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Small Clauses in Swedish
Towards a Unified Account

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2003

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For Johan –
my friend,
my love
and my guiding-star

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1 Small Clauses in Swedish

1.1 Introduction

A full clause like (1:1) consists of a subject and a finite predicate in a relation, where a proposition is expressed about the subject *Kalle* by means of the predicate *kastade (bollen)*, "threw (the ball)".

(1:1) Kalle kastade bollen.
Kalle threw ball-the, "Kalle threw the ball."

The same situation occurs for Small Clauses like (1:2), but Small Clauses are nevertheless not equal to full clauses. We may say that with Small Clauses only the proposition, here a non-finite nexus relation, remains.

(1:2a) Lisa såg [$_{SC}$ Kalle kasta bollen].
Lisa saw [Kalle throw ball-the], "Lisa saw Kalle throwing the ball."
(1:2b) [$_{SC}$ Med bollen kastad] började Kalle springa.
[with ball-the thrown] started Kalle run, "With the ball thrown, Kalle started to run."

A Small Clause is usually defined as a clause with respect to meaning but not with respect to form: it lacks some formal elements required for a full clause, but it still has much of the same semantics as such a clause, cf. (1:1) and (1:2). The missing formal feature is seen for instance in the absence of a tensed verb form – the infinitive *kasta*, "throw" and the past participle *kastad*, "thrown" are non-finite forms of the verb – which is often considered to be the main characteristic of Small Clauses. Furthermore, the Small Clause 'subject' is not nominative as in (1:1), which is the usual case in full clauses for many languages; if pronominalised, *Kalle* in (1:2a) would be exchanged for *honom*, "him" and not the nominative form *han*, "he". This situation is sometimes expressed as Small Clauses differing from full clauses in being morphologically poorer (e.g. Cardinaletti & Guasti 1995, Starke 1995). Hence compared to full clauses, Small Clauses are in some way meagre.

This thesis is about certain types of Swedish Small Clauses which contain a non-finite proposition, or a non-finite nexus relation in the terminology of Jespersen (1924, chapter IX, 1937:42ff), cf. Noréen (1904:137f). Small Clauses of this kind are illustrated in example (1:3), namely an object-(accusative)-with-infinitive construction in (1:3a),[1] an object predicative in (1:3b) and absolute constructions in (1:3c)-(1:3e). The constructions in (1:3a)-(1:3b) are selected by a verb and constitute the complement of this verb. The absolute construction in (1:3c), on the other hand, can be regarded either as a complement or as an adjunct, depending on which part is in focus. The words in brackets constitute the complement of a preposition, whereas if this preposition is seen as part of the construction, one ends up with an adjunct Small Clause. This puts the construction in (1:3c) in a special position with respect to selection, cf. the structurally identical (1:3d) where there is no introducing preposition. Since the analysis I will propose accounts for either situation, I will not go any further into this difference here, but it should be noted that my focus first and foremost is the Small Clause proper. The construction in (1:3f) is also an adjunct; the construction type will be discussed in section 8.2, where I will show that the present analysis seemingly can be extended to other non-finite verbal clauses as well.

(1:3a) Jag hörde [henne sjunga].
I heard [her sing]

(1:3b) Vi målade [husen röda].
we painted [houses-the red]

(1:3c) Med [rosorna klippta] kunde han ta sig an gräsmattan.
with [roses-the cut] could he see to lawn-the

(1:3d) [Momsen inräknad] kostar boken 200 pund.
[VAT-the included] costs book-the 200 pounds

(1:3e) [Inräknat moms] kostar boken 200 pund.
included VAT costs book-the 200 pounds

(1:3f) [PRO_i lämnad ensam på stranden] ville pojken$_i$ inte bada mer.
[PRO left alone on beach-the] wanted boy-the not bathe more,
"Left alone on the beach, the boy did not want to bathe any more."

The primary argument for unifying these different constructions under the label Small Clause is that they all express a proposition without containing any finite

[1] In the theoretical framework that I will apply here, the Minimalist Program (see chapter 2), the object-with-infinitive construction is labelled "Exceptional Case Marking" (ECM). This is due to the general view that the Small Clause DP receives its accusative case from the matrix verb. I will use the label 'ECM' in the rest of my thesis.

verb as do full clauses. Since the construction (1:3f) lacks a visible 'subject', the proposition is in some respects however not explicit. Furthermore, except for the constructions in (1:3e)-(1:3f), the Small Clauses are selected by a verb or a preposition, and they are all more or less dependent on a matrix clause.

The Swedish Small Clauses presented in (1:3) can be divided into three groups (1)-(3) on the basis of their status in the clause; see the following enumeration. Recall that the complement status for the absolute constructions in group (2) is motivated by focusing on the proposition following the preposition. The division will be further elaborated in the subsequent chapters. Note that the focus in this dissertation is primarily on groups (1) and (2).

Type of Swedish Small Clauses	Status in the clause
(1a) ECM-constructions (1:3a)	Selected by a verb (complements)
(1b) Object Predicative constructions (1:3b)	Selected by a verb (complements)
(2) Absolute constructions (1:3c)	Selected by a preposition (complements)
(3) Absolute constructions (1:3d)-(1:3f)	Not selected (adjuncts)

As can be seen above, ECM-complements and object predicatives are grouped together since both are complements of a verb in the clause, whereas the absolute constructions at times can be complements of a preposition. The adjunct constructions in examples (1:3d)-(1:3f), where there are no selectors (cf. the absolute constructions in (2)), are free in an additional way as compared with the other Small Clauses. It will be shown later in the thesis that this division is also syntactically motivated.

Constructions other than the ones in (1:3) are sometimes included when discussing different kinds of Small Clauses or non-finite clauses – clause equivalents or clauses with the semantic value of a clause – for instance nominalisations (Ureland 1973:127, Teleman et al 1999[1]:201,222, [3]:151f), double object constructions (Larson 1988, Kayne 1994:72, cf. Collins & Thráinsson 1993) and particle constructions (Kayne 1994:77). I will not include them in my investigation, although they can probably be accounted for by the same analysis or a very similar one as the Small Clauses focused on.[2]

Furthermore, control constructions like (1:4) are also excluded from the investigation. A control infinitive like (1:4) differs from an object-with-infinitive

[2] According to my hypothesis, Raising verb constructions (see for instance Stowell 1981 and Burzio 1986) should be analysed on par with object predicatives. I will however not discuss these constructions any further.

construction like (1:3a) in one important respect: whereas the 'object' in the ECM-construction only has a semantic role in relation to the infinitive, the object in the control infinitive construction has semantic roles both in relation to the matrix verb and the infinitive (see example 1:4). The latter relation is often described as if the infinitival clause has an invisible subject of thought. See Lyngfelt (2002) for a thorough investigation of control constructions in Swedish. I will return to this and other differences between ECM-constructions and control constructions in section 4.2.3.

(1:4) Jag bad henne sjunga.
I asked her sing, "I asked her to sing."

Neither are Cleft constructions included in this study, although they have been analysed as Small Clauses by for instance Stowell (1981), Heggie (1988) and Svenonius (1998). See Huber (2002) for a thorough investigation. Note that the survey of the constructions just presented is very simplified and concise and that there is a variety of labels circulating, representing more or less strictly defined concepts – verbless clauses, non-finite clauses, small clauses, raising constructions – and such labels are also at times taken to include the constructions in (1:3).

Regardless of which construction is in focus, Small Clauses can be approached from several aspects, for instance which elements are missing compared to the full finite clauses. Furthermore, one can ask what the internal structure of the Small Clause looks like and how Small Clauses are to be interpreted, or how Small Clauses are discerned in the first place. The different issues of course yield different aspects of investigation and if one aims at answering all these questions at the same time, one has taken on an immense piece of work. Consequently, a great deal of research has been done in the Small Clause area, from different points of view and in different languages.

Since a detailed account of all kinds of Small Clauses in Swedish is out of the question, due to both time and space limitations, I will focus on the object-with-infinitive construction in (1:3a) and the absolute constructions in (1:3c)-(1:3d). Since the object predicative construction in (1:3b) in many respects is very similar to the ECM-construction, this will be discussed as well and analysed on a par with the ECM-complement. As pointed out, the constructions in (1:3e)-(1:3f) are discussed in order to show that the proposed analysis can be applied to other verbless clauses – Small Clauses – as well, which obviously is a crucial aim for a unified account; see sections 7.2.4 and 8.2, respectively. Throughout

the thesis the label 'Small Clause' will be used when referring to Small Clauses in general (any of the ones in examples (1:3a)-(1:3f)), whereas in the different chapters the specific Small Clause subtypes are highlighted.

There are several reasons for selecting absolute constructions and ECM-constructions for a thorough study. Examples of central areas for an investigation of absolute constructions are the following:

- the difference between past and present participles in the *med*-phrase
- the assumed (non-)dependency of the absolute constructions on the matrix verb
- the (limited) possibility to omit *med* in the absolute construction in Swedish
- the cross-linguistic use of the absolute construction

An absolute construction often has a participle in its predicate and the different properties of present and past participles are mirrored in the absolute construction. Furthermore, absolute constructions are not obligatorily selected by the matrix verb and do not depend directly on it with respect to tense; according to my view here, they are selected by the preposition *med*, "with", hence they are in these cases also referred to as *med*-phrases, "with"-phrases. There is a certain optionality with respect to the presence or absence of *med*, "with", see examples (1:3c)-(1:3d). Still, Swedish is more restricted than for instance languages like English, Spanish and Latin, where the absolute construction without the preposition is widely used. As previously mentioned, in this thesis the label 'absolute construction' is a cover term for both types (in line with e.g. Jespersen 1924, van Riemsdijk 1978, Gunnarsson 1994).

Turning to the ECM-constructions,[3] there are other related important issues; the important aspects are for instance:

- the similarity between the ECM-construction and the object predicative construction
- the cross-linguistic use of the ECM-construction
- the dependency of the ECM-complement on the matrix verb
- the selectional differences between different ECM-verbs

[3] Note that the label 'ECM-complement' refers solely to the Small Clause complement, whereas 'ECM-construction' includes the matrix verb, see examples (1:2a) and (1:3a).

As mentioned, ECM-constructions have several properties in common with constructions with object predicatives, which indicates that their syntactic descriptions should be similar. Since ECM-constructions exist in several languages, a study of them enables us to make interesting contrastive comparisons as well. Furthermore, ECM-constructions are the most matrix dependent Small Clauses with respect to tense relations as well as necessity of selection; the complementation is probably lexically determined in a similar way as for transitive constructions. Finally, the differences with respect to selection between different types of ECM-verbs actually have an impact on the ECM-complement as well.

Another reason for choosing ECM-constructions as an object for a closer study is that the traditional structural description of Small Clauses, illustrated in Figure 1:1, can not be applied (see e.g. Haegeman 1998:123ff); see chapter 3 for a brief presentation of previous analyses. In Figure 1:1, ZP is assumed to be the Small Clause, which consists of two different parts, XP and YP. Haegeman (1998:124) rejects this analysis on minimalist assumptions (regardless of which construction (Small Clause) type it is assumed to describe), since it violates a requirement of the X'-theory: two maximal projections can not be sisters (unless in case of adjunction), since all phrases are assumed to be projections of a head.

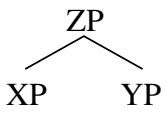

Figure 1:1. The traditional (syntactic) description of Small Clauses.

Of the possible structures at hand, I will argue in favour of Swedish Small Clauses being most properly analysed as phrases with a functional categorial head, usually vPs, but sometimes also aPs or pPs. This idea will be outlined in detail in section 4.2. It follows, then, that the differences that exist between the Small Clause types presented are explained as an effect of their status and function in the clause, i.e. are due to their linkage to the matrix clause and the impact of this matrix clause on the Small Clause construction. The hypothesis I propose implies that there is no complementiser in Small Clauses and no functional projections like TP (or CP) above vP in Small Clauses. The appealing impact of a such analysis is a parallelism between clauses (full clauses being CPs, Small Clauses vPs) and phases (Chomsky 2001a:11ff, 2001b:4f), i.e. the derivational levels where information is sent to LF and PF. See Figures 1:2 and 1:3.

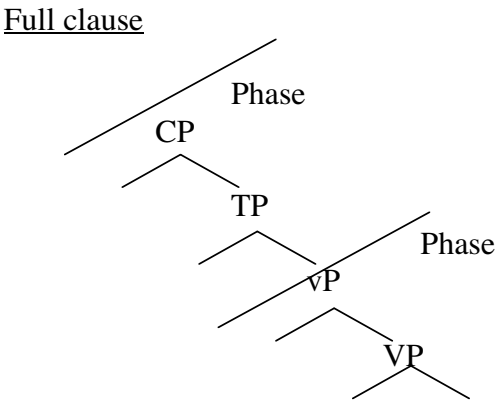

Figure 1:2. The full clause.

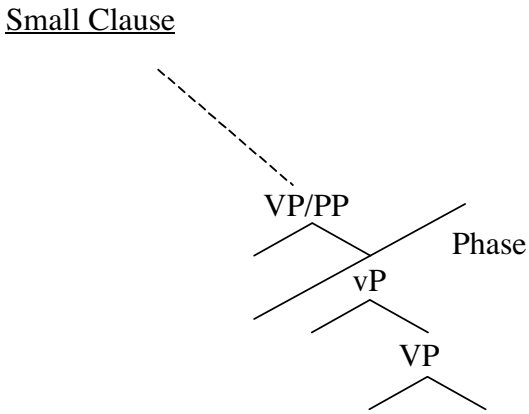

Figure 1:3. The Small Clause.

An advantage of my approach is that I will be able to provide a unified account for most – and in the best scenario for all – types of Small Clauses which in some way or other are selected, an account which can be extended to include also different types of non-selected Small Clauses.

1.2 Small Clauses, small clauses and other clauses

To the best of my knowledge there has been no attempt to strictly define the properties of a Small Clause, if one takes the concept to include more than one type of clause/construction at the same time (see e.g. the different approaches in Cardinaletti & Guasti 1995 (eds.), Staudinger 1999 and Felser 1999). Although Small Clauses are always propositions with the same overall semantics as full clauses, this does not mean that all propositions are Small Clauses: Small Clauses express propositions which need to be temporally anchored in a matrix clause, unlike the propositions expressed in full clauses. When discussing Small Clauses, one usually uses the ostensive definition and thereby declares which phrases are to be considered Small Clauses (see among many others e.g. Aarts 1992 on non-verbal Small Clauses and Teleman et al 1999[3]:151f,702ff on nominal reduced clauses). Neither are there any definite criteria determining which constructions are to be included in the Small Clause category, except for negative criteria like the lack of crucial formal elements such as a finite verb, as already mentioned.

In this section I will present some characteristics of Small Clauses in order to show that there are some important properties unifying Small Clauses and distinguishing them from full clauses. Regardless of the non-consensus about

which constructions are to be considered Small Clauses – or non-finite verbal clauses – in the first place, there are some characteristics of Small Clauses which together discern them from full (subordinate) clauses. The first characteristic, however, goes for (subordinate) clauses as well as for all types of Small Clauses and is listed here due to its importance when distinguishing Small Clauses from other phrases (e.g. with respect to PPs, see sections 7.2.1 and 7.2.3).

- In every Small Clause a proposition is expressed.
- A Small Clause is tied to a matrix clause.
- Small Clauses are not linked to their matrix verb/clause by a complementiser.

Firstly, as was pointed out, with respect to pure semantics all Small Clauses express a proposition (a syntactic relation) like full clauses, although this proposition is not expressed by a finite verb and a nominative subject. Nevertheless, one has to deal with the question whether there are semantic differences between full clauses and Small Clauses, mirroring the presence of more functional projections in full clauses (TP/CP). As will be shown, there are some differences between for instance ECM-complements and subordinate clauses following perception verbs.

Secondly, all types of (selected) Small Clauses are part of a superior clause, a matrix clause, a property they share with ordinary embedded clauses but not with ordinary main clauses.[4] Also adjunct (non-selected) Small Clauses take part in a matrix clause, although they are not selected by any part of it; still however, there are often connections to the matrix via co-indexing and the Small Clause needs the matrix clause in order to be anchored in space and time. Since a matrix clause needs only the semantic value of a clause, a Small Clause can constitute the matrix clause of another Small Clause. This is illustrated in example (1:5) where *se*, "see" is the predicate in the ECM-complement of *såg*, "saw" but at the same time constitutes the matrix verb of the second ECM-complement *henne bada naken*, "her bathe naked". Theoretically, there are no restrictions with respect to the number of iterations of matrix insertion.

[4] The fact that a Small Clause needs to be tied to a matrix clause furthermore excludes so-called Mad Magazine sentences, exemplified in (i), from Jespersen (1924:131), and (ii).

(i) He a gentleman!
(ii) Her cheat on me?

(1:5) Jag såg$_{\text{MATRIX}}$ [$_{\text{SC}}$ Kalle se$_{\text{MATRIX}}$ [$_{\text{SC}}$ henne bada naken]].
I saw [Kalle see [her bathe naked]]

Thirdly, there is no visible linkage between a matrix clause and a Small Clause, a situation which differs sharply from the one found between a matrix clause and a subordinate clause, where the linkage is usually signalled by a complementiser.[5] This is illustrated in Figures 1:4 and 1:5. A consequence of the lack of overt complementiser in the Small Clause is that there is no element giving information about how the Small Clause is related to the matrix clause.

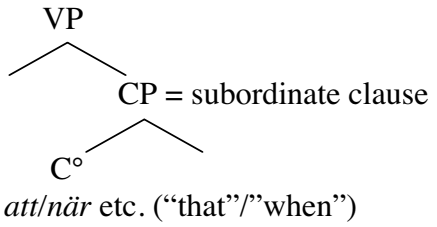

Figure 1:4. The subordinate clause.

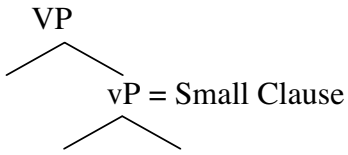

Figure 1:5. The Small Clause complement.

Even if there is no overt complementiser in an ECM-construction or object predicative construction, it is naturally theoretically possible that there is a hidden CP or some kind of functional domain involved in Small Clauses in addition to vP. Analyses of this type are briefly summarised in chapter 3 and are later rejected in section 4.2.2. As mentioned, the hypothesis to be defended here is that vP (aP/pP) is the highest projection in Small Clauses.

---

[5] There is one exception from this in Swedish, namely the so-called conditional FFK-clause, a clause which is embedded in a matrix clause but nevertheless has the form of a main clause interrogative (e.g. Teleman et al 1999[4]:647f). This is illustrated in (i).

(i) Regnar det imorgon stannar jag hemma.
rains it tomorrow stay I home

One could claim that the examples in (ii)-(iii) should be exceptions as well, but in these cases the complementiser presumably is implicitly present and only phonetically unexpressed. Example (i) is ungrammatical with respect to word order if the complementiser is added, whereas in (ii)-(iii) the constructions are still grammatically correct, which motivates a distinction between the type in (i), on the one hand, and the ones in (ii)-(iii), on the other.

(ii) Jag tror Ø hon kommer. (Ø = *att*, "that")
I think she comes
(iii) Pojken Ø du mötte på vägen… (Ø = *som*, "which/that")
boy-the you met on street-the

1.3 Outline

After having presented the Small Clause concept and some characteristics of Small Clauses, I will now briefly present the content and outline of the present work.

In chapter 2, I present the theoretical framework chosen for my work, the Minimalist Program following Chomsky (in particular 2001a,b), elaborated in Pesetsky & Torrego (2001, 2002). According to this framework, the derivation is a computational system driven by features and merging of these features. Section 2.2 is devoted to vP and the phase concept, and in section 2.3 I present some crucial concepts, namely different kinds of features, the relation Agree and the operations Move and Merge. In section 2.4 I discuss the role of the lexicon and θ-roles together with θ-role assignment and the Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis.

In chapter 3 some results of previous research in the Small Clause area are presented. The works presented primarily deal with ECM-constructions and absolute constructions, since these are the Small Clauses focused on in my thesis. Theories about ECM-constructions are elucidated in section 3.2. In section 3.3, I turn to the field of absolute constructions, which is far more divergent than the ECM-area, but on the other hand there is not the same amount of research done on this subject.

In chapter 4 I present the vP-hypothesis for Small Clauses. In section 4.2, I give arguments supporting my analysis and against for instance a CP-analysis of Small Clauses, and I also discuss the impact of my analysis with respect to tense in section 4.3. The Swedish (agreeing) past participle, which is crucial for the analysis of several constructions discussed in the thesis, is elucidated in section 4.4.

In chapter 5 I present the Small Clauses which are complements of a verb, namely the ECM-complement and the object predicative construction. The focus in section 5.2 is on ECM-constructions, of which I offer a structural analysis. In section 5.3 I address the different possibilities of selection for three groups of ECM-verbs. The object predicative construction is introduced in section 5.4 where I argue for an analysis on par with the ECM-construction. In section 5.5, I comment on the impossibility of ECM-complements and object predicative constructions with the (surface) structure [DP DP] in Swedish, and in 5.6, I discuss cases in which the pronoun *det*, "it" takes part in the Small Clause.

In the subsequent chapter 6, three special cases of ECM-constructions are discussed. Section 6.2 elucidates the behaviour of the reflexive pronoun *sig*

when it appears as the 'subject' of an ECM-complement of so-called ECM_{REFL}-verbs. Section 6.3 deals with the subject-with-infinitive construction, highlighting a discussion of the fact that the periphrastic passive construction is impossible to combine with an ECM-complement in Swedish. In section 6.4 I address a special variant of *låta*, "let".

In chapter 7, I turn to absolute constructions. The syntactic analysis of the absolute construction with different types of predicates is presented in section 7.2 together with some circumstances which are required in order for the construction to be grammatically correct.

Chapter 8 summarises the facts and theories presented throughout the thesis and recapitulates the most important results. In section 8.2 I also extend the proposed analysis to include other types of non-finite verbal clauses – Small Clauses – as well. In the final section 8.3 I give some concluding remarks.

2 Theoretical framework

2.1 Introduction

This section will present the relevant parts of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995, 2001a,b)[1] that I will use as the grammatical framework for the structural analysis of Small Clauses in Swedish. The Minimalist Program assumes that the language faculty is a property of mankind (S_0, also labelled 'UG' for Universal Grammar or 'LAD' for Language Acquisition Device) and that S_0 is the mental prerequisite for building up a language by means of Primary Linguistic Data, PLD, i.e. the language that the child is exposed to during the first three or four years of life. According to Chomsky (2001b:1f), every human language is a specification of S_0, where some parameters are marked. At S_0 no parameter has any value.

The aim of the Minimalist Program is to provide a descriptive and explanatory theory which accounts for S_0 as well as for the grammars of different languages. In addition to S_0 and PLD, that determine which parameters have a marked value in the languages the child is acquiring, a particular language is determined by general properties of the computational systems that participate in the derivation of utterances. Conditions that can be accounted for here are those which depend on the language faculty being affected by the systems with which it interacts, namely the so-called interface conditions (see the subsequent section 2.3).

I start this presentation in section 2.2 by presenting vP, which has a crucial role for my syntactic description of Small Clauses, together with the phase concept (following Chomsky 2001a,b), which is important primarily when comparing Small Clauses with full clauses. I continue in section 2.3 with an overview of features that play a central role in the derivation of a clause, namely the operation Agree (in 2.3.1) and the operation Move/Merge (in 2.3.2). In the same section I discuss EPP (in 2.3.3), a subfeature regulating which positions in a structure must be filled with phonetic material. Section 2.4 reviews the role of

[1] For an overview of the development of the theory over several decades and variants since Chomsky's *Syntactic Structures* (1957), see for instance Platzack (1998:1-37).

the lexicon and how syntax mediates between form and function, including a discussion of θ-roles and θ-role assignment.

2.2 vP and the phase concept

The question regarding which phrases are present in full clauses has been constantly discussed since Chomsky (1981), see e.g. Chomsky (1986), Pollock (1989) and Rizzi (1997). For my purposes, it will usually be enough to use the four phrases illustrated in Figure 2:1, see also Figures 1:2 and 1:3, namely from the top CP, TP, vP and VP. CP contains elements that anchor the clause in reality, i.e. with respect to discourse, the speaker's here and now, point of view etc. TP hosts the temporal information in the clause (adds a temporal feature). The act, event, or state is given its semantic value in the V-domain (see Chomsky 1995, Platzack 1998), of which the functional projection vP is the highest part. CP and vP are claimed to be phases (Chomsky 2001a), i.e. points where the information expressed in the structure is sent to LF (Logical Form) and PF (Phonetic Form), viz. roughly semantic and phonological systems interacting with syntax, as Figure 2:1 shows.

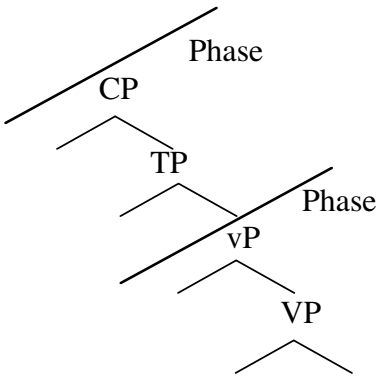

Figure 2:1. The two types of phases, CP and vP (following Chomsky 2001a,b).

In this section I will focus on vP, since most Small Clauses will be claimed to be vPs: they consist only of the lowest phase in the extended projection of the verb. Admittedly, we will also consider Small Clauses that seem to be projections of A(djective) and P(reposition). These will be analysed individually as aPs and pPs, still being the functional categorial projection of an element with an identical feature bundle as v° and still expressing the obligatory proposition of a Small Clause construction.

The assumption that there is a vP on top of VP in the sentence structure is a development of the analysis of VP as consisting of several VP-shells (after Larson 1988, also see e.g. Li 1990). A semantic motivation for assuming v above VP in the first place was that the external argument could be given its θ-role by v° instead of V° thereby providing an account for the observation that the external argument is not a direct argument of the verb (e.g. Marantz 1984:48f and Kratzer 1996:112,131). A syntactic benefit from assuming a vP is that this assumption offers an attractive way to capture Burzio's Generalization, which claims there to be a correlation between the presence of an external argument and a (structural) object case (see e.g. Burzio 1986, Chomsky 2001a, Arad 1999).

When vP was introduced, it was claimed that there were several subtypes of v:s,[2] corresponding to various kinds of 'light verbs' in languages such as Japanese and English, depending on the definition of the concept 'light' (see e.g. Grimshaw & Mester 1988, Jayaseelan 1988, Grimshaw 1990, Miyamoto 1999 and Butt 2002 for a discussion of light verbs). Although I will retain the assumption that there are different ways to lexicalise v°, for instance with a (visible or implicit) light verb – meaning roughly DO/CAUSE – with the lexical property to assign an AGENT θ-role to Spec,vP, I will claim that the syntactic value of v° is always the same; in the feature driven system I will employ here, v° always carries the feature bundle $[u\phi\ \tau]^{EPP}$. I will return to this in sections 2.3.1 and 2.3.3.

Regardless of the syntactic and semantic reasons for assuming vP, an analysis based on vP captures the observation that the verb seems to consist of one functional part (v), that contains syntactically relevant information and one lexical part (usually V), that does not (see e.g. Marantz 1997, Chomsky 2001a,b, Platzack 2000a, 2001a,b). This analysis is now generally accepted. Similarities between different kinds of lexical categories with respect to θ-role assignment, as in *He murdered the dean* and *His murder of the dean* have inspired some syntacticians, like Marantz (1997), to claim that the categorial information is solely determined by the functional head, hence verbs have the functional head v, nouns the functional head n and so on and so forth. These functional heads take a root phrase, √P, as their complement; thus, the difference between the verb *murder* and the noun *murder* is solely a consequence of different functional categories, as illustrated in Figures 2:2 and 2:3.

[2] See e.g. Chomsky (1995, chapter 5, 2001a:9), Harley (1995), Marantz (1997) and Arad (1999:1,8ff).

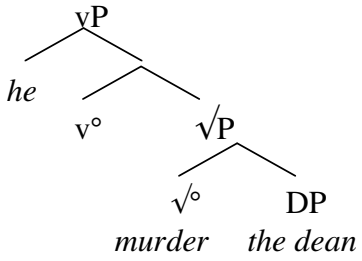

Figure 2:2. The derivation of a verb.

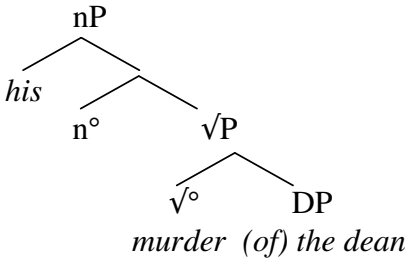

Figure 2:3. The derivation of a noun.

I will adopt this description here, although I will use V instead of √ in the ordinary case, in the presence of an explicit verbal element. Throughout the text, in all Small Clause constructions which contain a verbal element, the verb will be represented in V° in the shape of a full verb, as in Figure 2:4. When there is no verbal element in the Small Clause, the root structure √P in Figure 2:5 will be used; this figure gives the case for √Ps topped by an aP, although √Ps topped by pP°:s receive an identical description. It should be noted however, that p° carries an EPP-feature (section 2.3.3) only when it is part of a nexus relation, i.e. expresses a proposition together with a DP and this proposition is selected as an entity.[3] Note that the feature bundles are always posited in the functional head.

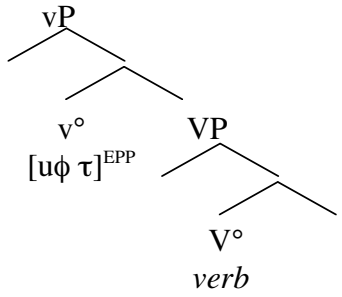

Figure 2:4. The vP-structure in the presence of a visible Small Clause predicate.

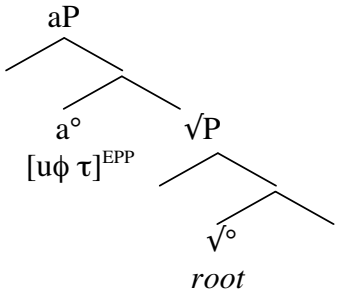

Figure 2:5. The aP-structure in the absence of a visible Small Clause predicate.

[3] The differences regarding selection and propositional status of p° is illustrated in (i)-(iii), where only *i*, "in" in (i) fulfils the request for a p° with [uϕ τ]^{EPP} and *på*, "on" and *vid*, "by" in (ii) and (iii), respectively, only contain [uϕ τ].

