the subject. Consequently, the presence of an auxiliary of a special kind "modifes" the agentivity of a verb. It should be obvious that the auxiliary has some kind of impact on the verb construction, since its presence suddenly allows an AGENT-verb like *springa* 'run' to be used in the dialectal construction. The phenomenon can be considered an example of coercion, via which process AGENT-verbs receive a more or less habitual reading.

As a consequence, a similar reasoning is valid for EXPERIENCER-verbs like *se* 'see', or *höra* 'hear'. According to several informants (35 out of 36), examples with EXPERIENCER verbs *se* 'see' and *höra* 'hear' are ruled out, whereas the remaining informant (1 out of 36) claims that he presumably would consider the

construction “OK” if he would hear anyone else use it, but also that he would not use these verbs himself in such a construction.

Both *se* ‘see’ and *höra* ‘hear’ are transitive verbs, which we have previously stated cannot function as the main verb of the subordinated clause with a subject gap. However, the interesting point is *not* that most informants (35 out of 36, as pointed out above) do not accept these verbs in their pure transitive use (as in **Lotta vet du ju var hör olika ljud*, ‘You know where Lotta hears differens sounds’), but rather that just as many informants (35 out of 36, however not the same individuals) accept the same verbs with an auxiliary, as in the examples in (19):

(19) a. * Lotta$_i$ vet du ju var e_i brukar
Lotta know you mod.prt where uses
höra olika ljud. **= Dialect OK**
hear different sounds
‘You know where Lotta usually hears different sounds, right?’

b. * Linda$_i$ vet du ju var e_i brukar
Linda know you mod.prt where uses
se på tv. **= Dialect OK**
watch on tv
‘You know where Linda usually watches tv, right?’

Neither Wurmbrand’s hypothesis (1999) with auxiliaries assigning θ-roles nor the AGENT-hypothesis (UTAH, see Baker 1988, 1997) however captures or explains the pattern in the dialect. Consequently, the solution is to be sought somewhere else, and seemingly this is a question of (the presence of) habituals, here obtained by coercion. When the expressed event is a habit, the construction with the omitted subject is more likely to accepted. I have not tested for this specifically in neither of the three schedules, but according to the eight dialect speakers I have been in touch with, the examples in (20) is perfectly fine in the dialect whereas it is not grammatically correct in standard Swedish.

(20) a. * Kalle$_i$ vet jag var e_i kommer ifrån. **= Dialect OK**
Kalle know I where comes from
‘I know where Kalle comes from.’

b. * Lotta vet du ju var äter sin frukost. **= Dialect OK**
Lotta know you mod.prt where eats her breakfast
‘You know where Lotta eats her breakfast.’

This can be taken as an argument in favor of habituality being an important perspective when discussing the dialect construction, hence a predication expressed by STATIVES seemingly is the most important issue. The presence of an habitual reading also explains the difference in acceptance regarding auxiliaries like tense auxiliaries, on the one hand, an modal auxiliaries, on the other, where the former category is not accepted in the dialect under investigation, whereas the latter is. This was illustrated in example (18). The habitual reading is obvious also in example (20b), and it furthermore explains the difference in acceptability between the verb *komma* 'come' and *komma ifrån* 'comes from (20a), where the adverbial also changes the predicate status.

According to UTAH (see Baker 1997), the subject of an EXPERIENCER verbs is base generated in Spec,VP, cf. the subject of an AGENT verb, base generated in Spec,*v*P. The same change in acceptability as regarding the AGENT-verbs, however, is at hand when adding the auxiliary *bruka* 'use to': all informants (36 out of 36) consider the construction *bruka* 'use to' combined with an EXPERIENCER-verb fully acceptable. Again, the adding of a deontic auxiliary affects the judgment of the informants — with the auxiliary present, also EXPERIENCER-verbs are considered well-formed. This is in line with the analysis in Platzack (2011a), where the EXPERIENCER-role is considered to be syntactically realized in the same place as the subject role of *springa* 'run', namely in the Specifier of a Root phrase. The crucial point here is that *brukar* 'use to' per se turns the situation into habitual, which in the present case actually rules out the discussion on changing theta-roles.

The pattern is clear in the dialect construction: if a gap/an omitted subject should be allowed, the processes must be STATIVES or eventives with an habitual reading as a result of coercion.

Taking into account the syntactic and semantic restrictions on the dialect construction where the subject is omitted in certain interrogative subordinated clauses, the analysis is modified and more elaborated in below. The [±interrogative] in [C^0] allows only *wh*-adverbials introducing subordinated clauses, which means that *att*-clauses 'that'-clauses, are prevented from entering into the structure.

(21) $\ldots[_{CP}$ Q (= [±interrogative]) $_{C^0}$ (som) $[_{CP}$ han $[_{TP}$ ~~han~~ $[_{vP}$ ~~han~~ bor]]]]

In addition, there is a question about information structure that is to be taken into account here as well. If the dialect construction clauses are to be considered thetic,

which some properties indicate, the analysis must be modified to some extent, since thetic clauses do not have topics (cf Rosengren 1997, Sasse 1987). Furthermore, it is unclear whether questions and embedded questions have topic. With added empirical data, the structural analysis proposed hence presumably can be developed further and perhaps also modified.

6 Some concluding remarks

In this article I have proposed a syntactic analysis of a dialectal construction systematically displaying deletion of the subject in some interrogative subordinated clauses, found in spoken south-west Swedish. The empirical data is based on inquiries of a total of 36 speakers of the dialect, and some following up-inquiries. In addition, 10 interviews were carried out. The empirical data display clear patterns.

The deletion appears in certain interrogative subordinated clauses and relative clauses, where standard Swedish requires a resumptive pronoun, which hence can be left out in the dialectal clause construction. Based on a Split CP analysis, I have claimed that the difference between standard Swedish and the dialect is that in the former case [Spec,TP] must be phonetically realized, whereas this is not obligatory in the latter case. As a result, a subject gap can appear. A gap is possible only when the predicate/situation is expressed by a STATIVE predication, or an habitual reading is received by means of coercion. Furthermore, the dialect clause construction is possible only in subordinate clauses introduced by an interrogative *wh*-adverbial.

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Controlling for Movement: Reply to Wood 2012*

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Abstract

In a recent squib, Wood 2012 provides an argument against the Movement Theory of Control, which treats Control as A-movement, similar to Raising. His argument is based on Control configurations in Icelandic object-extraposition constructions for which no movement derivation can be plausibly assumed. I contest Wood's claim that Control in such cases furnishes an argument against the MTC and show that a proper analysis of 'object extraposition' does not support this argument.

1 Introduction

In a recent squib, Wood 2012 provides an argument against the Movement Theory of Control (MTC; see Boeckx et al. 2010 and references therein), which treats Control as A-movement, similar to Raising. His argument is based on Control configurations in Icelandic for which no movement derivation can be plausibly assumed. Wood focuses on 'object extraposition' (O-Ex, (1a)), first extensively discussed by Thráinsson (1979, 211), which precludes extraction from the 'extraposed' clause in the presence of the pronoun *það* (1b).

(1) a. Þeir ákváðu (það) að PRO heimsækja Ólaf.
they:NOM decided it:ACC to visit Olaf.ACC
'They decided to visit Olaf.'

b. *Ólaf$_i$ ákváðu þeir það að PRO heimsækja t_i.
Olaf:ACC decided they:NOM it:ACC to visit
'Olaf, they decided to visit.'

Wood shows that neither A- nor A-bar movement from 'extraposed' clauses of this kind is possible, and that the relevant construal is not one of Non-obligatory Control (in which case it would fall outside the scope of the MTC). I take both of these facts to be established by

*Thanks to Jim Wood and Halldór Sigurðsson for helpful comments and discussion. Icelandic data were contributed by Jóhannes Gísli Jónsson and Halldór Sigurðsson. All errors and misrepresentations are my own. Since the completion of this manuscript two reply papers to Wood 2012 have appeared (Drummond and Hornstein in press; Wood 2014), neither of which could be incorporated into the present paper.

Wood and will not dispute them here. What I contest is Wood's claim that Control in O-Ex furnishes an argument against the MTC. For him, the impossibility of extraction witnessed in (1b) entails the impossibility of Raising of *þeir* in (1a). I will show that a proper analysis of 'object extraposition' does not support this argument.

2 What is 'object extraposition'?

The problem for Wood's claim comes with the proper analysis of O-Ex as in (1a). O-Ex differs from regular extraposition in that what would otherwise be the clause-internal θ-position of the 'extraposed' clause is occupied by a pronoun.

Wood notes that *það* in O-Ex shows rather clear-cut indications of being thematic and referential rather than expletive, hence an argument (cf. Vikner 1995, 224ff., Thráinsson 2007, 365ff.; also Bennis 1986, ch. 2 for parallel arguments based on Dutch). One such indication is that it receives θ-dependent quirky case.

(2) Þeir frestuðu (því) að PRO hálshöggva fangana.
they:NOM postponed it:DAT to execute the prisoners:ACC
'They postponed executing the prisoners.'

If object *það* is thematic, it receives the verb's θ-role, and additional assignment of the same θ-role to the 'extraposed' clause would occur in violation of the Theta Criterion (Chomsky 1981).[1] This in turn suggests that whenever thematic *það* is present, an associated object clause clause is in fact extra-sentential; that is, it is right-dislocated, not extraposed.[2] This is illustrated in the following, where HC stands for 'host clause' and CP is *það*'s extra-sentential associate.

(3) $[_{\text{HC}} \ldots$ *það*$_i \ldots]$ CP$_i$

On this view, to be refined below, HC and CP are paratactically arranged clauses linked by cataphoric *það*, now taken to be a free pronoun.

One indication that this is indeed the correct analysis is the fact that the 'extraposed' clause in O-Ex can (but need not be) separated from the host clause by a prosodic break. This optional intonational isolation, corresponding to the clause boundary in (3), is typical for Right-dislocation (cf. Ott and de Vries 2013).

Furthermore, two key facts cited by Wood follow straightforwardly from this analysis. If the 'extraposed' clause is paratactically separated from the host clause as per (3), no move-

[1] What is at issue here is the prohibition against assignment of one θ-role to several XPs. The MTC denies the validity of the other part of the Theta Criterion, which prohibits assignment of multiple θ-roles to a single XP. The two clauses of the Theta Criterion are logically unrelated.

[2] I use the term 'right-dislocated' here in the sense of Ott and de Vries 2013, 2014 (see below), which covers more than just what is sometimes refered to as 'backgrounding;' see footnote 4.

ment dependency could straddle the two clauses.[3] This was illustrated in (1b) above (see also Thráinsson 2007, 367); Ott and de Vries 2013, 2014 show that right-dislocated constituents of any category are strong islands for extraction. By contrast, as shown by Wood, regular extraposition without *það* does not bleed extraction in this way:

(4) Ólaf$_i$ ákváðu þeir að PRO heimsækja t_i.
Olaf:ACC decided they:NOM to visit
'Olaf, they decided to visit.'

The same asymmetry obtains in Dutch and German (Bennis 1986; Webelhuth 1992) and follows straightforwardly from an analysis that takes the right-peripheral object clause in (1b) to be an extra-sentential associate rather than an argument of the host-internal predicate, unlike the extraposed object clause in (4).

It also follows straightforwardly from the analysis in (3) that *það* cannot occur with raising/'aspectual' infinitives, as noted by Wood:

(5) a. Hún$_i$ virðist (*það) t_i elska Svein.
she:NOM appeared it:ACC love Sveinn:ACC
'She appeared to love Sveinn.'

b. Haraldur byrjaði (*það) að senda henni bréf.
Harold:NOM began it:ACC to send her:DAT letters:ACC
'Harold began to send her letters.'

If, as I propose, the 'extraposed' clause is extra-sentential in the presence of *það*, the unacceptability of the examples in (5) simply reflects the fact (illustrated in (6)) that the host clause in each case is not a well-formed clause by itself.

(6) a. *Hún$_i$ virðist það.
she:NOM appeared it:ACC

[3] A skeptic of the Right-dislocation analysis of O-Ex might object that this result follows equally from an approach that takes *það* and the object clause to form a constituent in the base, either as a D–CP combination (a possibility mentioned by Wood) or some kind of N–modifier construction (as argued by Thráinsson 1979, 222). The island status of this base constituent would then fall under the Complex-NP Constraint. It is not clear that such an approach is plausible, however: given that *það* cataphorically links to the 'extraposed' clause, the relation between the two elements is quite different from that between a noun and an uncontroversial complement or modifying adjunct clause. On the other hand, Thráinsson (1979, 219f.) does provide some evidence that *það* and its associated clause form a constituent (the *það*–CP combination can enter into various movement relations). Two remarks are in order here.

