On non-copula *Tough* Constructions in Swedish

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Abstract

This paper investigates two types of *Tough Construction* in Swedish: *artikeln är lätt att läsa* ('the paper is easy to read') and *artikeln går lätt att läsa* ('the paper goes easily to read'). The paper argues that the first type is a copula construction with the adjective functioning as the *tough*-predicate while the second is a non-copula construction where the verb *gå* is the head of the predicate. Although the two types of TC are often used to mean the same thing, it can be shown that the copula one is a disposition ascription, while the verbal one describes actual events.

1 Introduction

A group of adjectives in English, including members such as *easy, difficult, hard, simple* and *tough*, can be characterized by the fact that they take infinitival clauses as complements and act as predicates in so-called *Tough Constructions* (TCs):[1]

(1)   a.   That pullover is easy to wash.

   b.   The paper is hard to read.

In Swedish, TCs come in two variants, one of which looks exactly like the English TCs in (1a)–(1b), and one of which appears with the verb *gå* ('go') instead of *vara* ('be') and an adverb instead of an adjective[2] (the latter type will henceforth be referred to as a *go*-TC):

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[1] Certain nouns can also function as predicates in TCs. Lasnik and Fiengo (1974) give the following non-exhaustive list: *bitch, breeze, pleasure, delight, joy, gas, pain in the ass/neck.* TCs with nominal *tough*-predicates will not be discussed in this paper.

[2] Morphological differences between adjectives and adverbs in Swedish are discussed in section 2.1.

(2) a. Böckerna är lätta att läsa.
        books-DEF are easy to read
        'The books are easy to read.'

    b. Böckerna går lätt att läsa.
        books-DEF go easily to read
        'The books are easy to read.'

The sentences in (2a)–(2b) are very close in meaning: both ascribe a property to the entity in the grammatical subject position, saying of some books that they are 'an easy read', i.e. that they have the property of being easy with respect to reading (them).

The intuition seems to be that the structures in (2a)–(2b) are parallel in the sense that *lätta/lätt* combines with the infinitival clause to make up a property. In syntactic terms, this can be understood as a head-complement relation. In the following, however, I will show that the two types of TC are quite different structurally: the adjectival TC is a copula construction, while the adverbal TC is not. More specifically, while the adjective is the head of the *tough*-predicate, it is not the adverb but the verb that is the head of the predicate in the non-copula case (see also Lyngfelt, 2009). The structures are given in (3)–(4), below. In the TC, then, the AP is predicated over the subject (via *a*, an instantiation of the general null predicational head Pred, see Bowers 1993), while in the *go*-TC, it is the content of the VP that is predicated over the subject:

(3) $[_{TP}$ DP$_i$ *vara* $[_{aP}$ t$_i$ *a* $[_{AP}$ A CP $]]]$ (TC)

(4) $[_{TP}$ DP *gå*$_i$ $[_{VP}$ AdvP t$_i$ CP $]]$ (*go*-TC)

Evidence for this structural difference between the constructions will be drawn from small clause formation, constituent movement, and the (in)ability to omit the adjective and adverb. Furthermore, TCs and *go*-TCs are subject to different restrictions on, for instance, their embedded verbs and the adverb and adjective. These differences fall out neatly from the analysis proposed here. Finally, although TCs and *go*-TCs in many contexts have the same meaning, there are situations in which their meanings can be teased apart. This is

what we expect if *gå*, unlike *vara*, is not merely a copula verb but a functional verb with some semantic content.

Swedish will thus be argued to have both adjectival and verbal *tough*-predicates, giving rise to TCs and *go*-TCs, respectively. Although verbal *tough*-predicates are not discussed much in the literature, there are a few exceptions: Pesetsky (1987) proposes that Experiencer verbs such as *annoy, worry, frighten, please, amaze* are *tough*-predicates, (5a), and Dalrymple and King (2000) classify time phrases such as *take six months*, (5b), as another type:

(5) a. Those stories pleased me to listen to.

b. This book takes six months to read.

In Swedish, some (but not all) Experiencer verbs behave like *tough*-predicates and time phrases like the one in (5b) are clearly of this type. TIME-TCs refer to accomplishments and more precisely to the time it takes to do something. With regard to that, they thus differ from *go*-TCs and adjectival TCs which both state how easily (or not) something can be done. While TIME-TCs have verbal predicates, they behave like adjectival TCs in certain other respects (Klingvall, 2011). In the present paper, however, I focus on the differences between adjectival TCs and *go*-TCs, leaving TIME-TCs as well as those with Experiencer verbs for future research.

The paper is organized in the following way: Section 2 presents the data to be accounted for in the analysis. I begin by showing that *go*-TCs behave as expected of TCs and should therefore be analyzed as such. I then turn to the semantic and syntactic differences between the constructions. Section 3 presents the analysis. Here I show how the properties described in section 2 follow from the structures proposed for the two types of TC. In short, the standard TC will be shown to be a copula construction, with the adjective acting as *tough*-predicate, while the *go*-TC will be argued not to be a copula construction, but to have a verbal *tough*-predicate. Section 4 offers some remarks on the interpretation of the constructions, and section 5 gives concluding remarks.

2   Similarities and differences

TCs and *go*-TCs behave in the same way in many respects. Like their English counterparts, for instance, both types have alternative versions where the subject is either expletive or clausal:

(6)   a.   Det är lätt att läsa böckerna.
          it   is easy to read books-DEF
          'It is easy to read the books.'

      b.   Det går lätt   att läsa böckerna.
          it   goes easily to read books-DEF
          'It is easy to read the books.'

      c.   Att läsa böckerna   är lätt.
          to   read books-DEF is easy
          'To read the books is easy.'

      d.   Att läsa böckerna   går   lätt.
          to   read books-DEF goes easily
          'To read the books is easy.'

Furthermore, both types have an implicit Experiencer argument that can be overtly expressed via a *för*-phrase ('for'-phrase):

(7)   a.   Artikeln   är lätt   för vem som helst att läsa.
          paper-DEF is easy for anyone   to read
          'The paper is easy for anyone to read.'

      b.   Artikeln   går lätt   för mig att läsa.
          paper-DEF goes easily for me to read
          'The paper is easy for me to read.'

TCs and *go*-TCs also behave the same with respect to *wh*-movement, long distance dependencies and parasitic gaps, as will be shown in section 3.3. Crucially, neither of the types can be reduced to a raising construction.

Although TCs and *go*-TCs are very similar in meaning and surface form, the constructions also differ in some interesting respects. As will be shown below, *go*-TCs are subject to a number of restrictions not applying to TCs. In the next two sections, I discuss what adjectives and adverbs are found in

the constructions, and what embedded verbs they allow. In sections 2.3–2.5, I turn to syntactic differences.

2.1 Adjectives and adverbs

Before looking at what particular types of adjectives and adverbs can appear in the two constructions, I give a brief introduction to the morphological differences between adjectives and adverbs in Swedish.

Adjectives in Swedish agree morphologically with the noun they modify or predicate over, showing a gender distinction in the singular (common or neuter), and appearing with a designated marker for plural:[3]

(8)   a.   Flickan   är lång.
           girl-DEF is tall-COMMON
           'The girl is tall.'

       b.   Barnet   är långt.
           child-DEF is tall-NEUTER
           'The child is tall.'

       c.   Flickorna/Barnen   är långa.
           girl-PL.DEF/child-PL.DEF are tall-PL
           'The girls/children are tall.'

Adverbs, on the other hand, have an invariable form ending in *-t*:

(9)   a.   Flickan   sprang långt.
           girl-DEF ran   long
           'The girl ran a long way.'

       b.   Barnet   sprang långt.
           child-DEF ran   long
           'The child ran a long way.'

       c.   Flickorna/Barnen   sprang långt.
           girls-PL.DEF/child-PL.DEF ran   long
           'The girls/children ran a long way.'

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[3]Gender and number on the adjective are not glossed elsewhere in the paper.