(i) Med [handen i fickan] gick han in i rummet.
with hand-the in pocket-the went he into room-the
(ii) Kalle såg [mannen] [på taket].
Kalle saw man-the on roof-the
(iii) [Huset] [vid vägen] var rödmålat.
house-the by road-the was red-painted

As previously mentioned, I have claimed that there are no further functional projections inside the Small Clause other than vP (aP, pP) projecting the corresponding categorial phrase. This means that there is no TP inside the Small Clause according to my analysis, unlike the ideas by many others, including for example, Kluender (1985), Hornstein & Lightfoot (1987), Chung & McCloskey (1987) and Tang (1988). On the other hand, it has also been suggested that different kinds of non-finite clauses – absolute constructions as well as ECM-comlements and resultative Small Clauses – do not contain any Tense at all, see e.g. Janson (1972:4), Gunnarsson (1994:126), Cardinaletti & Guasti (1995:14), Guéron & Hoekstra (1995), Stowell (1995) and Felser (1999) and the absence of a T-node in Small Clauses is stressed by Miller (2002:139), cf. the work of Egerland (2002). The issue is addressed in section 4.3.

Although there are sometimes obvious tense differences between a matrix clause and a Small Clause, which has been taken to indicate the presence of a tense feature in Small Clauses,[4] I will claim that the presence of a tense feature τ in the head of the functional projection vP (aP, pP) – see for instance Figures 2:4 and 2:5 – is enough to take care of the temporal interpretation of the Small Clause. The vP-is-enough proposal presupposes that the temporal interpretation of a Small Clause is a consequence of a relation between this τ-feature in v° and the external tense present in TP (in the matrix clause), cf. the subsequent section 2.3. I will return to the implications of such a proposal in section 4.3.

It should be noticed that my account differs superficially from Pesetsky & Torrego (2002), who assume a TP between vP and VP, suggesting that this lower TP hosts a τ-feature with the same functions as the τ-feature I have proposed in v°. The relation between τ in T° and τ in v°, according to my view, is that the tense in T° provides the setting for the tense in v°. It follows that the tense expressed in v° is dependent on the tense expressed in T°: unless there is a

[4] For instance, the absolute construction with past participle denotes a situation which is the result of an earlier event, see (i): with eventive perfect participles the event is always completed. According to Gunnarsson (1994:165), "[t]emporal reference is to the point of time when this event came to an end and the situation arose." The event of mowing the lawn precedes the event of taking care of the roses, but, on the other hand, the event expressed in the *med*-phrase always results in a STATE, which still holds when the event expressed in the matrix clause is introduced. See section 7.2.1.

(i) Med [gräset klippt] kunde han ta sig an rosorna.
with lawn-the mowed could he see to roses-the

marking of some kind that indicates otherwise,[5] the lower tense is identical to or contained in the higher tense. In the default case then, the tense in v° is simultaneous with the tense in T°. With this view, it is implicitly stated that tense can be detected in non-finite constructions as well as in finite ones, hence tense should be discerned from finiteness, where finiteness instead is defined with respect to anchorage to the time of the utterance point (see Enç 1987, Hoekstra & Hyams 1995 and Platzack 2001c; also see Egerland 2002:110).

Before closing this section, one further comment should be made with respect to phases. As previously mentioned, according to Chomsky (2001a:12, 2001b:4), vP together with CP are phases, as illustrated in Figure 2:1; I will assume nP, aP and pP to be phases as well. The phase concept was introduced by Chomsky in 2001a and further developed in 2001b, where CP is referred to as a strong phase, whereas vP is assumed to be weaker (Chomsky 2001a:12). A phase could – greatly simplified – be described as a step in the derivation where a pause arises and some material is sent forward to phonology and to semantics. What is spelled out is the sister of the head of the phase, hence VP in the case of v and TP in the case of C and this spelled out material can not be used in the derivation afterwards (except as an indivisible whole). The process can be described as a step-by-step derivation. The spelling out of the complement of the phase takes place when the derivation reaches the next phase.

Phases are subject to the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC), which states that only the head of the phase and its edge, i.e. the highest Specifier, are accessible from a higher phase. Since the phase vP is not closed until C is merged,[6] features of T have access to all material within vP, but as soon as C is merged, only Spec,vP and v° are available. The fact that an element has to be at the edge of the phase to be usable for further derivation is a consequence of the spelling out of the sister of the head of the phase.

2.3 Features, merging and the operation Agree

In this section I will outline the properties of the computational system which constitute the main part of the syntax of human languages as envisaged by the Minimalist Program. A model of the computational system is summarised in

[5] For instance the past participle ending that indicates that the lower (Small Clause) tense precedes the higher (matrix) tense, or the Latin future infinitive that indicates that the lower (Small Clause) tense follows the higher (matrix) tense.

[6] In the case of complement Small Clauses, the Small Clause phase vP is closed when the matrix verb phrase v° is merged.

Figure 2:6, after Platzack (1998:59, see also Chomsky 1995:22, cf. 2001b); the lines represent the computational system.

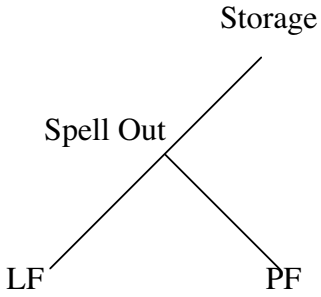

Figure 2:6. The minimalist model.

From the Storage material, which is to be used in the derivation, the so-called Lexical Array or Numeration is assembled. The computational system that derives the particular sentence starts by picking two elements (α and β) from the Lexical Array and putting them together. This is the operation Merge, producing a projection $[_{\alpha}\ \alpha\ \beta]$ with an internal binary structure.[7] Merge continues to apply until the Numeration is empty. The result is interpreted at LF, the interface of grammar to other cognitive and conceptual systems. As indicated in Figure 2:6, the computation of PF, the interface to the sensory-motor system(s), branches off at a point called 'Spell Out'. At Spell Out, all visible structures must be constructed.

The elements taken from the Storage can be seen as bundles of semantic, grammatical and phonetic features. These features are driving the derivation. In a feature-based system, only the interfaces are motivated and hence only features interpretable at a particular interface are allowed there. Thus, the computational system must be so organised that only interpretable semantic features are left at LF and only interpretable phonetic features at PF. The interface conditions provide for the sensory-motor and the conceptual-intentional systems having access to the information expressed in each language L. The important concepts of the computational system, i.e. the features and the operations Agree and Merge/Move, will be presented in sections 2.3.1 and 2.3.2, respectively.

[7] Theoretically, the product of Merge could also be a projection of β, $[_{\beta}\ \alpha\ \beta]$. I will, however, assume head-initial projections.

2.3.1 Features and the operation Agree

As mentioned, the computational system of human internal language is a feature driven system, working on bundles of semantic, grammatical and phonetic features. Recently, Pesetsky & Torrego (2001:361, passim) have shown how abstract Nominative Case can be reinterpreted in terms of a tense feature and Platzack (2001a,b) and Pesetsky & Torrego (2002) have used a tense feature to replace Accusative Case as well.[8] Since tense is a semantic concept, i.e. interpretable at LF, this approach is preferable to a description in terms of Abstract Case and I will therefore apply the tense feature approach in my account of Small Clauses.

To be able to exclude all non-motivated features from the computation, Pesetsky & Torrego (2001:363f, passim) claim that all features are motivated but come in two different guises, namely interpretable and uninterpretable, i.e. [F] and [uF] for the arbitrary feature [F] (see also Chomsky 2001a,b, Platzack 2000a, 2001a,b), 'u' for 'uninterpretable'. As pointed out, uninterpretable features are not allowed at the interfaces. Hence uninterpretable features must be deleted before a derivation reaches the interfaces: deletion of features occurs when there is a matching between an uninterpretable feature and its interpretable counterpart.[9]

To make the feature concept a bit more substantial, consider the concept number, which together with gender and person usually is subsumed under the label 'ϕ-feature'. ϕ-features are interpretable on nouns, where they have a clear semantic meaning (see also McCloskey 1991). However, ϕ-features may also occur on verbs and adjectives, see example (2:1), where crucial elements are indicated in boldface.

[8] See also Svenonius (2002).

[9] Pesetsky & Torrego (2001:364f) label this approach "Relativized Extreme Functionalism", where all grammatical features are assumed to have a semantic value. This semantic value however is not possible to express in all contexts. The Relativized Extreme Functionalism is an answer to a functionalistic approach to grammar that Newmeyer (1998:17f) labels 'Extreme Functionalism'. According to this school of thought, pairs of sound and meaning are the only content in the lexicon, i.e. there are no features which are only formally grammatical. Relativized Extreme Functionalism agrees with Extreme Functionalism in assuming that there is no need for purely grammatical features, but differs from Extreme Functionalism in assuming that an autonomous grammar is needed – for Extreme Functionalism, grammar is just a coincidence of the intersection between sound, meaning and function.

(2:1a) Er läuf**t** aber wir geh**en**. (German)
he rans.3.SG. but we walk.3.PL.
(2:1b) Träden var grön**a** och himlen blå**Ø**. (Swedish)
trees-the were green.PL. and sky-the blue.SG.

It is less clear that ϕ-features on verbs and adjectives have any semantic meaning – their presence here seems solely to be a way to signal which parts of the clause go together.[10] According to Pesetsky & Torrego (2001:359) the existence of uninterpretable features is a fact, although it is difficult to know why lexical items carry such features.

Pesetsky & Torrego (2001:361,364) analyse subject-verb agreement as an uninterpretable ϕ-feature (D-feature) on T°. Assuming in addition that the subject DP has an uninterpretable τ-feature (τ for tense), they are able to derive abstract Nominative Case. Thus, instead of the analysis in Figure 2:7, where T° assigns Nominative Case to DP, thereby licensing it, they propose the analysis sketched in Figure 2:8, where the uninterpretable features of T° and DP match their interpretable counterparts and thereby delete, leaving only interpretable features (Pesetsky & Torrego 2001:364, 2002:3). Similarly, the object DP has an uninterpretable τ-feature that is deleted when matched with the interpretable τ-feature in v° (for a slightly different implementation, see Pesetsky & Torrego 2002:3,11).

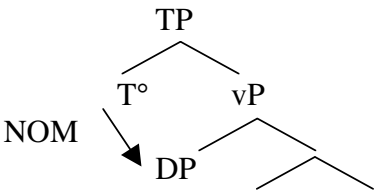

Figure 2:7. Licensing by means of Case-assigning (e.g. Chomsky 1995).

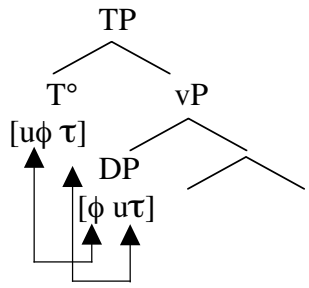

Figure 2:8. Mutual deletion of uninterpretable features (after Pesetsky & Torrego 2001).

The formal way to delete uninterpretable features is to use the operation Agree, a universal principle established between a probe and its goal when the probe has one interpretable feature and one uninterpretable feature and the goal has the same set of features with the reversed interpretability (Chomsky 2001a, Pesetsky & Torrego 2001, 2002, Platzack 2000a, 2001a,b). In Figure 2:8 the probe T° has the features [uϕ τ] and the goal DP in Spec,vP the features [ϕ uτ], hence the operation Agree will delete both uninterpretable features. Only heads are probes,

[10] But see sections 4.4 and 6.3.2 for a different analysis.

like T° in Figure 2:8. If the probe c-commands[11] the goal and there is no element closer to the probe with these features than the goal, the uninterpretable features are deleted.[12] See sections 2.3.3 and 2.4 for a discussion of the consequences of this.

Assuming that every argument DP carries the feature bundle [ϕ uτ], it follows that each argument DP must match with a head with the features [uϕ τ]. Such a situation is outlined in Figure 2:9, where I have illustrated the case with a transitive verb. Note that the feature bundle in v° (actually [uϕ]) is marked EPP – this indicates that the deletion of [uϕ] in v° must be caused by a phonetically visible element in v° or in Spec,vP. In the case at hand, the DP *Kalle* is merged in Spec,vP, thereby deleting both [uϕ] and EPP in v°. For a closer presentation of EPP, see section 2.3.3. The arrows illustrate the Agree relations established.

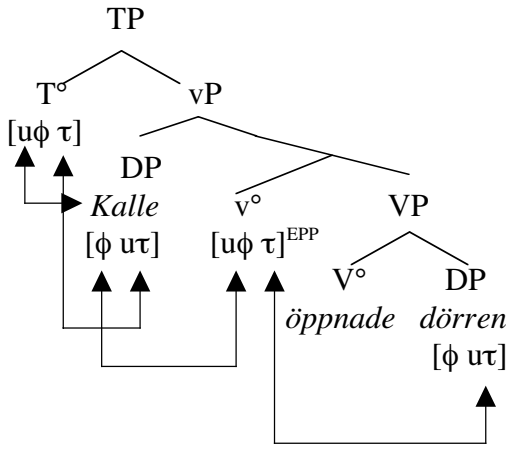

Figure 2:9. The deletion of uninterpretable features in a main clause.

In Figure 2:9 the DP *Kalle* deletes the uninterpretable ϕ-feature (and EPP) in v° and has its own [uτ]-feature deleted by τ in T°. The uninterpretable τ-feature in the complement DP *dörren*, "the door" is deleted by the τ-feature in v°. In Figure 2:9, there are two interpretable ϕ-features and two interpretable τ-features. Since each ϕ-feature corresponds to a DP, this part of the feature set-up does not warrant any extended discussion. It is presumably less obvious how the two instances of the τ-feature are to be understood. The higher τ-feature is associated with T° and determines how the event expressed is placed on a timeline which ultimately is anchored (through finiteness, in C°) in the speaker's here and now, see e.g. Enç (1987), Hoekstra & Hyams (1995) and Platzack

[11] C-command is defined as follows: "We say that α *c-commands* β if α does not dominate β and every γ that dominates α dominates β" (Chomsky 1995:35).
[12] For Pesetsky & Torrego (2001:362) 'closeness' is defined as "Y is closer to K than X if K c-commands Y and Y c-commands X".

(2001c). The lower τ-feature, in v°, determines the internal time (Aktionsart) of the verb phrase, hence indicates telicity (see e.g. Platzack 1978, Tenny 1987, Christensen 1995). Cf. the discussion of tense in section 4.3.

It is to be observed that τ in v° in Figure 2:9 is associated with the object DP, whereas τ in T° is associated with the subject DP. Since it is well known (see for instance Tenny 1987) that the object is the Event Measurer of transitive verbs and that the subject may be an exponent of the tense of the clause, this is a welcome result. Considering ϕ-features, one can notice that both the uninterpretable variants of this feature, in T° and in v°, are deleted by the subject DP, a result which is in line with the observation that subject-verb agreement is much more frequent in the world's languages than object-verb agreement.

For the purposes of this thesis, it will not be necessary to employ any features other than ϕ and τ, distributed as indicated in Figure 2:9. Thus, every DP has the feature bundle [ϕ uτ], v° the feature bundle [uϕ τ]^{EPP} and T° the feature bundle [uϕ τ]. Hence in my analysis there is no Case-feature, as in Chomsky (2001a,b): [uτ] on the DP can be seen as deriving case in my analysis.[13] Admittedly, the concept of abstract Case, as it is presented in Chomsky (1995:110ff), plays a central role in the description of how DPs are distributed. Case, however, has the theoretical drawback of being a purely grammatical feature – it has no interpretation at the interfaces. Since it is a theoretical goal of the Minimalist Program to minimise the use of features that are not motivated at the interfaces, the Case feature should be abandoned if there is a way to do its job assuming only motivated features. The feature-based system assumed here is seemingly a way to do this.

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[13] The feature-based analysis advocated here is motivated for instance by the situation in Icelandic, where Case is not related to positions (see for instance Barðdal 2001:72f) and by Russian copula sentences. See (i)-(iii). In (i) the nominative form of *Maria* is unexpected in this position, as is the INSTRUMENT in (ii), inducing a crucial semantic difference between (ii) and the use of nominative in (iii), where crucial elements are indicated in boldface. See e.g. Barðdal (2001) for a discussion of the imperfect relation between Case and θ-roles and furthermore Laka (1999).

(i) Mér Þotti Mari**á** vera gáfuð.
me.DAT. think.3.SG. Maria.NOM. be.INF. talented.NOM.SG.FEM.
"I thought that Maria was talented."

(ii) Oleg byl direktor**om** fabriki.
Oleg was manager.INSTR. factory.GEN., "O. was **a** factory manager."

(iii) Oleg byl direktor fabriki.
Oleg was manager.NOM. factory.GEN., "O. was **the** factory manager."

2.3.2 Merge and Move

As previously mentioned, in addition to the interpretable and uninterpretable features, the computational derivation is driven by the operation Merge. By this operation, a syntactic object α is merged with β, creating a new combined object K (Chomsky 1995:226, Platzack 1998:43, passim). The output is a larger unit, but since K is necessarily a projection of either α or β, no extra information is added.

Chomsky (2001b:7ff, passim) makes a distinction between internal and external Merge, concepts which will be important for my work on Small Clauses. External Merge results in a situation in which a DP is assigned a θ-role from the predicate, whereas internal Merge is the 'reuse' of a DP in the computation – a DP that has been externally merged in a θ-position may be internally merged in a higher position, establishing a chain with its earlier merged copy, with its earlier assigned θ-role maintained. When a chain is established by internal Merge, the same DP is represented in two different positions; the features hosted by the elements constituting the chain are shared, hence can be deleted mutually.

As is obvious, the availability of 'reusing' an already merged element is a way to express 'movement' in terms of the more primitive concept (internal) Merge. In practice, I will use this terminology together with the more traditional 'Move'-metaphor, without implying any difference. A consequence of internal Merge is that reconstruction falls out directly, and hence it is not a special operation. Also the copy theory per se can be seen as a direct result of the availability of internal Merge.

Against this background, Merge is a very simple operation. External Merge is illustrated in Figure 2:10 for example (2:2a) where *Kalle* is merged in Spec,vP. This structure is identical to the one presented in Figure 2:9. Internal Merge is illustrated in Figure 2:11 for example (2:2b), where *Kalle* is internally merged in the same position, as indicated by the dotted arrow (but externally merged in the complement of V°). Note that in both cases v° carries the feature bundle [uϕ τ]^{EPP}, hence the element merged in Spec,vP must delete both [uϕ] and EPP in v° (see more on EPP in the next section). Since the single DP is the Event Measurer in a case such as this, I will assume that [uτ] in DP is deleted by τ in v°; compare the discussion of the structure in Figure 2:9.

(2:2a) Kalle kysste Lisa.
Kalle kissed Lisa

(2:2b) Kalle kom.
Kalle came

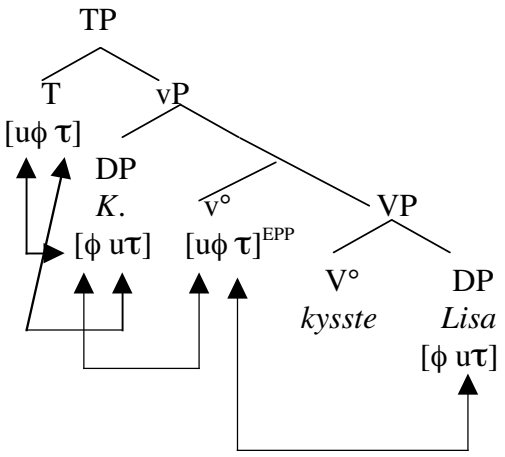

Figure 2:10. External Merge (α + β).

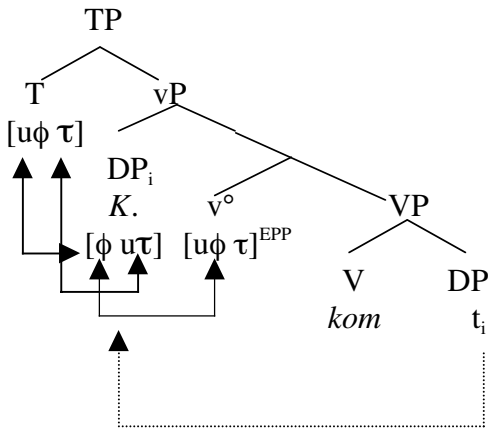

Figure 2:11. Internal merge (β + [α + β]).

The possibility of using two types of Merge is due to the fact that merging of say α and β is in no way restricted. The formal difference between external and internal Merge is that in case of external Merge α and β are separate objects, whereas an internally merged element is also a part of β, with displacement as a result. This displacement is a direct consequence of the existence of Merge, since at any point in the derivation one can use material in the Lexical Array/Numeration, as well as material already in the derivation that has not been spelled out. The availability of both external and internal Merge enables me to provide Spec,vP with a DP, whether or not the DP is receiving its θ-role here (in which case the DP is externally merged in Spec,vP, Figure 2:10) or has already received its θ-role within VP (in which case the DP is internally merged in Spec,vP, Figure 2:11).

2.3.3 EPP

Furthermore, the concept EPP, the Extended Projection Principle, is crucial for the derivation of clauses. In later approaches (Platzack 2000a, 2001a,b, Chomsky 2001a,b, Pesetsky & Torrego 2001, 2002) EPP is related to features rather than positions, namely when the deletion of an uninterpreted feature seems to demand visibility. According to Chomsky (2001a:12), C and v*P may host an EPP-feature, which "provides a position for XP-movement" (v*P being v with a so-called full argument structure, viz. generally a transitive v, see Chomsky 2001a:43). In the optimal case, the feature is available only when necessary (Chomsky 2001b:10,21).

Pesetsky & Torrego (2001:359) claim that EPP is not a property of a head per se, but a property of a feature of a head, i.e. a kind of subfeature. More precisely, they suggest that EPP is related to an uninterpretable feature, and requires that

the deletion of this feature must be visible, either by making the head or its specifier visible (Pesetsky & Torrego 2001:405). I will assume that the uninterpretable ϕ-feature in v° has an EPP-feature. With this reasoning v° always carries an uninterpretable ϕ-feature which must be eliminated, either by Move/internal Merge of a DP into Spec,vP, or by a DP externally merged in Spec,vP. The same situation holds for the functional projections aP and pP as well, as is shown later on.

The analysis of transitive verbs which do not take an AGENT but an EXPERIENCER like *se*, "see" warrants particular discussion, although the problem one is faced with is primarily technical in nature. An EXPERIENCER is presumably merged in a lower position than an AGENT (see Grimshaw 1990;24, Platzack 2001b), namely in Spec,VP. See the structure given in Figure 2:12, representing clauses like *Kalle såg matchen*, "Kalle saw the game".

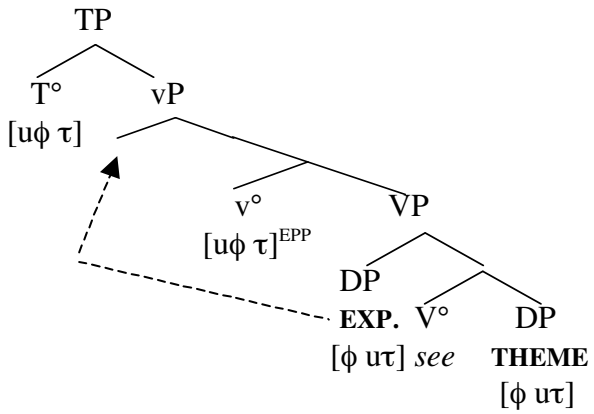

Figure 2:12. The structural description of a clause with an EXPERIENCER subject.

In the simplest possible case, one would assume v° to probe for the closest goal (see Pesetsky & Torrego 2001:362 for a definition; cf. sections 2.3.1 and 2.3.2), which in this case is the EXPERIENCER DP *Kalle* in Spec,VP. In such case, the EXPERIENCER would remain in situ. If this were the case however, the complement DP *matchen*, "the game" (THEME) would be stuck with its [uτ]-feature undeleted and furthermore, the EPP-feature in v° would not be deleted, since neither its head nor its specifier would be visible. As a result, the derivation would crash.

The problem can be overcome if the derivation proceeds as follows: (1) EPP triggers internal Merge of the EXPERIENCER DP in Spec,vP, (2) Agree applies when the phase is closed. According to this reasoning, the derivation would proceed so to speak backwards, phase by phase; EPP forces Merge of a DP, after which Agree applies. This process is then iterated. Furthermore, in order to be

available for probing from elements higher up in the structure (in a higher phase), a DP has to be situated in Spec,vP, which motivates the process order (see Chomsky 2001a:13, 2001b:5).

With this reasoning, the EXPERIENCER DP in Spec,VP would be forced to raise to Spec,vP before any Agree relation with the features in v° is established. With the EXPERIENCER DP in Spec,vP the complement THEME DP is the closest goal and consequently has its [uτ]-feature deleted by τ in v°. This analysis presupposes that, when dealing with internal Merge, the feature bundle is only represented at the head of the chain. Consider in this respect Holmberg (2002:96), who suggests the same order of execution, stipulating that "Agree applies in phase P only when P is complete, that is, when the highest head of P is merged." It should also be noticed however, that Pesetsky & Torrego (2002) argue that Agree must take place before EPP, which would make the description outlined here untenable.

2.4 Lexicon and θ-theory

The argument structure of a verb determines the different θ-roles it may assign (after Williams 1981; see e.g. Chomsky 1995:30f, Platzack 1998:71f). For instance, the verb *see* must have one EXPERIENCER-role and one THEME and except for under special contextual circumstances, *give* must assign one AGENT, one THEME and one GOAL/RECIPIENT. This is illustrated in example (2:3).

(2:3a) $\text{He}_{\text{EXPERIENCER}}$ sees the $\text{girl}_{\text{THEME}}$.
(2:3b) $\text{She}_{\text{AGENT}}$ gives $\text{him}_{\text{GOAL/RECIPIENT}}$ flowers $_{\text{THEME}}$.

As pointed out by Chomsky (1995:30), one can to a large extent predict the argument position against the background of the assigned θ-role and vice versa. This idea was implemented in Baker (outlined in 1988:46, further elaborated in 1997:104f) and Grimshaw (1990). Baker suggests that there is a uniformity with respect to θ-role assignment (UTAH, Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis). Simplifying a great deal, UTAH means that the order in which arguments are merged in syntactic positions is determined by a universal thematic hierarchy, where structural relations at the D-structure level underlie identical thematic relationships.[14] For the application of UTAH, see more

[14] Cf. UAH, Universal Alignment Hypothesis, used by e.g. Belletti & Rizzi (1988) after Perlmutter & Postal (1984), where the meaning of the clause predicts the relation in which the DP should be involved with help from principles of UG. Cf. also RUTAH, a relativised

recently Felser (1999) and for a slightly modified version, see Platzack (2001a,b). Regarding thematic hierarchies, see e.g. Baker (1988), cf. also Sundman (1987), Baker (1996) and Kural (1996, chapter 2).[15] For discussions of the interplay between semantic role and syntactic function, see among others Eisenberg (1996), Kural (1996), Marantz (1999), Arad (1999), Hale & Keyser (1997) and Platzack (2001a,b).[16]

As previously mentioned, an EXPERIENCER subject DP presumably has its origin in a lower position than an AGENT (Grimshaw 1990, Platzack 2001b), but the EPP-feature in v° requires a filled Spec,vP in either case. It follows that the AGENT is externally merged in Spec,vP, whereas the EXPERIENCER is externally merged in Spec,VP and then, if the EXPERIENCER is the subject of the clause, it is internally merged in Spec,vP. The reasoning is the same with respect to ergative verbs, where the subject DP is externally merged in the complement of V, but forced to Spec,vP to satisfy the EPP-feature in v°.

Consider the sentence in (2:4).

(2:4) Kalle öppnade fönstret.
Kalle opened window-the

The verb *öppna*, "open" is associated with an AGENT role and a THEME role. According to UTAH, the THEME role is realised/expressed by the DP *fönstret*, "the window", which becomes the complement of V. Hence the AGENT-role is left, and UTAH prevents it from being assigned to Spec,VP. V per se can not assign the role AGENT; only when V is combined with v° = DO/CAUSE can an AGENT be assigned to Spec,vP. Or, to put it differently, AGENT is not a θ-role connected to V but exclusively to v°; adjectives and prepositions can not combine with AGENT θ-roles – a° and p° are distinct from v° in this respect.

An example illustrating the role of v° is given in (2:5). In (2:5a) V corresponds to the ergative verb *sjunka*, "sink" and in (2:5b) v° adds DO/CAUSE, which results in the transitive verb *sänka*, "sink", which takes an AGENT (note that in Swedish there are two different lexical verbs).

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version, used by among others Larson (1988) and Li (1990), where "it does not matter exactly what syntactic position (say) a theme phrase is generated in, as long as it is higher than any goal phrase and lower than any agent phrase in the same clause" (Baker 1997:108).

[15] Cf. (1) the Subjectivalisation Hierarchy in Fillmore (1968:47, passim) where the subject is primarily Agentive, secondarily Instrumental and thirdly Objective, (2) the functionally-based role assignment by Jackendoff (1972:43f), (3) the theory of thematic relations as non-discrete entities (Dowty 1991:552, passim).

[16] See also Sundman (1980:225-241).

(2:5a) Båten$_{\text{THEME}}$ sjunker.
boat-the sinks, "The boat is sinking."
(2:5b) Han$_{\text{AGENT}}$ sänker båten$_{\text{THEME}}$.
he sinks boat-the, "He is sinking the boat."

When v° is lexialised in another way than by means of DO/CAUSE, there is no role connected to Spec,vP. As a consequence, this position can be used as a target for internal Merge (moving), as illustrated in example (2:6), where *händerna*, "the hands" are posited to be in Spec,vP (see section 7.2.2).

(2:6) Med händerna knutna rusade han fram mot demonstranten.
with hands-the clenched rushed he towards demonstrator-the

It follows from the reasoning in the previous section that there is no one-to-one correspondence between a DP having a θ-role and carrying the feature [uτ]. Admittedly, argument DPs all carry a [uτ]-feature and a θ-role, but consider also the expletive *det*, "it" which seemingly has [uτ], although this element never has a θ-role of its own. The θ-role is configurationally determined, via UTAH and it also follows that elements with an interpretable τ-feature can be assigned a θ-role. As will be shown, this is the case for the Small Clauses (vP, aP, pP), whose heads (v°, a°, p°) all contain an interpretable τ-feature.