First, given that the relation between *það* and its clausal associate is unlikely to be one of complementation or modification, it is most plausibly taken to be one of apposition, in which case the appositive clause may be derived in the way suggested below but interpolated linearly into the host clause; see Ott 2014 for a parallel analysis of right-dislocated and appositive XPs in these terms (*modulo* linear position).

Second, note that the existence of *það*–CP base constituents, even if feasible, would not rule out that the cases under discussion here are derivationally ambiguous (cf. Thráinsson 1979, 217, 222); the argument given below holds as long as the Right-dislocation parse is available. That it indeed is available is brought out by the parallel fragment responses mentioned below, where the relation between *það* and CP must plainly be discourse-anaphoric.

b. *Haraldur byrjaði það.
Harold:NOM began it:ACC

3 What is Right-dislocation?

If O-Ex is a case of Right-dislocation (RD), we need to ask what the proper analysis of RD is. It turns out that the simple representation in (3) is insufficient to account for cases like the following:

(7) a. Allir$_i$ ákváðu það að heimsækja föður sinn$_i$.
everyone decided it to visit father his
'Everyone$_i$ decided it, to visit his$_i$ father.'

b. *Hann$_i$ ákvað það að heimsækja föður Jóns$_i$.
he decided it to visit John's father
'He$_i$ decided it, to visit John's$_i$ father.'

Such cases are at variance with the extra-sentential status of 'extraposed' object clauses assumed in (3): in (7a) the host-internal QP can bind the pronoun inside the right-dislocated clause; in (7b), coreference of the host's pronominal subject and the R-expression within the right-peripheral clause incurs a Condition C effect. If we simply take the peripheral clause in O-Ex to be a 'free-floating' supplement, such connectivity effects remain mysterious. If, on the other hand, we postulate a host-internal base position for the 'extraposed' clause, we sacrifice the straightforward explanations of basic properties of O-Ex pointed out in section 2.

As extensively shown by Ott and de Vries (2013, 2014), this tension is found with RD in general. Right-dislocated constituents are extra-sentential 'add-ons' that consistently show connectivity into their host clause. To resolve this paradox, Ott and de Vries (2013, 2014) argue that RD[4] is generally biclausal, the right-dislocated XP a remnant of deletion under identity with the host clause. The analysis is illustrated below (example from Thráinsson 2007, 367).

(8) a. Ég þekki hana ekkert, Maríu.
I know her:ACC nothing Mary:ACC
'I don't know her at all, Mary (that is).'

b. [$_{CP_1}$ ég þekki hana$_i$ ekkert] [$_{CP_2}$ *Maríu$_i$* ~~[þekki ég *t* ekkert]~~]

The core intuition of the analysis is that right-dislocated constituents are surface fragments of an underlying 'reformulation' of the host clause. This parallelism of the two clauses, required by identity conditions on clausal ellipsis (see Merchant 2001, 2004, a.o.), is what explains clause-internal properties of the clause-external 'dislocated' XP (such as accusative case of *Maríu* in (8a); compare Thráinsson 1979, 71). See Ott and de Vries 2013, 2014 for a detailed defense of

[4]Ott and de Vries take RD to be a cover term for both 'backgrounding' and 'afterthought' varieties of RD, in which the right-peripheral XP is given and focused, respectively. They show that despite information-structural differences, the constructions share core syntactic properties.

this approach.

The analysis extends straightforwardly to right-dislocated clauses as in (1a), as in fact argued by Ott and de Vries. Adopting their approach, the underlying representation of (1a) is given in simplified form in (9a); PF-deletion in CP_2 (fed by fronting of the object clause, as per Merchant 2004[5]) yields the surface O-Ex pattern (9b).

(9) a. [$_{CP_1}$ Þeir ákváðu það] [$_{CP_2}$ [að heimsækja Ólaf]$_i$ [Þeir ákváðu t_i]]]
they decided it to visit Olaf they decided

b. [$_{CP_1}$ Þeir ákváðu það] [$_{CP_2}$ [að heimsækja Ólaf]$_i$ ~~[Þeir ákváðu t_i]~~]]
they decided it to visit Olaf

On this approach, then, *það* can be straightforwardly analyzed as a full thematic argument, in full compliance with the Theta Criterion: each *það* and the right-dislocated object clause are θ-marked 'in parallel' within their respective clauses; the relation between the two, like in (3), is discursive (coreference). Both the possibility of a prosodic break between the two clauses and the strict opacity for extraction of the right-dislocated object clause follow straightforwardly, as before. Independent unacceptability of either host or fragment clause confers unacceptability to the entire construction; this was shown above to explain the deviance of the examples in (5).

While the analysis may seem somewhat cumbersome at first glance, it is important to note that its 'component structures' are independently given. The derivation of the right-dislocated clause in (9b) is exactly analogous to that of A's rejoinder in the following dialogue, assuming Merchant's (2004) PF-deletion analysis of fragments.

(10) A: Þeir ákváðu það.
they decided it
'They decided it.'

B: *What (did they decide)?*

A: Að heimsækja Ólaf (= [$_{CP}$ [að heimsækja Ólaf]$_i$ ~~[Þeir ákváðu t_i]~~]])
to visit Olaf
'To visit Olaf.'

Given this independent justification, there is no reason to assume that O-Ex could not be assigned a structural description as shown above.

Importantly now, amending the representation of RD as first approximated in (3) in the way proposed by Ott and de Vries allows us to capture the *prima facie* problematic examples in (7) as well. To see this, consider the underlying representation of (7a), repeated in (11), before (12a) and after deletion (12b).

(11) Allir$_i$ ákváðu það að heimsækja föður sinn$_i$.
everyone decided it to visit father his

[5]This is, in fact, not a necessary ingredient of the analysis, but one I adopt here for convenience. If deletion, like deaccenting, can target non-constituents, movement may not be necessary (but see Merchant 2004 for various arguments in favor of movement feeding deletion).

'Everyone$_i$ decided it, to visit his$_i$ father.'

(12) a. [$_{CP_1}$ allir$_i$ ákváðu það] [$_{CP_2}$ [að heimsækja föður sinn$_i$]$_k$ [allir$_i$ ákváðu t_k]]
all decided it to visit father his all decided

b. [$_{CP_1}$ allir$_i$ ákváðu það] [$_{CP_2}$ [að heimsækja föður sinn$_i$]$_k$ ~~[allir$_i$ ákváðu t_k]~~]
all decided it to visit father his

CP_2 being underlyingly parallel to CP_1, the possessive pronoun *sinn* is bound by the universal subject in the same clause, 'swallowed' by deletion under identity. *Mutatis mutandis* for (7b), where the underlying representation of CP_2 contains the 'offending' coindexed R-expression, yielding the Condition C effect without actual reconstruction of the right-dislocated clause into the host clause.

Again, and crucially, for each case there is a corresponding discourse fragment: A's rejoinder in (13)/(14) is derivationally equivalent to CP_2 in (12b)/(7b).

(13) A: Allir$_i$ ákváðu það.
everyone decided it
B: *What (did everyone decide)?*
A: Að heimsækja föður sinn$_i$.
to visit his father

(14) A: Hann$_i$ ákvað það.
he decided it
B: *What (did he decide)?*
A: *Að heimsækja föður Jóns$_i$.
to visit father John's

As before, this shows that the expressions used to compose the O-Ex surface pattern are generated independently.

4 MTC and O-Ex—*quo vadis*?

The deletion analysis of RD accounts for the core properties of O-Ex in a principled fashion. It does so by taking seriously Thráinsson's (1979) arguments for *það*'s argumental status and analyzing the 'extraposed' clause as the surface fragment of an elliptical 'reformulation' of the host clause (akin to a fragment response).

Crucially, this conclusion undermines Wood's argument against the MTC: representations such as (9b) and (12b) are compatible with either analysis of Control (construal or movement). To illustrate, the RD analysis of the baseline case in (1a) permits both representations in (15) and (16), respectively identifying the covert subject of the elliptical CP_2 as PRO or as the trace of the overt subject raised into the elided domain of the clause.[6]

[6]The only way to block (16) would be to rule out remnant movement *in toto*, but this would be a rather extreme response requiring substantial empirical and/or conceptual justification. Furthermore, as pointed out in footnote 5, movement of the remnant prior to deletion is not an essential ingredient of the analysis.

(15) $[_{CP_1}$ þeir ákváðu það$_j$] $[_{CP_2}$ $[_{CP}$ að PRO_k heimsækja Ólaf]$_i$ ~~[ákváðu þeir$_k$ t_i]~~]$_j$
they decided it to visit Olaf

(16) $[_{CP_1}$ þeir ákváðu það$_j$] $[_{CP_2}$ $[_{CP}$ að t_k heimsækja Ólaf]$_i$ ~~[ákváðu þeir$_k$ t_i]~~]$_j$
they decided it to visit Olaf

In short, Wood's argument is invalidated by a proper analysis of O-Ex. O-Ex being an instance of RD, the 'extraposed' clause is not in fact part of the sentential domain of the *það*-clause but a fragment of an underlyingly parallel clause. This reintroduces the possibility of a movement derivation, making O-Ex compatible with the MTC. Note that none of this provides any empirical support *for* the MTC; all I have shown here is that O-Ex, just like clausal fragments in cases like (10), is impartial to the proper analysis of Control.

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About pronouns*

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Abstract

This essay claims that pronouns are constructed as syntactic relations rather than as discrete feature bundles or items. The discussion is set within minimalist Context-linked Grammar, where phases contain silent but active edge features, edge linkers, including speaker and hearer features. An NP is phi-computed in relation to these linkers, the so established relation being input to context scanning (yielding reference). Essentially, syntax must see to it that event participant roles link to speech act roles, by context linking. Edge linkers are syntactic features–not operators–and can be shifted, as in indexical shift and other Kaplanian monster phenomena, commonly under control. The essay also develops a new analysis of inclusiveness and of the different status of different phi-features in grammar. The approach pursued differs from Distributed Morphology in drawing a sharp line between (internal) syntax and (PF) externalization, syntax constructing relations–the externalization process building and expressing items.

1 Introduction

Indexical or deictic items include personal pronouns (*I*, *you*, *she*, etc.), demonstrative pronouns (*this*, *that*, etc.), and certain local and temporal adverbials and adjectives (*here*, *now*, *presently*, etc.). In the influential Kaplanian approach (Kaplan 1989), indexicals are assumed to have a fixed reference in a fixed context of a specific speech act or speech event. Schlenker (2003:29) refers to this leading idea as the *fixity thesis*, stating it as follows:

* Many thanks to Anders Holmberg, Jim Wood, Terje Lohndal, and Wolfram Hinzen for valuable discussions and comments. This paper was written in 2012. In the meanwhile, some of the ideas, issues and problems addressed here have been further discussed and analyzed in Sigurðsson 2014 (which also partly overlaps in content with the present paper).

> *Fixity Thesis* (a corollary of Direct Reference): The semantic value of an indexical is fixed solely by the context of the actual speech act, and cannot be affected by any logical operators.

Operators that would shift the value of an indexical within a specific speech act have come to be known as *Kaplanian monsters*. According to Israel and Perry (1996), they are logically coherent, but Kaplan nevertheless claimed that they are nonexistent in natural languages. This claim is sometimes referred to as the *prohibition against monsters* (see Schlenker 2012). As we will see, it has been proven mistaken in recent years. That is, certain natural language contexts do allow "monstrous" shifts.[1] For the moment, however, I put this aside, focusing instead on the regular types of contexts where the fixity thesis seems to make correct predictions. Two such contexts are given in (1).

(1) a. [Mary:] **I** bought a book.
b. [John:] Yes, and **I** bought a pen.

In the context of Mary's speech act in (1a), the pronoun *I* has a fixed value and in the distinct context of John's response in (1b) it also has a fixed value, but that value is distinct from its value in the first context. Each context assigns a unique value to "one and the same" word, namely the value "the speaker of this clause." Accordingly, the variable or shifting reference of a pronoun like *I*, in regular contexts such as the ones in (1), is standardly assumed to be unproblematic in the semantic literature (Perry 1997, Schlenker 2003, inter alia). The consensus is roughly: Fix the context and then everything is fixed.

However, from a formal syntactic point of view, this is a major problem, commonly swept under the carpet or not noticed at all. Consider this in the context of Chomsky's approach to the syntactic derivation (see, e.g., Chomsky 2001:11ff), where each derivation starts out as an array of lexical items, to be merged and computed in relation to each other as the derivation proceeds. Nothing in the putative lexical array of e.g. (1a), *{ ... I, buy, book, ...}*, gives any clue or instructions that the item *I* is going to refer to the speaker of the clause, rather than to some other actor (nor does anything in the subsequent derivation, on standard assumptions).