When the adjective appears in the neuter singular form, it is morphologically indistinguishable from the corresponding adverb, as seen in (9b)–(9c). The morphological distinction between adjectives and adverbs is also obscured for some adjectives whose stem ends in *-t*, such as *lätt* ('easy'). These adjectives have the same form for both genders in the singular, and this form is moreover identical to the corresponding adverb:

(10) a. en lätt bok/ett   lätt problem
          an easy book-DEF/an easy problem
          'an easy book/an easy problem.'

      b. Snö smälter lätt   i varmt väder.
          snow melts   easily in warm weather
          'Snow melts easily in warm weather.'

For TCs and *go*-TCs, thus, a morphological difference between the adjective and adverb is found with plural subjects, (11a)–(11b), and (except for *lätt*) with singular subjects in the common gender, (11c)–(11d):

(11) a. Böckerna är lätta att läsa.
          books-DEF are easy to read
          'The books read slowly.'

      b. Böckerna går lätt   att läsa.
          books-DEF go slowly to read
          'The books read slowly.'

      c. Boken   är trög att läsa.
          book-DEF is slow to read
          'The book is slow to read.'

      d. Boken   går trögt   att läsa.
          book-DEF goes slowly to read
          'The book reads slowly.'

Not all adjectives and adverbs can appear in these constructions. In the case of TCs, the adjective is subject to a thematic restriction. More precisely, adjectives that assign a thematic role to their subject and consequently cannot appear with an expletive subject do not count as *tough*-adjectives (see Lasnik

and Fiengo, 1974). *Lätt* ('easy') but not *vacker* ('beautiful') is thus a TC-adjective:

(12) a.   Boken   är lätt   att läsa.
            book-DEF is easy to read
            'The book is easy to read.'

      b.   Det är lätt   att läsa boken.
            it   is easy to read book-DEF
            'It is easy to read the book.'

      c.   Musiken   är vacker   att lyssna på.
            music-DEF is beautiful to listen to
            'The music is beautiful to listen to.'

      d.   * Det är vackert   att lyssna på musiken.
            it   is beautiful to listen to music-DEF

This issue does not arise for *go*-TCs. That is to say, there are no constructions that look like *go*-TCs but which cannot alternate with an expletive subject. The pattern in (12c)–(12d) is thus not found with adverb+*gå*. *Go*-TCs are restricted in another way, however. The permissible adverbs are restricted to one semantic class:

(13)   Boken   går lätt/tungt/trögt/enkelt/snabbt/långsamt/
          book-DEF goes easily/heavily/slowly/simply/fast/slowly/
          bra/dåligt   att läsa.
          well/badly to read
          'The book is easy/heavy/slow/simple/fast/slow/easy/difficult to read.'

The adverbs in (13) all refer to how easy (or not) it is to do something with the entity in the subject position. These adverbs correspond to a group of adjectives referred to as *expense-type* modifiers (see Foldvik, 1989; Kim, 1995). Such modifiers describe "how much time, money or effort an event requires from someone who is participating in the event as an agent" (Kim, 1995, 273). Notably, even adverbs such as *well* and *badly* get this interpretation, as can be seen in the translation in (13). With the exception of *snabbt* ('fast') and *långsamt* ('slowly'), all the adverbs in (13) have corresponding adjectival

forms appearing in TCs.[4,5]

(14)   Boken   är lätt/tung/trög/enkel/bra/dålig   att läsa.
book-DEF is easy/heavy/slow/easy/good/bad to read
'The book is easy/heavy/slow/easy/good/bad to read.'

Adjectival TCs are however more liberal than *go*-TCs in allowing not only expense-type predicates, but also, for instance, *psych-type* predicates. The latter describe "a psychological state that a fact or an event causes an individual to experience" (Kim, 1995, 274) (see also Foldvik, 1989):[6]

(15)   Boken   är rolig/sorglig/trist/intressant/långtråkig/ stimulerande
book-DEF is fun/sad/boring/interesting/boring/   stimulating
att läsa.
to read
'The book is fun/sad/boring/interesting/stimulating to read.'

(16)   * Boken   går roligt/sorgligt/trist/intressant/långtråkigt/
book-DEF goes funnily/sadly/boringly/interestingly/boringly/
stimulerande att läsa.
stimulatingly to read

While both expense- and psych-type predicates relate to an implied Agent, only the psych-ones explicitly say that the Agent is affected by the action. In section 3, I return to the question of why *go*-TCs only allow expense-type predicates.

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[4]The adjectives *snabb* and *långsam* cannot appear with expletive subjects and therefore do not count as TC adjectives, see section 2.1 above.

[5]The adjectives *lätt, svår, snabb, trög, tung* are found also in constructions with *complex dispositional adjectives*, CDAs (see Klingvall, 2008, To appear):

(1)   Boken är lätt-/svår-/snabb-/trög-/tungläst.
book   is easy/difficult/fast/slow/heavy.read-PPTC
The book is easy/difficult/fast/slow/heavy to read.'

Interestingly, CDAs are similar to *go*-TC in being restricted to having only these particular adjectives in their left-hand position. With regard to their meaning, constructions with CDAs are furthermore similar to both TCs and *go*-TCs, as can be seen in the translation above.

[6]Psych-type adjectives correspond closely to the Experiencer verbs discussed by Pesetsky (1987). As mentioned in section 1, some but not all Experiencer verbs are *tough*-predicates in Swedish.

2.2 The embedded verb and its arguments

Both TCs and *go*-TCs are formed productively. Since the subject is an underlying object, however, only verbs that take objects can appear in the constructions. TCs and *go*-TCs can thus embed a verb like *springa* ('run') only if it co-occurs with an underlying object in the matrix subject position (and not on its unergative use):

(17) a. * Per är lätt att springa.
Per is easy to run

b. * Per går lätt   att springa.
Per goes easily to run

c.   Den rundan   är lätt att springa.
that track-DEF is easy to run
'That track is easy to run.'

d.   Den rundan   går lätt   att springa.
that track-DEF goes easily to run
'That track is easy to run.'

The presence of an internal object in the subject position is a necessary but not sufficient criterion. In addition to an internal argument, the embedded verbs must also have an external argument, syntactically realized as PRO. Unaccusative verbs, therefore, do not appear in these constructions, unlike their causative counterparts:

(18) a.   Båten   är lätt att sänka/*sjunka.
boat-DEF is easy to sink-CAUS/sink-INCH
'The boat is easy to sink.'

b.   Båten   går lätt   att sänka/*sjunka.
boat-DEF goes easily to sink-CAUS/sink-INCH
'The boat is easy to sink.'

As illustrated, both TCs and *go*-TCs thus select infinitival clauses with transitive verbs. *Go*-TCs, however, have a further requirement: the embedded verb must have an external argument that is specifically an Agent. Verbs with Experiencer subjects, such as *stöta sig på* ('get annoyed at') in (19), and *falla*

för ('fall for') in (20), and verbs with Recipient subjects, such as *ta emot* ('receive') in (21), are thus infelicitous:

(19) a. Per är lätt PRO_{Exp} att störa sig   på.
          Per is easy   to annoy REFL on
          'Per is easy to get annoyed at.'

   b. ?? Per går lätt PRO_{Exp} att störa sig   på.
          Per goes easily   to annoy REFL on
          'Per is easy to get annoyed at.'

(20) a. Den frestelsen   är lätt PRO_{Exp} att falla för.
          that temptation-DEF is easy   to fall for
          'That temptation is easy to give in to.'

   b. ?? Den frestelsen   går lätt PRO_{Exp} att falla för.
          that temptation-DEF goes easily   to fall for
          'That temptation is easy to give in to.'

(21) a. Den gåvan   är lätt PRO_{Rec} att ta emot.
          that gift-DEF is easy   to receive
          'That gift is easy to receive.'

   b. ?? Den gåvan   går lätt PRO_{Rec} att ta emot.
          that gift-DEF goes easily   to receive
          'That gift is easy to receive.'

The sentences in (19b), (20b) and (21b) are well-formed only to the extent that the verbs in the infinitival clauses can get an agentive interpretation, i.e. with PRO interpreted as an Agent. No such coercion is necessary in the TC.