3 Previous research

3.1 Introduction

The Small Clause area is a wide field, as was pointed out in the introductory section, and in this thesis I will concentrate on the two types: ECM-constructions and absolute constructions. In this chapter I will present previous research regarding these Small Clauses.

In section 3.2 the three main theories about ECM-constructions will be elucidated, namely the Small Clause Theory (3.2.2), the Predication Theory (3.2.3) and the Complex Predicate Theory (3.2.4). In section (3.2.5), the work of Ureland (1973) is briefly presented, which is, to my knowledge, the only detailed work on ECM-constructions in Swedish (called 'verb complementation' by Ureland).

In section 3.3 I address absolute constructions. As will be clear, there are comparatively few studies and there is hardly any consensus regarding the analysis of this type of Small Clause. Consequently, only a few main ideas are reviewed.

3.2 ECM-constructions

3.2.1 Introduction

The object-with-infinitive construction has been widely discussed, both by generative linguists and by scholars with other theoretical preferences. Here I will only track the more recent generative tradition, which in some way or other takes the detailed account of Postal (1974) as its starting point. Postal suggested that the subject of the infinitive was raised to the object position in the matrix verb, thereby the label Subject-to-Object Raising, which generally is used to refer to his approach. When Case Theory was introduced in Chomsky (1981), the object-with-infinitive construction became known as Exceptional Case Marking (ECM), since this construction seemed to be characterised by the

exceptional situation in which the subject (of an infinitive) was assigned object Case by the matrix verb.

It has been suggested that ECM-verbs – perception verbs, verbs of consideration and LET – should be considered to be auxiliaries of some kind (see e.g. Guéron & Hoekstra 1988, Felser 1999). According to Guéron & Hoekstra (1988), perception verbs together with modals and causatives constitute a class of verbs referred to as 'T-auxiliaries'; a class to be discerned from ordinary lexical main verbs, with the possibility of assigning a temporal role to license a verbal complement instead of θ-marking it.[1] Felser (1999:106f) however lists convincing arguments in favour of classifying perception verbs as main verbs. Although the arguments are not directly applicable to Swedish, the main picture still is that perception verbs are under no circumstances to be considered auxiliaries. If one applies the auxiliary verb criteria listed in Teleman (1993:362ff) and the Swedish Academy grammar (Teleman et al 1999[2]:537ff) to Swedish ECM-verbs, the perception verbs and the verbs of consideration are clearly main verbs,[2] whereas *låta* shows some properties of an auxiliary. See also chapter 5 for further discussion of this topic.

Concerning the internal structure of the ECM-Small Clause, early proposals by Stowell (1981), Manzini (1983) and Chomsky (1981) that the Small Clause is a XP/X*[3] have been dismissed as untenable (Aarts 1992:171-176). The presence of a complementiser (CP) node in ECM-constructions is advocated by Kitagawa (1985) and Platzack (1986a). Also Aarts (1992:180) argues in favour of a CP-analysis, since ECM-complements are sentential constituents, before concluding that ECM-constructions are more properly accounted for by an IP-analysis. See also Pesetsky & Torrego (2002:38). The analysis of Small Clauses as sentential constituents finds further support in the work of Kluender (1985), Hornstein &

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[1] For a discussion of the differences between causatives and perception verbs, see for instance Guasti (1993).

[2] Thus, e.g. they assign a θ-role to their subjects, see (i) – *han*, "he" gets its EXPERIENCER role from *se*, "see" – and they can passivise, see (ii).

(i) Han såg henne komma.
he saw her come

(ii) Han sågs [t_i komma].
he saw.PASS come, "He was seen coming."

[3] The notion 'XP' here and for the proposals by Manzini (1983, 1989) and Chomsky (1981, 1986) is meant to indicate a category neutral approach that only specifies that every category has an X'-level which contains the head X° (and potential complements) and a specifier. The marking '*' does not further specify the status of the Small Clause.

Lightfoot (1987:23,27, passim) and Chung & McCloskey (1987:186). Complements of perception verbs have been analysed as clausal constituents categorised as CPs by among others Rouveret & Vergnaud (1980:118ff) and Kayne (1984:33f).[4]

Although the CP-analysis has it supporters, as just mentioned, the Small Clause Theory and the Predication Theory have been more widely adopted analyses of the Small Clause complement of ECM-verbs. In addition, there is the Complex Predicate Theory, which seemingly has not attracted the same amount of interest, although it has occasionally been proposed by different scholars for quite some time.

3.2.2 The Small Clause Theory

The Small Clause Theory is advocated by e.g Stowell (1981, 1983), Chomsky (1981, 1986), Radford (1988), Aarts (1992), Bowers (1993) and Hoekstra (1999). The main point of this approach is that a Small Clause is a clausal entity, i.e. the subject and the predicate of a Small Clause constitute a nexus. The clausal status of the Small Clause is motivated by the presence of a subject DP (following Chomsky 1981), namely *mannen*, "the man" in example (3:1a) and *Sue* in (3:1b).

(3:1a) Kalle såg [$_{SC}$ mannen komma].
Kalle saw man-the come
(3:1b) Mike considers [$_{SC}$ Sue intelligent].

Consequently, the matrix verb subcategorises/selects for the whole Small Clause. According to the Small Clause Theory the subcategorisation properties of a verb are always the same, for instance the verb *consider* in example (3:1) takes either a DP/NP or a clause. This assumption, the so-called uniformity of lexical entries (see e.g. Chomsky 1981:106), is motivated by θ-role assignment taking place: *see* and *consider* never assign θ-roles to two arguments but only to a DP-argument or a propositional (clausal) argument. Consequently, since each Small Clause string in (3:1) receives its θ-role from *såg* "saw" or from *consider*, each must be a clausal entity. It should be obvious that the vP-hypothesis I am advocating in this thesis is a version of the Small Clause Theory.

[4] In the analyses provided by Kluender (1985) and Chung & McCloskey (1987), however, Small Clauses are assumed to be exocentric in nature, hence their proposals are not compatible with X'-theory.

3.2.3 The Predication Theory

The most widely accepted theory of ECM-Small Clauses is currently the Predication Theory, which is advocated by among others Williams (1981, 1983), Bresnan (1978, 1982), Rothstein (1983, 1995), Emonds (1985), McNulty (1988) and Schein (1995). A similar analysis is given in the Swedish Academy grammar (Teleman et al 1999[3]:576ff). The core idea of the Predication Theory is that, by means of the Rule of Predication, two elements – NP and X – under certain circumstances are co-indexed (or brought together in some way), see e.g. Williams (1980:205ff). Under this analysis, a perception verb like *see* will take two complements, joined together by the predication relation, as indicated by the indices in (3:2). See also, for instance, Aarts (1992:25-30), Staudinger (1997:40ff) and Rafel (2000:8); a similar view is furthermore proposed by Wessén (1956:146,338f) for the construction in Old Swedish.

(3:2) John saw DP^i XP^i.

The analysis in (3:2) indicates that DP, i.e. the subject of the Small Clause, is the external argument of the maximal projection. If this is the case, no subject position (specifier) inside XP is needed, although the subject DP has to c-command XP. Applied to example (3:1), *se* "see" in (3:3a) and *consider* in (3:3b) have two arguments: *mannen* "the man" and *komma* "come" in the first case and *Sue* and *intelligent* in the latter, where the second object can be predicated of the first.

(3:3a) Kalle såg [mannen^i] [komma^i].
Kalle saw man-the come
(3:3b) Mike considers [Sue^i] [intelligent^i].

Hence the Small Clause elements are not assumed to constitute a syntactic constituent, unlike the view in the Small Clause Theory. According to Teleman et al (1999[3]:577f) however, there is a difference between for instance perception verbs and verbs of consideration regarding θ-role assignment, which applied to the examples in (3:3) says that *mannen* "the man" in (3:3a) is the semantic object complement of *såg* "saw", whereas *Sue* in (3:3b) is not the semantic object of *considers*. The difference is possibly an entailment due to the meaning of *se*, "see".

3.2.4 The Complex Predicate Theory

The Complex Predicate Theory is advocated by among others Chomsky (1975, 1986), Dowty (1978), DiSciullo & Williams (1987) and Larson (1988). According to the Complex Predicate approach, a complex predicate is created by the matrix verb and the embedded predicate. As a result, in examples (3:1) and (3:3) one would have the new lexeme *såg-komma* "saw-coming" and *consider-intelligent*.

The resulting complex predicate has a subcategorisation frame of its own, which means that the DPs *mannen* "the man" and *Sue* in the Small Clause are regarded the semantic object of the complex predicates *såg-komma*, "saw-coming" and *consider-intelligent*, respectively. The grammatical word order is presumably accounted for by a transformational rule applying somewhere during the derivation. It is however not clear where this process takes place, in syntax, in the lexicon, or somewhere else (see e.g. DiSciullo & Williams 1987:36ff, Staudinger 1997:54f).

3.2.5 Ureland (1973)

Ureland (1973) is the only book-length study of Swedish ECM-constructions – in Ureland's terminology 'verb complementation'. Ureland is heavily influenced by Postal's Raising to Object hypothesis, cf. Postal (1970a,b, 1971), the ideas of which are included in Postal (1974). According to Ureland (1973:41f) there are two types of internal structures which constitute the deep structure representation of all ECM-constructions in Swedish. These are presented in Figures 3:1 and 3:2. In Figure 3:1, the underlying structure of primarily *verba dicendi* (e.g. *säga*, "say" and *anse*, "consider") is shown. Figure 3:2 illustrates the corresponding structure of *verba sentiendi*, perception verbs and verbs like *finna*, "find" and *låta* "induce"/"allow".

The crucial element in both Figure 3:1 and Figure 3:2 is NP_3, in bold, i.e. the subject of the ECM-complement S_1. According to the [+Subj Rais]-feature of the matrix verb, NP_3 raises into the matrix clause, as indicated by the arrow. Seeing the Subject Raising Rule as the unifying feature of ECM-constructions, Ureland argues that subject raising is always obligatory.

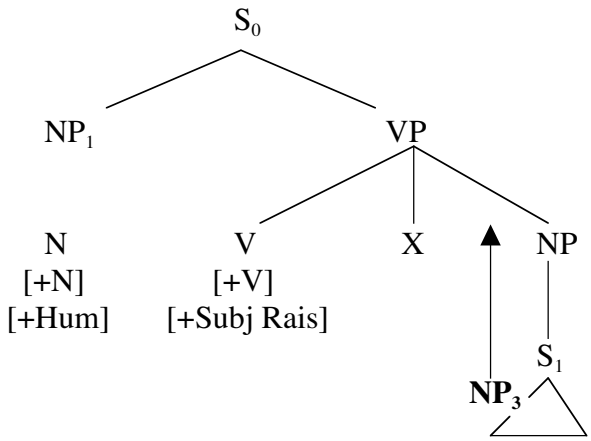

Figure 3:1. The structural description of *verba dicendi* according to Ureland (1973:42).

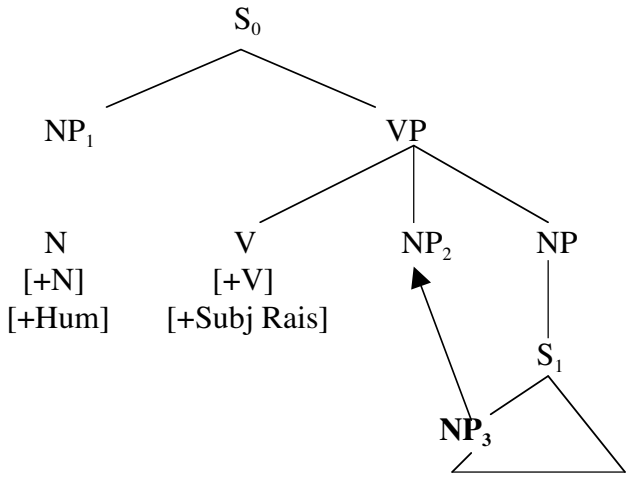

Figure 3:2. The structural description of *verba sentiendi* according to Ureland (1973:42).

The differences between the syntactic descriptions in Figures 3:1 and 3:2, then, are (1) the behaviour of NP_3 and (2) that X in Figure 3:1 is NP_2 in Figure 3:2. In Figure 3:1, NP_3 raises to S_0, after which operation the derivation is completed. NP_3 and X are different elements; the role of 'X' here is to indicate that NP_3 has no representation in the matrix clause from the start. In Figure 3:2, on the other hand, there is already a NP_2, functioning as the object of the matrix clause and being co-referent with NP_3, the subject of S_1. When NP_3 in Figure 3:2 raises to its co-referent NP_2, NP_3 is eliminated under the Equi-NP deletion, with the result that only NP_2 is intact. With this reasoning, the Small Clause subject in Figure 3:2 is still represented in the ECM-complement, although it has raised to a position in the matrix clause. Ureland (1973:43) treats the Equi-NP deletion as crucially related to the Subject Raising Rule: "By treating the infinitives […] as

products of one and the same major syntactic process, i.e. Subject Raising, we can describe the same surface structure in terms of one general operation."

Although Ureland (1973) is the only monographic study of Swedish object-with-infinitive constructions, there are several reasons not to adopt it here. Naturally, it is couched in a dated theoretical framework, allowing among other things non-binary trees and raising to a θ-position but it is not unlikely that there are acceptable equivalencies in the present-day system (see e.g. Hornstein 2000). The vP-approach argued for here is however in many ways empirically superior to Ureland's approach, see for instance my account of ECM_{REFL}-constructions in section 6.2 and the impossibility to use *bli*-passive, "become-" of the matrix verb in section 6.3. Since Ureland (1973) suggests different analyses for *verba dicendi* and *verba sentiendi* whereas I argue for a single analysis, my account is also more economical, given that my analysis can account for the same set of facts as his dual analysis. Hence, although there are many details and ideas to be borrowed in Ureland's monograph, I will abandon his analysis in favour of the vP-analysis.

3.3 Absolute constructions

As previously mentioned, the research regarding absolute constructions is rather limited compared to the research on ECM-constructions and the analyses proposed are divergent (see e.g. Janson 1972, van Riemsdijk 1978, Gunnarsson 1994). Furthermore, the fact that absolute constructions without an introducing *med*, "with" are rarely used in Swedish (see e.g. Teleman et al 1999[3]:695) motivates the fact that this section focuses on *med*-phrases, "with"-phrases rather than on the corresponding construction without a preposition.

According to Janson (1972:6), the *med*-phrase can be seen as a case of Equi-NP-deletion, i.e. the subject of the *med*-phrase is the same as the subject of the matrix clause and therefore deleted. The reasoning is in line with Ureland's analysis (1973) on verbal complement clauses (the previous section): there is still some reflex of the DP left in the Small Clause also when the DP is raised. Janson claims however, that there is a problem in expressing this Equi-NP-deletion formally. Instead Janson follows the ideas in Perlmutter (1969:169, passim), where certain constraints decide what the deep structure can look like and hence have impact on the possibilities for deletion as well.

On the other hand, van Riemsdijk (1978), focusing on Dutch, claims that the surface structure of a *with*-construction is in essence its deep structure, i.e. the

construction is not derived from a full sentence. In modern writing, the complement structure would look something like the one in Figure 3:3, where XP is AP, PP, or NP. The same view is adopted by Siegel (1983). Note that tertiary branching is allowed, which is ruled out in the present, binary system.

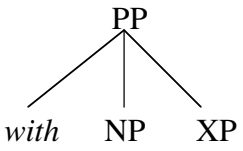

Figure 3:3. The "with"-phrase according to van Riemsdijk (1978).

Van Riemsdijk's analysis is discussed and modified by Beukema & Hoekstra (1983, 1984), who instead suggest that a Small Clause constitutes the complement of the preposition. Consequently, the NP is the subject of the Small Clause and not the complement of *with* (e.g. Beukema & Hoekstra 1984:691). Their structural description is given in Figure 3:4.

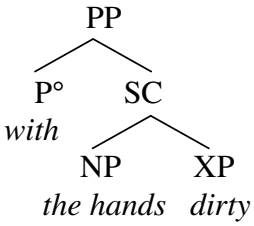

Figure 3:4. The "with"-phrase according to Beukema & Hoekstra (1983, 1984).

Another proposal is suggested by Gunnarsson (1994), who claims that Spanish absolute constructions containing *con*, "with" should be analysed differently from the ones appearing without the preposition, as indicated in Figures 3:5 and 3:6 (Gunnarsson 1994:135f). The base generating of subjects is assumed to take place in the projection in which the subjects are assigned an external θ-role and then the subject is adjoined to XP, forming the Small Clause. Gunnarsson's core idea is that in Spanish, Case can be assigned by Agr and T in clauses which are not marked for tense, i.e. the Small Clauses at hand.[5] The conception of absolute constructions as CPs without an introducing preposition is also suggested by Belletti (1990:93) for Italian.

[5] The structural description is a bit simplified in the respect that unused specifiers are omitted.

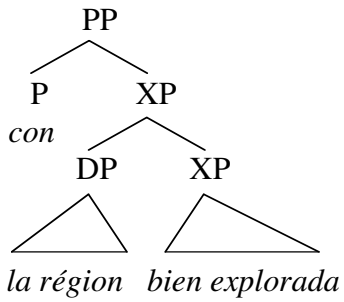

Figure 3:5. The "with"-phrase according to Gunnarsson (1994).

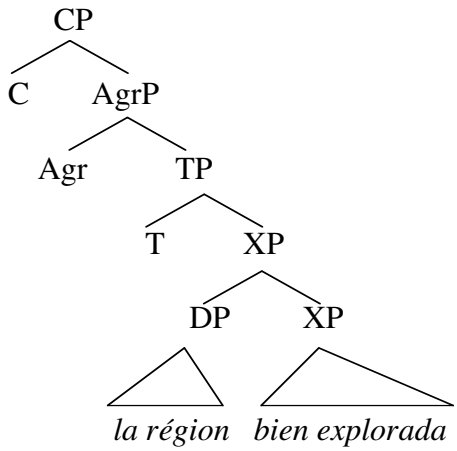

Figure 3:6. The absolute construction according to Gunnarsson (1994).

Josefsson (2002, chapter 5) also analyses *med*-phrases as segments of a clause, i.e. as truncated clauses (AspPs), drawing on the semantic similarity between this clause type and sentences with *ha*, "have", where *med*, "with" occupies the same position as *ha*, namely the higher Asp-phrase, Asp1P. This is illustrated in Figure 3:7. Working within the Distributed Morphology framework Josefsson (2002, chapter 5) writes, *ha* and *med* are "alternative vocabulary items inserted in terminal nodes". In the structural description I have omitted the NegP, which Josefsson (2002) inserts between TP and Asp1P.

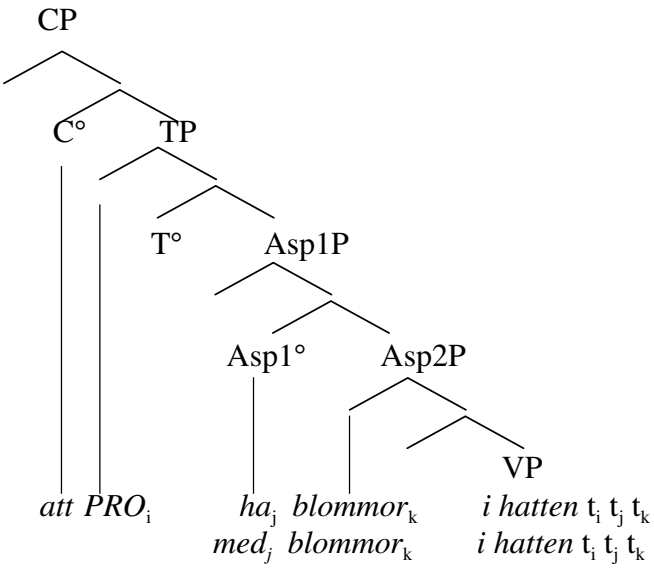

Figure 3:7. The "with"-phrase according to Josefsson (2002).

Returning to Figure 3:6, the absolute construction without an introducing preposition *med*, "with" is rarely used and very restricted in Swedish, as will be

clarified in chapter 6. The construction is however frequently used in the Romance languages, particularly Italian (see for instance Belletti 1990 and Egerland 1996), hence a proposal for its analysis is motivated here. The construction is exemplified in (3:4) from Belletti (1990:89).

(3:4) Arrivata Maria, Gianni tirò un suspiro di sollievo.
arrived.PERF.PTC.+AGR. Maria, G. drew a sigh of relief
"With Mary arrived, G. was relieved."

The central claim of Egerland (1996) regarding so-called participial absolute small clauses is that they contain a C, but not a TP, following Belletti (1990) and developing ideas introduced in Rizzi (1982). Egerland (1996:229,234) modifies the proposals in Belletti (1990) of different structural analyses for ergative and transitive participial absolute small clauses and claims that all participial absolute small clauses (PASCs) could be given the same structural description. With this reasoning, Egerland (1996) still in essence maintains the structural description of the ergative construction given by Belletti (1990), presented in Figure 3:8:

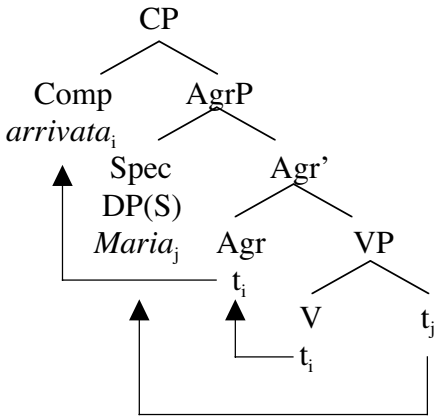

Figure 3:8. The participial absolute small clause according to Egerland (1996), developing ideas from Belletti (1990) and Rizzi (1982).

All structures presented so far for absolute constructions, except for the ones in Belletti (1990), Egerland (1996) and Josefsson (2002) are incompatible with the X'-theory and hence may be dismissed without further comment. Consequently, my task in this thesis is at least twofold: (1) to show that the vP-analysis, assuming less structure than the proposals hitherto presented, is sufficient and (2) to show that the vP-analysis accounts for at least what the other analyses describe without introducing further complications.

4 The vP-analysis outlined

4.1 Introduction

In chapter 2, the vP-analysis was briefly presented with respect to the chosen theoretical framework. In this chapter I will outline and defend my hypothesis that the Swedish Small Clauses may be analysed as vPs, or more specifically, as the functional categorial projection of VP (AP/PP), i.e. vP (aP/pP). The starting point of this chapter is the parallelism between the phases CP and vP, where I assume that the former represents full clauses and the latter Small Clauses.

In section 4.2 I will argue in favour of my vP-hypothesis of Small Clauses, firstly by showing that Small Clauses are not properly analysed as CPs and secondly by illustrating that instead they should be analysed as vPs. In this section I also compare the vP-analysis with the analyses presented in chapter 3, namely The Small Clause Theory, The Predication Theory and The Complex Predicate Theory.

In section 4.3 I turn to the representation of tense in Small Clauses and how this is implemented in the vP-analysis. Since the vP-analysis assumes no TP inside the Small Clause, it is crucial to show how the vP-analysis captures the fact that Small Clauses – like full clauses – have tense properties.

In this chapter I will also discuss the behaviour of the Swedish past participle, which displays different properties with respect to its agreement with a DP. Since many Small Clauses contain participles, their analyses have some important implications for my work. I will present the Swedish past participle in section 4.4.

4.2 The vP-hypothesis

4.2.1 Introduction

In the two subsequent sections I will show that a CP-analysis of Small Clauses is not motivated and that Small Clauses should rather be analysed as vPs. If this prediction holds, the suggested parallelism between phase and type of clause seems to be worth further discussion. The assumed parallelism is supported by

the supposition that the two phases CP and vP are not equally strong boundaries (e.g. Chomsky 2001a:14).

4.2.2 Arguments against a CP-analysis

As previously mentioned, ECM-complements have occasionally been claimed to be CPs (see for instance Kitagawa 1985, Platzack 1986a, Aarts 1992; also cf. Rouveret & Vergnaud 1980 and Kayne 1984). The fact that ECM-complements are not CPs, at least not in Swedish, is very clearly indicated by the fact that the matrix verb may passivise, taking the 'subject' of the infinitive as its subject, see example (4:1a). If the ECM-complement were a CP, one would have a case of A-movement out of CP, something that otherwise never appears. Furthermore, the fact that CP is a strong phase (see Chomsky 2001a:12), has the consequence that some processes cannot bypass a CP boundary, though the same processes may bypass vPs. Two such cases are (1) Object Shift, a pronoun occupying a higher position than it is assumed to, discussed by for instance Holmberg (1986) and Vikner (1995) and (2) the possibility of binding a reflexive pronoun (see e.g. Chomsky 1995:95ff and Platzack 1998:222f). In neither case may a CP intervene, but both operations are fine across an ECM-complement, a Small Clause, which favours a vP-analysis. See examples (4:1b)-(4:1c), cf. the constructions in (4:1d)-(4:1e).[1]

(4:1a) Han$_i$ ansågs [$_{XP}$ t$_i$ vara begåvad].
he considered.PASS. be talented, "He was considered talented."

(4:1b) Jag såg honom inte springa till bussen.
I saw him not run to bus-the, "I didn't see him run to the bus."

(4:1c) Han$_i$ såg henne$_j$ klappa sin$_{i/j}$ hand.
he saw her pat his/her hand

(4:1d) *Han$_i$ ansågs (att) t$_i$ vara begåvad.
he considered.PASS. (to) be talented

(4:1e) *Jag såg honom inte (att) sprang till bussen.
I saw him not (to) ran to bus-the

Absolute constructions also provide arguments against Small Clauses being analysed as CPs, see example (4:2). The type of reflexive binding construction illustrated here cannot bypass the stronger phase CP, but it may bypass the weaker vP, and reflexive binding additionally works with the absolute Small Clause construction.

[1] Notice that the negation in (4:1b) clearly belongs to the matrix clause, see the discussion of examples (4:12) and (4:16)-(4:17).

(4:2a) Att flickan$_i$ klappade sig$_{i/*j}$ på handen blev han$_j$ lugn av.
that girl-the patted herself on hand-the became he calm from
"He was calmed by the girl patting herself on the hand."
(4:2b) Med flickan$_i$ klappande sig$_{i/j}$ på handen blev han$_j$ lugn.
With girl-the patting REFL. on hand-the became he calm
"With the girl patting him/herself on the hand, he was calm."

Furthermore, one concrete problem with analysing Small Clauses as CPs is that in such a case, as described in example (4:3), C° (or T° in TP) ought to contribute nominative Case and not accusative Case to the subject of the Small Clause, which is obviously an erroneous prediction at least for ECM-constructions, see example (4:3a), since the nominative form makes the derivation crash. The same reasoning has led Aarts (1992:180) to reject the Kitagawa analysis (1985) and Rafel (2000:44) to the assumption that Small Clauses are topped by a Small Clause node ZP instead of TP. The same problem occurs for absolute constructions, see example (4:3b), cf. Aarts (1992:181). Cf. however Pesetsky & Torrego (2002), where such a problem never arises.

(4:3a) *Kalle såg hon springa. /^{OK}Kalle såg henne springa.
Kalle saw she run/Kalle saw her run
(4:3b) *She out is a disaster for the team/^{OK}Her out is a disaster for the team.

The examples presented support the assumption that Small Clauses are not CPs and hence favour the theory of a parallelism between full clauses and Small Clauses, the former being CPs and the latter vPs. I will return to this.[2] In the subsequent section I will defend my vP-analysis.

4.2.3 Arguments in favour of the vP-analysis

The vP-analysis I will propose is a version of the Small Clause Theory (see section 3.2.2) but it also shares some assumptions with the Predication Theory (see section 3.2.3); similarities are harder to find when comparing my proposal with the Complex Predicate Theory (see section 3.2.4). In line with the Small Clause Theory, the vP-analysis assumes a nexus relation between the elements

[2] A far more common view is to see ECM-Small Clauses as AgrPs, as do among others Raposo & Uriagereka (1990:517, passim), Suñer (1990), Guéron & Hoekstra (1995). Bowers (1993:595) analyses this type of Small Clause as a PredP, whereas Staudinger (1997) argues for a functional projection FP and Tang (1988) and Chomsky (1981, 2000) for Small Clauses being bare TPs. More recently Felser (1999:249, passim) and Castillo (2001:131-136) analyse ECM-Small Clauses as AspPs. The arguments I have given against a CP-analysis do not apply to these truncated structures. Since I will argue that vP is sufficient, these suggestions however contain unnecessary projections.

constituting the complement, i.e. *mannen*, "the man" and *komma*, "come" in example (4:4). One further common assumption is that since there are two elements constituting the complement and *såg*, "saw" assigns only one complement θ-role, these elements must form an entity, which receives this θ-role.

(4:4) Kalle såg [$_{SC}$ mannen komma].
Kalle saw [man-the come]

The claim that the vP-analysis also shares properties with the Predication Theory may seem a bit surprising, since this analysis in many respects is in opposition to the Small Clause Theory. According to the Predication Theory, see section 3.2.3, the elements of the Small Clause do not form an entity, but rather the DP/NP is the base of predication of the infinitive (hence the elements do not together constitute the complement of the matrix verb): *mannen*, "the man" and *komma*, "come" in example (4:4) are both internal arguments of the matrix verb *såg*, "saw".

The presentation of the Predication Theory here, namely with co-indexing of the Small Clause subject and the Small Clause predicate, clearly indicates a difference between the approaches. The Predication Theory is however fundamentally built on the assumption that there can be three branches from one node in the structural description, which in the binary system assumed here would correspond to a construction in which the subject is in Spec,XP and the predicate consists in X and its complement. There are four structural implementations of this idea, of which the vP-analysis is one. See the discussion regarding (1)-(4) on the following page.

Regarding the Complex Predicate Theory on the vP-analysis the situation is a bit more complex. On this analysis the predicate of the Small Clause and the matrix verb would create a new lexeme, *såg-komma*, "saw-come" in (4:4), which takes the DP *mannen*, "the man" as its semantic object. The two elements constituting the new lexeme are two combined heads and if this theory is interpreted in terms of the vP-analysis, one would seemingly create a chain between the v° of the matrix verb and the vP of the embedded verb.