The Fixity Thesis addresses the "speech act part" of this problem, but it does not address the syntactic or structural part of it. That is, it ignores the fact

[1] However, as we will see, these shifts involve syntactic features and not semantic operators. In a sense, thus, Kaplan was right.

that the pronoun *I* does not only refer to the speaker of a clause; it also refers to an event participant (or, if one likes, a θ-role). That is, *I* in e.g. (1a) denotes a BUYER in a buying event as well as the person who happens to be telling the hearer about this event. Somehow, grammar must be able to link the BUYER to the speaker. Call this *participant linking*. As stated in (2), participant linking is a property of indexical pronouns.

(2) Participant linking: Indexical pronouns link and conflate event participants and speech act participants

In other and more traditional terms: an indexical pronoun has not only clause-external *reference*; it also carries or fulfills a clause-internal *role*–and linking reference and role is obviously the job of grammar. As we will see, participant linking is an instantiation of *context linking*, an omnipresent property of natural language.

Not taking participant linking into account results in much the same incomplete understanding of pronouns as under the performative hypothesis (Ross 1970).[2] It basically leaves the speech act and the propositional content of the clause unlinked. That is, it analyzes (1a–b) as if these clauses had roughly the reading 'Hereby, I (the speaker) tell you (my hearer) that I existed/acted in some situation or state.' An additional "loop," granting that this *I* is necessarily the same actor as *x*, *x* a BUYER participant in a buying event, is lacking under both the fixity thesis and the performative hypothesis, and that applies to mainstream syntactic approaches as well (where the problem has not been generally discussed).[3] While semantics traditionally focuses on the speech act side of the coin, syntax has focused on the argument structure side. Both sides must instead be considered simultaneously. This is the challenge. Analyzing syntax without taking speech acts into account is not worthless nor is analyzing speech acts without considering syntactic structures. However, our goal, the real challenge, is to develop a unified analysis of syntactic structures and speech

[2] Even though the performative hypothesis did not resolve participant linking, it was partly on the right track, and it was a great loss to linguistics that John Ross did not further pursue his pioneering ideas. As has been widely discussed, the performative hypothesis also created an infinite regress problem by postulating a silent performative verb. Delfitto and Fiorin (2011:204, fn. 6) maintain that this problem is shared by the approaches in Sigurðsson 2004 and Bianchi 2006, but that is incorrect.

[3] This holds, regardless of how NPs are introduced into syntax (cf. Lohndal 2012, Wood 2012).

acts–and not to develop analyses that account separately for the two sides, regardless of how sophisticated such analyses may be in other respects.

Pronominal reference–the clause-external side of participant linking–is syntactically unbounded and insensitive to regular island constraints and intervention phenomena, as easily seen, for instance, in examples like (3).

(3) [Mary:] John said that the person **I** spoke to when **I** was on my way was …

The syntactic freedom of indexical pronouns might seem to suggest that participant linking is an extra-syntactic phenomenon. However, a non-syntactic view of indexicality is off the track. As the first person pronoun is not a regular lexical item but a variable, there must be something in the underlying representation of (3) that blocks it from being just a general open variable, free to be interpreted as *x* ('anybody', 'somebody', 'people in general', etc.).[4]

Pronominal reference or indexicality is a *strictly linguistic* phenomenon (i.e., linguistic in the broad sense, cf. Hauser et al. 2002). That is, setting event participant roles apart, a first or a second person singular indexical pronoun exclusively refers to a speech act role: that of a (conceived) speaker or a (conceived) hearer in a particular speech act. Obviously, in the canonical case, there will be some person, say Noam Chomsky, who carries the role in question and may thus be addressed as *you* or talk of himself as *I*, but *you* and *I* cannot be used to refer to Chomsky, only to the roles he may happen to carry in some particular speech act or speech event.

This may seem trivially obvious, but it is not. It means, contrary to common assumptions, that pronouns like *I* and *you* are not indexical in relation to individuals in the external "real" world but only in relation to language contained speech act roles. In other words, the "speaker" and the "hearer" are arguably *syntactic features*.[5] Importantly, they are *not* logical or semantic operators in the sense of Kaplan (and his critics); that is, they do not operate on predications or scope over contexts or open sets, instead targeting individual syntactic elements, like ordinary syntactic probes. I will return to this issue in section 2.

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[4] Such readings are actually prominent in bound variable contexts, discussed in section 4. Such contexts illustrate that it is slightly misleading to talk about pronouns as variables. Instead, they are expressions of syntactic relations that can be variably set (and the principles governing this variable setting preclude an open variable reading in (3)).

[5] As the speaker and hearer features feed PF insertion of spelled-out pronouns, they cannot be "semantic" in an extra-syntactic sense (given the minimalist single cycle approach, see e.g. Chomsky 2008).

The evidence in favor of the syntactic approach to pronouns pursued here comes, above all, from the following phenomena:

- Person computation
- Computational parallelisms between Person and Tense
- Indexical shift
- Bound variable readings
- Inclusiveness

I will discuss these phenomena in the following sections: Person computation and participant linking in section 2, indexical shift and Person/Tense parallels in section 3, bound variable readings in section 4, Number and inclusiveness in section 5, turning to pronominal gender in section 6 (arguing that it is added by PF agreement in the post-syntactic derivation). The discussion is set within the framework of a minimalist *Context-linked Grammar* (CLG), so I will start out, in section 2, by briefly introducing the basic assumptions and components of this approach (that is, those assumptions and components that are not shared with mainstream minimalism as developed by Noam Chomsky in the 21st century). However, before I embark on this journey, let me restate what I just said–it is important that we try to understand this: Pronouns are exclusively and strictly linguistic (in the broad sense). That is, they do not refer directly to entities outside of language, even not when "deictically used." They commonly do refer to (or "imply") language-external entities, but they do so *indirectly*, by means of intra-clausal computation (syntax) + context scanning (pragmatics).[6] As we will see, variation in the context scanning part of this equation yields indexical shift and bound variable effects.

Context linking of an argument, thus, is the result of two distinct but cooperating systems: Syntax, computing the syntactic values of an argument (most centrally its person value), and pragmatics, deciding the reference of the so computed values under context-scanning. The output of the syntactic computation is (naturally) input to context scanning (and to the interfaces).

Context-linked Grammar highlights a number of recalcitrant issues. Some of these issues will only be addressed in passing here, without a full treatment, and some of them will not be discussed at all. This does not worry me too much, though. The issues in question are not approach specific but general and true

[6] Reference in general (e.g. of the "Morning Star" and the "Evening Star") is only ever linguistic, made possible and mediated by the computational machinery of grammar (cf. the initial remarks in Sigurðsson 2011b). In other words, there is no such thing as "direct reference." However, this is a big issue that I must set aside here.

issues. Context-linked Grammar identifies these issues and puts them in the spotlight, but it does not create them–they must be acknowledged and addressed in any theory of language. The most fundamental of these issues, participant linking, is like gravity before the scientific revolution: It is generally just taken for granted and therefore not subject to serious study, the basic why- and how-questions of scientific inquiry. Understanding participant linking, and context linking in general, is a prerequisite for an advanced understanding of language, so I will discuss these phenomena in some detail.

2 Person computation and participant linking

Mainstream formal approaches to syntax (Chomsky 1995 and related work) distinguish sharply between clausal computation and the relationship between clauses and their context, presupposing that clauses can be meaningfully analyzed in isolation. There is indeed no question that many properties of clauses are context-independent. However, indexical items, including pronouns, prove that grammar is not only about clause-bounded computation but also about clause-context relations. I will here briefly sketch an approach–minimalist Context-linked Grammar–that accommodates this "bipolar" view of language. As we will see, it naturally accommodates participant linking.

The fundamental claim of CLG is that the left periphery of every phase, the phase edge, contains a bundle of silent but syntactically active linking features, *edge linkers*. For expository ease, I will here focus on subject NPs and the richest phase edge, the C-edge, briefly turning to lower phases and non-subject NPs at the end of this section. The C-edge minimally contains the C-edge linkers listed in (4).[7]

(4) a. Speaker and hearer categories; that is, the logophoric agent and the logophoric patient features, Λ_A and Λ_P.[8]
b. Fin(iteness) categories; that is, Speech Tense and Speech Location, T_S and L_S.[9]

[7] See previous work, including Sigurðsson 2004a, 2004b, 2011a, Sigurðsson and Maling 2012.
[8] "Speaker" and "hearer" are traditional notions. As will be discussed in section 5, they are misleading, but, for expository ease, I will be using them here along with the more pertinent "logophoric agent/patient."
[9] Cf. Rizzi and Shlonsky 2006:349: "[I]t appears that Fin can be either nominal or verbal."

c. Top(ic) categories, most centrally the Aboutness-Shift Topic (A-Topic) feature in Frascarelli 2007 and related work.

The T- and v-domains also split into atomic elements, so this view presupposes a richly split clausal structure; call it the *Richly Split Approach* to clausal structure, RSA.[10] However, if we allow ourselves the abstraction of lumping the C-edge linkers in (4) together as *CLn*, and, in the same fashion, to lump grammatical features such as Tense and Person as *GR*, and propositional content features as *CONT*(ent), the canonical clausal structure can be simply sketched as in (5), where the dots stand for potential lexical items; the curly brackets (here) indicate that a category is silent but syntactically active.

(5) $[_{CP}$ … {CLn} … $[_{TP}$ GR .... $[_{vP}$ CONT …]]]

Grammatical clause-internal computation values clause-internal elements (GR and CONT elements) in relation to the C-edge linkers, *CLn*. This is referred to as C/edge linking in Sigurðsson 2011a, but I will here opt for the term *C-edge computation*. Together, C-edge computation and *context scanning* yield *C-context linking*, as explicitly stated in (6).

(6) C-context linking = C-edge computation + context scanning

The propositional content of a clause canonically relates to some coordinates of actual time, location, and speaker/hearer (Bühler 1934), and these phenomena as such are obviously extra-linguistic or pragmatic, subject to context scanning. However, C-context linking is made possible by C-edge computation, where clause-internal elements (GR and CONT elements) are computed and valued in relation to the C-edge linkers (the outcome of this computation subsequently

[10] RSA, in turn, presupposes Head Unification. That is, unless separately active in the derivation, adjacent silent heads bundle up, thereby functioning as a single head (Sigurðsson 2010:165). Thus, as will be discussed in sections 4 and 5, EGO (or "self") features usually bundle up with the speaker/hearer features or, in certain less central cases, with Speech Tense, T_S. Needless to say, the present approach owes much to Rizzi (1997), Cinque (1999), Bianchi (2006), Frascarelli (2007) and other proponents of the cartography school (and also to the basically non-cartographic approach in Platzack 2001).

Many, perhaps most or even all abstract clausal head features are plausibly universal, even if their content is provided by the (universal) 3rd factor and incorporated into Narrow Syntax (I-syntax), rather than being stored in Universal Grammar as such (Sigurðsson 2011b, 2011c, 2012b). Externalization of syntactic head relations (overt Tense markings, etc.) is subject to variation, not discussed here.

interfacing with pragmatics by context scanning).[11] This is sketched in (7) (where Agree (or Match) is denoted by ↔ and where the slash simply denotes 'a relation').

(7) C-edge computation = CLn ↔ GR/CONT
(& GR/CONT = GR ↔ CONT)

For instance, as will be explicated shortly, a vP-internally generated subject NP (a CONT element), matches a grammatical Person feature (a GR element), the so established relation entering into an additional higher matching relation with CLn categories. In minimalist approaches, clausal computation is driven by Agree (in addition to Merge), a matching relation between a probe and a goal. Importantly, Agree (or Match) is not an identity relation but a valuing relation (pace Chomsky 2001:5). Successful clause-external context scanning, in contrast, yields an identity relation in a similar (although not identical) fashion as syntactic control.[12] I will thus refer to it as *contextual control*. I highlight this stance here:

- Agree is a *valuing relation*; that is, X is valued in relation to Y under Agree.
- Control (full or partial) is an *identity relation* (regardless of whether it is derived by movement). Syntactic control is more heavily constrained than contextual control, but both are referential identity relations.

For the C-edge, then, the general relation between clause-internal computation and contextual control can be sketched as in (8).[13]

[11] A detailed study of the pragmatic clause-external part of this is beyond the scope of this essay (there can be many potential "yous", "shes", etc., in a given context). Presumably, humans share (at least some non-linguistic) parts of pragmatic context scanning with other species, while the clause-internal grammatical computation is species-specific. These aspects of language are often confused and mixed, with bewildering consequences.