2.3 Small clauses

Intuitively, both TCs and *go*-TCs express properties that consist of the adjective or adverb in combination with the infinitival clause. This is syntactically transparent in the TC but not in the *go*-TC. That is, in the TC the adjective can be shown to take the infinitival clause as its syntactic complement and the underlying object as its subject. The subject-predicate relation is here analyzed as mediated via the adjectival functional head, *a*, an instantiation of the

general phonologically null Pred head, proposed by Bowers (1993) (see also Adger and Ramchand, 2003):

(22)   a.   Jag anser   de   böckerna   (vara) tröga att läsa.
                I   consider those books-DEF (be)   slow to read

                'I consider those books (be) slow to read.'

       b. $[_{aP}$ de böckerna Pred $[_{AP}$ tröga $[_{CP}$ att läsa]]]

As indicated in (22a), the small clause may also optionally contain the infinitival form of *vara* ('be').[7]

In contrast to the TC-adjective, the adverb in the *go*-TC does not form a small clause predicate with the infinitival clause. The sentence seems to improve with an infinitival form of *gå*, but some speakers still find it ill-formed:

(23)   a.   * Jag anser   de   böckerna   trögt   att läsa.
               I   consider those books-DEF slowly to read

       b. ?? Jag anser   de   böckerna   gå trögt att läsa.
                I   consider those books-DEF go slowly to read

                'I consider those books slow to read.'

       c.   * $[_{aP}$ de böckerna Pred $[_{AdvP}$ trögt $[_{CP}$ att läsa]]]

The adjective in the TC and the adverb in the *go*-TC, then, have different status in the constructions.

2.4   Question-formation

TCs and *go*-TCs also differ in what strings they allow to move to the sentence initial position in questions. In both TCs and *go*-TCs, the adjective or adverb can move on its own to this position:

(24)   a.   Hur tröga är de   böckerna att läsa?
               how slow are those books-DEF to read

                'How slow to read are those books?'

       b. (?) Hur trögt går de   böckerna att läsa?
                how slowly go those books-DEF to read

                'How slow to read are those books?'

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[7]Alternatively, *vara* is always present but need not be pronounced.

As indicated, movement of the adverb in (24b) is not felt to be as good as movement of the adjective in (24a), but the sentence is still grammatical.

If the infinitival CP is moved along with the adjective or adverb, a clear difference in well-formedness between TCs and *go*-TCs can be discerned:

(25) a. Hur tröga att läsa är de   böckerna?
          how slow to read are those books-DEF
          'How slow to read are those books?'

     b. ?? Hur trögt   att läsa går de   böckerna?
          how slowly to read go those books-DEF

Also these data point to a structural difference between the two constructions. While the adjective and adverb can move on their own in both of them, only the TC allows for the infinitival clause to move along with it. Once again, therefore, the adjective and the infinitival clause behave like a constituent, while the adverb and the infinitival clause do not.

2.5   Optionality of the adverb

TCs and *go*-TCs differ syntactically in yet another respect. In the *go*-TC, the adverb can be omitted, while that is impossible in the TC. Without an adverb, the *go*-TC either gets a modal reading, expressing that it is possible to do something, or gets the standard scalar reading, in which case it is understood to include a null adverb expressing ease:

(26) a. Boken   går att läsa.
          book-DEF goes to read
          'The book is possible to read/can be read.' or
          'The book reads easily.'

     b. * Boken   är att läsa.
          book-DEF is to read

In section 4, I discuss the two readings of the adverb-less *go*-TC in more detail. The possibility of leaving out the adverb is an indication that *gå* is the actual *tough*-predicate in *go*-TCs, and that it thus has a radically different status from *vara* in TCs.

2.6 Summary

Although both TCs and *go*-TCs are formed productively, *go*-TCs are subject to a number of restrictions not applying to TCs. While TCs allow for a wide range of adjectives, *go*-TCs are limited to adverbs referring to ease (or lack thereof). Furthermore, although both constructions require their infinitival clause to be transitive, i.e. take both an internal and an external argument, only the *go*-TC has the requirement that the external argument be specifically an Agent. From a syntactic point of view, the constructions differ in whether the adjective/adverb forms a constituent with the infinitival clause. Evidence from small clause formation, movement and adverb omission shows that the TC-adjective is in constituency with the infinitival clause, while the *go*-TC-adverb apparently is not.

3 Analysis

Recall the initial observation made in the paper, namely that both TCs and *go*-TCs are constructions that ascribe a property to an underlying object appearing in the grammatical subject position. What is stated in these constructions is typically how easy or difficult it is (for an Agent) to do something involving the underlying object. The adjective and adverb must therefore stand in some particular relation to the infinitival clause. As seen in the previous sections, this is syntactically transparent in the TC where the adjective and infinitival clause behave like a constituent. In the *go*-TC, in contrast, the adverb does not form a syntactic constituent with the infinitival clause. The question therefore arises: if the adverb does not select the infinitival clause as its complement, how is the intuitive relation between them established? In the following, I will argue that the adverb is licensed by *gå* and that *gå* selects the infinitival clause. The adverb, *gå* and the infinitival clause are all part of the semantic predicate that is predicated over the subject. The adverb therefore relates to the infinitival clause, but in a different way from the adjective. This means that there is a crucial syntactic difference between *vara* in TCs and *gå* in *go*-TCs. Section 3.1 discusses the status of *vara* as a background to the analysis

of *gå* in section 3.2.

3.1 *Vara*

Vara is a semantically vacuous verb: a copula. Unlike, other verbs, *vara* nei-
ther contributes any meaning nor introduces any arguments of its own. In the
semantics, it is instead the complement of *vara* that functions as the predicate
and determines the properties of the resulting sentence (see e.g. Heim and
Kratzer, 1998). A stage-level complement of *vara*, such as *glad* ('happy'),
gives rise to an all-over stage-level interpretation of the sentence, and is the-
refore well-formed with an adverbial referring to a specific point in time, as
seen in (27a). An individual-level complement, such as *intelligent* ('intelli-
gent'), on the other hand, gives rise to an individual-level interpretation and is
not well-formed with an adverbial referring to a specific point in time, (27b):

(27) a.   Johanna är glad   (just nu).
            Johanna is happy (right now)
            'Johanna is happy (right now).'

      b.   Johanna är intelligent (*just nu).
            Johanna is intelligent (right now)
            'Johanna is intelligent.'

The subjects in these sentences get their thematic role from the adjectival
predicates rather than from *vara*. That this is the case can be seen in contexts
like ECM constructions, where *vara* is absent. Although *vara* is absent, the
arguments still have the same thematic role, indicating that it is not *vara* but
the adjective that assigns it:

(28) a.   Jag såg Johanna/henne glad   igår.
            I   saw Johanna/her   happy yesterday
            'I saw Johanna/her happy yesterday.'

      b.   Jag anser   Johanna/henne intelligent.
            I   consider Johanna/her   intelligent
            'I consider Johanna/her intelligent.'

Syntactically, the adjective is therefore likely to combine with its subject before the verb comes into the picture:

(29) $[_{aP}$ DP a $[_{AP}$ A ...]]

Unlike a number of functional verbs, *vara* does not have any thematic arguments and in this sense contrasts with, for instance, *bli* ('become'). *Bli* implies a change of state whose Cause(r) argument can sometimes be spelled out in an *av*-phrase ('by'-phrase):

(30) a. Per blev   glad   av beskedet.
          Per became happy by news-DEF
          'The news made Per happy.'

      b. Per var glad   ($^{??}$av beskedet).
          Per was happy (by   news-DEF)

Since *vara* does not contribute any meaning and disappears under ECM verbs, it will be analyzed as a functional verb in the higher region of the clause.[8]

As shown in section 2.3, the TC predicate behaves like any other small clause under an ECM verb:

(31) a. Böckerna   är   tröga att läsa.
          books-DEF are slow to read
          'The books read slowly.'

      b. Jag anser   böckerna   tröga att läsa.
          I   consider books-DEF slow to read
          'I consider the books slow to read.'

In the case of TCs, thus, the subject combines with the adjective-infinitival clause complex before *vara* is merged.