Now, let us take a closer look at the vP-analysis proposed here. According to the vP-analysis, the ECM-verb is followed by a single constituent, the ECM Small Clause, i.e. vP. In the preceding discussion I have mentioned however, that there is at least one other structural relation that has been proposed, namely that the ECM-verb takes the subject of the infinitive as object and that the infinitive phrase is a constituent of its own. This is the essence of the Predication

Theory, which is closely related to Ureland's (1974) analysis of ECM with perception verbs (*verba sentiendi*). There are three syntactic implementations of this account, presented in constructions (2)-(4); the vP-analysis is outlined in (1). The implementations regard ECM-constructions such as the one in example (4:4).

(1) *Kalle*: V_{ECM} [$_{SC}$ *Kalle* XP]
(2) a trace after *Kalle*: V_{ECM} $Kalle_i$ [$_{SC}$ t_i XP]
(3) a PRO controlled by *Kalle*: V_{ECM} *Kalle* [PRO XP]
(4) a *pro* identifiable with *Kalle*: V_{ECM} *Kalle* [*pro* XP]

Since I have already claimed that the ECM-complement is to be considered a vP with *Kalle* in Spec,vP, I will argue in favour of the analysis in (1) by rejecting the analyses in (2)-(4), which are possible at least at the surface level. The analyses in (3) (and (4)) could perhaps be rejected immediately, since there are too many θ-roles involved if *pro* or PRO is present in addition to *Kalle*. For a discussion about the disadvantages of a PRO-analysis for the present construction, see e.g. Aarts (1992, chapter 3.3) and Lyngfelt (2002:29f). Different structural analyses for ECM-constructions and constructions like the one in (4) are also argued for by Stowell (1982:566), Chomsky (e.g. 1995:345) and Burzio (1986:219), who claim that there is complementary distribution between ECM-constructions and different kinds of control constructions. See also Gunnarsson (1994:131) and Miller (2002:68).

There are additional reasons however, to discuss the advantages of (1) over (3) in more detail, since, as previously pointed out, the analysis in (3) is seemingly an analogue to Ureland's (1974) 'equi-NP-deletion'. Furthermore, it is as well an analysis which actually shares similarities with the one suggested in the Swedish Academy grammar (Teleman et al 1999). I will however claim that there are two crucial circumstances which disfavour (3); firstly, so-called the equi-element *Kalle* has no θ-role in relation to the matrix verb as (3) presupposes and secondly, the infinitive part following the equi-element does not behave like a 'full' clause, as in the control case (PRO plus infinitive). I will identify four differences between the analyses (1) and (3) which favour (1) over (3) with respect to θ-roles and two differences in the same direction with respect to the behaviour of the infinitive.

Regarding the discussion about θ-roles, firstly, the matrix verb in ECM can not be periphrastically passivised, see example (4:5) and section 6.3 for a more

detailed discussion. Since *de*, "they" is the complement of the matrix clause in the analysis in (3), this restriction is totally unexpected.

(4:5) *De blev sedda gräla på bussen igår.
they were seen argue on bus-the yesterday

Secondly, the infinitival phrase can not be topicalised without support from the verb *göra*, "do", see example (4:6a); when the infinitive phrase is a control infinitive, *göra*, "do" is not obligatory, see example (4:6b).

(4:6a) Öppna dörren såg jag honom *(göra).
open door-the saw I him (do)
(4:6b) Öppna dörren bad jag honom (göra).
open door-the asked I him (do)

Thirdly, the equi-element can be a formal (explicit) element in different environments, see the examples in (4:7). In an analysis like construction (3), in which *det* is supposed to carry a θ-role of its own, a case like example (4:7a) is especially unexpected.

(4:7a) Jag såg det sitta en katt på trappan.
I saw it sit a cat on stairs-the
(4:7b) Kalle hörde det regna.
Kalle heard it rain
(4:7c) Pelle ansåg det springa för många studenter i korridoren.
Pelle considered it run too many students in hallway-the

Fourthly, if the analysis in (3) were correct, one would expect the infinitival clause to be exchangeable for a CP, as in (4:8a). This is not the case however, see example (4:8b). Also see footnote 2, section 6.2.1.

(4:8a) Han bad henne [$_{CP}$ att hon skulle komma].
he asked her that she should come
(4:8b) *Han såg henne att hon kom.
he saw her that she came

As mentioned, the behaviour of the infinitive is also different in constructions (1) and (3). There are two arguments favouring (1) over (3) here. Firstly, there is never any infinitival marker in the ECM-construction, whereas *att*, "that" is always possible preceding a control infinitive, see examples (4:9a)-(4:9b). Secondly, there are more restrictions in ECM-constructions with respect to tense, see examples (4:9c)-(4:9d).

(4:9a) *Han såg tåget att komma.
he saw train-the to come
(4:9b) Jag bad Kalle (att) komma.
I asked Kalle (to) come
(4:9c) Igår bad jag Kalle komma imorgon.
yesterday asked I Kalle come tomorrow, "Yesterday I asked K. to come tomorrow."
(4:9d) *Igår såg/ansåg/lät jag Kalle komma imorgon.
yesterday saw/considered/let I Kalle come tomorrow

One argument against the vP-hypothesis is however the fact that (4:10a) is not perfect; compare the well-formed cases in (4:10b)-(4:10d). The same situation obtains in for instance Norwegian (Faarlund et al 1997:1007). Since the Small Clause is a constituent in the complement of V, one would expect it to be possible to place it in first position, as other complements of V, which is not really possible.[3]

(4:10a) *[$_{vP}$ Barnen öppna dörren] hade Johan sett.
children-the open door-the had Johan seen
(4:10b) [$_{VP}$ Att barnen öppnde dörren] hade Johan sett.
[that children-the opened door-the] had Johan seen
(4:10c) [$_{CP}$ Öppna dörren] hade Johan sett barnen göra.
[open door-the] had Johan seen children-the do
(4:10d) [$_{DP}$ Barnens porträtt] hade Johan sett.
[children-the' portrait] had Johan seen, "J. had seen the portrait of the children."

The ungrammaticality of topicalising a whole vP, illustrated in example (4:10a), then actually favours the analysis in (4:11a) = (3) over (1), as does the possibility of splitting the elements constituting the vP and topicalising one of them, see example (4:11b)-(4:11c).

(4:11a) Johan såg [DP studenten] [VP PRO öppna dörren].
Johan saw [student-the] [open door-the]
(4:11b) Studenten hade Johan sett öppna dörren.
student-the had Johan seen open door-the
(4:11c) Öppna dörren hade Johan sett studenten (göra).
open door-the had Johan seen student-the (do)

[3] Cf. however examples like (i) with indefinite form of the noun *barn*, "children", which are better. An acceptability of such constructions actually favours the vP-analysis.

(i) ?Barn leka på gården hade Kalle sett.
children play in yard-the had Kalle seen, "Kalle had seen children playing in the yard."

As has been pointed out, (3) however has several other weaknesses, and I have therefore chosen to reject the PRO-analysis of Small Clauses throughout this text; all the arguments except example (4:10a) – and to some extent the constructions in (4:11b)-(4:11c) – favour the vP-analysis over the PRO-analysis.

Regarding the structure in construction (2), namely V_{ECM} *Kalle*$_i$ [$_{SC}$ t_i XP], this is not absolutely incompatible with (1). A case in which the DP of the Small Clause has raised to the matrix clause is exemplified by Object Shift cases such as example (4:12a): when the equi-element is a weak pronoun, it can be raised to a position in front of the negation and other sentence adverbials in the matrix clause, see e.g. Holmberg (1986), Vikner (1995) and also Platzack (1998:134ff). Thus, in this construction the DP moves away and leaves a trace behind. Compare with example (4:12b), which is ungrammatical since full DPs are not able to object shift in Swedish.[4] Also see the discussion in Guasti (1993:117f).

(4:12a) Jag såg honom **inte** t_i springa till bussen.
I saw him not run to bus-the
(4:12b) *Jag såg Kalle **inte** t_i springa till bussen.
I saw Kalle not run to bus-the

However, there is no reason to generalise Object Shift (with obvious problems for full DPs) to include also cases where movement is invisible. Such an analysis would be in line with the 'subject to object raising' account, proposed by e.g. Ureland (1973) and Postal (1974), in order to provide the 'subject' of the construction with object case from the ECM-verb by raising it to the object position adjacent to the ECM-verb.

To conclude this section I will present a more general argument in favour of the vP(aP)-analysis: when the Small Clause contains a participle or an adjective, it always agrees with a preceding DP in Swedish. See (4:13), illustrating an ECM-construction in (4:13a), an object predicative construction in (4:13b) and an absolute construction in (4:13c).

[4] The construction in (4:12b) is however fine with a constituent (local) negation, see (i) and the discussion in section 4.3.

(i) Jag såg Kalle inte precis springa till bussen utan snarare gå.
I saw Kalle not exactly run to bus-the but rather walk

(4:13a) Kalle ansåg [dem intelligent**a**].
Kalle considered them intelligent.PL., "Kalle considered them intelligent."
(4:13b) Vi målade [husen röd**a**].
we painted houses-the red.PL., "We painted the houses red."
(4:13c) Med [händerna knut**na**] sprang Pelle framåt.
with hands-the clenched.PL., ran Pelle forward.,
"With the hands clenched, Pelle ran forward."

Almost every case where the Germanic languages display agreement between a DP and a verb/an adjective involves a nominative DP and hence takes place in TP/CP, cf. the comment in section 2.3.1. In ECM-constructions, OPs and absolute constructions though, there is actually agreement between an adjective/ participle and an object/accusative DP. If there is a τ-feature in v° which accounts for the tense expressed in the Small Clause and establishes an Agree relation with the Small Clause DP ('the internal time of the verb') – *dem*, "them", *husen*, "the houses" and *händerna*, "the hands" in example (4:13) – this agreement situation falls out underlying the distinction between vP and CP, favouring a vP-analysis of Small Clauses. The tense feature τ in v° is to be discussed in the next section.

4.3 Tense within the vP-analysis

In the previous section I presented some arguments in favour of the vP-analysis for Swedish Small Clauses. In this section I will briefly discuss some implications of my analysis regarding tense; although there are problems with an analysis in which the Small Clause is topped by TP, it is generally accepted that Small Clauses contain tense information in some way or other. I have claimed that the Small Clause tense is accounted for by the τ-feature in v° (see section 2.2), which must then be related to τ in a c-commanding T° to get a time reference; although I do not provide a formal account, I assume that τ in T° restricts τ in v°. In my view, then, T° in TP is related to external tense, whereas τ in v° is related to internal tense, which makes τ similar to Asp. The similarity between AspP and a lower, interpretable τ-feature is also stressed by Pesetsky & Torrego (2002:19), who however assume that this τ-feature belongs to a lower TP, TP_{prep}.[5] See section 7.2.1. The main purpose of this section. then, is to show that my analysis can account for different temporal relations between the matrix

[5] Note that with either of these points of view finiteness is separate from T, higher in the structure, as briefly mentioned in section 2.2.

clause and the Small Clause, without having to assume that Small Clauses are TPs or even contain a TP.

The analysis I have proposed is in line with among many others Miller (2002:28), who claims that tense in ECM-complements is in some respect relative with respect to the matrix verb, whereas the event time in subordinate clauses is always independent and not controlled by the matrix verb in the same way. The Small Clause tense, then, is identical to or included in the tense of the matrix clause, unless it is explicitly stated, for instance by a non-finite tense ending, that the Small Clause precedes or follows the time of the matrix clause.

The reasoning implies that in languages that display rich tense morphology – such as Latin – the inflection specifies the interpretation of τ in v°. In such a case, the tense of the Small Clause can precede as well as follow the tense of the matrix clause, which will function as a reference time for the tense specification in v°. In Latin there are three different types of morphologically expressed infinitives (present, future and perfect), which pave the way for several temporal relations to be expressed, see e.g. Ernout & Thomas (1953, passim) and Leumann et al (1965, passim). A Latin ECM-construction is illustrated in example (4:14).

(4:14) Video/vidi eum venire/venisse/venturum (esse).
see.1SG.pres./1SG.perf. him.ACC. come.PRES.INF./PERF.INF./FUT.INF.
"I see that he is coming/has come/will be coming."/
"I saw that he was coming/had been coming/would be coming."

Now, if the tense ending/inflection is related to the closest c-commanding T, Latin is unproblematic: a PERFECT form in the Small Clause must be interpreted as "before the matrix T°" and a FUTURE form as "after the matrix T°", which are both expressible employing a tense feature τ in v°. In such cases τ in v° together with the closest c-commanding T° – which belongs to the matrix clause – is sufficient to express the necessary temporal relations and consequently no T° is needed directly above vP in the Small Clause.[6]

[6] The same reasoning can be applied to the Swedish examples in (i)-(ii): auxiliaries as well as morphological endings expressing different temporal relations are fine in the ECM-complement, due to the internal τ-feature in v°.

(i) Igår hörde jag Johan säga sig vilja ha fisk till middag idag.
yesterday heard I Johan said himself want have fish to dinner today
"Yesterday I head Johan say that he wanted fish for dinner today."
(ii) Min syster ansåg pojken ha blivit misshandlad.
my sister considered boy-the have become maltreated,
"My sister considered that the boy had been maltreated."

The temporal interpretation consequently is dependent on the (tense of the) matrix verb, whose TP delimits the interpretation of the tense in the Small Clause. When dealing with perception verbs (ECM-), the time reference of the ECM-complement is claimed to be identical with the time reference of the matrix clause, i.e. the two events are simultaneous (cf. e.g. Bennis & Hoekstra 1989, Hornstein 1990:154, Stowell 1995, 1996, Miller 2002). In case of simultaneity between the matrix clause and the Small Clause, the ECM-complement is linked to direct perception, which has led among others Felser (1999:11,99) and Castillo (2000:121,126) to claim that there is no temporal relation in the ECM-complement per se, but that the Small Clause gets its time reference from the matrix clause. In this connection, see also Barwise & Perry (1983:181). This is illustrated in example (4:15): a temporal adjunct may be attached to either the matrix or the complement without inducing a difference in time reference.[7]

(4:15a) John saw^{i} [Mary leave^{i}] at 8^{i}.
(4:15b) John saw^{i} [Mary leave^{i} at 8^{i}].

In reality, the Felser/Castillo approach may be nothing more than a notational variant of my approach, where matrix τ restricts the interpretation of Small Clause τ. Both approaches are compatible with the observation that Small Clauses can not contain a sentential negation.

It is commonly assumed that tense and (clausal) negation are related, see e.g. Cardinaletti & Guasti (1992), Laka (1994), Guéron & Hoekstra (1995), Zanuttini (1997:98ff, passim), Felser (1999:11,79) and Egerland (2002): if one can not negate a clause/phrase, it is assumed to lack tense. Egerland (2002:78f),

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[7] Cardinaletti & Guasti (1995:14) present examples (i)-(ii) to illustrate this simultaneity. The two adverbials *oggi*, "today" and *ieri*, "yesterday" obviously require different temporal relations/domains, hence presumably two TPs and the fact that (ii) is grammatically unacceptable thus indicates that there is only one TP at hand, i.e. the TP of the matrix clause. Cf. the subordinate clause complement in (i), which is grammatically correct, since CP always contains TP (e.g. Pesetsky & Torrego 2002:5,10), which provides the clause with the two TPs required for two different temporal relations. See also Starke (1995:257) and Miller (2002:138), cf. however the reasoning in Basilico (2003:20f).

(i) Oggi ritengo che Gianni era malato, ieri.
today (I) believe that Gianni was sick yesterday
(ii) *Oggi ritengo Gianni malato, ieri.
today (I) believe Gianni sick yesterday

on the other hand, claims that it is semantic tense and not morphological tense that is related to clausal negation. A similar view is found in Cardinaletti & Guasti (1992:2) who state "negation in small clauses is structurally different from negation in full clauses – whereas in the latter case it projects a NegP, in the former case it is expressed in an Adverbial Phrase." Cf. also Gunnarsson (1994:166) and Miller (2002:139), and see Barwise & Perry (1983:191).

If TP is the relevant projection for licensing (sentential) negation, my analysis with τ in v° as the only instance of tense in the Small Clause entails that a negation that occurs in the Small Clause is not sentential but local in nature. I will argue that this is the correct analysis (cf. Cardinaletti & Guasti 1992:2). In most cases a negation within the Small Clause leads to ungrammaticality. See example (4:16).[8]

(4:16a) *Jag såg Kalle inte springa till bussen.
I saw Kalle not run to bus-the
(4:16b) *Med gräset inte klippt kunde han inte ta hand om rosorna.
with lawn-the not mowed could he not take care of roses-the
(4:16c) *Jag anser den där flickan inte sjunga falskt.
I consider that girl not sing falsely

The examples in (4:16) should be compared to the ones in (4:17), where the negation is local. Egerland (2002:89) points out that "a constituent negation may appear together with virtually any kind of constituent, tensed or untensed, when it is licensed by contrastive focus."[9] Wessén (1956:165) points out that already in Old Swedish, participles are negated with the prefix *o-*, as are nominal forms and not with a negating adverb, as are finite verbs.

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[8] Belletti (1995:95) and Egerland (1996:203) show that negation is ungrammatical in Modern Italian see (i)-(ii). See however Egerland (1996) for other patterns for Medieval and Renaissance Italian.

(i) *Non arrivata Maria, Gianni tirò un sospiro di sollievo.
not arrived Maria, Gianni was relieved
(ii) *Non mai conosciuta Maria, …
not ever known Maria, …

[9] Although there are cases where one can actually add a negation in the Small Clause, see for instance (i), this negation can also be interpreted as local, hence it does not undermine my analysis.

(i) Jag anser Kalle inte kunna latin.
I consider Kalle not know Latin.

(4:17a) Jag såg Kalle inte precis springa till bussen utan snarare gå.
I saw Kalle not exactly run to bus-the but rather walk
(4:17b) Med gräset **o**klippt kunde han inte ta hand om rosorna.
with lawn-the un-mowed could he not take care of roses-the

Consequently, it seems as if the vP-analysis gives a proper account of (Swedish) Small Clauses. The crucial question in the representation of tense in the Small Clause, boiling down to the absence or presence of a TP inside the Small Clause, is accounted for by the τ-feature in v°. The fact that perception verbs and verbs of consideration do not behave exactly the same in all situations does not constitute an argument against the vP-hypothesis, since this the structural analysis and description of the ECM-complements remain the same.

4.4 The Swedish past participle

In this section I will address the behaviour of the Swedish past participle, which will prove important for the analysis and description of several of the Swedish Small Clause types, see especially sections 6.3, 6.4.5, 7.2.2, 7.2.4 and 8.2. A central part of my analysis of the Swedish past participle will be devoted to a discussion of past participle agreement. I will claim, contrary to most other accounts, that past participle agreement plays a more central role for the syntactic behaviour of past participles than hitherto has been thought, developing an idea presented in Platzack (2000a, 2002a,b).

The Swedish past participle agrees in gender and number with its argument, as seen in the examples in (4:18).

(4:18a) Bilen blev träffa**d** av blixten.
car-the became hit.+AGR. by lightening-the, "The car was hit by lightening."
(4:18b) Tåget blev träffa**t** av blixten.
train-the became hit.+AGR. by lightening-the, "The train was hit by lightening."
(4:18c) De blev träffa**de** av blixten.
they became hit.+AGR. by lightening-the, "They were hit by lightening."

Neuter singular is used as the default agreement form, as seen in the examples in (4:19). Example (4:19a) shows ordinary agreement when the argument precedes the participle, whereas there is default agreement in (4:19b), when the agreement follows the participle.[10] Example (4:19c), finally, shows that agreement is not possible when the participle precedes the argument.[11]

[10] Related to the past participle is the supine, used after *ha*, "have", as in (i).

(4:19a) Han fick boken skriv**en**.
he got book-the written.PTC+AGR.
(4:19b) Han fick skrive**t** boken.
he got written.PTC.–AGR. book-the
(4:19c) *Han fick skriv**en** boken.
he got written.PTC.+AGR. book-the

Following Platzack (2000a:15f), further elaborated in Platzack (2002a,b), I will assume that the agreement suffix not only agrees with the internal argument but *is* the internal argument, and thus bears the θ-role. In cases such as (4:18) and (4:19a), the role of the DP is thus not to be the θ-role bearer but rather to bind the agreement ending, which is seen as anaphoric in nature, hence specifying the reference of the agreement ending.

Being the (internal) argument of the participle, Agr is merged in the complement of V, carrying the features [ϕ uτ], as all arguments do. See Figure 4:1, illustrating the example in (4:18a). Notice, incidentally, that no θ-role is assigned to Spec,vP in a case like this, where v° is a past participle: the subject θ-role is suppressed in the presence of a past participle. EPP is satsfied by the participle ending being visible in v°.

(i) Johan hade skriv**it** brevet.
Johan had written.SUP. letter-the

The supine is an active form of the verb, both semantically and formally distinct from the past participle. I will not discuss the supine here, but see for instance Platzack (1989) and also Wessén (1956:165) and Teleman et al (1999[3]:274).

[11] Cf. the situation in Italian, illustrated in (i)-(iv) (Egerland 1996:37,75).

(i) Ho apert**o** la finestra
I have opened[-Agr] the window
(ii) *Ho apert**a** la finestra
I have opened[+Agr] the window
(iii) Ho la finestra apert**a**
I have the window open(ed)[+Agr]
(iv) *Ho la finestra apert**o**
I have the window open(ed)[-Agr]

The difference between (i) and (iii) is that the external argument is syntactically projected in the former case, but lexically suppressed in the latter (Egerland 1996:269). In Spanish, two different verbs are used for the two constructions, namely *haber* and *tener* for cases like (i) and (iii), respectively. In French, agreement is in general optional when the participle follows an accusative direct object, whereas when the participle precedes the same object, agreement is impossible (e.g. Sportiche 1996:227).

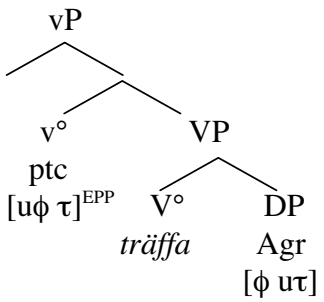

Figure 4:1. The position of the agreeing participle.

Platzack (2002a,b) assumes that Agreement, being an affix, can not be moved (i.e. internally merged) to a higher Specifier; that agreement can be analysed as an affix/clitic is also argued for by Anderson (1982) and Alexiadou & Anagnastopoulou (1998). Consequently, Agr can not be internally merged in Spec,vP to delete EPP. As an affix it can however be adjoined to the head of vP (v°), with the effect that all uninterpretable features, including EPP, are deleted. This is illustrated in Figure 4:2; the double headed arrows represent the Agree relations established and the dotted arrow illustrates the cliticisation of Agr to v°. The suffix status of Agr will also trigger adjunction of V to v°, a process not illustrated in Figure 4:2.

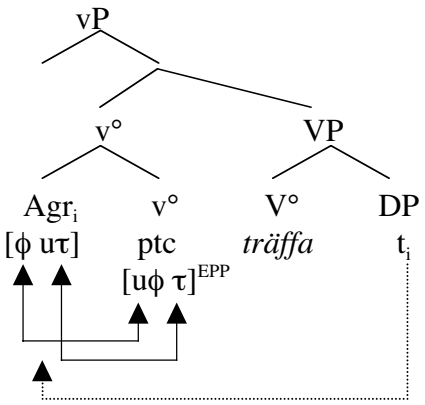

Figure 4:2. The adjunction of the agreeing participle.

So far, I have not indicated how the DP subject enters the description. There are several possible situations, but a detailed analysis is of no importance in this context. One possibility might be that participial agreement is anaphoric in nature, as already mentioned (see Platzack 2002a,b for a similar account of subject-verb agreement in Icelandic and German); in such a case, the DP *bilen*, "the car" in example (4:18) must be merged in Spec,vP, binding Agreement and determining its reference. Alternatively, the DP *bilen* can be merged in a higher Specifier, presumably the Specifier of the passive auxiliary. In Figure 4:3 I

present the first alternative, indicating the Agree relation between T° and Spec,vP.

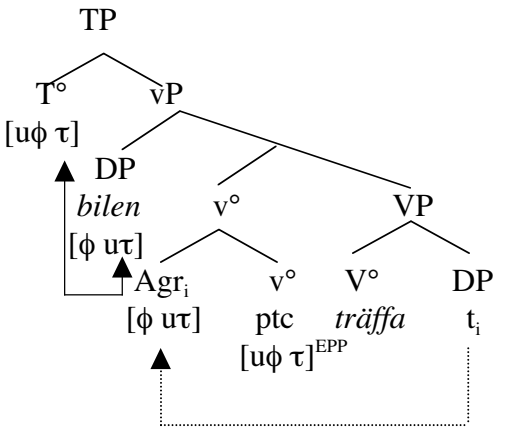

Figure 4:3. The merging of a subject in a construction with an agreeing participle.

The conclusion regarding the agreeing Swedish participle is then that since the agreement ending is anaphoric in nature, it must be bound by a DP. This DP does not receive any θ-role of its own, but shares θ-role with the agreeing participle, similar to the sharing of θ-roles found with reflexive verbs, as in example (4:20). In example (4:20) there is only one θ-role, expressing the PATIENT, that seems to be expressed both by the DP and the anaphor.

(4:20) Han slog sig.
he hit REFL., "He got hurt."

Turning to the so-called default agreement, illustrated in example (4:19b) and repeated as (4:21a), one can assume that this type of agreement has another set of features, since it is allowed in exactly the position in which the agreeing participle was not, as shown in example (4:21b)/(4:19c).

(4:21a) Han fick skrive**t** boken.
he got written.PTC.–AGR. book-the
(4:21b) *Han fick skriv**en** boken.
he got written.PTC.+AGR. book-the

My claim is that the crucial differences between the agreeing participle and the default agreeing participle are threefold:

(1) the default agreement *-t* is not anaphoric in nature.
(2) the default agreement *-t* does not carry any θ-role.
(3) the default agreement lacks the [uτ]-feature.

If this is the case, the *t*-ending does not have to be bound. Furthermore, the fact that the default agreement ending is not assumed to carry a θ-role means that it is not externally merged in the complement of V, but rather directly in v° (see sections 6.4.5, 7.2.2 and 7.2.4).

There are two consequences of such an analysis. Firstly, the default agreeing participle can assign an internal θ-role to an ordinary DP-complement/object, namely to *boken*, "the book", in (4:21a)/(4:19b). Secondly, due to the fact that the default agreement still carries a ϕ-feature, it can delete $[u\phi]^{EPP}$ in v°, as can the agreeing participle. Example (4:22) illustrates the fact that the default agreeing participle actually cannot be bound by a DP, compare with (4:21b)/(4:19c).

(4:22) *Han fick böckerna skrivet.
he got books-the written.–AGR.

According to my account, example (4:22) is ungrammatical since there is no legitimate way to get *böckerna*, "the books" in front of the participle. It can neither be moved nor merged in this position, since both Move and Merge are triggered by EPP associated with [uϕ] in v° and this EPP has already been deleted by the default agreement ending.

5 ECM-constructions and object predicatives

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter I present cases in which the Small Clause is selected by a verb, namely the object-with-infinitive construction, ECM and the object predicative construction (OP). In section 5.2 the focus is on ECM-constructions, which are analysed in 5.2.2. In section 5.3 I present some selectional differences between the groups of ECM-verbs. In section 5.4 I show that my analysis of ECM-complements can be extended to the OP-construction, and section 5.5 addresses the impossibility of having a nominal predicative as Small Clause predicate in Swedish ECM-constructions and OPs, hence cases such as **Jag anså honom en idiot*, "I considered him an idiot" are ungrammatical in Swedish. In section 5.6 I discuss a special case of selection, namely that in which the referential pronoun *det* appears inside a Small Clause complement. The chapter is summarised in section 5.7.

5.2 ECM-constructions

5.2.1 Introduction

The Swedish Academy grammar (Teleman et al 1999[3]:576ff) discerns three types of verbs which take ECM-complements in Swedish: perception verbs, verbs of consideration and the verb *låta*, "let". Perception verbs are *se*, "see", *känna*, "feel" and *höra*, "hear" (Teleman et al 1999[3]:576), whereas verbs of consideration include many more (Teleman et al 1999[3]:577): *anse*, "consider, *påstå*, "claim", *förklara*, "declare" and "explain", *tycka*, "think", *tro*, "believe", *erkänna*, "admit", *hävda*, "argue", *konstatera*, "state", *meddela*, "declare", *medge*, "admit", *rapportera*, "report", *säga*, "say", *anta*, "assume", *avse*, "intend", *bedöma*, "judge", *befara*, "fear", *beräkna*, "expect", *bevisa*, "prove", *finna*, "find", *förmoda*, "presume", *förutse/vänta/förvänta*, "expect", *mena*, "mean", *misstänka*, "suspect", *visa*, "show".[1]

[1] Cf. the somewhat different list in Ureland (1973:15f).

Perception verbs are illustrated in (5:1a), verbs expressing a claim or a point of view in (5:1b) and the verb *låta*, "let" in (5:1c). The motivation for distinguishing three types of ECM-verbs is given in section 5.3.

(5:1a) Jag såg *Kalle* komma.
I saw Kalle come
(5:1b) Lisa ansåg *honom* springa fort.
Lisa considered him run fast
(5:1c) Jag låter *Kalle* gå.[2]
I let Kalle go

An ECM-construction consists of two parts: the matrix, headed by the verb *såg*, "saw", *anse*, "consider", or *låta*, "let" in (5:1) and the Small Clause or the ECM-complement, i.e. the non-finite clause selected by the matrix verb. Arguments indicating that the matrix verb is followed by a single constituent in all three cases were given in chapter 4, section 4.2. The DP appearing as the first element in the ECM-complement will be referred to as the 'equi-element' or 'equi-DP'. The predicate of the ECM-complement, *komma*, "come", *springa*, "run" and *gå*, "go" in (5:1) will be referred to as the 'Small Clause predicate'.[3]

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[2] There are two instances of *låta*, "let", namely $låta_{AL}$, which means "allow" and $låta_{IN}$, which means "induce". The differences between $låta_{AL}$ and $låta_{IN}$ in Swedish are of semantic rather than syntactic nature, hence there is no reason to distinguish between them syntactically. The major difference is that $låta_{AL}$ but not $låta_{IN}$ can be verum focused, see e.g. Höhle (1991). This is illustrated in (i)-(ii).