[12] See e.g. Holmberg 2005, Holmberg, Naydu, and Sheehan 2009 on clause-external control of pro in partial null subject languages.

[13] For technical reasons, the picture in (8) is slightly misleading. That is, what is valued in relation to CLn is not GR as such but the relation GR/CONT (that is, the outcome of the GR ↔ CONT Agree, cf. (7)). A parallel remark applies to the picture in (9).

(8) CONTEXT [$_{CP}$ {CLn} … [$_{TP}$ GR .... [$_{vP}$ CONT(ent) …]]]

Contextual control (identity); *Agree* (valuing); *Agree* (valuing)

Context-linked Grammar, as sketched in (8), enables a coherent analysis of the participant linking problem addressed in section 1. The crucial factor involved in participant linking is Person (Pn) computation, as illustrated in (9) (Λ_A-Λ_P are among the CLn features, as stated above, Pn is a GR element, and $NP_{\alpha Pn}$ is a CONT(ent) element).

(9) 'ACTOR' [$_{CP}$ … {Λ_A-Λ_P} ... [$_{TP}$ … Pn ... [$_{vP}$ ... $NP_{\alpha Pn}$ ...]]]

Contextual control (identity); *Agree* (valuing in relation to Λ); *Agree* (valuing in relation to Pn)

As indicated in (9), an NP enters syntax as a variable (see Kratzer 1998 on pronouns), and this variable is valued in relation to Person; the outcome of this Pn/$NP_{\alpha Pn}$ valuing relation, in turn, is valued in relation to the Λ-features at the phase edge (here the C-edge). This is sketched in (10) and (11) (where the arrow reads 'gets valued as').

(10) $NP_{\alpha Pn}$ → NP_{+Pn} or NP_{-Pn}

(11) a1. +Pn → $+\Lambda_A, -\Lambda_P$ = 1st person by computation
a2. +Pn → $-\Lambda_A, +\Lambda_P$ = 2nd person by computation
a3. +Pn → $-\Lambda_A, -\Lambda_P$ = 3rd person by computation
b. –Pn: = 3rd person by default ("no person")

NPs are first interpreted as being either 'personal' or 'non-personal' (NP_{+Pn} or NP_{-Pn}), 'personal' NPs in turn being assigned grammatical person under positive or negative matching of the edge linkers, Λ_A and Λ_P. Nonhuman and indefinite NPs are canonically –Pn and hence 3rd person by default ("no person"). Definite 3rd person arguments, in contrast, are canonically valued as +Pn, thus 3rd person by computation ("true person").[14]

[14] There seems to be a close correlation between definiteness/specificity and +Pn valuation. See Sigurðsson 2010 for a more general discussion of this rather opaque issue.

This yields much the same results as Distributed Morphology analyses of pronominal systems in terms of features like [±author], [±hearer], [±participant] (Noyer 1992 and much related work).[15] Importantly, however, edge linkers, including the logophoric features, are not lexical features; that is, they are not inherent parts of some particular items (overt or abstract). Pronouns are PF interpretations of a double matching *relation*: A low matching relation between a vP-internal NP variable and ϕ plus a higher secondary relation between the outcome of this low matching relation and the relevant edge linkers.[16] This general scheme was sketched in (7) and (8) above for subject NPs. On this approach, thus, an "argument" is a *set of relations* rather than a bundle of inherent features, the relations applying between $NP_{\alpha Phi}$ and ϕ, and between the outcome of this $\phi/NP_{\alpha Phi}$ valuing relation and the relevant edge linkers.[17]

(12) Argument = {edge linkers ↔ $\phi/NP_{\alpha Phi}$}
(& $\phi/NP_{\alpha Phi} = \phi \leftrightarrow NP_{\alpha Phi}$)

Importantly, edge linkers are syntactic features (probes) and *not* logical or semantic operators in the sense of Kaplan (and his critics). While linguistic operators operate on predications or scope over open sets, edge linkers are like other syntactic probes in that they target individual elements. However, it is the probe that values the NP goal, and not the other way around. Pronouns are "born" without ϕ-specifications ("ϕ-naked"), thus not having any ϕ-values which they could transmit or assign to their probes. Even so, it is not clear that it makes sense to assume some kind of primacy of probes over their goals.[18] A probe and a goal build a relation, and it is the relation and not its individual subparts that

[15] As argued by Bobaljik (2008a), pronominal Person systems can be successfully analyzed in terms of only two binary speaker and hearer features (here $\pm\Lambda_A$ and $\pm\Lambda_P$). However, additional Top(ic) features (cf. (4)) are required if we also want to account for the context linking of 3rd person pronouns (as in Sigurðsson 2011a).

[16] On Number and inclusiveness, see section 5. For our purposes, "ϕ" may be taken to denote syntactic Person and Number and sometimes also gender. On the latter, see section 6.

[17] Notice that the present approach is rather different from Distributed Morphology (see Embick and Noyer 2007) in that internal syntax does not operate on morphemes or items, instead building relations that get expressed as discrete items in the externalization component (Sigurðsson 2004b, 2011b, 2011c). Morphology interprets syntax but it is not equivalent with syntax – the derivation is definitely not "syntax all the way down".

[18] Even though any approach to clausal structure has to assume a look ahead or given engineering in the sense that clausal categories, including edge linkers, Voice, v, p, T, etc., are ordered in relation to each other in a "predestined" and a very restrictive way.

gets interpreted at the interfaces. Without such relation building, the derivation would yield uninterpretable debris.[19]

Being an identity relation, control does not reduce to Agree (pace Landau 2004, 2008). However, as we will see in section 3, control and Agree typically form chains or paths together. It may be technically possible to analyze exhaustive and obligatory syntactic control as derived by movement (Hornstein 1999 and related work), but contextual control or context scanning cannot be so analyzed. Edge linkers (or computed edge linker relations) in independent matrix clauses scan information under contextual control or context scanning, and it is unclear why this "information scanning capacity" should not be available under syntactic control as well. I assume that it is, and that we need to distinguish between control and movement, much as we must distinguish between control and Agree. A bottom to top derivational approach correctly forces us to assume context scanning (unless we are willing to assume that all anaphoric relations, temporal as well as nominal, contextual as well as intra-clausal, are derived by movement–yielding absurd results, it would seem).

Another central issue, alluded to above, regards ϕ-computation of more than one NP per clause. I adopt the general licensing approach in Kratzer 1996, Pylkkänen 2008 and much related work, where arguments are introduced and event licensed by specialized heads: agentive or active subjects by Voice/$_{AG}$, indirect objects by Appl, direct objects by v (or v-V), and prepositional objects by p (or p-P).[20] Plausibly, these licensers incorporate into phase heads, each phase having its own grammatical ϕ-categories (commonly PF silent) and its own edge linkers (yielding the relation in (12)). Thus, each NP is context linked under phase-internal computation (ϕ-computation) plus phase-external context scanning. In addition, co-clausal phase edges are head-head connected, by selection (or Agree, in the spirit of Landau 2004, 2008), suggesting (as in Chomsky 2001) that a phase cannot be transferred to the interfaces until at least the elements of the next phase up have been merged and matched by elements and relations of the lower phase.

Context linking, including participant linking, is a central property of language, missed by both Kaplan and his critics (and ignored in mainstream

[19] Recursion boils down to this: Elements merge in a relation that is input to (and "packed into") another relation with a higher element, which in turn is input to yet another higher relation, ad infinitum (pragmatic considerations apart).

[20] Event licensing is distinct from ϕ-licensing ("Abstract Case"), the latter driving regular A-movement. While agentive subject NPs are introduced and event licensed by Voice/$_{AG}$, definite subject NPs (nonagentive as well as agentive) are ϕ-licensed under C-edge computation. See Sigurðsson 2012a.

formal approaches to grammar). As we will see, the present understanding of context linking also offers solutions to a number of other much discussed issues, including indexical shift and bound variable readings.

3 Indexical shift

In the unmarked case, Λ_A and Λ_P are coreferential with the actual speaker and hearer of the utterance, respectively, as in (13):

(13) a. Mary said to John that she would help him.
= b. $[_{CP}$ ... $\{\Lambda_A\}_i$ ... $\{\Lambda_P\}_j$ ... $[_{TP}$ ... Marie_k ... John_l ... $[_{CP}$ ... $\{\Lambda_A\}_i$ ... $\{\Lambda_P\}_j$ ... $[_{TP}$ ... she_k ... him_l ...

In both the main and the subordinate clause in (13), Λ_A and Λ_P refer or link to the actual speaker and hearer of the discourse, and the arguments are negatively valued in relation to these features, $-\Lambda_A$, $-\Lambda_P$ (hence the 3 person, *she* and *him*).

In Person shift contexts, however, the subordinate Λ_A and Λ_P are shifted. Consider this for the ambiguous Persian clause in (14).[21]

(14) Ali	be Sara goft [ke **man tora** doost daram].	*Persian*
Ali	to Sara said that I you friend have.1SG	
a.	'Ali told Sara that I like you.'	Unshifted = (15)
b.	'Ali told Sara that **he** likes **her**.'	Shifted = (16)

The regular unshifted reading in (14a) can be analyzed as in (15); for simplicity, I only show the computation of the speaker feature; another simplification is that I do not show the Person valuing relation between the T- and the v-domains (shown in (9)–(11) above). The notation *man* → $+\Lambda_A$ means that the first person pronoun *man* gets valued as $+\Lambda_A$ (which in turn is identified with the actual speaker under syntactic + contextual control). On both readings i ≠ k.

(15) Unshifted reading:

SPEAKER $[_{CP}$ ... $\{\Lambda_A\}_i$ ... $[_{TP}$ ... <Ali>$_k$ ... $[_{CP}$ ... $\mathbf{\{\Lambda_A\}_i}$ ... $[_{TP}$ ... <man>$_i$ ...

Cont. control	*Syntactic control*	*Agree*
(identity)	(identity)	man → $+\Lambda_A$

[21] Gh. Karimi Doostan, pers. comm.

The more interesting shifted reading in (14b) is analyzed in (16).

(16) Shifted reading:

SPEAKER $[_{CP} \ldots \{\Lambda_A\}_i \ldots [_{TP} \ldots <Ali>_k \ldots [_{CP} \ldots \mathbf{\{\Lambda_A\}_k} \ldots [_{TP} \ldots <man>_k \ldots$

Cont. control (identity)

Synt. control $\{\Lambda_A\}_k$ = Ali

Agree man → $+\Lambda_A$

What is shifted, then, is not the first person pronoun *man* (as usually assumed), but the value of its local speaker feature, Λ_A, one of the C-edge linkers (set in boldface). The local computation of the pronoun itself yields an invariable value: $+\Lambda_A$ (and $-\Lambda_P$, not shown).

Indexical shift, as in (14b), has been documented for, e.g., Amharic, Donno Sɔ, Kannada, Kurdish, Matses, Navajo, Nez Perce, Persian, Punjabi, Slave, Tamil, Uyghur, and Zazaki (Speas 2000, Schlenker 2003, Sigurðsson 2004b, Anand and Nevins 2004, Anand 2006, Deal 2008, Ludwig et al. 2009, Shklovsky and Sudo 2009). The Kaplanian prohibition against monsters is thus evidently misguided, but it is still commonly assumed that the "monster phenomenon" is limited in scope. Thus, while Schlenker (2003) strongly argues that Kaplanian monsters do exist, he assumes that they are limited to attitude predicates, arguing that such predicates are "*quantifiers over contexts of thought or of speech*" (2003:32; Schlenker's emphasis), suggesting that "the problem can be treated … with a semantic stipulation" (2003:99). Similarly, Anand (2006:11), following Anand and Nevins (2004), argues that "indexical shift arises not via binding in the syntax but by overwriting of the semantic evaluation sequence … [that is] the *context* parameter (Kaplan 1989), which serves as the locus for indexical items."

However, the problem is by no means limited to "exotic" languages or to special predicate types, instead being general and pervasive, seen for instance in regular direct speech (*Mary said to John: "I will help you"*) and also in more colloquial constructions, like the ones in (17)–(19).

(17) … and he's simply "I don't care."
http://forum.purseblog.com/louis-vuitton/dilemma-my-bf-is-evil-53783.html (2012-06-17)

(18) Han räknade du är skyldig mig 53 dollar. *Swedish*
he counted you are owing me 53 dollars
'He counted: "You owe me 53 dollars."'

(19) Då utbrast Britt att den filmen vill jag se. *Swedish*
then burst-out Britt that that move want I see [SAG 4:866]
'Then Britt burst out that "that move I want to see."'