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[8]In line with Hicks (2009), I place *vara* in T in the trees in this paper. Given the well-formedness of sentences like (1), *vara* is probably situated lower than T. (The same applies to English *be*.) In the present context, however, the important thing is that *vara* appears higher than *gå*.

(1)   Böckerna   har   varit tröga att läsa.
       books-DEF have been slow to read

3.2 *Gå*

In section 2.3 above, we saw that *gå* differs from *vara* in that it can't be omitted under an ECM-verb:

(32) a. Böckerna går trögt att läsa.
          books-DEF go slowly to read
          'The books read slowly.'

      b. * Jag anser   böckerna   trögt   att läsa.
            I   consider books-DEF slowly to read

These examples show that the adverb and the infinitival clause do not form a small clause predicate. I take this as evidence that *gå* is unlike *vara* in not being a copula verb.

    Gå appears in a number of different structures and can be either a lexical or a functional verb. As a lexical verb, it is a verb of motion with an Agent subject and, typically, a complement in the form of a PP (location or direction) or a DP (a type of cognate object):

(33) a. Anna gick till affären.
          Anna went to shop-DEF
          'Anna went to the shop.'

      b. Anna gick en promenad.
          Anna went a   walk
          'Anna took a walk.'

Gå can also be a functional verb taking an abstract PP as complement (see Ekberg, 1989):

(34) a. Anna gick till anfall.
          Anna went to attack
          'Anna made an attack.'

      b. Mannen gick i exil.
          man-DEF went in exile
          'The man went into exile.'

On this functional use, which I will refer to as the light-verb use, the verb does not mean 'walk' in the literal sense. Although the motion semantics is

no longer concrete, it is retained in some bleached form. In examples like the ones in (34a)–(34b), the verb still implies dynamicity. Ekberg argues that the verb is specified as [+intention] and can only combine with complements specified in the same way.

As we know, *gå* can also appear with an infinitival complement. The infinitival clause can, but need not, be preceded by an adverb, as illustrated in the following *go*-TC and its adverb-less counterpart:

(35)   a.   Boken   går   lätt   att läsa.
            book-DEF goes easily to read
            'The book reads easily.'

       b.   Boken   går   att läsa.
            book-DEF goes to read
            'The book can be read.'

Recall from section 2.5 that two readings can arise in the absence of an adverb: either the sentence says that it is possible, as opposed to *not* possible, to read the book, or the sentence is interpreted as including a null version of *lätt* and thus have the standard reading. In the former case, *gå* has a modal (epistemic) reading. I leave the modal use of the verb aside for the moment but will return to it briefly in section 4. *Gå* in (35a) differs from the light-verb use in (34a)–(34b) above in not appearing with an Agent subject, but instead with an underlying object. Therefore, if the verb in the *go*-TC comes with the feature specification [+intention], this meaning component is not associated with the subject, but, if anything, with an implicit argument, similarly to the passive. Despite the differences regarding their subjects, light-verb *gå* and *gå* in *go*-TCs are similar in their requirements on the complement: both combine only with agentive complements, as discussed above and in section 2.2.[9] The same thing holds in another construction with *gå* that resembles the *go*-TC in

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[9]A possible analysis of light-verb constructions like the ones in (34a)–(34b) is that *gå* is a control verb selecting a small clause complement consisting of the PP and a PRO subject. A piece of evidence in favour of an analysis involving control, rather than raising, is the fact that light-verb *gå* cannot take an expletive subject. This could be taken to mean that *gå* assigns a thematic role to its subject. See section 3.4 for control properties of *go*-TCs.

meaning, but takes a nominalized verb as complement instead of an infinitival clause:

(36)   Hur går det med uppsatsskrivandet/   skrivandet   (av
            how goes it   with paper.write-ANDE.DEF/ write-ANDE.DEF (of
            uppsatsen)?
            paper-DEF)
            'How's the paper writing?'

As in *go*-TCs, verbs with Theme subjects, e.g. *falla* ('fall') and *ramla* ('stumble'), and Experiencer subjects, e.g. *ogilla* ('unlike') and *tycka om* ('like'), are odd in these constructions. They are either ill-formed altogether or get a coerced agentive reading:

(37)   a.   * Hur går det med fallandet/ramlandet?
               how goes it   with fall-/stumble-ANDE.DEF

      b.   * Hur går det med ogillandet/omtyckandet (av den nya
               how goes it   with unlike-/like-ANDE.DEF (of the   new
               strukturen)?
               structure-DEF)

In *go*-TCs and nominal constructions like the ones above, *gå* is similar to the light-verb in being a dynamic verb implying an Agent at some level but not retaining its lexical motion semantics. This is the reason, I will argue, that *gå* in *go*-TCs only allows for certain types of modifier. Recall from section 2.1 that *go*-TCs are restricted to expense-type adverbs, while TCs, in addition, allow for psych-type adjectives:

(38)   a.   Boken   är lätt/rolig att läsa.
               book-DEF is easy/fun to read
               'The book is easy/fun to read.'

      b.   Boken   går lätt/*roligt   att läsa.
               book-DEF goes easily/funnily to read
               'The book reads easily.'

(38a) says of some book that it is easy or fun with respect to reading it. As seen in (38b), the *go*-TC, in constrast, can only state that the book is easy to

read, not that it is fun to read. Notably, this is not because *roligt* ('funnily') cannot co-occur with *gå*:

(39)   Pelle går   roligt.
        Pelle walks funnily
        'Pelle walks in a funny way.'

Roligt in (39) is a manner adverb. The manner is of the type that it gives rise to a psychological experience in some individual. Since this adverb specifies manner, it can only modify concrete processes, i.e. it needs to be linked to verbs with lexical content. While the lexical verb *gå* can therefore be modified by *roligt*, the functional verb *gå*, lacking lexical content, cannot. Expense-type adverbs, in contrast, do not state a manner in the same way and can therefore modify also verbs that lack lexical content, such as functional *gå*.

Since *gå* is a functional verb, but not a copula, we can assume that it is not merged directly in T (see footnote 8), but as a sister of the infinitival clause. I propose that the adverb is licensed by the verb:

(40) $[_{VP} [_{AdvP}$ lätt] går $[_{CP}$ att läsa de böckerna]]

If the adverb is not the head selecting the infinitival clause, but the specifier of V, we have an explanation for the movement restrictions at work in *go-*TCs. Recall from section 2.4, that the adverb cannot move together with the infinitival clause to the clause initial position. The corresponding movement operation in the TC is fine:

(41)   a.   * Hur trögt   att läsa går de   böckerna?
                 how slowly to read go those books-DEF

        b.   Hur tröga att läsa är de   böckerna?
              how slow to read are those books-DEF
              'How slowly do those books read?'

Following Abney (1987), I assume that *hur* ('how') heads a Degree phrase, DegP, that takes a scalar expression, such as an AdvP or AP as complement. Deg comes with an uninterpretable [WH] feature which is checked by the

interpretable counterpart in C. In the TC, movement of the DegP means movement of the entire AP including its CP complement:[10]

(42) $[_{CP}$ $[_{DegP}$ hur $[_{AP}$ tröga $[_{CP}$ att läsa t_j $]]]_k$ är$_i$ $[_{TP}$ de böckerna$_j$ t_i t_k $]]$

In the *go*-TC, on the other hand, movement of the DegP does not involve pied-piping of the infinitival clause since Deg only has the AdvP in its scope, (43a). In the sentence in (41a), DegP and CP must therefore have moved separately to two different specifiers of C, (43b). Judging from the ill-formedness of the sentence, this is not allowed.