(i) Han lät ALLOW/INDUCE **Kalle** sälja bilen.
he let Kalle sell car-the
(ii) Han **lät** ALLOW/*INDUCE Kalle sälja bilen.
he let Kalle sell car-the

[3] A comment should be made with respect to word order. In German it is often possible for a dative to precede an accusative, see (i). In an ECM-construction, however, no dative of this type may appear, see (ii), but the accusative has to precede the dative, as in (iii) (Höhle 1978:56f, see also McKay 1985:16 and Wurmbrand 1998:207). On the other hand, oblique case is maintained in the same position in Icelandic if the Small Clause predicate takes an oblique subject (Sigurðsson 1992, Barðdal 2001:43), see (iv).

(i) Karl hat dem Mann das Bild gezeigt.
Karl has the Mann.DAT. the picture shown, "Karl has shown the man the picture."
(ii) *Karl sah dem Mann den Knaben helfen.
Karl saw the man.DAT. the boy.ACC. help
(iii) Karl sah den Knaben dem Mann helfen.
Karl saw the boy.ACC. the man.DAT. help, "Karl saw the boy help the man."
(iv) Ég taldi henni liða illa.
I considered her.DAT feel bad., "I considered her feeling bad."

In addition to the three groups of verbs taking ECM-complements in Swedish, illustrated in (5:1), there is a fourth group which takes an ECM-complement only when the equi-element is a reflexive pronoun, see the examples in (5:2), namely verbs expressing for instance thoughts or utterances, so-called ECM_{REFL}-verbs. I will discuss this construction type in detail in section 6.2.

(5:2a) Kalle trodde sig vinna loppet.
Kalle thought REFL. win race-the, "Kalle thought that he would win the race."
(5:2b) *Kalle trodde Olle vinna loppet.
Kalle thought Olle win race-the

In modern Swedish, the equi-element obligatorily precedes the Small Clause predicate, as illustrated in (5:1). In Old Swedish however, the infinitive verb could also precede the equi-element (Alving 1918, see also Wessén 1956:341ff and Platzack 1986b:90), see examples (5:3a)-(5:3b). In Modern Swedish such a word order is only possible in a Heavy NP Shift construction, viz. when a semantically heavy DP occupies a lower position than usual, see example (5:3c).[4]

(5:3a) Ok thädhan af saa iak nidhir fara eet lius. (Bonaventura, 14th century)
and there from saw I down come a light
"and from there I saw a light come down."
(5:3b) Thu skalt lata gaa folkit til eeth flytande watn oc drikka (Siælinna Tröst, 15th century)
you should let go people-the to a flowing water and drink
"You should let your people go to a flowing water and drink."
(5:3c) Plötsligt såg han komma emot sig den absolut vackraste kvinna hans ögon någonsin skådat
suddenly saw he come towards REFL. the absolutely most beautiful woman his eyes ever seen
"Suddenly he saw the absolutely most beautiful woman his eyes had ever seen coming towards him."

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[4] The same situation as in Modern Swedish is found in e.g. English, see examples (i)-(ii), where the construction with Heavy NP Shift in (i)-(ii) is grammatically correct, whereas the same word order without a heavy NP in (iii)-(iv) is not (Aarts 1989:287).

(i) I consider a fool any man who smokes.
(ii) I want out of the room all the people without a ticket.
(iii) *I consider a fool him.
(iv) * I want out of the room them.

I have nothing of interest to say about Heavy NP Shift cases such as (5:3c), but on this topic see Ekerot (2000, 2001). The option in older Swedish of having the equi-element after the infinitive may either be the result of head movement of the infinitive or a failure to move the equi-element from a VP-internal position to Spec,vP. Since the first solution would force us to assume a landing site for the infinitive above vP, which would go against the hypothesis that a vP-analysis of the ECM-complement is sufficient, I will here adopt the second solution. In this case, the absence of DP-movement seems to indicate that older Swedish had no EPP associated with [uϕ] in v°, see the discussion on EPP in section 2.3.3. Such an analysis predicts that the inverse word order is not found with Agent DPs, which must be externally merged in Spec,vP, i.e. above all available verb positions. This prediction is more or less correct, see Platzack (1986a).[5] I will however not discuss the inverse construction any further in this thesis.

The ECM-construction – under the label ACI-construction[6] – is claimed to be existent in many languages by among others Wackernagel (1920:257-265), Woodcock (1959:14-35) and Leumann et al (1965:353-368). Minimally, perception verbs are found with ECM-complements in all languages that have any kind of ECM-construction (see e.g. Aarts 1992, Felser 1999 and Castillo 2001), although some languages are more liberal as regards which verbs take the construction (see e.g. Hoekstra 1999:115). ECM-constructions are for example more common in Swedish than in German (Andersson et al 1999:223), and the distribution of ECM-verbs is partly different between Germanic and Romance

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[5] The discussion concerns examples like the one in (I):

(I) *Jag såg köpa en man tre blommor i affären.
I saw buy a man three flowers in store-the

[6] ACI stands for 'accusativus cum infinitivo' in Latin. The Latin ACI-construction however differs crucially from the ECM-constructions under discussion since it is completely independent of the matrix verb with respect to e.g. case assigning: impersonal expressions and passive verbs can trigger ACI in Latin, as can different types of active verbs, see (i)-(ii) taken from Wales (1982:140).

(i) Verum non est Homerum caecum fuisse.
true.NEUTR.SG. not is Homer.ACC blind.ACC be.PERF.INF
"It is not true that Homer was blind."
(ii) Homerum caecum fuisse traditur.
Homer.ACC blind.ACC be.PERF.INF say.PRES.PASS
"It is said that Homer was blind."

languages (Burzio 1986:220). Support for the fact that different types of ECM-verbs are constructed similarly over a variety of languages comes from e.g. Basilico (1997:289). On the other hand, Felser (1999:2) distinguishes between perception verbs and other types of ECM-verbs and claims that they should not receive a uniform analysis. As mentioned in chapter 4, a similar division is also found in Ureland (1973:42) and Teleman et al (1999[3]:576).

There is also variation between otherwise syntactically very similar languages with respect to ECM-verbs. Among the Scandinavian languages, Danish can not take an ECM-complement after *anse*, "consider" (Mikkelsen 1911:217, Vater 1973:62, Platzack 1986a:129), whereas this construction is common in Swedish. Norwegian seems to behave like Swedish in this respect (Faarlund et al 1997:1006-1010). Icelandic allows the most variability with respect to verbs taking ECM-complements, namely (at least) seven categories of ECM-verbs: verbs expressing knowledge, opinion, perception, wish, permission (LET), naming and utterance (Einarsson 1949:147, Kress 1982:246). Thus there are also interesting differences within the Scandinavian languages, some of which are presented in example (5:4).

(5:4a) Jeg hørte hende synge. (Danish; ^{OK}Icelandic, ^{OK}Swedish)
I heard her sing
(5:4b) Hon anså honom vara en idiot. (Swedish; ^{OK}Icelandic, *Danish)
she considered him be an idiot
(5:4c) Strákurinn telur hana vera fulla. (Icelandic; *Danish, *Swedish)
boy-the say.3SG. her.ACC. be drunk.ACC.FEM.

Nevertheless, the fact that roughly the same verbs in different languages take ECM-complements – i.e. are categorised as ECM-verbs – might be taken as an indication that there is a salient clan of verbs that somehow subcategorises for the same type of complement. This universality can also be seen to result from selection: there is some common meaning characterising a Small Clause complement and ECM-verbs select for this. From this perspective, the difference that exist between very similar languages, shown in example (5:4), can be taken to indicate unrealised possibilities in different languages. The matter will not be discussed any further here, but I reserve the rest of section 5.2 to present the syntactic analysis of ECM-constructions.

5.2.2 Syntactic analysis of ECM-constructions

In this subsection I present arguments in favour of my analysis of ECM-constructions, the essence of which is that the ECM-complement is most properly and minimally analysed as a vP (cf. section 4.2). As previously

mentioned, most ECM-complements as well as other Small Clauses contain a verbal element and I henceforth use the label 'vP' when speaking of the structure of ECM-complements in general, encompassing even 'aP' and 'pP' ECM-complements; I will assume that vP, aP and pP display identical feature bundles, $[u\phi\ \tau]^{EPP}$. The analysis of ECM-constructions is illustrated in Figure 5:1. My claim is that vP is suffiicient for a structural description of Small Clauses, hence no other projections are needed (see section 4.4).

The analysis in Figure 5:1 is based on the assumption that the external argument is not associated with V but rather with v (see section 2.1); v is the host of various types of predicates with general meanings, such as 'cause', 'make', etc. Most of the figures presented in this thesis are projected up to TP of the matrix; for ease of exposition, I will omit the matrix CP in my structural descriptions.

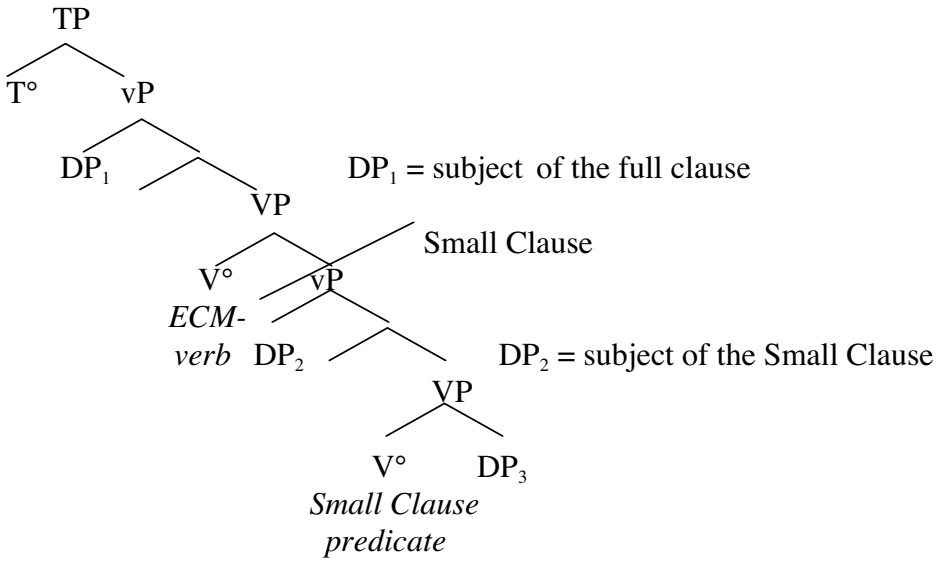

Figure 5:1. The structural description of the ECM-construction according to the proposed vP-analysis.

As pointed out in the introduction to this chapter, the analysis presented in Figure 5:1 is a modification of previous analyses rather than a brand new proposal, based on the VP-shell structure (e.g. Larson 1988, Chomsky 1995, Arad 1999, see also Platzack 1998:130f). The analysis in Figure 5:1 is directly applicable to examples such as those in (5:5).

(5:5a) Kalle såg henne köpa bilen.
Kalle saw her buy car-the
(5:5b) Lisa ansåg Kalle springa fort.
Lisa considered Kalle run fast
(5:5c) Olle lät Kalle sälja bilen.
Olle let Kalle sell car-the

As mentioned in chapter 2, the theoretical framework I have chosen is a version of the Minimalist Program outlined in Chomsky (2001a,b) and Pesetsky & Torrego (2001, 2002), according to whom computation is feature-driven. To recapitulate briefly, according to this framework the relevant features come in two guises, interpretable and uninterpretable. Interpretable features are allowed at the interfaces, whereas uninterpretable features must be deleted before the interfaces, if the derivation is to converge. The uninterpretable features do not contribute to the semantics of an element. For my purposes I will assume two features, a ϕ-feature (number, person) and a tense feature τ. As was pointed out, in my formal analysis I will assume that all argument DPs bear the feature bundle [ϕ uτ], whereas v° carries [uϕ τ]^{EPP} (and T° carries [uϕ τ]).

The general structure for a sentence with the ECM-construction was outlined previously in Figure 5:1. In the ensuing discussion I will present more detailed structures for four types of ECM-complements, starting in (5:5a) with a transitive Small Clause predicate, illustrated in Figure 5:2, continuing with an intransitive Small Clause predicate in Figure 5:3 and an adjectival Small Clause predicate in Figure 5:4. I will conclude by presenting ECM-complements containing expletives in Figure 5:5.

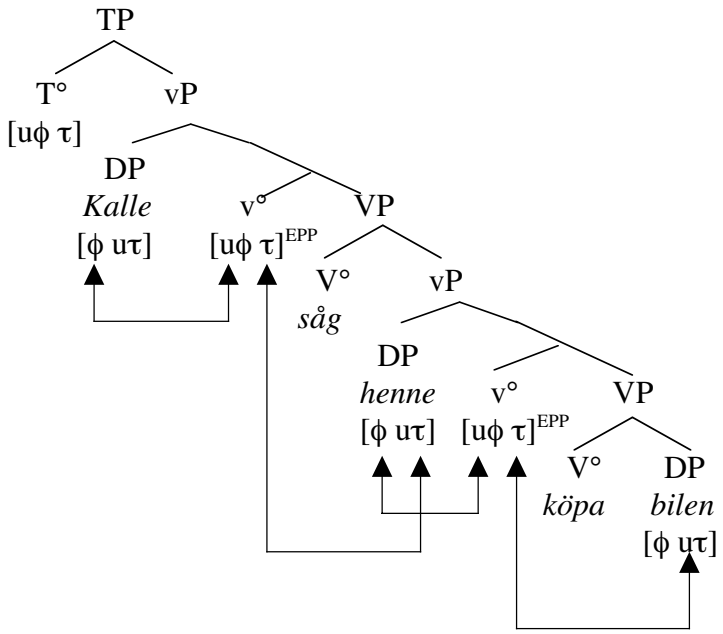

Figure 5:2. The features establishing the Agree relation in the ECM-complement with a transitive Small Clause predicate.

Figure 5:2 presents my analysis of an ECM-complement with a transitive Small Clause predicate as in (5:5a) *Jag såg henne köpa bilen*, "I saw her buy the car." The established Agree relations are marked with double-headed arrows. Note

that from now on, I will only explicitly show the Agree relations which are relevant for the phenomenon under discussion, in order not to overload the structural descriptions.

Recall from the discussion of Figures 2:10 and 2:11 that the features of a single feature bundle may take part in two different Agree relations. Since ϕ and τ have different functions to fulfil they may enter into relations with different elements in the clause. For ease of exposition, I have placed the subject of the matrix clause, *Kalle*, in matrix Spec,vP, although, as an EXPERIENCER, this DP originates in Spec,VP, according to UTAH and moves to Spec,vP to delete EPP of the matrix v°. See the discussion of Figure 2:12, where it is argued that the trace of the subject DP *Kalle* in the higher Spec,VP (not indicated in Figure 5:2) does not interfer with the Agree relation between the matrix v° and the equi-element.

With respect to θ-roles, the Small Clause predicate *köpa*, "buy" assigns a θ-role to its internal object *bilen*, "the car". The AGENT role of *henne*, "her" in example (5:5a) is assigned by the lower v°. Furthermore, the ECM-verb *såg*, "saw" assigns a θ-role to its sister, the lower vP, which (representing what is perceived) presumably gets a THEME role. This is in line with Hoekstra's (1999:115) claim that the matrix clause assigns a particular θ-role to its Small Clause complement. Consequently, "the fact that the verb combines with a SC may be regarded as a lexical property of the relevant verbs" (Hoekstra 1999:115).

As mentioned at the end of section 2.4, it is not the case that there is a one-to-one relation between [uτ] and θ-role. In the case at hand, the bearer of the θ-role, i.e. vP, has an interpretable τ-feature, not an uninterpretable one. The θ-role is determined in the system at another level: since the Small Clause vP is in the complement of the matrix V, it receives its THEME role in line with this position according to UTAH. That the vP receives a θ-role as an entity is also motivated by the fact that (crosslinguistically) there are several verbs that do not usually take an object (intransitives), but which nevertheless can take a Small Clause complement, see example (5:6a) for an example with an ECM-construction and examples (5:6b)-(5:6c) for examples with object predicatives.[7] See also e.g. Starke (1995:238, 258) and Hoekstra (1999:116).

[7] In a similar vein, verbs which ordinarily take only one DP-complement lose this possibility when a Small Clause complement is selected for, see examples (i)-(iii) (Hoekstra 1999:125f). Also cf. the reasoning in Picallo (2002), where CPs have Case and host ϕ-features.

(i) She drank whisky.
(ii) She drank him under the table.

(5:6a) *Kalle ansåg Lisa./[OK]Kalle ansåg Lisa dum. (Swedish)
Kalle considered Lisa/Kalle considered Lisa stupid
(5:6b) *Hon dansade sin partner./[OK]Hon dansade sin partner trött. (Swedish)
she danced her partner/ she danced her partner tired
(5:6c) *The clock ticked the baby./[OK]The clock ticked the baby awake.

I will now turn to the discussion of an ECM-complement with an intransitive Small Clause predicate. The example (5:7) has the structure presented in Figure 5:3:

(5:7) Hon såg båten sjunka.
she saw boat-the sink

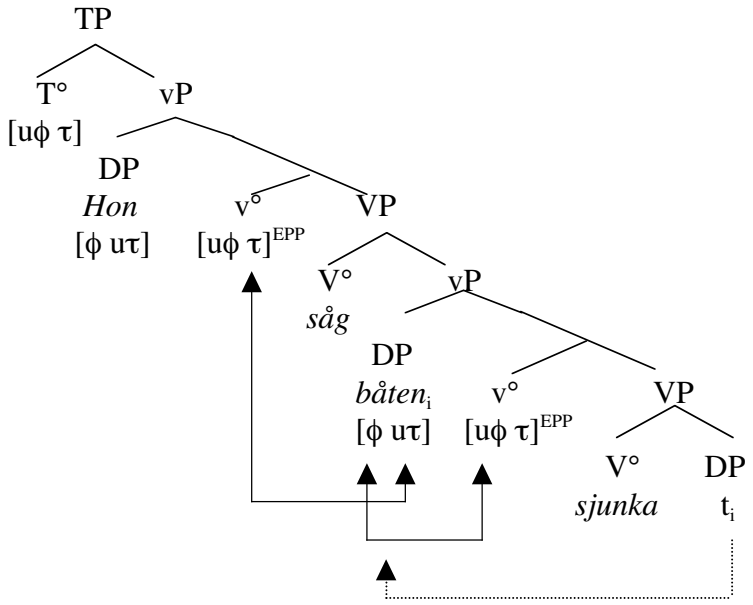

Figure 5:3. The syntactic description of ECM-complements with ergative verb.

The single argument of the Small Clause predicate, the DP *båten*, "the boat" is merged in the complement of the Small Clause predicate. Due to the EPP-feature in v° it is internally merged in Spec,vP, where it is probed by the higher v° and has consequently its [uτ]-feature eliminated. Recall that Merge triggered by EPP precedes the establishment of Agree relations. This is illustrated in Figure 5:3, where the dotted arrow indicates the internal Merge and the double-headed arrows indicate the Agree relations. Note that the features of a chain are visible on the head of the chain, hence the features of *båten*, "the boat" are

(iii) *She drank him whisky under the table.

visible in Spec,vP and not visible in its thematic-related position.[8] The rest of the derivation is the same for intransitive verbs as for transitive ones: the matrix clause subject is merged in Spec,vP of the matrix verb and an Agree relation with T° is established (not illustrated in Figure 5:3).

Consider next the structure of a case in which the Small Clause predicate is an adjective, a construction that only appears with verbs of consideration.[9] It should be noted that in examples such as (5:8), the functional projection topping √P in the Small Clause is aP and not vP.[10]

(5:8a) Kalle ansåg Lisa dum.
Kalle considered Lisa stupid

This sentence has the structure outlined in Figure 5:4, where the uninterpretable features are mutually deleted.

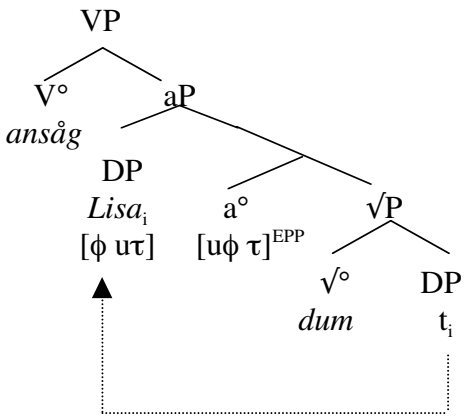

Figure 5:4. The syntactic description of ECM-complements containing an AP.

Finally, let us consider existential constructions, as illustrated in the examples in (5:9a), cf. (5:9b).

[8] Note that the lowest vP-phase is closed when the higher v° is merged. Thus, the higher v° would not be able to probe *båten*, "the boat" if this DP had remained in the complement of the Small Clause predicate, as the sister of the lower v°, i.e. the lower VP is spelled out at the moment the higher v° is merged.

[9] Cf. however the reasoning in Basilico (2003), who claims that there are differences between adjectives and verbs as SC-predicates regarding for instance predication and use of passive, tracing the core difference down to a different topic placement.

[10] When the AP is preceded by a copula, as in (i), the structure is the one given in Figure 5:3 for intransitive verbs:

(i) Han ansåg Lisa vara dum.
he considered Lisa be stupid

(5:9a) Kalle såg det komma en man på vägen.
Kalle saw there come a man on road-the, "Kalle saw a man coming down the road."
(5:9b) Kalle såg en man komma på vägen.
Kalle saw a man come on road-the

The structure of (5:9a) is given in Figure 5:5.

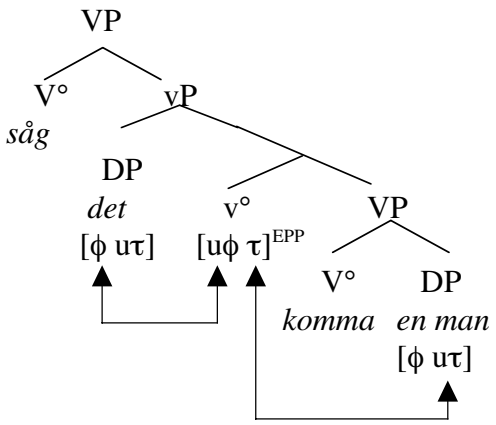

Figure 5:5. The syntactic description of an ECM-complement containing an expletive element.

According to Alexiadou & Anagnastopoulou (1998:499), when deriving constructions with expletives, the expletive element is assumed to be selected from the numeration as with any other element, cf. Chomsky (2000:18) and Huber (2002:138). According to Chomsky (2000:18), there are two solutions available when deriving constructions like (5:9a), namely movement of the DP *en man*, "a man", resulting in (5:9b), or merging of the expletive, resulting in (5:9a). If the expletive is part of the numeration/Lexical Array, this second alternative is chosen, since it is more economical; Merge has precedence over Move if there is something left in the numeration. Cf. external and internal Merge in the present discussion; with this reasoning, external Merge would have precedence over internal Merge.

With respect to ECM-constructions containing an expletive element, I claim that one is dealing with a spreading of information over the chain: *det* is linked to the associated DP subject by means of a chain, in line with the linking of a trace to its antecedent. The thought is that by merging *det*, "there" in Spec,vP in (5:9a), a chain is created between this element and the DP *en man*, "a man" (cf. Williams 1984). This is basically the same situation as that presented in Figure 5:3.

It follows that in example (5:9) *det* mediates between the features of the DP *en man*, "a man" and the verb and thus constitutes a kind of bridge between

them. In this case *det* receives no θ-role, although it is externally merged in Spec,vP; UTAH does not apply, since the expletive element does not carry a θ-role, regardless of the fact that *det* carries a full feature bundle as a DP. This assumption is in line with McCloskey (1991:564), who claims that in order to avoid a clash of features, the associate and the expletive must carry the same features, cf. Holmberg (1994, 2002). The ϕ-feature of *det* will delete the feature $[u\phi]^{EPP}$ in v° and hereby the DP can remain in situ. According to Holmberg (2002), the Danish corresponding element to *det*, namely *der*, hosts no ϕ-feature and hence should not be able to eliminate $[u\phi]^{EPP}$. This prediction turns out correct, since the construction in (5:10), corresponding to the Swedish construction in (5:9a), is grammatically incorrect in Danish.[11]

(5:10) *Han såg der komme en mand på vejen.
he saw there come a man on road-the

The main point is therefore that *det* has to be co-indexed with a DP but can not receive any θ-role. In other words, just as internally merged arguments do not receive any θ-role, neither does the expletive *det*, "there". With this reasoning one could argue that expletive *det* behaves like an internally merged element.

5.3 Some differences in selection between the groups of ECM-verbs

As aforementioned, there are three groups of ECM-verbs in Swedish. The fact that three different groups are discerned is related to the different possibilities they display regarding the selection of non-vP complements. In this section I briefly discuss the selectional properties of perception verbs (e.g. *se*, "see"), verbs of consideration (e.g. *anse*, "consider") and $låta_{IN+AL}$ ("let"). Besides the fact that all ECM-verbs select for a vP, they do not have the same overall selectional properties.

All ECM-verbs require some kind of complement. Verbs of perception require as complement anything perceivable, but in satisfying this requirement, any kind of syntactic element that can refer to something perceivable can function as a complement with no further restrictions. It follows that DPs, CPs

[11] Danish *der*, "there" is used only as subject, see for instance Stroh-Wollin (2002:69f).

and vPs – representing nouns/nominalisations, subordinate clauses and Small Clauses – are able to constitute the complement of perception verbs.[12]

The possible complements of verbs of consideration constitute a more restricted class: the complement must be some kind of proposition, hence be represented as CP (subordinate full clause), vP, or aP (ECM Small Clauses). A difference with respect to perception verbs is that the complements of verbs of consideration are subjective in nature: what a person considers to be the case need not be true in the eyes of others. Compare this with perception verbs where the percept is available for others as well and hence is an objective reality in some sense.

The verb *låta*$_{\text{AL+IN}}$ can only take a vP-complement with certain properties: it must have direct impact on the event expressed in the Small Clause, namely by inducing an event or allowing it to take place, by means of affecting someone in order to realise an unrealised event.

To summarise, the potential complements of the different ECM-verbs are illustrated in Table 5:1.

Table 5:1. The different complements of ECM-verbs.

Complement	Perception verbs	Consideration verbs	*låta*, "let"	Example
DP	OK	*	*	^{OK}Jag såg Lisa igår. *I saw Lisa yesterday* *****Jag anser Lisa. *I consider Lisa* *****Jag lät Kalle. *I let Kalle*
CP	OK	OK	*	^{OK}Jag såg att han öppnade fönstret. *I saw that he opened window-the* ^{OK}Jag anser att Lisa springer fort. *I consider that Lisa runs fast* *****Jag lät att Kalle sålde bilen. *I let that Kalle sold car-the*

[12] In some cases also aPs and pPs can refer to something perceivable, hence perception verbs can take Small Clause complements of this type as well, see (i) and (ii).

(i) Jag såg [$_{\text{pP}}$ honom överst] i högen.
I saw him on top of heap-the, "I saw him on top of the heap."
(ii) Jag såg [$_{\text{aP}}$ honom ofta glad].
I saw him often happy, "I often saw him happy."

vP	OK	OK	OK	[OK]Jag såg henne öppna fönstret. *I saw her open window-the* [OK]Jag anser Lisa springa fort. *I consider Lisa run fast* [OK]Jag lät Kalle sälja bilen. *I let Kalle sell car-the*
aP	*	OK	*	*Jag såg henne begåvad. *I saw her talented* [OK]Jag anser Lisa begåvad. *I consider Lisa talented* *Jag lät Kalle begåvad. *I let Kalle talented*

As seen in Table 5:1, both perception verbs and verbs of consideration take CP-complements, whereas *låta* does not. However, verbs of consideration can only take a subordinate *att*-clause, a "that"-clause complement, whereas perception verbs can take several kinds of subordinate clauses.[13] This is illustrated in examples (5:11a)-(5:11b). For the sake of completeness, example (5:11c) shows that *låta*, "let" can not take any kind of subordinate clause complement. In (5:11a) and (5:11b) the CP receives a θ-role from *såg*, "saw" and *anser*,

[13] The situation in which all verbs that do not take ECM-complements can take other types of complements is found in other languages as well. For instance, in Latin, ECM-verbs (like *verba sentiendi* and *verba dicendi*) can not have their complements paraphrased by a subordinate clause (see e.g. Sjöstrand 1960, Tidner 1961, Ernout & Thomas 1953). This is illustrated in (i)-(ii), taken from Lakoff (1968:3).

(i) Puto Ciceronem Catilinam amare
think.1.SG Cicero.ACC. Catiline.ACC. like.PRES.INF.
"I think that Cicero likes Cataline."
(ii) *Puto ut Cicero Catilinam amet.
think.1.SG. Cicero.NOM. Catiline.ACC. like.PRES.SUBJ.

On the other hand, the subordinate clause became possible complement in later Latin and in vulgar language, see (iii) and (iv). See also the development of the construction to today's Spanish in (v) (Lakoff 1968:9).

(iii) Dico Marcum venire.
say.1SG. Marcus.ACC. come.PRES.INF., "I say that Marcus is coming."
(iv) Dico quod marcus venit.
say.1SG. that Marcus.NOM. come.PRES.IND, "I say that Marcus is coming."
(v) Digo que Marcos viene.
say.1SG. Marcus.NOM. come.PRES.IND., "I say that Marcus comes."

"consider", respectively. Consequently, in both cases the θ-role is assigned to a lower phase.

(5:11a) Jag såg att/när/var/hur/varför Kalle kom.
I saw that/when/where/how/why Kalle came
(5:11b) Jag anser ^{OK}att/*när/*var/*hur/*varför hon springer fort.
I consider that/when/where/how/why she runs fast
(5:11c) *Jag lät att/när/var/hur/varför Kalle kom.
I let that Kalle came

The restriction with respect to type of CP-complement is of course due to the selectional properties of the different ECM-verbs, as was previously mentioned. If one wants to take the reasoning one step further, one is compelled to explain *why* there are differences with respect to selection, i.e. a difference of semantic as well as syntactic nature. As mentioned, the main difference between perception verbs and verbs of consideration is that in the former what is perceived has a reality of its own, i.e. it is independent of the experiencer, whereas for verbs of consideration no external and objective reality is implied. In other words, verbs of consideration indicate a connection that is not objective but rather is dependent on the speaker. Subordinate *att*-clauses and ECM-complements can express both types of relations, whereas other types of CP-complements can only express the situation in which the reality of the matrix clause is a fact.

The fact that more types of (tense) relations can be expressed by a CP-complement than by an ECM-complement is a welcome result of my analysis of tense (see section 4.3): since the Small Clause is assumed to be vP (and since vP does not contain the functional projection TP) its tense is dependent on TP in the matrix clause. Thus, the matrix clause sets the tense frame for the Small Clause. By contrast, subordinate CP-complements automatically contain a TP and are hence able to express a wider range of temporal relations, being independent on the tense of the matrix clause.