Some languages have even developed special shift-markers, such as English *like* and Swedish *ba[ra]* (see Singler 2001, Svensson 2009).[22]

The generality of the indexical shift phenomenon is expected under the present approach, where the "monstrous" logophoric categories Λ_A and Λ_P are inherent features of the C-system (and other phase edges). The option of shifting their reference is constrained by a number of factors (as discussed by Schlenker 2003, Anand 2006 and others), but that is a distinct albeit an interesting issue. Even when not shifted, Λ_A and Λ_P are, by necessity, present and syntactically active, as shown in (15).

The present analysis is further supported by the fact that Person computation is paralleled by Tense computation. Tense is basically a double relation, like arguments (see (12)). That is: Event Tense in the v-domain, T_E, matches (is valued in relation to) Reference Tense, T_R or simply T in the T-domain, the so-established T_R/T_E relation in turn matching Speech Tense, T_S, in the C-domain (yielding a secondary relation, here denoted by a double slash, $T_S//T_R/T_E$).[23] The PAST-IN-THE-PAST reading of the regular past perfect in (20) can thus be analyzed as sketched in (21); for expository ease, T_S is the only C-edge linker shown.

(20) [Einstein says or thinks:] Reichenbach had read the book (at 9 o'clock).

[22] Direct speech and direct speech like examples such as the ones in (17)–(19) have certain properties that are not necessarily shared by subordinate indexical shift examples in languages like Amharic, Navajo, Persian, etc. One of these peculiarities is that direct "speech" can be plain sound or gesture imitation, without any grammatical content. However, inasmuch as these types contain indexical elements, they crucially share the shifted reference property. Moreover, parallel problems arise with respect to other grammatical categories, most clearly Tense (see shortly).

[23] Alternatively, one could use double edge arrows (denoting Agree/Match) and brackets: $T_S \leftrightarrow (T_R \leftrightarrow T_E)$.

(21) NOW [$_{CP}$ … T_S ... [$_{TP}$ ... T_R ... [$_{vP}$ ... T_E ...]]]

had *read*

↑_ _ _ _ _ _ ↑↑_____↑↑_____↑

Cont. control *Agree* *Agree*

Simultaneous *past* *past*

That is, T_E (the reading time) is valued as PAST in relation to T_R (expressed by *had*), the so established T_R/T_E relation in addition being valued as PAST in relation to T_S (yielding $T_S//T_R/T_E$), which in turn is set as identical (simultaneous) with the actual utterance NOW under contextual control. Thus, Tense computation parallels Person computation.[24]

Much as the speaker/hearer features, T_S may be shifted under syntactic control. This is what happens in the widely discussed sequence of tenses (SOT) contexts, as in the Icelandic subjunctive clause in (22).

(22) María sagði [að hún **væri** veik (*í gær)].
Mary said.PST.IND that she were.PST.SBJ sick (*in yesterday).
'Mary said that she **was** sick (*yesterday).'

As indicated by the ungrammaticality of (narrow scope) "yesterday," the past tense subjunctive *væri* 'were, was' does not mean that the sickness eventuality lies in the past, but that the subordinate T_S (the perspective time in Kiparsky 2002) has been shifted, as illustrated in (23) (for simplicity, I don't show T_R, as it so happens that $T_R = T_E$ in both the matrix and the subordinate clause).

(23) NOW [$_{CP}$ … T_{S1} ... … say-T_{E1} … [$_{CP}$ … T_{S2} ... sick-T_{E2} …

↑_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ ↑↑_____↑↑_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ ↑↑_____↑

Cont. control *Agree* *Syntactic control* *Agree*

simultaneous *past* *simultaneous* *non-past ("present")*

That is, the subordinate $T_{S,}$ T_{S2}, is shifted backwards in time under control, such that it becomes simultaneous with the past event of saying in the matrix clause, while the sickness eventuality in the subordinate clause is valued under Agree as being non-past in relation to T_{S2} (non-past being basically the same tense

[24] This Person/Tense parallelism has been widely noticed by semanticists (Partee 1973, Kratzer 1998, Schlenker 2003, inter alia), but it has been neglected in mainstream syntactic approaches.

relation as in the simple present in matrix clauses).[25] Strikingly, the relation between T_{E1} and T_{S2} in (23) parallels the relation between the matrix subject *Ali* and the subordinate Λ_A feature in (16). In both cases, the value of an abstract element in a subordinate clause is set or fixed under syntactic control by an element in the matrix clause.

There is no co-shifting of the subordinate T_{S2} and the logophoric edge linkers, Λ_A and Λ_P, as seen by the fact that *María* in (22) is referred to by the 3rd person pronoun *hún* 'she' (and not by the 1st person *ég* 'I'). In other words, the pronoun *hún* is speaker anchored, whereas the subjunctive *væri* is anchored with the matrix clause subject *María*. This kind of "schizophrenia" is a widespread but a poorly understood property of language (for some observations, see Banfield 1982, Sigurðsson 1990).[26] The logophoric edge linkers are commonly "better behaved," showing a strong tendency to co-shift (Anand and Nevins 2004). However, as expected under a syntactic approach to edge linkers, there are exceptions (see on self talk in section 5 and e.g. Svenonius 2012), suggesting that each edge linker may be independently active (and even that v-edge linkers may be shifted without their locally c-commanding C-edge linkers being shifted too).[27]

4 Bound variable readings

Indexical shift phenomena show that personal pronouns have no lexical content. That is, analyzing for example the 1st person singular pronoun as a regular lexical item, simply marked or valued as +SPEAKER, with the meaning 'the speaker of this particular utterance,' is off the track. Instead, every phase is equipped with silent but syntactically active edge linkers, pronouns acquiring their ϕ-values in relation to a subset of these linkers, by edge computation.[28]

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[25] For further details of Tense computation, see previous work (including Sigurðsson 2004b, 2011b, Sigurðsson and Maling 2012). Languages that do not have tense agreement in SOT contexts commonly apply the simple present tense in such contexts.

[26] For example, as discussed in these works (and as also seen in (22)), adverbial temporal indexicals (*yesterday*, etc.) do not co-shift with Tense, and represented speech and thought shows different shifts than indirect speech. I must set these intriguing issues aside here.

[27] Imposters (in the sense of Collins and Postal 2012) would seem to suggest a disparate multiple edge linker activity too (see Wood and E. Sigurðsson 2011 on Icelandic), but I have not developed a detailed analysis of the relevant intriguing data. The Tamil facts discussed in Sundaresan 2011 are also an interesting challenge.

[28] Pronouns are thus syntactically "zero" in the sense of Kratzer 1998 (rather than "minimal", as in Kratzer 2009). However, pronominal relations are transformed into or interpreted as

This Context-linked Grammar approach is further supported by bound variable readings of pronouns. The conversation between Mary and John in (24) illustrates the difference between the bound variable reading and a regular referential reading (deictic or anaphoric, here anaphoric).

(24) a. [Mary]: Peter is a professor and **he** believes that **he** is very smart.
b. [John]: Yes, every male professor believes that **he** is smart.

The natural reading of the pronouns in Mary's speech act in (24a) is referential, referring back to *Peter*. This reading is also available in (24b), that is, the clause can mean that every male professor believes that *Peter* is smart.[29] However, (24b) also has a (more plausible) bound variable reading, where it holds true of all male professors that each of them believes himself to be smart. These two readings are quasi-formally sketched in (25):

(25) a. For every *x*, *x* = a male professor, it holds that *x* believes that **Peter** is smart
b. For every *x*, *x* = a male professor, it holds that *x* believes that ***x*** is smart

Bound variable readings of 3rd person pronouns have been widely discussed, whereas it is a relatively recent discovery that 1st and 2nd person pronouns can also have such readings (see Kratzer 1998, Rullmann 2004). Since Kratzer 2009, 1st and 2nd person pronouns with bound variable readings have become known as *fake indexicals*.

The example in (26) has a 1st person fake indexical (Kratzer 1998 attributes this example to Irene Heim).

(26) Only I got a question that I understood.

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overt ϕ-bundles in the externalization process, that is, they are (obviously) not "PF zero." See section 6 on gender.

[29] Any bound pronoun is potentially ambiguous between a referential and a bound variable reading, the latter being contingent on the properties of the antecedent. If the antecedent can be interpreted as referring to a subset of a defined or conceivable set, the pronoun can have a bound variable reading. Such a reading is usually farfetched in the absence of a quantifier, but it becomes less marked when the antecedent is focalized, as in (ib).

(i) a. Who$_i$ believes himself$_i$ to be rich?
b. Well, JOHN$_j$ believes he$_j$ is rich (even though no others believe they are).

On the fake indexical reading there is only one "questioned" who understood the question he or she got (no others understood their questions) and this person happens to be the speaker of the clause.[30] This reading is sketched in (27).

(27) There is only one *x* such that *x* got a question that *x* understood
& *x* = the speaker

Two distinct chains are involved, connected only by coincidental coreference. The underlying syntax is shown in (28).

(28) SPEAKER$_i$ [$_{CP}$ .. {Λ_A}$_i$ .. [$_{TP}$ .. I_i / I_k .. [$_{CP}$ .. {Λ_A}$_k$ .. [$_{TP}$ .. I_k .. i = k

↑_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _↑↑_____↑ Chain A

Cont. control *Agree* ↑_ _ _ _ _ _ ↑ ↑_____ ↑ Chain B

Synt. control *Agree*

Fake indexical readings involve shifting of a subordinate context linker (here {Λ_A}$_k$) under syntactic control, like the indexical shift examples discussed in the previous section.[31]

Both phenomena, indexical shift and fake indexicals, also involve a shift from the internal perspective of the actual speaker's EGO (the speaker of fake indexical examples thus not talking of himself or herself from his or her internal EGO perspective–but only as a "mindless variable"). In 3rd person bound variables this perspective shift is commonly not only away from the actual speaker EGO but toward a secondary 3rd person EGO; that is, inactive speaker perspective gets interpreted as activated perspective of some other prominent +Pn participant (cf. Sigurðsson 1990). This yields a *de se* reading; that is to say, a reading where the bound pronoun necessarily refers back to its antecedent as a

[30] As a matter of fact, contexts where the subordinate 1st person pronoun has a regular indexical reading (referring to the actual speaker of the clause) are not easy to find. The following seems to be at least marginally possible, though:

(i) [I understand a number of questions and] only I got a question that I understood.

- where "a question that I understood" has the reading 'one of the specific questions that I understand.' – No one else got any of those specific questions.

[31] Sentences containing a clause bounded bound variable (*Only I do my duties here*, *Every boy loves his mother*, etc.) seemingly pose a problem to this analysis. They can commonly be paraphrased as biclausal (*It holds true of every boy that he loves his mother*, etc,), which might suggest an underlying biclausal structure. Alternatively, and perhaps more plausibly, sentences of this sort might be analyzed as involving shifted v-edge linkers but unshifted C-edge linkers.

self-reflecting EGO. Thus, when an author writes "Mary looked into the mirror and thought that she was good looking" the salient reading is the *de se* reading that Mary thought of herself "I am good looking." A possible, albeit a more far-fetched reading is the *de re* reading that Mary thought the person she saw in the mirror was good looking without realizing that the person in question was indeed herself (she might have been heavily drunk or hallucinating or just confused, thinking "she is good looking" rather than "I am good looking"). *De re* readings are excluded for controlled PRO (Chierchia 1989). That is, in "Mary tried everything to look good" there is no way of Mary by some accident having some stranger's looks in mind.

De se readings, thus, involve an ego/mind/self/consciousness/point-of-view/perspective feature of sorts (see Anand 2006 on the "P(erspectival)-Center"). As all these terms (used in the literature) would seem to suggest, it is not easy to pin down the exact nature of this feature, but it is clearly a feature of natural language. As in Sigurðsson 1990, I refer to it as EGO. *De se* readings arise by (secondary) EGO_i-EGO_i binding, similar (but not tantamount or identical) to regular reflexive binding. In fact, long distance EGO_i-EGO_i binding is lexicalized by reflexives or special pronouns in some languages.[32] EGO is thus an additional edge linker, with semantic effects in overtly unmarked *de se* contexts and with both semantic and PF effects in overtly marked *de se* contexts, e.g. Icelandic long distance reflexivization (LDR) constructions. The fact that it does have observable effects at both the interfaces suggest that it is a syntactic feature but its interpretation is furthermore subject to semantic and pragmatic plausibility, as has been repeatedly discussed in the literature (in e.g. Thráinsson 1976, Sigurðsson 1990, Reuland and Sigurjónsdóttir 1997, Anand 2006).