(43) a. $[_{CP}$ $[_{DegP}$ hur $[_{AdvP}$ trögt $]]_k$ går$_i$ $[_{TP}$ de böckerna$_j$ t_i $[_{VP}$ t_k t_j $[_{CP}$ att läsa t_j $]]]]$

 b. * $[_{CP}$ $[_{DegP}$ hur $[_{AdvP}$ trögt $]]_k$ $[_{CP}$ att läsa t_j $]_l$ går$_i$ $[_{TP}$ de böckerna$_j$ t_i $[_{VP}$ t_k t_l $]]]$

So far, I have argued that the adverb in the *go*-TC is licensed by *gå*, sitting in its specifier position, and is therefore semantically restricted and does not form a constituent with the infinitival clause without the verb. As shown in section 2.2, *go*-TCs are restricted in yet another way: they require an agentive embedded verb. This property is unexpected since it suggests that *gå* can actually see the verb inside the infinitival clause. A question that arises is therefore what size the complement of *gå* has and, more specifically, if the infinitival clauses in TCs and *go*-TCs are different. Since the clause in both cases contains the infinitive marker *att* ('to'), it must be at least a TP. In fact,

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[10]In cases where the adjective in the TC moves to Spec,CP without the infinitival clause, one can either assume prior extraposition of the infinitival clause (right-branch adjunction), (1b), or movement of the infinitival clause to some projection above DegP (Spec,XP in (1c) below). In both cases, this would be followed by remnant movement of the DegP to Spec,CP, in the spirit of Kayne (1994).

(1) a. Hur tröga är de böckerna att läsa?
       how slow are those books-DEF to read

 b. $[_{CP}$ $[_{DegP}$ hur $[_{AP}$ tröga $]]_k$ är$_i$ $[_{TP}$ de böckerna$_j$ t_i t_k $]][_{CP}$ att läsa t_j $]$

 c. $[_{CP}$ $[_{DegP}$ hur $[_{AP}$ tröga $]]_k$ är$_i$ $[_{TP}$ de böckerna$_j$ t_i $[_{XP}$ $[_{CP}$ att läsa t_j $]$ X t_k $]]$

I leave open the question of how the structure in (1a) should be analyzed.

as will be shown in the next section, there are good reasons to assume that the infinitival clause is a full CP in TCs and *go*-TCs alike.

3.3   The embedded clause

In this section I show that both TCs and *go*-TCs include embedded clauses that are full CPs. The argumentation is somewhat indirect, relating to the classic issue of how TCs come to have grammatical subjects that are interpreted as the underlying objects of the embedded verbs. This section also shows that *go*-TCs are really a type of TC although they have a verbal predicate. Their verbal predicate is thus not merely of the raising type.

Hicks (2009) argues for an analysis of TCs that combines A and A'-movement of the underlying object to the grammatical subject position. I account for this analysis in section 3.5. The analysis builds on insights from Lasnik and Fiengo (1974) and Chomsky (1977). Arguing against analyses in which the subject of the TC is simply A-moved, i.e. raised, from the embedded object position (see Rosenbaum, 1967; Postal, 1974), Chomsky (1977) shows that TCs involve A'-movement of a WH-operator to the embedded Spec,CP.[11] Evidence for the presence of such an operator in TCs in English comes from the unavailability of *wh*-movement in TCs, (44a) degraded long-distance dependencies with intervening elements in Spec,CP, (44b)–(44c), and parasitic gaps, (44d)–(44e) (see Hicks, 2009, 541–542):

(44)   a.   * What sonatas is this violin easy to play on?

   b.   A guy like John is hard [to imagine [any woman believing [she could marry]]].

   c.   ?? A guy like John is hard [to imagine [any woman wondering [why she would agree to marry]]].

---

[11]In Chomsky (1977) the surface subject is merged in situ, raising the issue of how it comes to have the same thematic role as the object (in the embedded Spec,CP) (see critical comments in Hicks, 2009). Chomsky (1981) addresses this issue and proposes, following Nanni (1978), that the adjective+CP is reanalyzed so that the thematic role of the operator can be transmitted to the surface subject. For details and criticism, see Hicks (2009, 543).

d.   (?) Lloyd Webber musicals$_i$ are easy [Op$_i$ to condemn t_i [without even watching e_i]].

e.   * Lloyd Webber musicals$_i$ are likely [to be condemned t_i [without anyone even watching e_i]].

In Swedish, extraction out of WH-clauses is not banned (see e.g. Engdahl, 1982; Christensen, 1982). The fact that TCs can at all involve dependencies across arguments, (45) , however, suggests that they involve A'-movement rather than A-movement. Furthermore, as in English, parasitic gaps are licensed in TCs but not in A-movement contexts such as passives. This difference between TCs and raising constructions can be explained if the former but not the latter contain an operator in Spec,CP that can bind the gaps (Chomsky, 1982).

(45)   a.   Den här boken   är lätt [att övertala Anna [att lura Pelle
            this   book-DEF is easy to   persuade Anna to   trick Pelle
            [att läsa t]]].
            to   read
            'This book is easy to persuade Anna to trick Pelle into reading.'

       b.   Den här boken   går lätt   [att övertala Anna [att lura
            this   book-DEF goes easily to   persuade Anna to   trick
            Pelle [att läsa t]]].
            Pelle to   read
            'This book is easy to persuade Anna to trick Pelle into reading.'

(46)   a.   Boken   är lätt [Op$_i$ att kritisera t$_i$ [utan   att ha   läst
            book-DEF is easy [Op-i to criticize t_i [without to have read
            e$_i$]].
            e$_i$]]
            'The book is easy to criticize without reading.'

       b.   Boken   går lätt [Op$_i$ att kritisera t$_i$ [utan   att ha
            book-DEF goes easily [Op-i to criticize t_i [without to have
            läst   e$_i$]].
            read e$_i$]]
            'The book is easy to criticize without reading.'

   c.   * Boken$_i$ kan [kritiseras/bli   kritiserad   t$_i$
           book$_i$-DEF can criticize-PASS/become criticize-PPTC t$_i$
           [utan   att ha   läst e$_i$]]
           [without to have read e$_i$]]

As seen in these examples, TCs and *go*-TCs show the same pattern. This is further evidence that the *go*-TC is really a type of TC. In both cases, the embedded clause is thus a CP hosting an operator in the Spec,CP position. The contrast between the constructions as regards their restrictions on the embedded verb cannot, then, be related to a difference in size of the complement clause.

3.4   The implicit argument

The situation in *go*-TCs with regard to the embedded verb is reminiscent of control environments, i.e. environments where a matrix subject controls an embedded subject. In some cases, the control verb imposes restrictions, not only on what type of CP it takes as complement (see Landau, 2001), but also on what type of verb it allows to appear inside the CP. The controlled subject for matrix verbs like *manage* and *agree*, for instance, can have the role of Agent but not Experiencer. The verb *want*, on the other hand, does not impose any restrictions and its embedded subject can be an Agent as well as an Experiencer:

(47)   a.   I managed PRO$_{Ag}$ to read the book.

      b.   * I managed PRO$_{Exp}$ to like ice-cream.

      c.   I agreed PRO$_{Ag}$ to read the book.

      d.   * I agreed PRO$_{Exp}$ to like ice-cream.

      e.   I wanted PRO$_{Ag}$ to read the book.

      f.   I wanted PRO$_{Exp}$ to like ice-cream.

A number of control verbs in Swedish show the same pattern. *Komma ihåg* ('remember'), *lova* ('promise') and *unvika* ('avoid'), for instance, can only control Agent subjects:

(48) a.   Jag kom ihåg   PRO$_{Ag}$ att köpa morötter.
           I   remembered   to buy carrots
           'I remembered to buy carrots.'

  b.   * Jag kom ihåg   PRO$_{Exp}$ att tycka om morötter.
           I   remembered   to like   carrots

  c.   Jag lovar   PRO$_{Ag}$ att köpa morötter.
           I   promise   to buy carrots
           'I promise to buy carrots.'

  d.   * Jag lovar   PRO$_{Exp}$ att tycka om morötter.
           I   promise   to like   carrots

  e.   Jag undviker PRO$_{Ag}$ att köpa morötter.
           I   avoid   to buy carrots
           'I avoid buying carrots.'

  f.   * Jag undviker PRO$_{Exp}$ att tycka om morötter.
           I   avoid   to like   carrots

In TCs and *go*-TCs, PRO in the embedded clause is controlled by the implicit argument in the matrix clause. In both constructions, the implicit argument alternates with an argument spelled out in a *för*-phrase ('for'-phrase):

(49) a.   Boken   är lätt för vem som helst$_i$ PRO$_i$ att läsa.
           book-DEF is easy for anyone   to read
           'The book is easy to read for anyone.'

  b.   Boken   går lätt   för mig$_i$ PRO$_i$ att läsa.
           book-DEF goes easily for me   to read
           'The book is easy for me to read.'