Though he discusses the selectional distinction using other terms, Ureland (1973:58) argues that the difference between selecting for what we now refer to as a 'CP-complement' versus a 'vP-complement' is related to focus: in an ECM-construction, the equi-DP is assumed to be more prominent than the subject of a subordinate clause. It is not obvious that Ureland is right, however. Felser (1999:2f) on the other hand, captures the difference between ECM-complements and subordinate clauses as complements of perception verbs by claiming that a so-called physical perception of the actual clausal event is required when we have an ECM-construction, whereas in subordinate clause complements it is

sufficient just to imply some indication of the event in question. The same reasoning is found in Teleman et al (1999[3]:576), see the sentences in example (5:12): there would have to be an act of direct perception in (5:12a), whereas (5:12b) can express indirect perception.[14] Guasti (1993:143) captures the difference by stating that ECM-complements refer to an event, whereas clauses (*att*-clauses, "that"-clauses) refer to a proposition; the former are interpreted as events since their lack of referential tense in the case at hand. In a simliar vein, Barwise & Perry (1983:171,179f) also sharply distinguishes between ECM-complements and "that"-clause complements of perception verbs.

(5:12a) Jag såg henne bli besviken.
I saw her become disappointed
(5:12b) Jag såg (på henne) att hon var besviken.
I saw (on her) that she was disappointed,
"I could tell from her looks that she was disappointed."

It was previously pointed out that perception verbs have the most syntactic freedom as regards type of complement, though they first and foremost require a complement that refers to something perceivable. This fact turns out to restrict the content of the complement in another way since the event expressed in the ECM-complement of a perception verb can not be denied without contradiction. Note that no such contradiction emerges in the context of theECM-complement of *låta*$_{\text{IN+AL}}$. See the examples in (5:13).

(5:13a) Kalle lät henne öppna dörren, men det gjorde hon inte.
Kalle let her open door-the, but it did she not,
"Kalle let her open the door, but she didn't do so."
(5:13b) *Kalle såg henne öppna dörren, men det gjorde hon inte.
Kalle saw her open door-the, but it did she not

The example further illustrates that it is perception verbs that are bound to an act of direct perception, and that this does not hold for all ECM-verbs: the event expressed in the ECM-complement in (5:13a) follows the event of the matrix clause, rather than being simultaneous with it. This is presumably an effect of different semantic properties of *låta*, "let" and perception verbs: the verb *låta*, "let" indicates that its complement is temporally later; in this respect it has the same property as verbs like *promise*, *wish* etc. There is no similar temporal

[14] Also see Svensson (1981:76f), who claims that the semantic difference between infinitive constructions (including ECM-constructions) and *att*-clauses is that the infinitive constructions are primarily used to express subordinated information, perhaps presupposed.

restriction related to verbs of perception. With respect to verbs of consideration, the act of consideration and the event considered can be contemporaneous, but the event considered can in addition precede the act of consideration more easily than with perception verbs and *låta*, "let". See the examples in (5:14), where prefect tense works with verbs of consideration but with neither of the other types of ECM-verbs. Cf. the comments above on direct versus indirect perception, in Guasti (1993:143) and Felser (1999:2ff).

(5:14a) Jag anser Kalle ha varit en riktig idiot den här gången.
I consider Kalle have been a real idiot this time
"I consider Kalle to have been a real idiot this time."
(5:14b) *Jag lät Kalle ha varit en riktig idiot den här gången.
I let Kalle have been a real idiot this time
(5:14c) *Jag såg Kalle ha sprungit riktigt fort den här gången.
I saw Kalle have run very fast this time

Applying the same type of reasoning to verbs of consideration, we get an example such as (5:15).

(5:15) Kalle ansåg Lisa springa fort, men det gjorde hon inte.
Kalle considered Lisa run fast, but it did she not,
"Kalle considered that Lisa ran fast, but she didn't."

Example (5:15) clearly illustrates the special relationship between a verb of consideration and the subject (*Kalle*), namely that what is considered may not be true in the eyes of others, but only to the subject himself/herself. Consequently, the consideration can not be questioned. Still, as (5:15) shows, the content of the complement may not correspond to objective reality – nor to the opinion of another person.

Based on the examples presented here one can that there are semantic constraints (due to selection) but not major syntactic differences between the complements of perception verbs and verbs of consideration, which speaks in favour of a unified syntactic analysis of ECM-complements.

5.4 Object predicative constructions

The Swedish object predicative construction, here referred to as 'OP' contains a VP in which the object complement is the base of predication for the Small Clause predicate. A wide range of verbs take OP-complements, and these verbs often have special meanings or uses in this construction (Teleman et al

1999[3]:366, 373f). There are different kinds of verbs: causative verbs (for instance many resultative verbs specifying the change of states); verbs of thought and utterance; perception verbs and finally verbs that give the object referent a special status.[15] The OP-construction is illustrated in the examples in (5:16), where the Small Clause predicates are indicated by bold face. The DP *huset*, "the house" and the predicative *rött*, "red" in (5:16a) are in a nexus relation (Teleman et al 1999[3]:373), as are the corresponding elements in (5:16b)-(5:16c).

(5:16a) Vi målade huset **rött**.
we painted house-the red
(5:16b) Pelle hade några biljetter {**klara/reserverade** för pressen}.
Pelle had some tickets{ready/reserved for press-the}
(5:16c) Jag fann honom {**omöjlig/kvalificerad**}.
I found him{impossible/qualified}

The OP is often referred to as a 'complex predicate structure', see e.g. Hoekstra (1988), Neeleman (1994), Koch & Rosengren (1995) and the contributors in Alsina et al (1997), but notice that this label is often used for ECM-constructions as well. Hale & Keyser (1997, see also 2002) argue that the complex predicate structure is the norm and not a special phenomenon, basing their reasoning on the view of mono-morphemic verbs being internally complex in the lexicon, for instance the verb *clean* being the complex *make clean*. Cf. also Williams (1997).

Furthermore, the OP should in some respects be discerned from ECM-complements, although the two constructions may be selected by the same verbs (Teleman et al 1999[3]:369), for example perception verbs and verbs expressing utterances or thoughts. Semantically, the main difference between the two constructions is that the OP-construction is always resultative, see e.g. Hoekstra (1988), Koch & Rosengren (1995), Starke (1995), Staudinger (1997, chapter 2). Also see Aarts 1992, chapter 3.3, for an overview of different OP-approaches.

Admittedly, one could also argue in favour of another analysis of the OP-construction than the vP-analysis, primarily due to the fact that ordinarily the verbs used in this construction exclusively select for a DP object. With this reasoning, (5:16a) would be analysed as (5:17a) and not as (5:17b), cf. the discussions in sections 3.2.3 and 4.2.3. The (5:17a) analysis is invoked in Teleman et al (1999[3]:373).

[15] Causative verbs are e.g. *göra*, "do" and *få*, "get"; resultative verbs specifying the change of states e.g. *måla*, "paint" or *skriva*, "write"; verbs of thought and perception verbs e.g. *se*, "see", *anse*, "consider" and *finna*, "find"; verbs giving the object referent a special status e.g. *välja*, "chose" and *utse*, "elect".

(5:17a) Vi målade [$_{DP}$ huset] [$_{AP}$ rött].
(5:17b) Vi målade [$_{vP}$ huset rött].
we painted house-the red

Admittedly, the arguments favouring a vP-analysis are stronger with respect to ECM-complements than with respect to OPs, but I will nevertheless maintain that the vP-analysis can account for OPs as well. The strongest arguments favouring this view come from the metaphorical use of several verbs which are formed with OPs – e.g. *finna*, "find" and *se*, "see" – which, in their metaphoric guise, must select for a complement consisting of [DP XP], constituting a perceivable entity. See example (5:18), cf. Ureland (1973:42).

What is expressed in an object predicative construction preceded by a perception verb – or any other kind of verb which usually does not take this type of complement, as *fann*, "found" in (5:16c) and (5:18b) – is an opinion of the subject of the matrix clause about a property of the object referent: the meaning of an actual act of finding in (5:18b) is semantically bleached. This makes the OP-constructions very similar to the *anse*, "consider" type. The perception verb in (5:18a) gives rise to a 'metaphorical reading' and is thus different from the case in which perception verbs take ECM-complements, since the latter require an act of direct perception, see e.g. Lakoff & Johnson (1980) and Johnson (1987), also see Ekberg (1988).

(5:18a) Jag såg honom som min bäste vän.
I saw him as my best friend
(5:18b) Lisa fann Kalle oemotståndlig.
Lisa found Kalle irresistible

What is stated in clauses such as (5:18a) is the opinion of the matrix subject *jag*, "I" (obligatorily animate) with respect to the object. Consequently, in (5:18a) the act of perception has disappeared and the perception verb so to speak has transformed into another verb category, one for which the perspective of the subject is obligatory, viz. in line with verbs of consideration. Among others Lakoff & Johnson (1980:30ff,58f) and Johnson (1987:107ff) have shown that an internal experience is often described by means of a metaphorically used expression for perception. See also Sjöström (1999).

A similar transformation is discussed in Starke (1995:238,258), where it is claimed that a verb that can take a DP-complement as well as a Small Clause complement has different meanings in the two construction types. Starke claims that through this shift in meaning, action verbs become psychological verbs, as illustrated in example (5:19b), compared to (5:19a). Also cf. (5:18).

(5:19a) Jag tog äpplet.
I took apple-the
(5:19b) Jag tog äpplet för en grapefrukt.
I took apple-the for a grapefruit, "I thought that the apple was a grapefruit."

The shift is claimed to be regular across languages: when the verbs are transformed, they become verbs of opinion. Consequently, there seems to be a development from visuality to cognition when verbs which otherwise do not take OPs actually do so. With the analysis sketched here, ECM-complements and OPs are analysed on par, both introduced by the functional projection xP which constitutes the Small Clause.

Due to the similarities between OPs and ECM-constructions, I propose an analysis of OPs which is similar to that of ECM-constructions, namely the one shown in Figure 5:6, illustrating example (5:16a). Since there is no explicit verbal element in the Small Clause, I assume that the OP-complement is an aP, dominating √P, the head of which is the predicate of the Small Clause (*rött*, "red" in the case at hand).

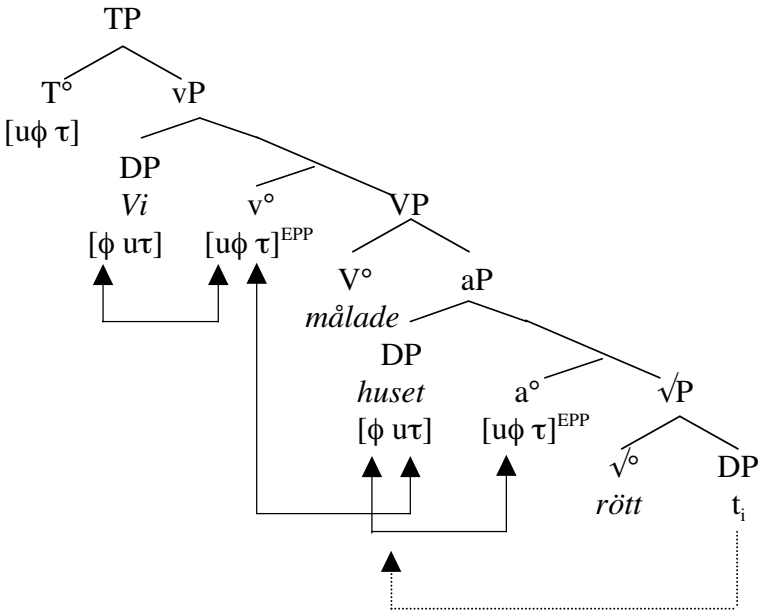

Figure 5:6. The structural description of object predicative constructions.

As previously mentioned, I have assumed that the maximal functional projection in a Small Clause complement always carries the feature bundle $[u\phi\ \tau]^{EPP}$, hence this is the case for a° as well. The uninterpretable ϕ-feature of a°, as well as EPP associated with it, forces internal Merge in Spec,aP of the DP-complement of √P, i.e. *huset*, "the house"; like all arguments, *huset* has the feature bundle [ϕ

uτ]. The arrows in Figure 5:6 illustrate the relevant operations on features and can be compared with the analysis of the aP-Small Clause of a verb of consideration presented in Figure 5:4.

5.5 The impossibility of a nP Small Clause in Swedish

In this section I will comment upon the fact that nPs can not be used as Small Clauses in Swedish. The situation is illustrated in example (5:20a)-(5:20b), where an ECM-complement and an object predicative take a 'nP-predicate' and hence are ungrammatical. In English, on the other hand, an nP-complement is possible in comparable cases, see examples (5:20c)-(5:20d).[16]

(5:20a) *Vi ansåg honom en idiot.
we considered him an idiot
(5:20b) *Kalle valde honom domare.
Kalle selected him judge
(5:20c) We considered him an idiot.
(5:20d) We elected him judge.

An identical situation also occurs for absolute constructions (*med*-phrases), see the examples in (5:21); the English corresponding construction is fine here as well.

(5:21a) *Med honom domare skulle vi säkert vinna målet.
with him judge should we surely win case-the
(5:21b) With Peter (as) the referee we might just as well not play the match.

[16] For some reason, Swedish verbs of labelling can take an OP-complement without displaying any preposition, see (i)-(ii) (Teleman et al 1999[3]:364). I will not present an analysis of such cases here, although at least (i) can presumably be accounted for along with the reasoning in section 7.2.5, which leaves only (ii) unaccounted for.

(i) Man benämner dem enzymer.
one labels them enzymes
(ii) Vi kallade honom Kalle.
we called him Kalle

In Swedish there must be a copula verb in the Small Clause in cases such as (5:20a) and a preposition in (5:20b) and (5:21b). This is illustrated in the examples in (5:22), where the crucial elements are in bold.[17]

(5:22a) Jag anser honom **vara** en idiot.
I consider him be an idiot
(5:22b) Vi valde honom **till** ordförande.
we elected him to chairman, "We elected him chairman."
(5:22b) Med honom **som** domare skulle vi säkert vinna målet.[18]
with him as judge should we surely win case-the

A common property of the two constructions in (5:20) and (5:21), then, is that neither of them is well-formed in Swedish without this explicit element constituting the nexus link. The prepositions *för*, "for" and *som*, "as" are also used for the same function (Teleman et al 1999[3]:370). In Teleman (1974:80, passim) and Teleman et al (1999[2]:727) *som* is analysed as a subordinating complementiser, but its similarity with and relatedness to a preposition is stressed as well, e.g. prepositions and complementisers alike show the relations that hold between different parts of the clause. According to Teleman et al

[17] In this connection some interesting cases, see examples (i)-(ii), are worthy of comment, which are not ruled out although the complement is seemingly a nP. The crucial point here is that the necessry τ-feature – which feature Swedish nPs lack – in the Small Clause 'predicates' *kandidat*, "candidate" and *vinnare*, "winner" are added by the adjective/ participle, whose functional projection carries a τ-feature.

(i) ?Vi anser honom en möjlig kandidat.
we consider him a possible candidate
(ii) ?Vi anser honom en given vinnare.
we consider him a given winner, "We consider him a clear winner."

[18] Cf. the special case of (5:22b) in (i): the *såsom*-construction, "as"-construction does not allow replacement of the present participle copula *varande*, "being", see (ii). Hence the copula cannot be seen as replacing *som*, "as" in this case but must be analysed as a pleonastic element which requires the preposition *(så)som*, "as" for reasons which will not be discussed here. Presumably *såsom varande*, "as being" should be regarded as a kind of two-word preposition, where the copula participle does not make any contribution to the expression. Cf. the reasoning in Teleman et al (1999[3]:686ff) and Egerland (2002:92).

(i) ?Med honom (så)som varande domare…
with him as being judge…, "With him as judge…"
(ii) *Med honom varande domare…
with him being judge…

(1999[3]:666), *som* is regarded a preposition when it is not construed with a subordinate clause.

Without going into too much detail, I will suggest that there might be a lexical difference between Swedish and English that explains why Small Clauses may be nPs in English but not in Swedish. With this reasoning a functional projection, visible or invisible, is a kind of lexical shadow for a related head, hence the difference between languages reduces to a difference found in the lexicon. The difference at hand concerns the presence or absence of a τ-feature in the a particular functional projection, namely – in addition to vP – aP, pP and nP, where the English light n° has a τ-feature but the corresponding Swedish light n° lacks τ. See example (5:23).[19]

		Swedish	English
(5:23a)	Jag anser honom **dum**. *I consider him stupid*	a° [τ]	[τ]
(5:23b)	Jag anser honom **vara** min räddare. *I consider him be my saviour*	v° [τ]	[τ]
(5:23c)	Jag anser honom **som** min räddare. *I consider him as my saviour*	p° [τ]	[τ]
(5:23d)	*Jag anser honom **min räddare**. *I consider him my saviour*	n° [–]	[τ]

As indicated in the columns to the right, I will suggest that n° in English contains a τ-feature, whereas this is not the case in Swedish. This difference will explain why (5:23d) is bad in Swedish, whereas its English counterpart part is grammatically well-formed.

Consider the analysis of the English/Swedish constructions in (5:24).

(5:24a) Vi valde honom till president.
(5:24b) *Vi valde honom president.
(5:24c) We elected him president.

Example (5:24a) is analysed in Figure 5:7, whereas the corresponding analysis of the English construction in (5:24c) is shown in Figure 5:8. Only the relevant features are illustrated. Note that the remaining [uϕ]-feature in n° still is associated with an EPP-feature and consequently, $[u\phi]^{EPP}$ can be generalised to all the functional projections v°, a°, p° and n°.

[19] Cf. the reasoning in Emonds (1985:264ff) regarding English (non-comparative) *as* as a prepositional copula, which means that the NP following *as* should display properties of a predicate attribute and that *as* and NP together should constitute a PP.

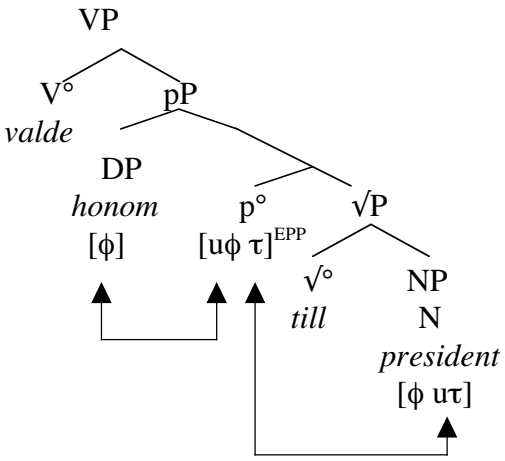

Figure 5:7. The structural description of the Swedish OP-construction.

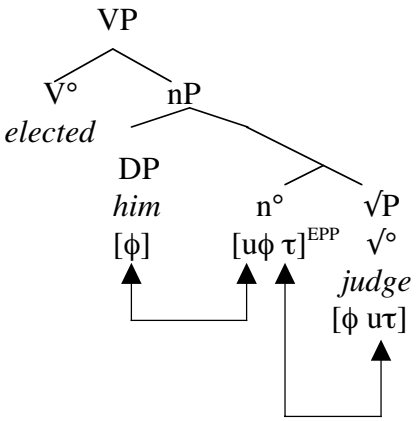

Figure 5:8. The structural description of the English OP-construction.

If n° in Swedish does not have a τ-feature, one can immediately account for the fact that (5:24b) is ungrammatical, since then there is nothing in the structure that can delete [uτ] in the noun *president*. Independent support for this assumption is offered by the English : Swedish contrast in (5:25), where English requires an indefinite article, whereas a bare noun is fine in Swedish.

(5:25a) Han är pilot.
(5:25b) *He is pilot.
(5:25c) He is **a** pilot.

Given the different values of n° in Swedish and English, the nP-complement in (5:25a) and (5:25c) have the structures in Figures 5:9 and 5:10.

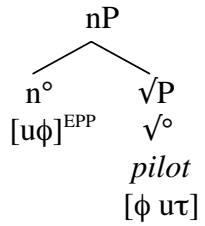

Figure 5:9. The structural description of the situation in Swedish.

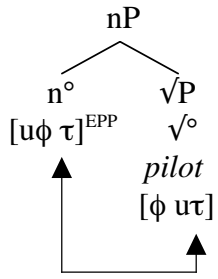

Figure 5:10. The structural description of the situation in English.

In a case like this, where no DP is merged in Spec,nP, the EPP-feature on [uϕ] in n° is deleted either by raising of √°, marked [ϕ], to n°, or by the insertion of an indefinite article. In Swedish, where [uτ] in √° can not be deleted inside nP, head raising is the only option – in this way, the noun is placed in the head of nP (n°), where it can be probed from outside. In English, on the other hand, where

[uτ] is deleted within nP, raising would be more costly than the insertion of an indefinite article. Thus, the difference between (5:25a) and (5:25c) may support my analysis.

Another argument favouring the presence of a τ-feature in n° in English and its absence in Swedish is the abundant use of the gerund *-ing* form in English. If English n° contains a τ-feature, n° and v° ought to be more similar in this language than they are in Swedish. This prediction seems to turn out right, see example (5:26a)-(5:26b); the English gerunds are similar to transitive verbs (there is no *of* preceding the object) and if *refusing* is to take a determiner, this would be an adverbial and not an adjective, see example (5:26c) (Svartvik & Sager 1977:116f).

(5:26a) Ann's refusing the offer was surprising.
(5:26b) Ann refusing the offer was surprising.
(5:26c) Her politely refusing the offer…

None of the constructions in (5:26) are grammatically correct in Swedish, see example (5:27a), but the Swedish construction corresponding to English (5:26a) is well-formed in an *av*-construction, "of"-construction, see example (5:27b). The construction in (5:27b) however, can not take an adverbial as determiner, see example (5:27c), but would instead require an adjective as attribute, see (5:27d), although the meaning of the utterance is somewhat changed.

(5:27a) *Anns/Ann avböjande erbjudandet var överraskande.
(5:27b) Anns avböjande **av** erbjudandet var överraskande.
(5:27c) *Anns $\text{artigt}_{\text{ADVERB}}$ avböjande **av** erbjudandet var överraskande.
(5:27d) Anns $\text{artiga}_{\text{ADJ}}$ avböjande **av** erbjudandet var överraskande.

The status of n° in Swedish and English is then crucially different, and the presumed presence of a τ-feature in English and the lack of the same feature in Swedish is favoured by the English gerund, which points to the possibility of establishing a proposition inside the nP due to the $[u\phi\ \tau]^{EPP}$ feature bundle in n°.

One further argument supporting my analysis is that there are cases in English where a copula is necessary and cases where it is optional. The situation can be seen as another side of the requirement for an indefinite article in constructions like (5:25). According to Rothstein (1995:27,32) the copula *to be* is optional in (5:28a), since the complement *a good runner* is identical with *the winner*, whereas in example (5:28b) the copula is obligatory since it is predicational.

(5:28a) I consider the winner (to be) a good runner.
(5:28b) I consider the winner *(to be) Mary.

If one interprets this discrepancy in light of the background information already presented, example (5:28b) would be ruled out since *Mary* is a DP and not an NP and as a result more structure is needed; the DP Mary cannot do without the feature bundle provided by a predicational element, cf. the need for an article in (5:25c). In example (5:28a), on the other hand, *a good runner* is presumably an NP, and if its functional projection n° contains a τ-feature as suggested, it does not depend on the feature bundle provided by v° of *to be*.[20]

In sum, in Swedish ECM-constructions, OPs and absolute constructions, as soon as there is a DP-/NP-complement which is to be tied to an argument, a visible connector is obligatory due to the absence of a τ-feature in n°. In English, on the other hand, n° carries a τ-feature and hence clauses like (5:20c)-(5:20d), (5:21b), (5:24b) and (5:26a)-(5:26b) are acceptable.

5.6 The referential pronoun *det* inside the Small Clause

In this section I will take a closer look at the presence of *det* in the complement of ECM-verbs; verbs of perception and consideration can have the pronoun *det*, "it" as their complement when *det* refers to a proposition of some kind. I will claim that *det* can never replace a vP, i.e. one can not pronominalise a vP (in Swedish), although, as will be shown, *det* can otherwise replace a variety of elements of different status, including a VP. I will also account for the fact that *det* can not replace a Small Clause predicate in ECM-complements, regardless of the fact that it may replace a VP.

Before discussing the impossibility of pronominalising a vP by means of *det*, it is useful to illustrate some different uses of *det* in order to show its wide spectrum of possibilities. *Det*, "it" is a 3rd person personal pronoun in neuter gender[21] singular, referring to noun phrases in neuter singular like *huset – det*,

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[20] Different kinds of predications with or without (overt) copula are also seen in Hungarian, where an overt copula is required when the predication is a PP denoting a locality, but not in the presence of an AP. See (i)-(ii), taken from Huber (2002:121).

(i) Peter buta.
Peter stupid, "Peter is stupid."
(ii) Peter a kertben van.
Peter in-garden is, "Peter is in the garden."

[21] Swedish has two grammatical genders, common gender and neuter gender. The common gender pronoun corresponding to neuter *det* is *den*, and it is used to refer to common gender nouns: *boken – den*, "book – it", *hästen – den*, "horse – "it", etc. (e.g. Teleman et al 1999).

"house – it" or *brevet – det*, "letter – it". *Det* is also used to refer to infinitival clauses, CPs (main clauses as well as subordinate clauses), VPs and APs (see e.g. Teleman et al 1999[2]:287ff, Josefsson 2002, chapter 8). When referring to a VP or a clause, *det* can be classified as an impersonal pronoun (see e.g. Teleman et al 1999[3]:42). *Det* replacing a subordinate clause is shown in the examples in (5:29).

(5:29a) Han såg **det**. (= att hon rökte)
he saw it (= that she smoked)
(5:29b) Han ansåg **det**. (= att hon var snäll)
he considered it (= that she was kind)

Example (5:30a) shows that *det* can be used to refer to the content of a control infinitive. In example (5:30b), it refers to the content of the main verb phrase in an auxiliary construction.

(5:30a) Bad du honom (att) komma? – Ja, **det** bad jag honom.
asked you him (to) come? – yes, it asked I him
(5:30b) Kalle ville läsa boken. Han ville **det**.
Kalle wanted read book-the. He wanted it, "Kalle wanted to read the book."

There are however more complicated constructions in which *det* seemingly does not agree with the element it replaces. These cases will prove useful when discussing *det* and ECM-complements. Two such examples are shown in (5:31). In (5:31a) *det* disagrees with the DP in gender, and in (5:31b) there is disagreement with respect to number. The examples are taken from Josefsson (2002, chapter 8), with the crucial elements indicated in bold.[22]

(5:31a) Hög hatt, **det** skulle vara kul på festen.
top hat.COM.GEND., it.NEUTR.SG should be fun at party-the
(5:31b) Glada, **det** trodde jag inte de skulle bli för presenten
happy.PL, it.NEUTR.SG thought I not they would become for gift-the

The relevant observation here is that there is no formal agreement between *det* and its antecedent in (5:31). Following Josefsson (2002), I assume that the

[22] Also other types of Swedish constructions similarly lack agreement, as is shown in (i), taken from Josefsson (2002, chapter 8).

(i) Kvinnliga professorer är sjuk**t**.
female professors.PL. is sick.NEUTR.SG.

antecedents of *det* in (5:31) are not the DP *hög hatt*, "top hat" in (5:31a) and the AP *glada*, "happy" in (5:31b), respectively, but a higher clausal construction of which *hög hatt* and *glada*, respectively, are constituents. An argument for this is that in (5:31a) it is impossible to refer to *hög hatt* with an agreeing pronoun *den*, see example (5:32).

(5:32) *Hög hatt, **den** skulle vara kul på festen.
top hat.COM.GEND., it.COM.GEND. should be fun at the party

The use of *det* in (5:31) is thus in principle not different from the use of *det* in the examples (5:29)-(5:30) – it refers to a clause-like construction and may take a clause or a clause-like construction as its antecedent. This does not mean however that *det* has the same syntactic properties as clauses. Consider the examples in (5:33). An *att*-clause, "that"-clause does not generally appear inverted, see example (5:33a), whereas the corresponding *det* can occupy such a position, see example (5:33b). Hence *det* can appear in positions in which its antecedent can not, which indicates that *det* possesses properties that are not found in the element it replaces.

(5:33a) ??Är [att han kommer] trevligt?
is that he comes nice
(5:33b) Är det trevligt?
is it nice

It is now time to see how my claim, that *det* can not pronominalise a vP, fits into the reasoning here. For a start, neither of the examples in (5:29)-(5:33) contain any Small Clause vP, and they can all be pronominalised with *det*; in (5:29)-(5:30) the [uτ]-feature in *det* is eliminated by the τ-feature in a v° and the interpretable ϕ-feature of *det* deletes the corresponding uninterpretable one of a verb (v°), at the same time deleting its EPP. It is true that *det* can be a complement of both verbs of perception (5:34a) and verbs of consideration (5:34b), where *det* could be assumed to refer to vP, but one can not exclude the possibility that *det* in these cases represents a CP expressing the EVENT which *det* replaces, since these verb types also take CP-complements. It is crucial, however, that *låta*, "let" can not take a *det*-complement, see example (5:34c); the verb *låta* does not allow CP-complements, only vP-complements (which is presumably due to the special status of *låta*):

(5:34a) Han såg det. {cf. – att hon sprang/ – henne springa}
he saw it { – that she ran / – her run}
(5:34b) Han ansåg det. {cf. – att hon var vacker/ – henne vara vacker}
he considered it { – that she was beautiful/ – her be beautiful}
(5:34c) *Han lät det. {cf. – *Han lät att hon gick/ – [OK]Han lät henne gå}
he let it { – he let that she left/ – he let her go}

Consequently it seems as if *det*, which in the ordinary case is a DP, can not pronominalise the lower and weaker phase vP but only the higher and stronger CP. I will return to this later on in this section.

Since Small Clauses are analysed as vPs throughout this thesis, this reasoning predicts that pronominalisation of any Small Clause should be impossible. As is shown in example (5:35) this prediction seems to be correct, since neither the absolute construction in (5:35a) nor the object predicative construction in (5:35b) is well-formed. Example (5:35a) is semantically ruled out, due to the fact that no STATE is expressed in the absolute construction as a result of the event expressed here. Example (5:35b) is of course semantically as well as syntactically accepted if *det* just refers to a thing of some kind (like 'the house').