Speaker controlled $+\Lambda_A$ obligatorily bundles up with EGO, and indexical shifts, fake indexicals and *de se* readings are precluded in the local phase domain of a (pragmatic-syntactic) SPEAKER//$+\Lambda_A$/EGO relation.[33] In overtly unmarked *de se* examples, it might seem that the relevant EGO feature operates independently, mediating between the matrix argument and the subordinate bound variable (as in English "Mary looked into the mirror and thought that she

[32] Clements 1975, Thráinsson 1976, Reuland and Sigurjónsdóttir 1997, Y. Huang 2000, Delfitto and Fiorin 2011, inter alia; unfortunately, the special pronouns in question have misleadingly been referred to as "logophoric" pronouns. Secondary EGO or secondary perspective pronouns would have been more to the point.

[33] Recall, from fn. 10, that adjacent silent heads bundle up by Head Unification, thereby functioning as a single head, unless they are separately active in the derivation (Sigurðsson 2010:165). In addition, of course, even separately active heads commonly bundle up in PF, but that is irrelevant in the present context.

was good looking"). However, corresponding examples in (the central variety of) Icelandic are obligatorily in the subjunctive, and similar facts are found in other languages. Recall that sequences of tenses (SOT) readings are also confined to subjunctive clauses, and that such clauses have shifted Speech Tense, T_S (as illustrated in (23)). Thus, a secondary EGO (or perspective) feature may bundle up with shifted T_S. While this has no PF visible effects in English, it does in e.g. Icelandic.

5 Inclusiveness (and speaker/hearer asymmetries)

The interaction of Person and Number raises long standing and widely discussed problems. It has been commonly observed that *we* is not the plural of *I* in the sense that *we* does not mean "a plural speaker" or "many speakers" (see Boas 1911, Benveniste 1966, Lyons 1968, Bobaljik 2008a). As argued by Boas (1911:39), a "true first person plural is impossible, because there can never be more than one self." In other words, a plural 1st person is universally excluded because the 1st person category does not refer to the speaker as an object, instead relating to an EGO (or self/center of consciousness, etc). The pronoun *we* in "chorus usage" or "mass speaking" (in the sense discussed in Mühlhäusler and Harré 1990:201ff, Cysouw 2003:73–74) involves multiple EGOs or selves using the pronoun in the usual sense of 'some group of people including (or at least relating to) me.' Thus, when Neil, Jon and Erik visited their mother on her 80th birthday and chanted together "We love you mom!" they were saying three different things, as shown in (29).

(29) a. [Neil:] We (= Jon, Erik and I) love you mom!
b. [Jon:] We (= Neil, Erik and I) love you mom!
c. [Erik:] We (= Neil, Jon and I) love you mom!

That is, "We love you mom!" is not a single sentence here but three sentences, with three different sets of actors being referred to by the pronoun *we*. – Even if Mars, Jupiter and Saturn might align so closely that they look like a single star in the sky they do not thereby become a single star.

The functionalist discussion of "chorus we" and of the speaker as an object in the "real world" is remarkably beside the point. The term "speaker" is a misnomer, used only in lack of an indisputably better term. "Logophoric agent" is more to the point (although not perfect). Crucially, the relevant notion is not about a person or an individual (a "thing in the world," as it were) but about two distinct roles

(usually held by persons): That of a *perceiver/thinker* and that of a *sender*, and it is the perceiver/thinker role (center of consciousness/EGO) that is primary in relation to the sender role, not vice versa. Thus, as discussed at the end of section 4, indexical shifts and *de se* readings are precluded in the local phase domain of a speaker bound $+\Lambda_A$/EGO relation.[34]

The received understanding is that the pronoun *we* has the meaning 'speaker + X' (see e.g. Cysouw 2003, Siewierska 2004). This yields a number of possibilities, including both an inclusive *we*, referring to both the speaker and the hearer, and an exclusive *we*, referring to the speaker and somebody else but excluding the hearer. So, when I say to somebody "We should go to the movies," I am using *we* inclusively, including my hearer(s) (and potentially someone else too) in the set of people referred to by *we*, but, when I say "We have decided to help you," I am using *we* exclusively, excluding my hearer(s) from its reference set. Many languages make overt distinctions between inclusive and exclusive readings of the first person plural pronoun (Cysouw 2003, inter alia).

However, regardless of inclusivity and exclusivity, the speaker does not seem to be the reference core of *we*, as suggested by the sentences in (30).

(30) a. We have lived in Europe for at least 40000 years.
b. We finally defeated Napoleon at Waterloo.

These sentences are not about the speaker but about abstract sets of humans (perceivers/thinkers or EGOs) with whom the speaker identifies himself or herself.[35] Even ordinary usage of *we*, as in "We [my family and I] sold the house," is not primarily about the speaker but about a set of event participants including or somehow relating to the speaker, at least according to the speaker's own assessment. Crucially, the clause "We sold the house" has no "plural person," instead having only the plural meaning that there were two or more SELLERS. This is a regular event participant plural, the same one as in "The owners sold the

[34] It might seem possible to reduce the speaker and hearer notions to just SENDER and RECEIVER with EGO coming for free, but that is not so. "Mindless" receivers and senders are entirely possible in many natural language contexts (self talk, to be discussed shortly, is only one such context), and both 3rd person *de se* readings and indexical shift phenomena illustrate that EGO features have a "life" of their own.

[35] It is not even clear that there ever has been any conceivable "natural set" that would meet the "real world truth conditions" of sentences of this sort. In addition, the reference set of an NP may of course be entirely fictional or imaginary. I set these aspects aside here.

house." While Person is a high speech act related category, Number is a relatively low event participant category.[36]

However, by *participant augmentation*, the event participant set {P} may be speaker augmented, hearer augmented, or both speaker and hearer augmented, as sketched in (31).

(31) a. Speaker augmentation of the participant set: $\{\{P\}, \Lambda_A\}$
b. Hearer augmentation of the participant set: $\{\{P\}, \Lambda_P\}$
c. Speaker and Hearer augmentation of the participant set: $\{\{P\}, \Lambda_A, \Lambda_P\}$
d. No augmentation of the participant set: $\{P\}$

This exhausts the possibilities. The set {P} is open to any non-inclusive interpretation ('John and Mary', 'China, EU and USA', etc.), including the empty set interpretation. In case {P} is an empty set, (31a) yields the simple 1st person singular pronoun, (31b) yields singular *you*, (31c) the strictly inclusive reading of *we*, and (31d) the empty set interpretations in impersonal constructions. In case {P} is not an empty set, (31a) yields hearer exclusive *we*, (31b) yields regular plural *you*, (31c) general inclusive *we*, and (31d) a 3rd person reading.

Crucially, the speaker/hearer categories can only be augmentations (the opposite of the traditional 'speaker+' and 'hearer+' understanding); that is, they are not available in the set {P}of vP-internal NPs, 1st and 2nd person pronouns not being merged as vP-internal items, instead being interpretations of computational edge relations (plus a vP internal participant role). It follows that the fully computed argument set cannot be {speaker, speaker}; that is, a "chorus *we*" is excluded, as claimed by Boas (1911), a prediction that is typologically borne out (see the valuable overview and discussion in Bobaljik 2008a). Given (31) the {hearer, hearer} set should be excluded by the same logic, and also that is borne out. No language is known to indisputably have a plural pronoun that specifically refers to hearers only, excluding everybody else (Simon 2005, Bobaljik 2008a).[37]

The nonexistence of a specific {hearer, hearer} pronoun might seem surprising and has been repeatedly disputed (see Bobaljik 2008a). There are many situations where such a pronoun might seem to come handy, as apparently suggested by examples such as the one in (32).

[36] For intricate and detailed evidence that Person and Number are indeed distinct probes, and that Person is the higher one, see Sigurðsson and Holmberg 2008.
[37] It follows that there is no *we* with the reading {{hearer, hearer}, speaker} either.

(32) You, my hearers, are the only ones I care about.

However, sentences of this sort do not involve a "mass *you*," instead being "mass addresses."[38] Much as the speaker has two distinct roles, that of a perceiver/thinker (EGO) and that of a sender, the hearer has the role of a perceiver/thinker (EGO) and the role of a receiver. The receiver role can conceivably be quantified over and "spread" across a set of potential receivers. However, the relevant fact here is that the perceiver/thinker role cannot be pluralized, there thus being a unique perceiver-perceiver (EGO_i-EGO_k) relation between the speaker and every single one of his or her hearers. That is, the 2nd person pronoun in (32) has a non-pluralized bound variable reading, roughly: 'For every *x*, *x* hearing me, it holds that I only care about *x*.'

The set in (31c) is spelled out as *we*, and not as plural *you*, suggesting that the hearer category is secondary and dependent in relation to the speaker category. The hearer is not just anybody who happens to hear something, but a specific role holder the speaker has in mind. Notice also that Speech Location is speaker bound but not hearer bound (i.e., speech locational *here* it is a "speaker *here*," not necessarily (although possibly) shared by the hearer). In contrast, Speech Time is both speaker and hearer bound. That is, a Speech Time *now* is necessarily the *now* of both the speaker and the hearer (regardless of whether it actually refers to the same moment).[39] The perceiver-perceiver relation (EGO_i-EGO_k) is necessarily a momentary relation, anchored only in minds at the moment of perception or thought, whereas the sender-receiver relation can be "dispersed" across space and time.

As discussed by Holmberg (2010), another interesting type of asymmetry between the speaker and hearer features is found in self talk. Thus, (33a) is felicitous as self talk, whereas (33b) is not (Holmberg's (9b) and (13b)).

(33) a. I knew you could do it!

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[38] This holds even in cases like "You should form a line" or "You should form a triangle", pointed out to me by Jim Wood. Sentences of this sort can involve arbitrarily many "yous", for instance just a single one, in which case these clauses are grammatical and interpretable, even though the result of the action might be different from what the speaker has in mind.

[39] Thus, a writer in, say, Stratford-upon-Avon in the year 1612 migh have written the sentence *You are reading this sentence* ***now*** (or *Thou art ...*) and his reader in, say, New York in the year 2012, might be nodding and mumbling "so true, so true." In contrast, the sentence *You are reading this sentence* ***here*** (where *here* is a speech locational *here*) would presumably evoke different reactions. However, this is a 3rd factor effect (in the sense of Chomsky 2005), hence a linguistic fact in only the broad sense rather than in the narrow sense of Hauser et al. 2002 (as expected under the approach developed in Sigurðsson 2011b, 2012b).

b. *You knew I could do it!

As Holmberg (2010:188) points out there is a crucial distinction to be drawn between the thinking self or EGO and the mindless self. While the speaker presupposes that the hearer, expressed by dialogue *you*, has a mind different from his or her own, self talk *you* does not have a mind, as suggested by the fact that it never answers back. "Apparently, *you* can't refer to the self as holder of thoughts or beliefs, in self talk", and *you* in self talk, "can't refer to the self as an experiencer of feelings or holder of intentions or plans, either" (Holmberg 2010:187).[40] In other words, the actual speaker, being linked to $\Lambda_{A/}$+EGO_i by necessity, cannot refer to himself or herself as $\Lambda_{P/}$+EGO_i as well (phase internally). Another important issue, highlighted by Holmberg's observations, is that self talk provides a context where indexical shift is not preconditioned by control (an exceptional but clearly a possible context type). In addition, self talk as in e.g. "I hate you!" provides clear evidence that indexical shift is not brought about by operators scoping over predications or contexts.

The sets in (31) do not necessarily involve the addition operator + or the conjunction &. Thus, sentence (30b), "We finally beat Napoleon at Waterloo," does not mean 'A bunch of politicians, soldiers, and I finally beat Napoleon at Waterloo.' Rather, the speaker augmented sets in (31) have roughly the general reading 'a set of participants [in the event or state specified by the predicate] with whom I identify myself.' The addition (+) and conjunction (&) relations are compatible with this general "identifying relation" but not forced by it.

6 A note on gender

Typological studies suggest that not having any noun gender is a common "gender system," 145 of 257 languages in Corbett 2011 having no gender (50 having two genders, 26 three genders, etc.). As Corbett has shown in many studies, those languages that do have noun gender vary as to whether and to what degree they have semantically related gender assignment, phonologically based gender assignment or arbitrary assignment. In previous work (e.g. Sigurðsson 2006a, 2009) I have argued that grammatical or formal gender is nonexistent in syntax, independent formal gender being assigned to nouns in (abstract) PF, and

[40] A related issue, brought to my attention by Jim Wood involves contrasts of the following sort:
(i) I would watch yourself if I were you.
(ii) *You would watch myself if you were me.
(iii) *I would watch himself if I were him.

dependent formal gender (in pronouns, adjectives, etc.), in turn, being copied under PF agreement with gendered (clause-internal or clause-external) antecedents.[41] Here I will focus on only pronominal gender.