As we have seen, *go*-TCs, but not TCs, require their controlled subject (i.e. embedded PRO) to be specifically an Agent. The *go*-TC, thus, does not allow an embedded Experiencer subject, in contrast to the TC (the controlling PRO argument is not included in the following trees, cf (49a)–(49b), above):

(50) a.   Per är lätt PRO$_{Exp}$ att störa sig   på.
           Per is easy   to annoy REFL on
           'Per is easy to get annoyed at.'

b. ?? Per går lätt PRO$_{Exp}$ att störa sig på.
Per goes easily   to annoy REFL on
'Per is easy to get annoyed at.'

If TCs and *go*-TCs differ in this respect, the reason might lie in the control relation between the implicit argument in the matrix clause and the embedded PRO. That would mean that the controlling arguments should be different in the two cases. This is turn raises the question as to how these arguments are licensed. In the case of the TC, the implicit argument is licensed by the adjective, while in the *go*-TC, it is licensed by the verb. Adjectives differ from verbs in a crucial respect: verbs but not adjectives have an Event feature (or select for an Event argument) (see e.g. discussions in Rothstein, 1999; Basilico, 2003). The implicit argument licensed by the verb is therefore interpreted as an event participant, unlike the one of the adjective.

Although the implicit argument in both constructions is interpreted as a type of 'Experiencer of a property', this argument is at the same time, necessarily, interpreted as an Agent in the *go*-TC. The argument is an Agent by virtue of the event specification in the verb with respect to which it is interpreted. That there is a difference between TCs and *go*-TC as regards their Experiencer arguments can be seen when the constructions spell out these roles in overt *för*-phrases. In TCs, generic arguments are preferred over specific, non-generic, ones, while *go*-TCs are fine with specific arguments but ill-formed with generic ones:[12]

(51) a. Brödet   är lätt för vem som helst att baka.
bread-DEF is easy for anyone   to bake
'The bread is easy for anyone to bake.'

b. Brödet   är lätt ($^?$för Olle) att baka.
bread-DEF is easy (for Olle) to bake
'The bread is easy for Olle to bake.'

c. Brödet   går lätt   ($^{??}$för vem som helst) att baka.
bread-DEF goes easily (for   anyone)   to bake

---

[12]There is speaker variation as regards this, however. Although dispreferred by many speakers, generic Experiencers are fine in *go*-TCs for some speakers.

'The bread is easy for anyone to bake.'

d.   Brödet   går lätt   för Olle att baka.
bread-DEF goes easily for Olle to bake
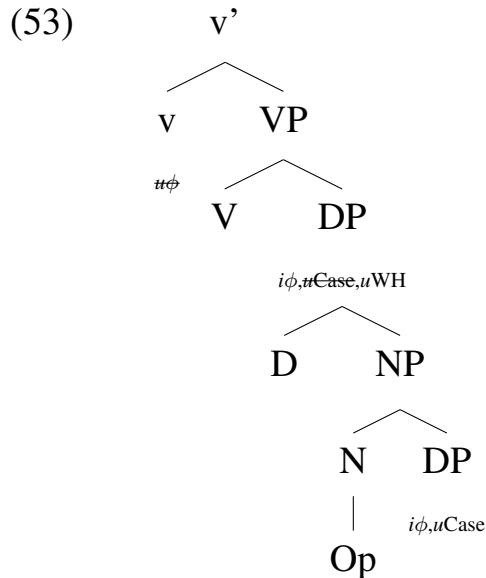'The bread is easy for Olle to bake.'

Generic arguments are ill-formed in *go*-TCs precisely because they cannot be linked to events in the way required. Conversely, specific arguments are infelicitous in TCs because they restrict the otherwise universal properties to specific individuals. I discuss this issue further in section 4.

3.5 Structures

Let's now turn to the syntactic derivation of TCs and *go*-TCs in more detail. As said in section 3.3, one of the challenging issues for analyses of TCs is how the subject of the matrix clause can be interpreted as the object of the embedded verb. Chomsky (1977) argues that the object is a WH-operator moving into Spec,CP. This analysis still raises the question of how the operator is related to the surface subject. Hicks (2009) proposes that the solution lies in the structure of the object: it is a complex DP consisting of both the operator and the referential DP (2009, 547):

(52)   DP
           iϕ, uCase, iQ,uWH

       D   NP

          N   DP

               iϕ,uCase

        Op

          John
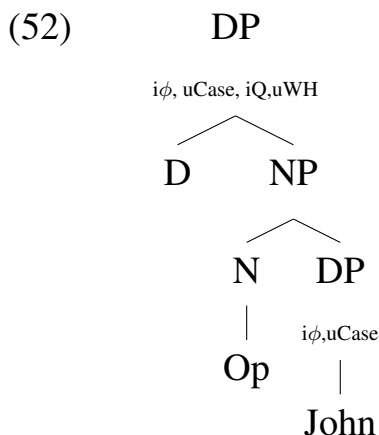
Both the higher and lower DP have interpretable ϕ-features and uninterpretable Case features. In addition, the higher DP has an uninterpretable WH-feature, and an interpretable Q-feature. When the complex DP is merged as a complement of the verb, the Case feature on the higher DP node is checked by *v*. The Case feature of the lower DP, however, remains unchecked:

(53)

```
                    v'
                   / \
                  v   VP
                 tɸ  / \
                    V   DP
                      iɸ,uCase,uWH
                         / \
                        D   NP
                           / \
                          N   DP
                          |    iɸ,uCase
                          Op
```

Having an uninterpretable WH-feature, the higher DP is still active after Agree with *v* and can therefore function as a goal when C scans the domain for an interpretable Q-feature. After Agree between C and DP has taken place, the DP moves to the specifier of C (via an extra Spec,vP, not indicated in the structure, see Hicks (2009, 548)):

(54)

```
                          CP
                       uQ,uEPP
                       /      \
                     DPᵢ       TP
                   iɸ,uWH     / \
                    / \     PRO  T'
                   D   NP       / \
                      / \      T   vP
                     N   DP    |   / \
                     |  iɸ,uCase to v  VP
                     Op              / \
                                    V  tᵢ
```
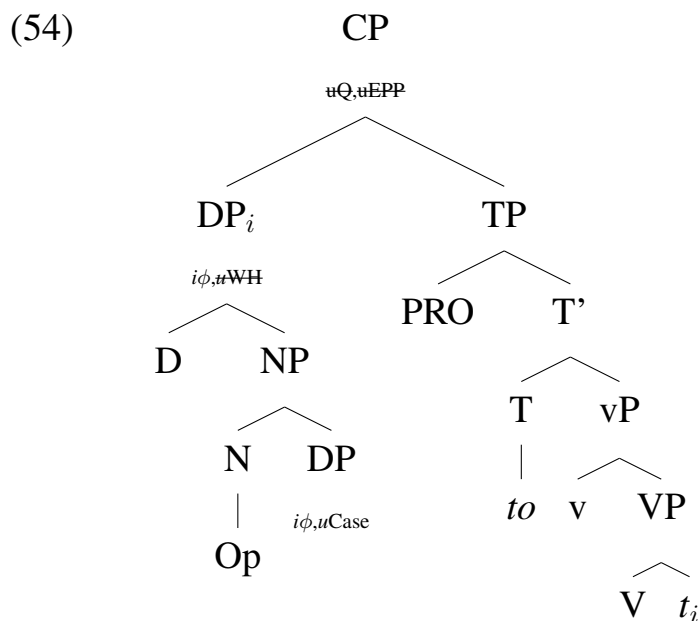
Up to this point, the derivation of TCs and *go*-TCs proceeds in the same way. Once CP is formed, however, they diverge.