(5:35a) *Med **det** kunde han ta sig an gräsmattan. (=Med rosorna klippta…)
with it could he see to lawn-the (=With roses-the cut)
(5:35b) *Vi målade **det**. (= husen röda).
we painted it (= houses-the red)

I will now turn to cases where *det* seems to occur as the predicate part of a Small Clause. Consider the examples in (5:36).[23]

(5:36a) *Jag såg/lät henne det. (= springa fort)
I saw/let her it (= run fast)
(5:36b) [OK]Jag såg/lät henne **göra** det. (= springa fort)
I saw/let her do it (= run fast)
(5:36c) *Kalle ansåg Lisa det. (= sjuk förra veckan)
Kalle considered Lisa it (= ill last week)
(5:36d) Kalle ansåg Lisa **vara** det. (= sjuk förra veckan)
Kalle considered Lisa be it (= ill last week)

As indicated, these examples are not accepted without an explicit auxiliary/ copula. This observation is in line with the proposal in section 5.5, namely that n° in Swedish lacks a τ-feature – with *det* as the Small Clause 'predicate',

[23] The situation is the same in Norwegian, see (i), taken from Faarlund et al (1997:335).

(i) *Han lod hunden det.
he let dog it

constituting a Small Clause of the type nP, no τ-feature is present to delete [uτ] coming with *det*, which explains why (5:36a) and (5:36c) are ungrammatical. The structural description of these constructions is shown in Figure 5:11.

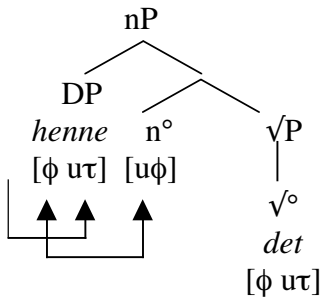

Figure 5:11. The ruled out derivation with *det*, "it" as Small Clause predicate.

In Figure 5:12 I present my analysis of the well-formed example *Han såg henne vara det*, "He saw her be it", where the dotted arrow indicates internal Merge into Spec,vP: since *henne*, "her" is not an AGENT, the DP is not externally merged in Spec,vP but in Spec,VP and then internally merged in the lower Spec,vP, eliminating the EPP-feature in the Small Clause-v°. As pointed out previously, the EPP-feature in v° has prominence over the Agree relation, hence movement triggered by EPP precedes the establishing of Agree relations. The double-headed arrows illustrate the Agree relations, and the dotted arrow illustrates the internal Merge (creating a chain) between Spec,VP and Spec,vP.

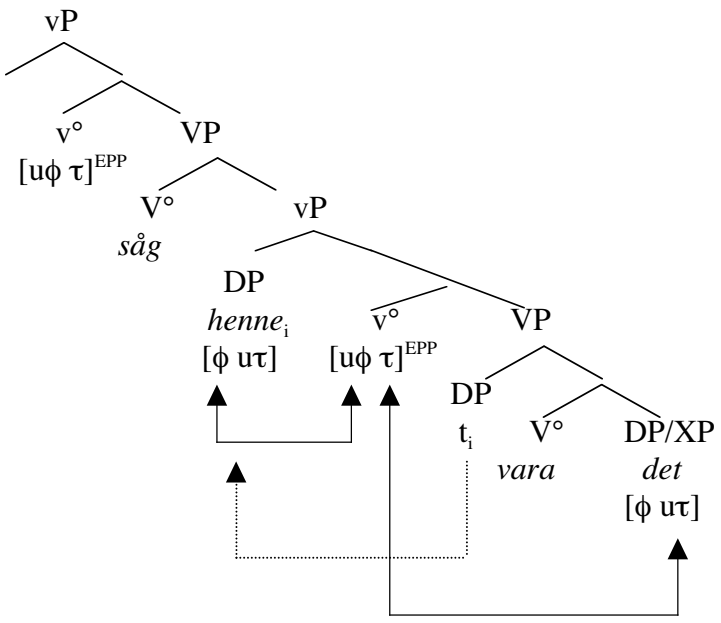

Figure 5:12. The ECM-construction when having [$_{vP}$DP v° cop *det*] in the complement.

The main differences between constructions with the copula *vara*, "be" and the auxiliary *göra*, "do" as in (5:36b) is that *göra* assigns an AGENT θ-role to its subject and takes an internal argument (object), i.e. *det* in this case. Note that *det* here replaces a verb or a verb plus a complement (direct object), i.e. *baka*, "bake" as well as *baka en kaka*, "bake a cake". Since all the relevant factors are identical with the ones at work in cases like Figure 5:11, I see no reason to draw the structure for the *göra*-case.

Summarising, with this reasoning, the examples in (5:36a) and (5:36c) are grammatically incorrect for the same reasons that prevent us from saying **Vi valde honom president*, "We elected him the president", as discussed in the previous section. The explanation follows from the differences between the functional heads already introduced, namely that Swedish v°, a° and p° all carry a τ-feature, whereas n° lacks such a feature. As a consequence, without a copula or *göra*, "do", *det* will not be able to get rid of its uninterpretable τ-feature.

5.7 Summary

Swedish ECM-constructions are found with three groups of verbs, namely perception verbs, verbs of consideration and the verb *låta*, "let". ECM-constructions appear cross-linguistically with similar types of verbs. In this chapter I have shown that ECM-complements are best analysed as vPs, or to be more specific, vP, aP, or pP, i.e. the functional categorial projections of VP, AP, or PP. No further projections are needed; there is no TP inside the Small Clause. Object predicative constructions and ECM-constructions containing expletive *det*, "there" can be accounted for using the same analysis. The proposed analysis is given in Figure 5:13 (repeated from Figures 5:1/5:2).

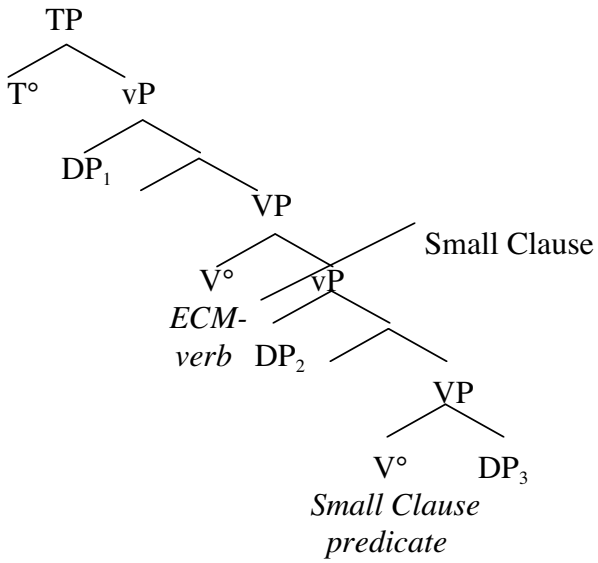

Figure 5:13. The structural description of ECM-constructions and OPs.

The Specifier of the lower vP – the Small Clause complement – is always filled, since v° carries the feature bundle $[u\phi\ \tau]^{EPP}$, which forces a DP into Spec,vP. When an expletive *det*, "there" is present in the construction, this element deletes the $[u\phi]^{EPP}$-feature in v° when merged in Spec,vP. In ECM-complements and OPs this DP comes to constitute the so-called equi-element, which takes part in the Small Clause as well as in the matrix clause. If the element is externally merged in Spec,vP it is an AGENT, whereas when internally merged in/moved to this position it could be e.g. an EXPERIENCER or a PATIENT. In OPs the equi-element is always internally merged and hence can never be an AGENT.

The OP is analysed on par with ECM-constructions. When this type of Small Clause contains an adjective instead of a participle, I have presented this as a root √° instead of a verbal element (Small Clause predicate) represented in V° and an aP on top, providing the construction with the obligatory predication, in which a° carries the feature bundle $[u\phi\ \tau]^{EPP}$ enabling a proposition to be expressed. It follows that the proposition expressed in the ECM-complement and the OP is tied to the $[u\phi\ \tau]$ feature bundle in the head of the functional projection. Figure 5:14 gives the structural description of the Small Clause, focusing on the Small Clause complement.

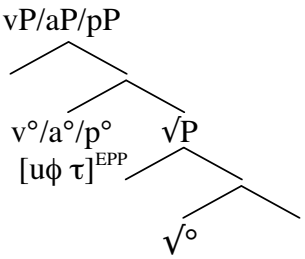

Figure 5:14. The structural description of the vP-analysis.

Furthermore, Swedish ECM-complements and OPs must contain a visible connector – a copula verb *vara*, "be" or a preposition *för*, "for", *till*, "to", or *som*, "as" – when they contain a DP-complement. This is illustrated in example (5:37), with the connectors marked in bold. The corresponding constructions in English are grammatically correct without a visible connector, see examples (5:37c)-(5:37d).

(5:37a) *Vi ansåg honom en idiot, OKVi ansåg honom **vara** en idiot.
we considered him an idiot, we considered him be an idiot
(5:37b) *Kalle valde honom domare, OKKalle valde honom **till** domare.
Kalle selected him judge, Kalle selected him to judge
(5:37c) We considered him an idiot.
(5:37d) We elected him judge.

On the other hand, Swedish ECM-complements and OPs can omit the connector if the DP is replaced by an AP, see example (5:38).

(5:38) Kalle ansåg henne dum.
Kalle considered her stupid

I have suggested that the functional projections vP and pP, as in the well-formed variants of the examples in (5:37), respectively and aPs, as in (5:38), all contain a τ-feature, which enables them to constitute the Small Clause predicate. This is however not the case for Swedish n°, which is assumed to lack τ-feature, hence *en idiot*, "an idiot" and *domare*, "judge" can not do without an element which actually contains a τ-feature and deletes the [uτ]-feature in these DPs – namely a verb in (5:37a) and a preposition in (5:37b) – and furthermore establishes the proposition. As was shown in the last section of this chapter, the same reasoning explains why the Small Clause predicate can not be pronominalised by *det*, "it", although *det* is otherwise used as a pronoun for VPs and APs – without a copula or *göra*, "do", the Small Clause would be represented as nP and since n° lacks τ, the [uτ]-feature of *det* can not be deleted.

6 Special cases of ECM-constructions

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, three special cases of ECM-constructions are discussed. Section 6.2 deals with the behaviour of the reflexive pronoun *sig* when it appears as equi-element in ECM-complements of ECM_{REFL}-verbs. In 6.2.2, I compare the ECM_{REFL}-verbs with Reflexive verbs, which only take a reflexive pronoun as object, and in 6.2.3 I discuss the behaviour of the reflexive pronoun in the different constructions. In 6.2.4, I propose an analysis of ECM_{REFL}-verbs and provide some consequences of such an analysis. Section 6.3 deals with the subject-with-infinitive construction; in 6.3.2, I discuss the impossibility of combining the periphrastic passive construction with an ECM-complement in Swedish, and I present arguments in favour of my analysis in 6.3.3. It may seem a bit strange to see the subject-with-infinitive construction as a special case of ECM-construction, since it only differs from the ones in chapter 5 with respect to diathesis, but the fact that diathesis actually affects its behaviour motivates the inclusion of this construction in the present chapter.

In section 6.4 a special variant of *låta*, "let" is presented, which I will show is not an ECM-construction. In section 6.4.2, I argue in favour of analysing this *låta*, $låta_{IN2}$, as a light verb, and in 6.4.3, I discuss its AGENT-splitting function in the clause. Some examples of similar constructions are presented in 6.4.4, and in 6.4.5 the analysis is extended to the object predicative found after the causative verb *få*, "get".

6.2 ECM-constructions with the reflexive pronoun *sig*

6.2.1 Introduction

The reflexive pronoun in Swedish can appear in three different guises, of which two may occur as the equi-element in ECM-constructions. Grammatical rules decide which element is the antecedent of the reflexive pronoun (Teleman et al 1999[2]:326), i.e. what binds the anaphoric expression (Chomsky 1995:95f).

The two forms of the reflexive pronoun which are actualised here are the following.[1]

- The nominal pronoun *sig* (“herself”/”himself”/”themselves”): *sig* only displays the object case and is used for third person, singular as well as plural.
- The object pronouns *mig* (“me”), *dig* (“you”), *oss* (“us”) and *er* (“you”): first and second person singular and plural have no special reflexive pronouns, but object pronouns are used with an anaphoric meaning.

The reflexive pronoun appears as the complement of verbs which optionally or obligatorily select for a reflexive object. When the reflexive pronoun replaces a DP, as object complement of an ordinary verb, it behaves exactly like this DP, see the examples in (6:1).

(6:1a) Kalle$_{\text{AGENT}}$ såg Lisa$_{\text{PATIENT}}$ i spegeln.
Kalle saw Lisa in mirror-the
(6:1b) Kalle$_{\text{AGENT}}$ såg sig$_{\text{PATIENT}}$ i spegeln.
Kalle saw REFL. in mirror-the., “Kalle saw himself in the mirror.”

In addition, the reflexive pronoun appears as the complement of verbs which obligatorily select for a reflexive object. If the reflexive object is obligatorily selected, as in example (6:2a), the reflexive has no θ-role of its own; according to Teleman et al (1999[3]:261), the object has no clear referent. I will refer to these cases as Reflexive verbs/constructions. In Reflexive verb constructions the θ-roles are claimed to be conflated (Wehrli 1986, Fagan 1992), i.e. the AGENT θ-role is suppressed by/conflated with the PATIENT θ-role.

(6:2a) Kalle nöjde sig med två veckors semester.
Kalle contented REFL. with two weeks vacation
“Kalle was contented with a two week vacation.”
(6:2b) *Kalle nöjde Lisa med två veckors semester.
Kalle contented Lisa with two weeks vacation

As a result of not having any reference on its own, the reflexive pronoun, like all anaphors, must be locally bound (Chomsky 1995:95, see also Teleman et al 1999[2]:330) and receives a reference indirectly from its antecedent/associate

[1] The third type of the Swedish reflexive pronoun, namely the adjective possessive pronoun *sin* (“his”/“her”/“their”), is not of primariy interest when focusing on ECM-constructions and thus will not be discussed any further.

DP. This is illustrated by the examples in (6:3), where *sig* = Kalle in (6:3a) etc. (cf. (6:2a)). The reflexive pronoun is marked "REFL." in the English gloss, since the corresponding English 'oneself' etc. does not behave in exactly the same way (e.g. Svartvik & Sager 1977:197).

(6:3a) Kalle vände sig om.
Kalle turned REFL. around, "Kalle turned around."
(6:3b) Lisa och Olle ansåg sig orättvist behandlade.
Lisa and Olle considered REFL. unfairly treated,
"Lisa and Olle considered themselves to be unfairly treated."

In cases such as (6:2a) and (6:3) there seems to be only one θ-role involved – the PATIENT – but two DPs, namely the subject of the clause and the reflexive pronoun *sig*. Hence the use of the reflexive pronoun in cases like these has a function similar to the passive morpheme, which also suppresses the external θ-role. There is however one crucial difference between the Swedish passive morpheme *s* and *sig*: the passive-*s* suppresses the external θ-role of the verb, and hence prevents it from being syntactically realised as a DP, whereas *sig* totally removes the θ-role from the structure. I will return to this.

These are the prerequisites when dealing with reflexive pronouns. Within the second group of ECM-verbs, namely verbs of consideration, there is a subgroup which takes an ECM-complement only when the equi-element is a reflexive pronoun (se for instance Figure 5:1). Neither Ureland (1973) nor Platzack (1986b) discerns these verbs from the ordinary ECM-verbs, whereas Teleman et al (1999[3]:576) notices that several of the verbs of consideration can take an ECM-complement only with a reflexive equi-element, but a complete list is not presented. I will refer to these verbs as 'ECM_{REFL}-verbs'. Although also perception verbs and *låta*, "let" can take a reflexive pronoun as equi-element in their ECM-complement, there is still a crucial difference to be made here, since there are no verbs in these two groups which take an ECM-complement *only* when the equi-element is a reflexive pronoun. The ECM_{REFL}-verbs are illustrated in the examples in (6:4).

(6:4a) Han önskar sig kunna springa 50 kilometer.
he wishes REFL. be-able-to run 50 kilometres, "He wishes that he could run..."
(6:4b) Han tycker sig känna drottningen.
he thinks REFL. know queen-the, "He thinks that he knows the queen."
(6:4c) Han tror sig ha dödat kungen.
Kalle thinks REFL. have killed king-the, "He thinks that he has killed the king."

The examples in (6:5) show that only a reflexive equi-element works with ECM_{REFL}-verbs.

(6:5a) *Han önskar Kalle kunna springa 50 kilometer.
he wishes Kalle be-able-to run 50 kilometres
(6:5b) * Han tycker Lisa känna drottningen.
he thinks Lisa know queen-the
(6:5c) *Han tror Olle ha dödat kungen.
Kalle thinks Olle have killed king-the

Since the ECM_{REFL}-verbs obligatorily select for ECM-complements containing a reflexive pronoun, they look like Reflexive verbs and in a such case the θ-roles ought to be affected.[2] This is not the case however; that *sig* has a θ-role of its own in ECM_{REFL}-constructions is clear in the examples in (6:4), where *sig* is THEME in (6:4a), EXPERIENCER in (6:4b) and AGENT in (6:4c), whereas in all the cases the clause subject *han*, "he", the antecedent of *sig* has a θ-role with respect to the matrix verb.

It follows that with the ECM_{REFL}-verbs we seem to have a class of verbs which selects for vP in Swedish, with the restriction that the equi-DP has to be a reflexive object bound by the matrix subject. In the subsequent section I will account for the behaviour of this type of verb.

6.2.2 ECM_{REFL}-verbs compared to Reflexive verbs

In this subsection I will compare the properties of ECM_{REFL}-verbs with verbs which are classified as Reflexive verbs, in order to determine whether the two groups have similar properties. There are some characteristics of Swedish Reflexive verbs mentioned in Teleman et al (1999[3]:261f), and I will present the most important ones here before applying them to the ECM_{REFL}-verbs. The verbs chosen to represent Reflexive verbs are *nöja sig*, "content oneself" and *staka sig*, "push oneself" (in skiing), chosen for their obvious and obligatory reflexivity. These verbs can never be constructed with any other kind of complement in Swedish.[3]

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[2] This is in effect another argument against an analysis of ECM-constructions which claims that the equi-element is a real object of the ECM-verb, i.e. the analysis V DP [PRO VP], see section 4.4. As will be shown, the reflexive equi-element has the syntactic properties of the reflexive pronoun in reflexive verbs, in addition to its influence on the external role of the verb. If the V DP [PRO VP]-analysis had been correct, one would expect the reflexive to influence the θ-role of the subject of the ECM-verb, but this does not happen, as is seen in the given examples.

[3] In English, most verbs that take reflexive objects can be constructed with other complements as well (Svartvik & Sager 1977:197), i.e. in English as well as Swedish there is an amount of

Firstly, when the reflexive pronoun functions as an ordinary reflexive object (carries a θ-role), one can always add *själv*, "self", with a stressed pronoun as the result. In the Reflexive verb connection, the reflexive can usually not be augmented with *själv*, "self" (Teleman et al 1999[3]:261), since when adding *själv*, the pronoun is not purely reflexive anymore and consequently new binding principles should apply (see Chomsky 1995:96). The situation is illustrated in examples (6:6b)-(6:6c). The grammatical incorrectness arises due to a clash of the requirement that an anaphor be obligatorily bound in a local domain and for a pronoun to be free. The constructions can be saved if one stresses *själv*, "self", but then the meaning of the expression is changed.[4] The stars in (6:6b)-(6:6c) indicate that these examples are not well-formed when interpreted as containing Reflexive verbs; *själv* cannot determine a reflexive *sig* which does not carry a θ-role.

(6:6a) Hon såg [sig själv] i spegeln.
she saw herself in mirror-the
(6:6b) *Kalle nöjde [sig själv] med tre veckors semester.
Kalle contented REFL.self with three week.GEN. vacation
(6:6c) *Lisa stakade [sig själv] uppför backen.
Lisa pushed REFL.self along up hill-the

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verbs which are construed with an ordinary DP as well as with a reflexive pronoun. Some English examples are given in (i) and (ii); note that the reflexive pronoun is not stressed.

(i) I hurt myself/the DJ at the disco.
(ii) She amused herself/her friends that Friday evening.

[4] If *själv* in (6:6a) is interpreted as meaning *bara*, "only"/"alone", i.e. with the meaning "She but no one else looked at herself in the mirror", the examples are irrelevant when testing the reflexivity of the verbs. As is seen, the syntactic well-formedness is also perfectly maintained when adding *själv*, but the meaning becomes ambiguous. There is another meaning of *själv* as well which can affect the interpretation, namely *själv* in (i), recalling a floating quantifier (a floating quantifier occurs when the quantifier can occupy positions in front of as well as following the main DP; see e.g. Boskovic 1997:108ff, McCloskey 1997:205 and Platzack 1998:185).

(i) Kalle **själv** nöjde sig med tre veckors semester.
Kalle himself contented REFL. with three weeks.GEN. holliday
"When it comes to Kalle, he contented himself with a three week vacation."

The question in the present cases in (6:6) is whether *själv* refers to the reflexive pronoun and stresses this element or is related to the subject of the matrix clause, with the resulting meaning that the subject thought, believed or said something.

Secondly, ordinary reflexive objects can be co-ordinated with DP(s), see example (6:7a). In Reflexive verb connections the reflexive cannot be co-ordinated with another (DP) object (Teleman et al 1999[3]:261,303). This is illustrated in examples (6:7b)-(6:7c).

(6:7a) Lisa såg [sig och Kalle] i spegeln.
Lisa saw REFL. and Kalle in mirror-the
(6:7b) *Kalle nöjde [sig och Lisa] med tre veckors semester.
Kalle contented REFL. and Lisa with three week.GEN. holliday
(6:7c) *Lisa stakade [sig och Pelle] uppför backen.
Lisa pushed REFL. and Pelle along up hill-the

Thirdly, when co-ordinating VPs which share the same object DP, one of the DPs can be elided. The same goes for ordinary reflexive objects, see example (6:8a). With Reflexive verbs the reflexive object can not be excluded by ellipsis (Teleman et al 1999[3]:261), since anaphors are interpreted as co-referential with a c-commanding phrase and therefore cannot be omitted (Chomsky 1995:100). This situation is presented in example (6:8b).

(6:8a) Våra fina möbler saluför Ø och säljer sig på egen hand.
our fine furniture offer for sale Ø and sell REFL. on own hand
"Our fine furniture is in demand and sells of its own."
(6:8b) *De förälskade Ø och gifte sig.
they fell-in-love Ø and married REFL.
"They fell in love and got married."

Summarising, the reflexive object of a Reflexive verb does not behave like a maximal projection – as a matter of fact, it shares the properties already outlined with clitics, that usually are analysed as heads, not phrases. See for instance Cardinaletti & Starke (1999:170). In the subsequent sections I will show how this insight may be implemented. First however, I will look at the reflexive equi-element of ECM_{REFL}-verbs, showing that this element also behaves less like a phrase than like a head. The ECM_{REFL}-verbs are represented by *tro*, "believe", *tycka*, "think" and *säga*, "say".

Firstly, Reflexive verbs do not accept an added *själv*, "self": *sig* does not carry any θ-role, and *själv* can not combine with an element lacking θ-role. The situation regarding ECM_{REFL}-verbs is illustrated in the examples in (6:9).

(6:9a) */??Hon trodde [sig själv] vinna loppet.
she believed REFL.self win race-the
(6:9b) */??Han tyckte [sig själv] vara vacker den dagen.
he thought REFL.self beautiful that day
(6:9c) */??Han sade [sig själv] vara beredd att arbeta hårt.
he said REFL.self be prepared to work hard

Abstracting away from the interpretation of *själv*, "-self" as *bara*, "only" and its function as a quantifier, the examples are marked '*' or occasionally '??' – my informants[5] disagree with respect to the degree of unacceptability of these constructions. This indicates that ECM_{REFL}-verbs here behave like Reflexive verbs.

Secondly, a Reflexive verb does not allow co-ordination of the reflexive pronoun with another DP. Applying this test to ECM_{REFL}-verbs, one is faced with the task of judging the grammaticality of examples such as those in (6:10). My informants differ to some extent in their opinions with respect to the well-formedness of the three examples, but they are ruled out as ungrammatical by the majority; only for (6:10c) are there some divergent votes for correctness.[6] Hence this test also indicates that the ECM_{REFL}-verbs are Reflexive verbs.

(6:10a) *Hon trodde [sig och Kalle] vinna loppet.
she believed REFL. and Kalle win race-the
(6:10b) *Han tyckte [sig och Kalle] vara vackra den dagen.
he thought REFL. and Kalle be beautiful that day
(6:10c) */??Han sade [sig och Kalle] vara beredda att arbeta hårt.
he said REFL. and Kalle be prepared to work hard

Thirdly, regarding the impossibility of eliding the reflexive that accompanies a Reflexive verb, the situation is illustrated in the examples in (6:11). In this respect, the ECM_{REFL}-verbs behave exactly like Reflexive verbs, since one can never omit the reflexive pronoun in any of the positions, cf. the examples in (6:8).[7]

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[5] My informants are 20 linguists and 20 non-linguists of which 30 vote for '*' and 7 vote for '??'. The remaining 3 informants have not responded to this query.
[6] There are 4 of 40 votes for correctness.
[7] Note that examples such as (i) are fine, but cases of co-ordination similarly evoke changes in the syntactic circumstances in other constructions.

(i) Hon både ansåg och sade sig vara vacker den kvällen.
she both believed Ø and said REFL. be beautiful that night,
"She considered as well as said herself be beautiful that evening."

(6:11a) *Hon ansåg Ø och sade sig vara vacker den kvällen.
she believed Ø and said REFL. be beautiful that night
(6:11b) *Pelle trodde Ø och tyckte sig vara ett geni.
Pelle believed Ø and thought REFL. be a genius

Summarising my investigation of the status of ECM_{REFL}-verbs, the conclusion is clear: in almost all respects the ECM_{REFL}-verbs behave exactly like Reflexive verbs. This result is presented in Table 6:1.

Table 6:1. A comparison between Reflexive verbs and ECM_{REFL}-verbs.

Characteristic	Reflexive verbs	ECM_{REFL}-verbs
addition of *själv*, "self"	*	*/??
co-ordination with DP	*	*/??
deletion/ellipsis	*	*

Against this background, we will now take a closer look at the behaviour of *sig* in the two constructions discussed.

6.2.3 The behaviour of *sig* in Reflexive verbs and ECM_{REFL}-verbs

In this subsection, I will look at some properties of Reflexive verbs and the reflexive objects constituting their complements and then compare them with ECM_{REFL}-verbs and the equi-element *sig*. The facts just presented speak in favour of analysing ECM_{REFL}-verbs on par with Reflexive verbs. Assuming this to be the case, ECM_{REFL}-verbs ought to have the same properties as Reflexive verbs, which would call for an analysis in terms of something like conflation (Fagan 1992) or absorption (Wehrli 1986) of θ-roles. I will show however, that this is not the case, and therefore the syntactic and semantic behaviour of the reflexive pronoun in ECM-complements of ECM_{REFL}-verbs still has to be accounted for.

It is pointed out by Fagan (1992:171) that the various types of middles and reflexives in different languages motivate a concept of conflation. With reflexive constructions, the conflation regards the AGENT and the PATIENT, see example (6:12), where the difference between reflexives and ordinary DP-objects is clear. See also Teleman et al (1999[3]:261).

(6:12a) Han_i slog $Kalle_j$.
he hit Kalle
(6:12b) Han_i slog sig_i.
he hit REFL., "He got hurt."
(6:12c) ^{OK}Han slog Kalle för att kunna gå på bio med Lisa.
"He hit Kalle in order to go to the movies with Lisa."
(6:12d) *Han slog sig för att kunna gå på bio med Lisa.
"He got hurt in order to go to the movies with Lisa."

In example (6:12a) the subject *han*, "han" is the typical AGENT, and the complement *Kalle* is the typical PATIENT, i.e. there are clearly two different θ-roles involved. In (6:12b), on the other hand, the AGENT is suppressed: the two DPs seem to share the PATIENT-role and are co-indexed to indicate co-reference to the same person. If one wishes to obtain the same reading in (6:12b) as in (6:12a), one must imagine some kind of instrument, for instance a hammer and a rather special situation, where the intention of someone is to hurt himself or herself.

My reasoning regarding ECM_{REFL}-verbs and *sig* is inspired by but not identical to the account of Fagan (1992:239). Neither is my reasoning on ECM_{REFL}-verbs in line with Wehrli's suggestion (1986:268ff) that reflexive constructions containing reflexive objects display syntactic but not semantic suppression of an argument. Semantically the AGENT is totally removed in examples like (6:12b): compare with passive, a construction that also prevents the subject from being an AGENT, but in which an Agent can still be expressed by means of a PP-adverbial. This is shown in example (6:13), where *Olle* is the Agent although not the subject of the clause.

(6:13) Kalle blev slagen (av Olle).
Kalle became hit by Olle, "Kalle was hit by Olle."

In my analysis of Reflexive verbs, the disappearance of the AGENT role forces the subject and the object to share the PATIENT role, which means that the number of θ-roles has to be smaller, since the syntactic subject and object share the same θ-role. A similar reasoning is advocated by Masullo (2002): the corresponding Spanish reflexive *se* (an argumental clitic) absorbs accusative case and in addition is associated with the feature [INTERNAL CAUSATION] or [FORCE] in a so-called incorporation analysis.

Now, let us turn to the ECM_{REFL}-verbs. An example is given in (6:14), see also the examples in (6:4). In example (6:14), *han* has an AGENT θ-role and *sig* has an EXPERIENCER θ-role.

(6:14) Han sade sig gilla ostron.
he said REFL. like oysters

Unlike Reflexive verbs ECM_{REFL}-verbs require two separate roles for the matrix subject *han*, "he" and the equi-element *sig*, regardless of the fact that ECM_{REFL}-verbs in other respects behave like Reflexive verbs. Although *han* and *sig* are semantically co-indexed and *sig* is reflexive, they can not conflate here, presumably because they receive their θ-roles from different verbs. In other words, it seems as if being the equi-element of an ECM-complement prevents *sig* from being conflated with the subject, since this equi-element must carry a θ-role.