Gender is a prominent category in many pronominal systems, common in 3rd person pronouns, but rarer as an overt category in 1st and 2nd person pronouns (see Corbett 1991:128–132, Siewierska 2004:103–107). However, pronominal gender is not a property of individual items (other than in shallow PF). This is clearly seen in gender systems of the classical three gender Indo-European type (as in Sanskrit, Latin, Greek, Albanian, Slavic languages, Icelandic, German, etc.). Thus, the Icelandic nouns meaning 'ship, yacht, boat' are neuter *skip*, feminine *skúta*, masculine *bátur*, respectively, pronominalized in discourse as *hún*, *hann*, *það* ('she, he, it'). Consider the sentence in (34).

(34) Hann sökkti henni.
he/it sank her/it
'He/It sank her/it.'

Depending on the context, this sentence may mean that some male being sank some female being, or, for example, that some boat sank some yacht. As the words for 'earthquake' and 'island' are masuline vs. feminine (*jarðskjálfti* and *eyja*), it could also mean that some earthquake sank some island, for instance. In contrast, it could not possibly mean that some yacht (*skúta*) sank some boat (*bátur*), etc., even not in some imaginary world or game.

The gender of the pronouns in (34)–and of pronouns in general–is clearly just a shallow PF property, not stemming from any underlying syntax or semantics of vP-internal event participants. This can actually also be illustrated for English, as exemplified in the discourse in (35), *Avery* being a unisex name.

(35) [My friend Avery married a person called Avery too.] She has loved him ever since.

The underlying syntax of pronominal clauses of this sort is simply [*x* sank *y*], [*x* has loved *y*], etc., where *x* and *y* copy both their reference and their gender features under contextual control or scanning. Accordingly, the gender features are invisible to the semantic interface, whereas they enter the externalization PF

[41] Arguably, natural gender nouns do have a semantic gender feature, HE, SHE, etc. However, as discussed in some detail in Sigurðsson 2009, there is commonly no relation or only a very weak indirect relation between semantic gender features of this sort and formal gender features like masculine and feminine.

process, yielding *hann* and *henni* in (34) and *she* and *him* in (35). Gender agreement–as overt agreement in general–is a PF process (see Sigurðsson 2006a, 2009, Bobaljik 2008b).[42]

Semantic or natural gender reading is obviously available in examples like (34) and (35). However, it is not provided by syntax but by pragmatics. Inferring from the context that the referent of *hann* 'he,' etc., is a sex-differentiated human or animal, both the speaker and the hearer will understand it as carrying natural gender, otherwise not. Nothing in the syntactic, clause-internal computation carries or yields this information. This is further illustrated by the well-known fact that pronouns that do not show any gender distinctions, such as 1st and 2nd person pronouns in many Indo-European languages, trigger PF gender agreement. This is shown for the Icelandic 2nd person singular pronoun in (36).

(36) a. Þú ert gáf**aður**. Addressing a male
you.SG are intelligent.NOM.MASC.SG
'You are intelligent.'

b. Þú ert gáf**uð**. Addressing a female
you.SG are intelligent.NOM.FEM.SG
'You are intelligent.'

As indicated by the English translation, these sentences have identical underlying syntax/semantics. By context scanning, however, both the speaker and the hearer know that only one of them is felicitous in a given context. The derivation of (36a) is syntactically perfect, even when it is addressed to a female, and so is the derivation of (36b) when addressed to a male, mistakenly or on purpose.

Regardless of pragmatic gender processing, gender features are PF active (and PF obligatory) in gender languages of the Icelandic sort. That is, gender-marked pronouns are not only built in syntax; their construction proceeds by feature copying (agreement) in PF.[43]

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[42] Notice, however, that it is possible to analyze gender as PF interpretation of a syntactic identity or coreference relation of sorts; that is, one can argue that syntax has "abstract Gender," not as a feature but as a relation (that has basically nothing to do with natural gender, though).

[43] Notice that this analysis is only available in a derivation by phase approach. That is, being copied from outside the phase, agreement gender cannot be spelled out until the next phase up has been merged (with the highest C-phase as an exception – for which the context provides the external "phase" domain, cf. Chomsky 2004:125, n. 17). Moreover, it follows that vP spell out must be procrastinated until C-context scanning has been completed, the C-phase thus

It follows from the present analysis that the ϕ-categories have a different status in pronominal systems. As we have seen, Person is syntactically computed as a high speech act related category. Number is a lower event participant category, also syntactic/semantic in the unmarked case. Pronominal gender, in turn, is a PF agreement category, good for pragmatic processing but with no syntactic import, much as honorific markers and other instances of social deixis.[44] In addition, both Person and Number may trigger shallow and cross-linguistically varying PF agreement, yielding the misleading but commonly adopted idea that all ϕ-categories have similar status in grammar. That is, however, not the case.

7 Brief concluding remarks

Kaplan (1989) was right in that natural language does not have any monstrous shifty operators. In contrast, it has shifty *features*, silent but active in every phase edge, thus omnipresent in language.

Pronouns are "creatures" of syntax and partly of PF, spelling out syntactic edge-NP relations plus PF agreement relations (and not items in a pre-PF sense). An NP is born or merged as an event participant ("θ-role") without any ϕ-specifications, getting ϕ-valued and participant linked under edge computation and context scanning, plus cross-linguistically varying gender (and sometimes number) specification in PF.[45] Thus, pronouns illustrate that "lexical items" are not input to the derivation but its output (see also Wood 2012 on "lexical semantics" as partly syntactically derived).

In addition, obviously, any external language has a vocabulary of conventionalized PF strings (acoustic, visual, tactile, or combinatory), commonly referred to as "words" or "signs." The question of exactly how such externalized strings interact or co-operate with internal language structures remains a largely unresolved puzzle, despite numerous honorable attempts to

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having a larger span, in a sense, than assumed in Chomsky 2001 (as suggested by many more long distance dependencies than just distant gender agreement, including long distance reflexivization and sequence of tenses).

[44] Thus, it is not surprising that gender and honorific markings can be altered under social and political pressure, cf. the development or introduction of gender-neutral pronouns such as "singular" *they* and the Swedish *hen*.

[45] Even pronominal number may sometimes be a semantically vacuous PF agreement feature, as discussed in Sigurðsson 2009 (inherently plural or pluralis tantum nouns, for instance, being referred to by plural pronouns without any concomitant plural semantics). For arguments that some pronouns are born or merged partly ϕ-specified, see Kratzer 2009 and the references cited there. However, the data discussed by Kratzer involve morphological agreement, suggesting that the relevant ϕ-specification arises in PF rather than in I-syntax.

resolve it. However, by showing that syntax and PF cooperate in building some PF items, we have come at least one small step closer to an understanding of this puzzle.[46] More centrally, though, pronouns provide evidence that the correlation between internal and external language is radically and fundamentally non-isomorphic. Internal language builds relations–external language expresses items.

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[46] Notice again that this is distinct from Distributed Morphology approaches. Feature values, such as 1st person and past tense are not syntactic elements but PF interpretations of syntactic relations. Crucially, morphological PF operations can "see" (some of) syntax but not the other way around; that is, they are out of syntactic reach, hence invisible to the semantic interface.

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PUBLISHED BY JUNE 2014

Beginning with no. 42, the papers are no longer published as separate issues. There are two issues each year, a June issue, and a December issue.

Lars Olof Delsing: The Scandinavian Noun Phrase
Gunnel Källgren & Ellen F. Prince: Swedish VP-Topicalization and Yiddish Verb-Topicalization

43. [June 1989]
Torbjørn Nordgård: On Barriers, Wh-movement and IP-Adjunction in English, Norwegian and Swedish
Bonnie D.Schwartz & Sten Vikner: All Verb Second Clauses are CPs.
Christer Platzack & Anders Holmberg: The Role of AGR and Finiteness.

44. [December 1989] ***Special Issue on Comparative Germanic Syntax***
Tor Åfarli: On Sentence Structure in Scandinavian Languages.
Jan Anward: Constraints on Passives in Swedish and English.
Kathrin Cooper & Elisabet Engdahl: Null Subjects in Zurich German.
Cecilia Falk: On the Existential Construction in the Germanic Languages.
Lars Hellan: A Two Level X-bar System.
Jarich Hoekstra & Lásló Marácz: On the Position of Inflection in West-Germanic.
Kjartan G. Ottósson: VP-Specifier Subjects and the CP/IP Distinction in Icelandic and Mainland Scandinavian.
Charlotte Reinholtz: V-2 in Mainland Scandinavian: Finite Verb Movement to Agr.
Wolfgang Sternefeld: Extractions from Verb-Second Clauses in German.
Sten Vikner: Object Shift and Double Objects in Danish.
Chris Wilder: Wh-Movement and Passivization in Infinitive Predicates

45. [June 1990]
Helge Lødrup: VP-topicalization and the Verb *gjøre* in Norwegian.
Christer Platzack: A Grammar Without Functional Categories: A Syntactic Study of Early Swedish Child Language
Halldór Sigurðsson: Icelandic Case-marked PRO and the Licensing of Lexical A-positions.

46. [December 1990]
Halldór Sigurðsson: Feature Government and Government Chains
Lena Ekberg: Theta Role Tiers and the Locative PP in Existential Constructions
Sjur Nørstebø Moshagen & Trond Trosterud: Non-Clause-Bounded Reflexives in mainland Scandinavian
Cecilia Falk: On Double Object Constructions

47. [June 1991]
Norbertt Hornstein: Expletives: a comparative study of English and Icelandic
Lars-Olof Delsing: Quantification in the Swedish Noun Phrase
Helge Lødrup: The Norwegian Pseudopassive in Lexical Theory
Gunlög Josefsson: Pseudocoordination – A VP + VP Coordination

48. [December 1991]
Jóhannes Gísli Jónsson: Stylistic Fronting in Icelandic
Kirsti Koch Christensen: Complex Passives Reanalyzed
Kjartan G. Ottósson: Icelandic Double Objects as Small Clauses

49. [June 1992]
Halldór Sigurðsson: The Case of Quirky Subjects
Anders Holmberg: Properties of Non-heads in Compounds: A Case Study
Gunlög Josefsson: Object Shift and Weak Pronominals in Swedish
Peter Svenonius: The Extended Projection of N: Identifying the Head of the Noun Phrase

50. [December 1992]
Sabine Iatridou and Anthony Kroch: The Licensing of CP-recursion and its Relevance to the Germanic Verb Second Phenomenon.
Christer Platzack: Complementizer Agreement and Argument Clitics.
Halldór Sigurðsson: Agreement as Visible F-government.
Tor A. Åfarli: Seeds and Functional Projections.

51. [June 1993]
Molly Diesing & Eloise Jelinek: The Syntax and Semantics of Object Shift.

52. [December 1993]
Gunlög Josefsson: Scandinavian Pronouns and Object Shift
Anders Holmberg: Two Subject Positions in IP in Mainland Scandinavian

53. [June 1994]
Hans-Martin Gärtner & Markus Steinbach: Economy, Verb Second, and the SVO - SOV Distinction.
Kyle Johnson & Sten Vikner: The Position of the Verb in Scandinavian Infinitives: In V° or C° but not in I°.
Christer Platzack: Null Subjects, Weak Agr and Syntactic Differences in Scandinavian.

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Jan-Wouter Zwart: The Minimalist Program and Germanic Syntax. A Reply to Gärtner and Steinbach
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Sten Vikner: V°-to-I° Movement and Inflection for Person in All Tenses
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Øystein Alexander Vangsnes: Referentiality and Argument Positions in Icelandic

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Gunlög Josefsson: The Notion of Word Class and the Internal Make-up of Words
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Joan Maling and Jóhannes Gísli Jónsson: On Nominative Objects in Icelandic and the Feature [+Human]

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Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson: Icelandic Finita Verb Agreement
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Thorbjörg Hróarsdóttir: The decline of OV Word Order in the Icelandic VP

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Eiríkur Rögnvaldsson: Word Order Variation in the VP in Old Icelandic
Tor A. Åfarli: An Argument for a Minimalist Construal of Case Licensing

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Øystein Nilsen: Adverbs and A-shift
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Sten Vikner: The Interpretation of Object Shift, Optimality Theory, and Minimalism
Jóhanna Barðdal: Oblique Subjects in Old Scandinavian
Elisabet Engdahl: Relative Clause Extractions in Context
Anders Holmberg: Scandinavian Stylistic Fronting: Movement of Phonological Features in the Syntax

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Verner Egerland: On Verb-Second Violations in Swedish and the Hierarchical Ordering of Adverbs
Gunlög Josefsson & Christer Platzack: Short Raising of V and N in Mainland Scandinavian
Christer Platzack: A Visibility Condition for the C-domain
Gunlög Josefsson: On the Licensing and Identification of (Optionally) Null Heads in Swedish

62. [December 1998]
Cedric Boeckx: Agreement Constraints in Icelandic and Elsewhere.
Jens Haugan: Right Dislocated 'Subjects' in Old Norse.