In the TC, the CP is selected by the adjective, A. The adjective licenses an Experiencer *för*-phrase in its specifier position (Hicks, 2009, 550). AP, in turn, is selected by the functional adjectival head *a* and A moves into the

head position of *a*P. In Swedish, the adjective agrees morphologically with the underlying object only when the object moves across the adjective to the subject position (otherwise the adjective gets default agreement/agrees with the expletive):

(55)   a.   Böckerna   är   lätta   att läsa.
               books-DEF are easy-PL to read

               'The books are easy to read.'

       b.   Det är lätt   att läsa böckerna.
               it   is easy to read books-DEF

               'It's easy to read the books.'

Since the adjective agrees morphologically with the underlying object DP only when this DP appears in the subject position, i.e. has moved across *a*P, I take *a* to be associated with an EPP feature. When *a*'s ϕ-features are checked against the DP, the DP also moves to Spec,*a*P to satisfy EPP.[13] Crucially, however, the DP does not get case from *a*, and is therefore still available as a goal for T:

---

[13] The *för*-phrase does not intervene, although it appears higher than the DP because it is inactive, having its Case feature checked locally by P.

(56)   Derivation of the TC

TP
├── DP$_j$
│   iϕ,~~uCase~~
└── T'
     ├── T
     │   ~~u~~ϕ,~~uEPP~~
     └── aP
          ├── t_j
          └── a'
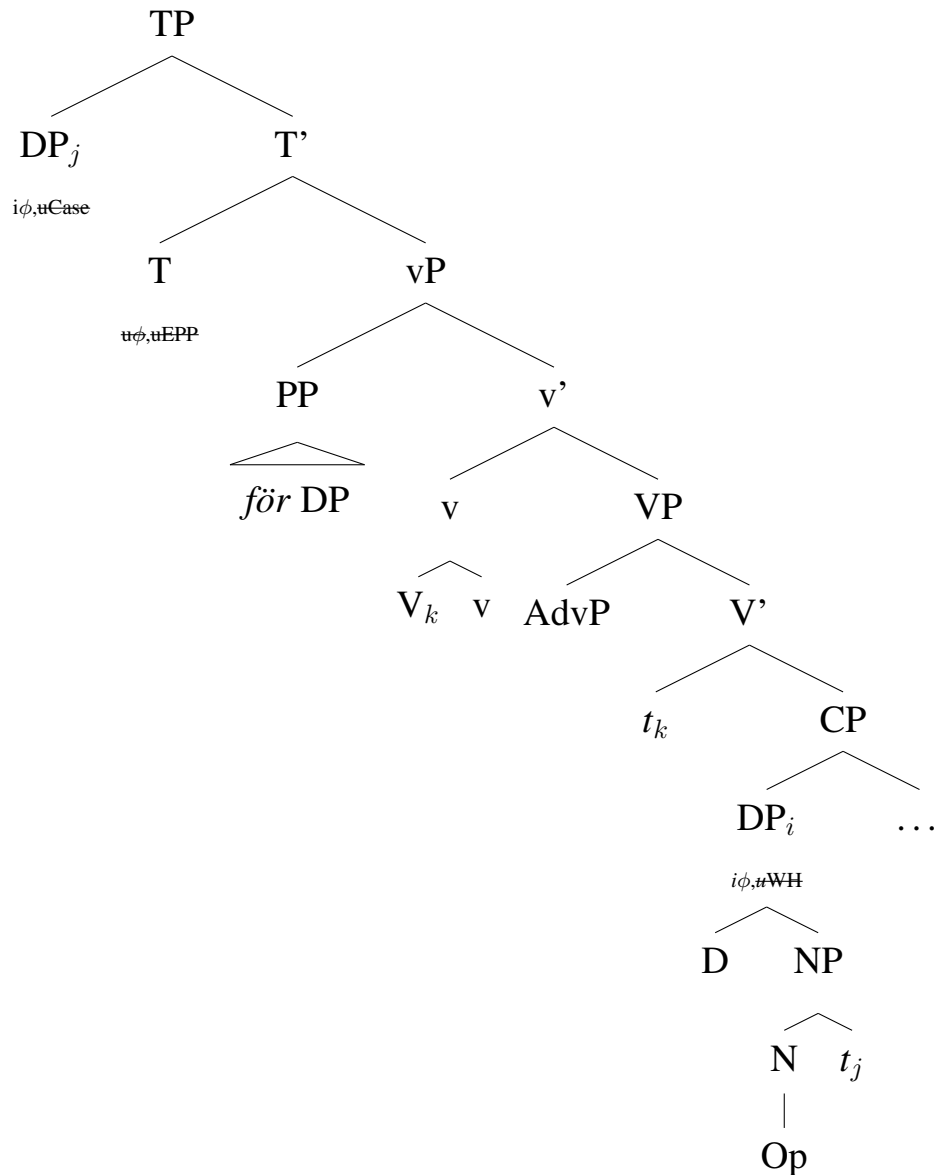   ├── a
               │   ├── A$_k$ a
               └── AP
                    ├── PP
                    │   ├── *för* DP
                    └── A'
                         ├── t_k
                         └── CP
                              ├── DP$_i$
                              │   iϕ,~~u~~WH
                              │   ├── D
                              │   └── NP
                              │   ├── N t_j
                              │   │   │
                              │   │   Op
                              └── ...
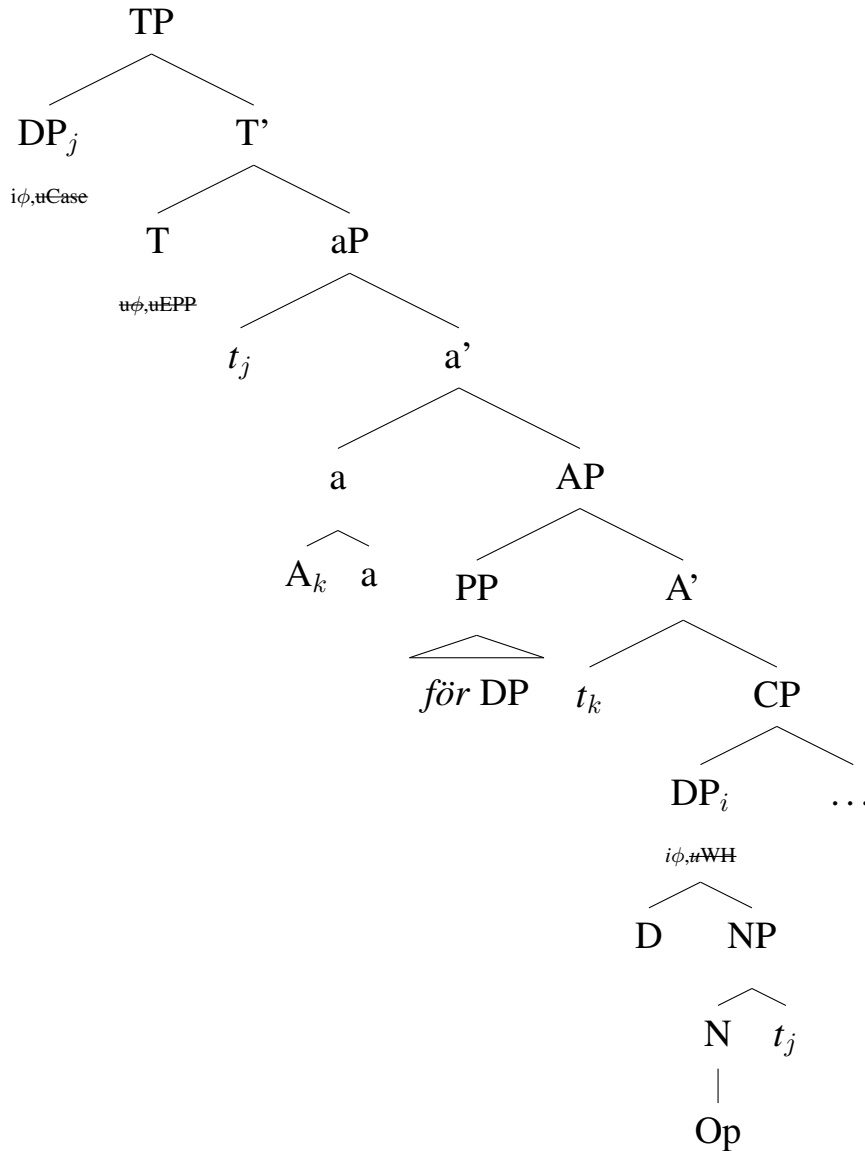
In the *go*-TC, on the other hand, the infinitival clause is selected by V. The adverb is merged in V's specifier position. VP is then selected by *v* in the specifier of which the agentive Experiencer *för*-phrase is licensed. This argument thus appears in the standard external argument position. V then moves into the head position of *v*P. As in the TC, *v*P is selected by T. T probes the structure and finds the highest DP,[14] which checks its features and moves into Spec,TP (possibly, the DP moves via an extra specifier of *v*, not indicated in the structure):

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[14]The *för*-phrase does not intervene. See footnote 13.