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Jan Terje Faarlund: The notion of oblique subject and its status in the history of Icelandic
Elisabet Engdahl: Versatile Parasitic Gaps
Benjamin Lyngfelt: Optimal Control. An OT perspective on the interpretation of PRO in Swedish
Gunlög Josefsson: Non-finite root clauses in Swedish child language

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Inger Rosengren: Rethinking the Adjunct
Maria Mörnsjö: Theories on the Assignment of Focal Accent as Applied to Swedish
Jóhanna Barðdal: The Dual Nature of Icelandic Psych-Verbs
Christer Platzack: The Subject of Icelandic Psych-Verbs: a Minimalist Account

65 [June 2000]
Inger Rosengren: EPP and the Post-finite Expletive
Anders Holmberg: Expletives and Agreement in Scandinavian Passives
Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson: The Locus of Case and Agreement
Jóhanna Barðdal and Valeria Molnár: Passive in Icelandic – Compared to Mainland Scandinavian

66 [December 2000]
Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson: To be an oblique subject: Russian vs. Icelandic
Marit Julien : Optional *ha* in Swedish and Norwegian
Hjalmar P. Petersen: IP or TP in Modern Faroese
Christer Platzack & Gunlög Josefsson: Subject Omission and Tense in Early Swedish Child Language

67 [June 2001]
Thórhallur Eythórsson: The Syntax of Verbs in Early Runic
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Gunlög Josefsson: The True Nature of Holmberg's Generalization Revisited – Once Again
Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson: Case: abstract vs. morphological

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Hubert Haider: How to Stay *Accusative* in Insular Germanic
Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson: An Optimality Theory Analysis of Agreement in Icelandic DAT-NOM Constructions.
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Susann Fischer & Artemis Alexiadou: On Stylistic Fronting: Germanic vs. Romance
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69 [June 2002]
Line Mikkelsen: Reanalyzing the definiteness effect: evidence from Danish
Verner Egerland: On absolute constructions and the acquisition of tense
Peter Svenonius: Strains of Negation in Norwegian
Anders Holmberg & Thorbjörg Hróarsdóttir: Agreement and movement in Icelandic raising constructions

70 [December 2002]
Joan Maling: Icelandic Verbs with Dative Objects
Jóhanna Barðdal: "Oblique Subjects" in Icelandic and German
Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson: Agree and Agreement: Evidence from Germanic

71 [June 2003]
Arthur Stepanov: On the “Quirky” Difference Icelandic vs. German: A Note of Doubt.
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Erik Magnusson: Subject Omission and Verb Initial Declaratives in Swedish.
Thórhallur Eythórsson & Jóhanna Barðdal: Oblique Subjects: A Germanic Inheritance!

72 [December 2003]
Ken Ramshøj Christensen: On the Synchronic and Diachronic Status of the Negative Adverbial *ikke/not.*
Luis López: Complex Dependencies: the Person-Number restriction in Icelandic.

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a comment on some differences, similarities and related phenomena.
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language acquisition and change.
Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson: On Stylistic Fronting Once More
Thórhallur Eythórsson & Jóhannes Gísli Jónsson: The Case of Subject in Faroese

73 [June 2004]
Øystein Alexander Vangsnes: On *wh*-questions and V2 across Norwegian dialects.
A survey and some speculations.
David Håkansson: Partial *wh*-movement in the history of Scandinavian
Christer Platzack: Agreement and the Person Phrase Hypothesis

74 [December 2004]
Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson: Agree in Syntax, Agreement in Signs
Ute Bohnacker: Is V2 really that hard to acquire for second language learners?
On current universalist L2 claims and their empirical underpinnings
Johan Brandtler: Subject Omission and Discourse Anchorage in Early Swedish Child Language

75 [June 2005]
Johanna Barðdal & Thórhallur Eythórsson: Case and Control Constructions in
German, Faroese and Icelandic: Or How to Evaluate Marginally-Acceptable Data?
Fredrik Heinat: Reflexives in a phase based syntax
Gunlög Josefsson: How could Merge be free and word formation restricted:
The case of compounding in Romance and Germanic
Christer Platzack: Uninterpretable features and EPP: a minimalist account of
language build up and breakdown

76 [December 2005]
Björn Rothstein: Perfect parasitism in inferential contexts. On the inferential present perfect in Swedish.
Kristín M. Jóhannsdóttir: Temporal adverbs in Icelandic: Adverbs of quantification vs. frequency adverbs.
Katarina Lundin Åkesson: The multifunctional *ba* – A finiteness marker in the guise of an adverbial.
Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson: Accusative and the Nom/Acc alternation in Germanic.
Fredrik Heinat: A note on 'long object shift'.

77 June [2006]
Marit Julien: On argument displacement in English and Scandinavian
Christer Platzack: Case as Agree Marker
Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson: PF is more 'syntactic' than often assumed
Jackie Nordström: Selection through Uninterpretable Features. Evidence from Insular Scandinavian
Camilla Thurén: The syntax of Swedish present participles. The lexical category problem.
Johan Brandtler: On Aristotle and Baldness – Topic, Reference, Presupposition of Existence, and Negation

78 December [2006]
Þorbjörg Hróarsdóttir, Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson, Anna-Lena Wiklund and Kristine Bentzen: The Tromsø
guide to Scandinavian verb movement.
Terje Lohndal: The phrase structure of the copula.
Ute Bohnacker: Placing verbs and particles in non-native German and Swedish.
Björn Rothstein: Why the present perfect differs cross linguistically. Some new insights.
Henrik Rosenkvist: Null subjects in Övdalian.
Piotr Garbacz: Verb movement and negation in Övdalian.

79 [June 2007]
Geoffrey Poole: Defending the "Subject Gap" Requirement: Stylistic Fronting in Germanic and Romance
Jan Terje Faarlund: From clitic to affix: the Norwegian definite article
Terje Lohndal: *That*-t in Scandinavian and elsewhere: Variation in the position of C
Tor A. Åfarli: Features and Agreement. Expletive *det* 'it' and *der* 'there' in Norwegian dialects
Kristine Bentzen, Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson, Þorbjörg Hróarsdóttir and Anna-Lena Wiklund:
The Tromsø guide to the Force behind V2

Kristine Bentzen, Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson, Þorbjörg Hróarsdóttir and Anna-Lena Wiklund: Extracting from V2

80 December [2007]
Željko Bošković: Don't feed your movements: Object shift in Icelandic
Werner Abraham & Elisabeth Leiss: On the interfaces between (double) definiteness, aspect, and word order in Old and Modern Scandinavian
Þorbjörg Hróarsdóttir, Anna-Lena Wiklund, Kristine Bentzen & Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson: The afterglow of verb movement
Henrik Rosenkvist: Subject Doubling in Oevdalian
Marit Julien: Embedded V2 in Norwegian and Swedish
Britta Jensen: In favour of a truncated imperative clause structure: evidence from adverbs
Mai Tungset: Benefactives across Scandinavian

81 [June 2008]
Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson & Joan Maling: Argument drop and the Empty Left Edge Condition (ELEC)
Gunlög Josefsson: Pancakes and peas – on apparent disagreement and (null) light verbs in Swedish
Fredrik Heinat: Long object shift and agreement
Johan Brandtler: On the Structure of Swedish Subordinate Clauses

82 December [2008]
Elly van Gelderen & Terje Lohndal: The position of adjectives and double definiteness
Terje Lohndal, Mari Nygård & Tor A. Åfarli: The structure of copular clauses in Norwegian
Þorbjörg Hróarsdóttir: Verb particles in OV/VO word order in Older Icelandic
Johan Brandtler: Why we should ever bother about wh-questions. On the NPI-licensing properties of wh- questions in Swedish
Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson: Liberalizing modals and floating clause boundaries
Tavs Bjerre, Eva Engels, Henrik Jørgensen & Sten Vikner: Points of convergence between functional and formal approaches to syntactic analysis.

83 [June 2009]
Ulla Stroh-Wollin: On the development of definiteness markers in Scandinavian.
Anna-Lena Wiklund: In search of the force of dependent V2: A note on Swedish.
Þorbjörg Hróarsdóttir: Restructuring and OV order.
Eva Engels: Microvariation in object positions: Negative Shift in Scandinavian.
Þorbjörg Hróarsdottir: Notes on language change and grammar change.
Dennis Ott: Stylistic fronting as remnant movement.

84 [December 2009]
Maia Andreasson: Pronominal object shift – not just a matter of shifting or not
Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson & Anna-Lena Wiklund: General embedded V2: Icelandic A, B, C, etc.
Gunlög Josefsson: "Disagreeing" pronominal reference and gender in Swedish
David Petersson: Embedded V2 does not exist in Swedish
Henrik Rosenkvist: Referential null-subjects in Germanic languages – an overview
Anna-Lena Wiklund: The syntax of Surprise: unexpected event readings in complex predication
Marit Julien: The force of the argument
Anna-Lena Wiklund: May the force be with you: A reply from the 5th floor

85 [June 2010]
Mayumi Hosono: Scandinavian Object Shift as the cause of downstep
Jackie Nordström: The Swedish *så*-construction, a new point of departure
Anton Karl Ingason: Productivity of non-default case

86 [December 2010]
Gunlög Josefsson; Object Shift and optionality. An intricate interplay between syntax, prosody and information structure
Mayumi Hosono: On Icelandic Object Shift
Mayumi Hosono: Why Object Shift does not exist in Övdalian.
Mayumi Hosono: On Unshifted Weak Object Pronouns in the Scandinavian Languages.
Eva Engels: Local licensing in Faroese expletive constructions.

Irene Franco: Issues in the syntax of Scandinavian embedded clauses.
David Petersson & Gunlög Josefsson: ELLERHUR and other Yes/No-question operator candidates in Swedish.
Mikko Kupula: Causers as derived Subject – An unaccusative view from Finnish

87 [June 2011]
Jim Wood: Icelandic *let*-causatives and Case.
Eva Klingvall: On past participles and their external arguments.
Ulla Stroh-Wollin: Embedded declaratives, assertion and swear words.
Verner Egerland: Fronting, Background, Focus: A comparative study of Sardinian and Icelandic.
Caroline Heycock, Antonella Sorace, Zakaris Svabo Hansen, Sten Vikner & Frances Wilson: Residual V-to-I in Faroese and its lack in Danish: detecting the final stages of a syntactic change.

88 [December 2011]
Henrik Rosenkvist; Verb Raising and Referential Null Subjects in Övdalian
Kari Kinn: Overt non-referential subjects and subject-verb agreement in Middle Norwegian
Mayumi Hosono: Verb Movement as Tense Operator Movement
Jim Wood & Einar Freyr Sigurðsson: Icelandic Verbal Agreement and Pronoun Antecedent Relations
Eva Klingvall: On non-copula *Tough* Constructions in Swedish
David Petersson: Swedish exclamatives subordinate

89 [June 2012]
Eva Engels: Wh-phrases and NEG-phrases in clauses and nominals.
Fredrik Heinat: Adjective and clausal complementation.
Mayumi Hosono: Information structure, syntax and information properties of multiple *Wh*-questions.

90 [December 2012]
Ermenegildo Bidese, Andrea Padovan, AlessandraTomaselli: A binary system of complementizers in Cimbrian relative clauses
Camilla Thurén: The syntax of Swedish copular clauses
Eva Klingvall: Topics in pseudo passives
Fredrik Heinat: Finiteness in Swedish.
Gunlög Josefsson: ”Disagreeing” doubling *det*

91 [December 2013]
Roland Hinterhölzl: Economy conditions and coreference: From minimal pronouns to referential acts
Dorian Roehrs: Possessives as Extended Projections
Björn Lundquist: On inter-individual variation and mid-distance binding in Swedish
Verner Egerland: The Apropos-Topic, the Concerning-Topic and the syntax-pragmatics interface

92 [June 2014]
Elisabet Engdahl & Filippa Lindahl: Preposed object pronouns in Mainland Scandinavian
Katarina Lundin: An unexpected gap with unexpected restrictions
Dennis Ott: Controlling for movement: Reply to Wood (2012)
Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson: About pronouns

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