(57)   Derivation of the *go*-TC

```
                        TP
                ╱              ╲
            DP_j                 T'
          iφ,u̶C̶a̶s̶e̶          ╱        ╲
                        T              vP
                    u̶φ̶,u̶E̶P̶P̶      ╱          ╲
                              PP              v'
                            ╱    ╲         ╱      ╲
                         för DP   v            VP
                                ╱  ╲       ╱        ╲
                              V_k   v   AdvP          V'
                                              ╱          ╲
                                            t_k            CP
                                                        ╱      ╲
                                                     DP_i        …
                                                  iφ,u̶u̶WH
                                                  ╱    ╲
                                                 D      NP
                                                      ╱    ╲
                                                     N      t_j
                                                     │
                                                     Op
```

Since Swedish is a V2 language, the verb moves further up to C and the subject moves to its specifier, in both TCs and *go*-TCs.

4   On the interpretation

Although TCs and *go*-TCs in many cases appear to have the same meaning, there are contexts in which their meanings can be teased apart. Consider the following sentences again:

(58)   a.   Artikeln   är lätt att läsa.
                paper-DEF is easy to read
                'The paper is easy to read.'

        b.   Artikeln går lätt   att läsa.
                paper-DEF goes easily to read
                'The paper reads easily.'

The sentences in (58) describe the paper as being an easy read. For many speakers, however, the nature of this property is interpreted as different in the two sentences. The following applies to those who recognize such a difference.[15] The TC expresses a property that is derived from the subject alone, i.e. a disposition (see among others Brennan, 1993; Greenberg, 2003). Dispositions are (in the ideal case) not dependent on external factors related to specific situations. The property stated in the *go*-TC, in contrast, holds of a particular situation. In other words, then, the *go*-TC names a property that is instantiated in an actual event, while that is not the case in the TC. This can be shown in two ways. Firstly, as mentioned in section 3.4 above, TCs and *go*-TCs differ in what type of Experiencer arguments they license in their *för*-phrase. TCs are fine with generic arguments but not with specific ones as they clash with the dispositions referred to. *Go*-TCs, on the other hand, are infelicitous with generic arguments, but well-formed with specific ones:

(59)   a.   Det brödet   är lätt att baka för vem som helst/$^?$Pelle.
                that bread-DEF is easy to bake for anyone/Pelle
                'That bread is easy to bake for anyone/Pelle.'

        b.   Det brödet   går lätt   att baka för $^{??}$vem som helst/Pelle.
                that bread-DEF goes easily to bake for anyone/Pelle
                  'That bread is easy to bake for anyone/Pelle.'

Generic Experiencers are not well-formed in *go*-TCs because they abstract away from the actual events (specific situations) that these constructions are linked to. Conversely, specific arguments are infelicitous in TCs because, as mentioned above, it is in the nature of dispositions that they hold universally.

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[15]For those who do not get a semantic difference between TCs and *go*-TCs, the syntactic differences still apply, of course.

In other words, they are not linked to events and, therefore, do not vary across events or individuals, at least in the ideal case. With specific arguments, TCs thus become less disposition-like.

Secondly, if a *go*-TC is combined with a clause denying the existence of any events where the property is instantiated, the resulting sentence is a contradiction. The TC, in contrast, can be combined with such a clause without a contradictory result:

(60) a.   Boken   är lätt att läsa men ännu har ingen   gjort det.
        book-DEF is easy to read but yet   has nobody done it
        'The book is easy to read but nobody has read it so far.'

     b. # Boken   går lätt   att läsa men ännu har ingen   gjort det.
        book-DEF goes easily to read but yet   has nobody done it
        'The book is easy to read but nobody has read it so far.'

The TC in the first part of the sentence in (60a) can be uttered by someone who has not read the book but still knows enough about it to give the judgement that it is an easy read. The person might know that the book includes pictures, has short chapters, has an easy language, etc, and can, based on that knowledge, conclude that the books is an easy read. The second part of the sentence does therefore not conflict with the first part. The *go*-TC in the first part of (60b), on the other hand, cannot felicitously be uttered by someone who has not read the book (or has knowledge about the book based on someone else's reading it). The *go*-TC thus needs to be based on an actual reading experience, i.e. an actual event. To sum up, *go*-TCs describe a behaviour of their subject in an actual event, while TCs are not based on events but on inherent properties of the subject.

Interestingly, as regards event implication, *go*-TCs that do not include an overt adverb are more like TCs than standard *go*-TCs, on one of their readings.

(61)   Artikeln   går att läsa men ännu har ingen   gjort det.
        paper-DEF goes to read but yet   has nobody done it
        'The paper can be read but nobody has done it so far.'

The first part of the sentence in (61) can have two readings: either it says that it is possible to read the book (as stated in the translation) or it says the book

is easy to read, in which case it includes a phonologically null instance of *lätt*. The former reading is modal and is well-formed with a continuation denying the existence of any reading events involving the paper, as can be seen in (61). The second reading, on which *lätt* is understood to be present, on the other hand, cannot be followed by a clause with this meaning, precisely as in (60b) above. Unlike the non-modal (i.e. the usual) reading, the modal reading is not based on events and is a true disposition ascription.[16] Since modal *gå* differs quite radically from *gå* in *go*-TCs in lacking an event feature, I conclude that they are different verbs, i.e. occupy the head position of different functional projections. Notably, the non-modal meaning indeed arises only in the presence of an adverb—whether overtly expressed or not. This points to a close relation between *gå* and the adverb, as argued for in this paper.

To conclude then, TCs are dispositional sentences: they do not in themselves imply the existence of an event. Of course, it can often still be assumed that the observation reported in the TC is actually based on an event (because that would be the most likely way to know about the property). But, as stated, this meaning is not part of the sentence itself. In *go*-TCs, in contrast, the properties talked about must be instantiated in events. In this sense, they are in fact not true dispositionals. Since functional *gå* is so bleached in its meaning, however, it might (sloppily) sometimes be used almost like a copula verb, and thereby give rise to a reading that is near-identical to the one in the TC. TCs and *go*-TCs can therefore often be used interchangeably.

5   Concluding remarks

A general division of labour between adjectives and adverbs is one where the former modify, or predicate over, individuals while the latter modify events. In the context of TC, however, this clear division of labour at first seems to be blurred. As has been shown in this paper, there are two types of TC in Swedish: the standard adjectival one as well as a verbal one. The latter,

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[16]*Able*-adjectives are canonical examples of dispositions with this modal meaning. See Dahl (1975) for discussion.

which has been referred to as a *go*-TC, features the verb *gå* followed by an adverb, instead of *vara* and an adjective. The adverbs appearing in *go*-TCs have corresponding adjectival forms appearing in TCs. The adverb and adjective moreover seem to have the same function with respect to the infinitival clause in the constructions.

On closer inspection, however, it turns out the adverb in the *go*-TC differs syntactically from the adjective in the TC in not taking the infinitival clause as complement. In the *go*-TC, it is instead the verb *gå* that selects the infinitival clause and licenses the adverb. The adjective and adverb, then, have quite different syntactic status in the constructions. Furthermore, the verb in the *go*-TC is not simply a raising predicate. Instead, it shows all the relevant properties of a *tough*-predicate. That is, *go*-TCs can be shown to involve A'-movement of an operator from the embedded object position, to Spec,CP, precisely like adjectival TCs.

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