I will now turn to a discussion of the structure of the ECM-complement of an ECM_{REFL}-verb. Since I have claimed that all types of ECM-constructions should be accounted for by the vP-analysis, a first alternative at the structural description of ECM_{REFL}-verbs will look like the structure given in Figure 6:1.

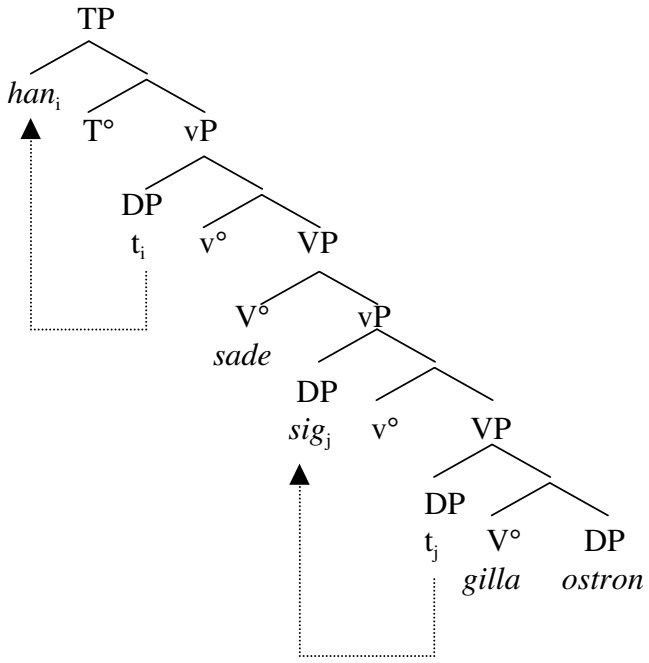

Figure 6:1. The ECM_{REFL}-verb construction.

The reflexive pronoun *sig* is internally merged in Spec,vP after having received its θ-role EXPERIENCER in Spec,VP, hence satisfying the EPP-feature in the lower (Small Clause) v°. In order to do so, *sig* must contain at least a ϕ-feature. Since it is an argument and is assigned a θ-role, one can also claim that it presumably carries a [uτ]-feature, viz. *sig* looks like an ordinary DP in this respect. After this, the matrix ECM_{REFL}-verb is merged and the external Merge of the clause subject *han*, "he" in Spec,vP eliminates the EPP-feature of the

higher v°, at the same time providing *han* with an AGENT θ-role. So far one can seemingly maintain the structural description of ordinary ECM-constructions. The reflexive *sig* can be externally merged in Spec,vP as well, namely if it is the AGENT of the Small Clause predicate, as in *Kalle sade sig köpa nya strumpor varje onsdag*, "Kalle said that he bought new socks every Wednesday."

The problem, however, is that if one replaces *sig* with an ordinary DP the derivation crashes, just as is the case for Reflexive verbs, a situation which is not mirrored in Figure 6:1. The situation can be contrasted with that of transitive verbs, in which a reflexive object can be exchanged with an ordinary DP with the syntax intact but the semantics changed. With an ECM_{REFL}-verb the reflexive pronoun *sig* behaves syntactically like a non-DP (see Table 6:1), whereas semantically it behaves like a DP.

The fact that calls for explanation is that ECM_{REFL}-verbs are the only ones that require a reflexive equi-element in their ECM-complements. The key seems to be as follows. Since there is an EPP-feature in v°, this feature and [uϕ] must be deleted by a DP. This DP can not move on any further to a θ-position in the matrix clause, since it would then receive too many θ-roles, see example (6:15a). Only if the matrix verb is in the passive and thus deprived of its external role is raising possible, as in (6:15b).

(6:15a) *Han_i sade t_i gilla ostron.
he_i said t_i like oysters
(6:15b) Han sades gilla ostron.
he said.PASS, like oysters
"He was said to like oysters."

Now observe that an ECM_{REFL}-verb can only take an ECM-complement when the equi-element in its complement is identical to the subject of the ECM_{REFL}-verb. From this semantic restriction it follows directly that the equi-element must be a reflexive pronoun – other types of equi-elements, i.e. R-expressions or personal pronouns would be ruled out, since the equi-element is locally bound by the subject of the ECM-verb.

But this mainly serves to shift the burden of explanation – we still have to explain (1) why ECM_{REFL}-verbs cannot take an ECM-complement unless the equi-element is identical to the matrix subject and (2) why other ECM-verbs are not restricted in this way. To solve at least part of this problem, I will utilise the fact that an equi-element syntactically behaves as the reflexive of a Reflexive verb.

6.2.4 A proposal and some consequences

In order to structurally account for the effects of ECM-*sig*, I will suggest that it is actually in v°, hence it is analysed as an affix and not as a full DP. This is not incompatible with the analysis of *sig* as an anaphoric expression – compare the discussion of past participle agreement in section 4.4. Consider also the discussion of Reflexive verbs, where I indicated that the syntactic behaviour of the reflexive element is more like a head than a full phrase. The structural description of such an analysis is given in Figure 6:2, illustrating example (6:16); note that I have chosen a transitive and agentive verb here in order to show how the AGENT role is represented. Following the analysis illustrated in Figure 6:2, it is immediately clear why only *sig* and no ordinary DP works in this construction type: ordinary DPs can not appear in v°. In addition, a syntactic similarity between this construction and Reflexive verbs is made.

(6:16) Han sade sig köpa ostron varje lördag.
he said REFL. buy oysters every Saturday
"He said that he buys oysters every Saturday."

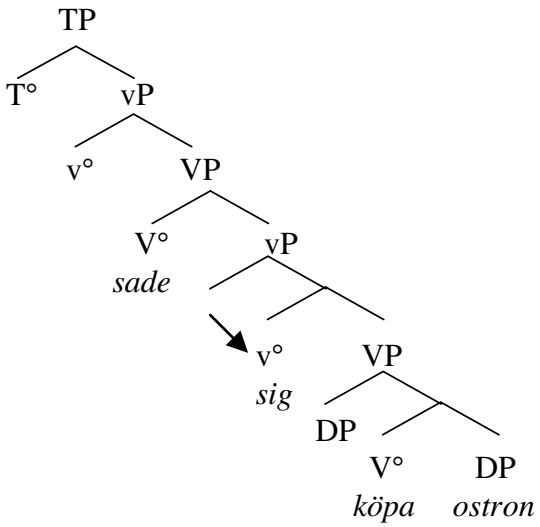

Figure 6:2. ECM-*sig* posited in v°.

A comment should be made with respect to *sig* appearing in v°, since it is presumably not merged in this position. Following UTAH, *sig* ought to be merged in a DP-position – here Spec,vP since it is an AGENT – and then be lowered to v°. This would however require downward movement, which is controversial. A possible solution is offered by Matushansky (2002). According to Matushansky's (2002) reasoning, as long as *sig* can be interpreted as a head, it can either be projected or lowered. In such a case, when projected, *sig* is

interpreted as a phrase and ends up in Spec,vP; when lowered, *sig* instead appears in v°. Note that this situation arises only with an AGENT subject of the Small Clause complement of ECM_{REFL}-verbs, since otherwise the DP would originate in Spec,VP – as EXPERIENCER – and from this position it can cliticise to v° in the same way as the agreement suffix, see section 4.4.

The proposed analysis accounts for how *sig* in v° is assigned its θ-role and elaborates on the fact that ECM_{REFL}-verbs are similar to Reflexive verbs as well as to passives. An example of a passive-*s* construction is given in example (6:17a), whereas example (6:17b) illustrates a Reflexive verb.

(6:17a) Lisa lämnades ensam i affären.
Lisa left.PASS alone in store-the, "Lisa was left alone in the store."
(6:17b) Kalle slog sig.
Kalle hit REFL. "Kalle got hurt."

It is sometimes claimed that the Reflexive construction can be seen as a variant of passives. This is pointed out by, for instance, Wehrli (1986) for English and Fagan (1992) for German, cf. Baker et al (1989:224f) and Keyser & Roeper (1984:381ff). I do not however fully agree with their claims. As aforementioned, the crucial difference between passive constructions and Reflexive constructions with a reflexive object is that the passive only suppresses the AGENT θ-role, but that this role is still present and can surface as a PP-adverbial, see (6:18). With a Reflexive verb, the AGENT θ-role is totally eliminated and removed from the structure. In other words, in (6:18) it is implicit that someone actually hit Kalle, whereas in example (6:17b) there is no such implication.

(6:18) Kalle blev slagen (av Olle).
Kalle became hit by Olle, "Kalle was hit by Olle."

Based on this discussion, the main difference between *s*-passives and Reflexives is the realisation of the element in v°, namely as *-s* in the construction with *s*-passive and *sig* in the Reflexive case. The feature bundle in v° is $[u\phi\ \tau]^{EPP}$ in both cases, and the EPP-feature is deleted by internal Merge of the subject of the clause, which has received its θ-role from V°. Following Baker et al (1989), I will assume that passive-*s* absorbs the AGENT-role, whereas *sig* shares a θ-role with the subject of the clause and consequently does not receive any θ-role of its own. This is illustrated in Figures 6:3 and 6:4. Note however, that there is another difference between (ECM-)*sig* and the passive-*s*: there are reasons to believe that ECM-*sig* carries the same feature bundle as ordinary reflexive *sig*,

namely [ϕ uτ], whereas no such features are motivated for passive-*s*. I will return to the situation for -*s* in section 6.3.

ECM-*sig* differs from these two categories in that it carries a θ-role of its own, viz. *sig* takes on a θ-role and expresses it. See Figure 6:5. Logically, then, one also expects to find a case in which a passive-*s* in v° does *not* absorb the AGENT θ-role, but allows it to surface in the construction. Actually, the transitive deponent verbs match this description (see Teleman et al 1999[2]: 554f). See the examples in (6:19) and the structural description in Figure 6:6; at least in (6:19b) there is clearly an AGENT present.

(6:19a) Äntligen kunde han andas frisk luft.
finally could he breath+s fresh air
(6:19b) Kalle hämnades sin fiende mycket brutalt.
Kalle revenged+s his enemy very brutally
(6:19c) Lisa nalkades sin käraste med försiktiga steg.
Lisa approached+s her beloved with careful steps

Summing up so far I propose the following analysis of *s*-passive constructions in Figure 6:3, of reflexive constructions in 6:4, of ECM_{REFL}-verbs in 6:5 and of deponent verbs in 6:6, respectively.[8] Note that the θ-marking on v° in Figures 6:3 and 6:5 indicates in the former case that -*s* carries – or rather in the present case absorbs – a θ-role, and in the latter case that the reflexive pronoun *sig* carries a θ-role of its own, namely the AGENT θ-role of *köpa*, "buy".

[8] An argument favouring the analysis presented here with respect to reflexive verbs is the fact that reflexive verbs can actually appear in existential constructions although they, on the surface, are transitive verbs, see example (i). In this case it is appealing to conceive of reflexive *sig* in v°, since *det*, "there" is presumably in Spec,vP.

(i) Det slog sig en man i trappan förra helgen.
there hit REFL. a man in stairs-the last weekend
"A man got hurt in the stairs last weekend."

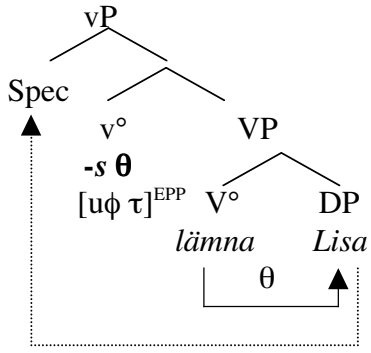

Figure 6:3. The structural description of the *s*-passive construction.

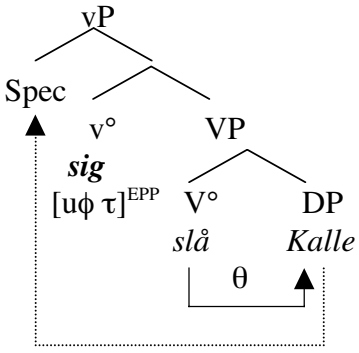

Figure 6:4. The structural description of reflexive verbs.

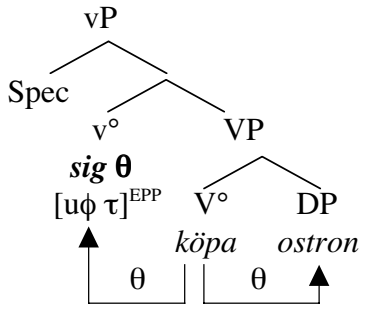

Figure 6:5. The structural description of Swedish ECM_{REFL}-verbs.

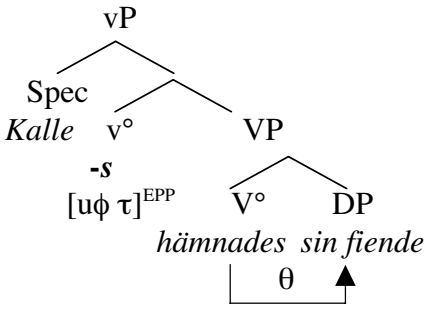

Figure 6:6. The structural description of Swedish deponent verbs.

As shown, in Figure 6:3 *lämna*, "leave" assigns its θ-role to *Lisa* (PATIENT or THEME), whereas its potential AGENT-role is absorbed by the passive-*s*, i.e. it is an ordinary passive construction. In Figure 6:4, *Kalle* is assigned the same θ-role (PATIENT) as *Lisa*, whereas the reflexive *sig* in v° does not receive any θ-role of its own but comes to share θ-role with *Kalle*. With the reflexive *sig* in the construction, the AGENT is not absorbed but rather removed from the structure altogether. The phonetic realisation of *sig* in v° prevents a passive reading, since *sig* and the passive-*s* compete for the same structural position.

The main difference between Figure 6:4 and Figure 6:5 is that in the latter *sig* actually receives a θ-role of its own, namely the EXPERIENCER θ-role of *gilla*, "like". In ECM_{REFL}-constructions, no θ-role is absorbed (by any reflexive pronoun or passive-*s*) or removed due to the presence of *sig*, but instead *sig* is assigned and displays the external θ-role of V°. A similar situation occurs for the deponent verbs in Figure 6:6, where -*s* does not affect the structure at all and the transitive verb in V° assigns both its θ-roles to visible elements, one AGENT and one PATIENT.

With the proposal just presented, the analysis of ECM-*sig* as well as ordinary reflexive constructions, *s*-passive constructions and deponent verbs fall out perfectly: what is crucial is the element that is realised in v° and whether or not it is being assigned a θ-role or only absorbs a potential role in the clause. Furthermore, the analysis presented in Figures 6:3-6:6 at least partly explain why verbs of consideration often appear in their passive form, in subject-with-infinitive constructions: the structural descriptions of the constructions are very similar, differing only in element realised in v°.

6.3 The subject-with-infinitive construction

6.3.1 Introduction

In Swedish there are two ways to express a passive diathesis, namely by means of morphology with passive-*s* on the verb, or by a periphrastic construction with *bli*, "become" plus past participle (e.g. Teleman et al 1999[4], chapter 34). In some cases the verb *vara*, "be" is also used. The two types of passives are illustrated in the examples in (6:20).

(6:20a) Han kördes till skolan av sin pappa.
he drove.PASS to school-the by his father
(6:20b) Han blev körd till skolan av sin pappa.
he became driven to school-the by his father

It is not always obvious how the two types of passive differ (Teleman et al 1999[4]:397-401), but in general the THEME/PATIENT (the clause subject) in a periphrastic passive construction is less passive than in the corresponding morphological *s*-passive construction. Furthermore, the periphrastic passive construction is often chosen when the subject referent is animate, presumably since even when functioning as THING or RECIPIENT an animate actor often affects a process more than an inanimate one does.[9] For a thorough discussion of the similarities and differences between the *s*-passive and the passive periphrastic construction in Swedish, see Sundman (1987, chapter 8).

[9] Cf. (i)-(ii), taken from Teleman et al (1999[4]:400).

(i) Han säger att han vill **bli** undersök**t**.
he says that he wants become examined
(ii) Han säger att han vill undersöka**s**.
he says that he wants examine.PASS.

In this section, I will discuss the passive counterpart to the ECM-construction, which is often called the 'subject-with-infinitive construction'. When the matrix verb of an ECM-construction is passivised, only the morphological passive is accepted, see the examples in (6:21) (Teleman et al 1999[4]:382); for a different view however, see Hedlund (1992:46f). Of the ECM-verbs in Swedish, only perception verbs and verbs of consideration can be passivised; *låta* lacks the passive form.

(6:21a) De sågs gräla i bussen.
they saw.PASS quarrel in bus-the, "They were seen quarrelling in the bus."
(6:21b) *De blev sedda gräla i bussen.
they became seen quarrel in bus-the

I will assume that the syntactic analysis presented in Figure 5:1 for ECM-constructions holds for their passive counterpart as well. Furthermore, I will claim that the fact that only one of the Swedish types of passives (the *s*-passive) can be used in this construction is a consequence of Swedish having an agreeing past participle: as will be shown, agreement interferes in a particular way with θ-roles, to the effect that the derivation does not converge. In order to account for the situation, I will start by elucidating the Swedish *s*-passive construction, illustrated in example (6:21a).

The structural description of an example like (6:21a) with a passive ECM-verb is presented in Figure 6:7. The passive morpheme should be considered an argument that receives or rather absorbs the EXPERIENCER θ-role, and hence it ought to be merged in an argument position from which it moves to v° (Baker et al 1989:219f, see also Chomsky 1995:115). Recall, though, that *-s* presumably does not carry any feature bundle but has as its only function to realise v°, cf. different types of morphological endings (and the light verb $låta_{IN2}$ in the subsequent section 6.4). The θ-role which would be received by the passive morpheme, then, is the subject θ-role of the verb, i.e. an external element, which prevents the clause from containing an AGENT/EXPERIENCER. See e.g. Chomsky (1995:115) and Baker et al (1989:220ff). If one were instead dealing with an AGENT subject, the account follows Matushansky's (2002) idea with different possibilities for realisation of an element, see section 6.2.4, where *-s* would be lowered to v° from Spec,vP rather than raised from Spec,VP.

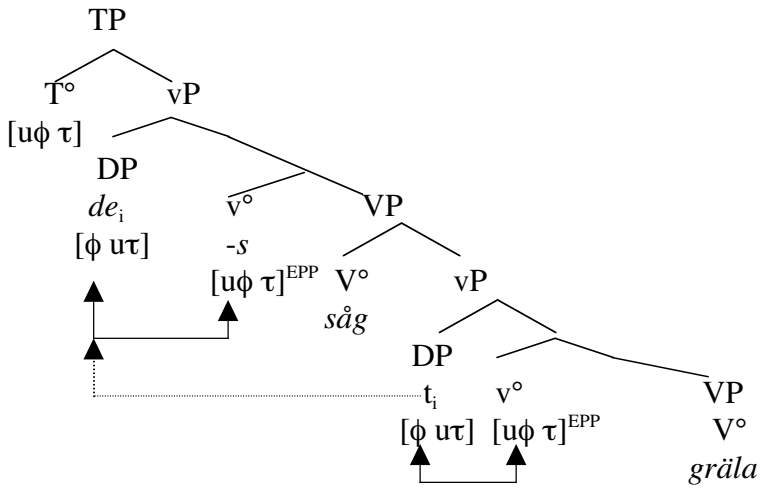

Figure 6:7. The structural description of the subject-with-infinitive construction according to my proposed vP-analysis.

Starting from the bottom *gräla*, "quarrel" is merged in the lower V°, where the [uϕ]^{EPP}-feature in v° is deleted by the ϕ-feature in the DP subject *de*, "they". The passive morpheme is analysed as an argument absorbing the AGENT-role, as previously pointed out, following Baker et al (1989:220f), but otherwise it does not contribute to the structure. The EPP-feature in the higher v° then forces the DP *de*, "they" to move to the higher Spec,vP. In this position, [uτ] of *de*, "they" is deleted by entering into an Agree relation with τ in T°. The internal Merge is indicated by the dotted arrow. Being internally merged in Spec,vP the DP *de*, "they" receives no new θ-role and with *-s* having removed the AGENT role, the Spec,vP position is 'discharged' and can be used by another element.

Languages such as German and English, which lack the morphological passive, can not passivise (perception) verbs in the ECM-construction, see examples (6:22a)-(6:22b) (Fagan 1992:110 and Andersson et al 1999:226, see also Höhle 1978:172 and Kayne 1984:35f).

(6:22a) *Er wurde nach Hause kommen gesehen/Deutsch sprechen gehört/kommen gelassen
he became to home come seen/German speak heard/come let
(6:22b) *She was seen/heard/let come.
(6:22c) ^{OK}She was seen coming.
(6:22d) Hun blev hørt synge. (Danish)
she became heard sing, "She was heard sing."

There is however a difference between German and English in this respect, since in German the passive construction does not work under any circumstances,[10]

[10] In German one has to use a paraphrase, see example (i)-(ii) taken from Andersson et al (1999:226).

whereas in English, on the other hand, the construction works with the progressive form, see example (6:22c). That English must have an *–ing*-form of the Small Clause predicate is due to the English tense system, which is not of interest to us here, cf. for instance Guasti (1993). Danish, on the other hand, accepts the periphrastic passive, as seen in (6:22d).[11] With respect to Danish one could assume that the co-occurrence of ECM-complements together with periphrastic passive is related to the disappearance of the agreeing participle, a process which seems to have been complete at the beginning of the 20th century (see e.g. Falk & Torp 1900, Mikkelsen 1911, or Diderichsen 1946:69). I will however not pursue this possibility.

In the next section, I will present an analysis of the Swedish periphrastic passive according to which the presence of agreement on the past participle has the result that the periphrastic passive can not be used together with an ECM-complement due to a clash of θ-roles.

6.3.2 Subject-with-infinitives and ECM-complements in Swedish

Turning now to the question of why only the *s*-passive can be used in the Swedish passive ECM-construction, there are several crucial aspects to take into account. The *bli*-passive, "become"-passive (as well as the *s*-passive) can be used in Danish as already mentioned (Mikkelsen 1911, Vater 1973, Herslund 1986), see example (6:23a), taken from Vater (1973:69), and also (6:22d). Notice again that the Danish past participle does not agree, contrary to the Swedish one: I will come back to this. Furthermore, one can use the periphrastic passive construction in Swedish if there is no ECM-complement involved, see example (6:23b), compare this example with (6:21b), here repeated as (6:23c), where the periphrastic passive is impossible. Consequently, it seems to be the

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(i) Man sah ihn kommen.
"One saw him come."/"He was coming."
(ii) Er hörte zwie Schüsse abfeuern.
"He heard two shots fire."/"He heard two shots being fired."

[11] The situation is the same in Standard Norwegian, see (i), whereas in Neo-Norwegian the participle agrees with the subject after verbs like *be* and *become*, although there is seemingly no one-to-one correspondence (Faarlund et al 1997:518).

(i) Ho vart sett springa gjennom hagen.
she was seen run through pasture-the

combination of an agreeing periphrastic passive with an ECM-complement that excludes the periphrastic passive. I will suggest a way to implement this idea.

(6:23a) Hun blev hørt synge af mange mennesker. (Danish)
she was heard sing by many people
(6:23b) De blev sedda på bussen igår. (Swedish)
they became seen on bus-the yesterday
(6:23c) *De blev sedda gräla på bussen igår. (Swedish)
they became seen quarrel on bus-the yesterday

In order to account for the ungrammaticality of (6:23c), I will present the structural description of the periphrastic passive construction without an agreeing participle in an ordinary clause, represented by Danish. This will be followed by the corresponding syntactic description of the Danish periphrastic passive construction with an ECM-complement, which is grammatically correct, contrary to the Swedish case. Then I will turn to the situation in Swedish and try to show why the same construction does not work here. I will also show that the corresponding construction containing an expletive *det*, "there" supports my analysis.

Starting with the simplest construction, this is the non-agreeing participle without ECM-complement, here represented by the example *Hun blev hørt af mange mennesker*, "She was heard by many people", namely the Danish past participle (here used in its passive form) is identical to the Swedish supine form, see footnote 10, section 4.4. The syntactic description is given in Figure 6:8; notice that the *by*-phrase is not represented in the structure. The double headed arrow illustrates the Agree relations. Observe that in a case like this, the DP merged in the complement of the lower V deletes $[u\phi]^{EPP}$ in both the lower and the higher v° and furthermore, when raised to the highest Spec,vP, it also deletes [uϕ] in T°. Notice that the participle morpheme like the passive morpheme *-s* is assumed to be merged in v°, preventing an argument from being externally merged in Spec,vP, without contributing with any features.

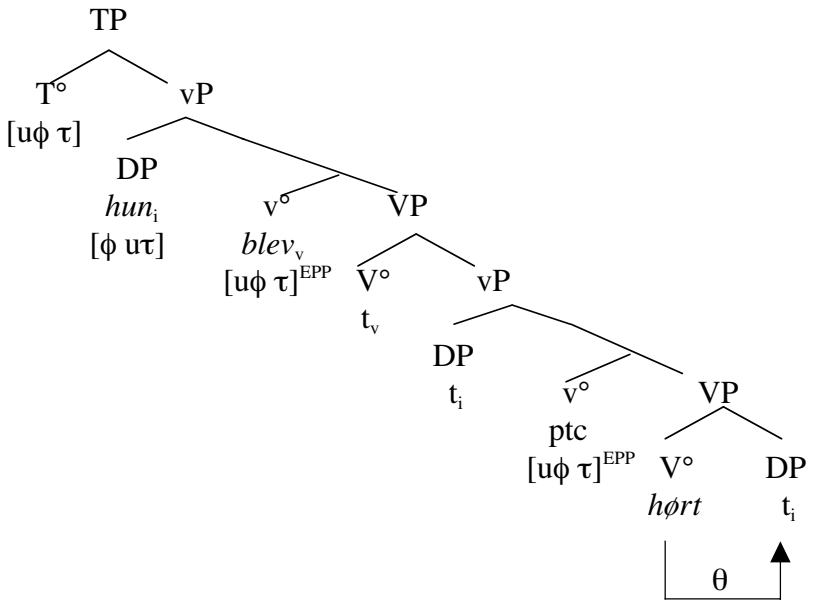

Figure 6:8. The structural description of the Danish passive periphrastic construction.

Replacing the DP-complement of *hørt*, "heard" in Figure 6:9 with an ECM-complement does not change much with respect to structure, but it affects the assignment of θ-roles. Figure 6:9 illustrates the structure for example (6:23a). Note the crucial difference with respect to θ-role assignment in Figures 6:8 and 6:9: in Figure 6:8 the past participle *hørt*, "heard" assigns its internal θ-role to *hun*, "she", the subject of the clause. In Figure 6:9, on the other hand, *hun*, "she" receives its θ-role from the infinitive *synge*, "sing", and *hørt*, "heard" assigns its θ-role to the whole vP. We will see, when we focus on Swedish, that this is an important difference.

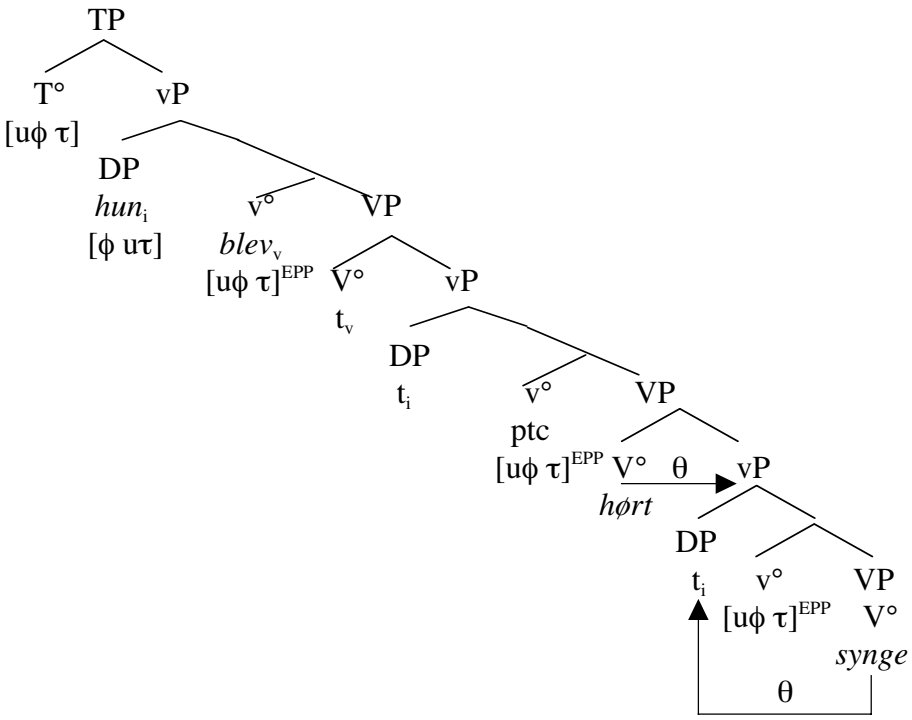

Figure 6:9. The structural description of the Danish passive periphrastic construction with ECM-complement.

Structurally, the situation in Figure 6:9 is similar to the one in Figure 6:8: *hun*, "she" is raised through the Spec,vPs, creating a chain and eliminating the EPP-feature in three different v°s on its way, together with the uninterpretable ϕ-features, and it also deletes the [uϕ]-feature in T°. Notice that contrary to Figure 6:8, it is crucial in Figure 6:9 that a chain is established – even if the DP is in the Specifier of the lowest vP, it is out of reach of T° since the structure from the complement of the participle and down is closed as soon as the v° hosting *blev*, "became" is merged, due to the establishment of a phase border. Recall that when a phase is reached and material sent forward to PF, this material can not be accessed any more in the derivation; an element can not probe into a closed phase when searching for a goal.

Before turning to Swedish, I wish to comment upon the fact that a subject DP may delete the [uϕ]^{EPP} feature in three different v°:s on its way upwards. In section 2.3.3 on EPP it was stated that EPP always precedes Agree, hence Agree relations apply only when the phase is being closed. See Figure 2:1, chapter 2. As was briefly mentioned in section 2.3.3, the proceeding of the derivation was assumed to work backwards and phase by phase, hence: first EPP applies in order to make the DP at hand available for probing by elements higher up in the structure – in addition to deleting the EPP-feature. When the phase is being closed, Agree applies, after which EPP applies again in the next phase – and the

moved DP exhibits its feature – and Agree applies again and so on and so forth. The situation is also the same in Figures 6:7 and 6:8. Consequently, if a DP is externally merged in a Spec,vP position, it can be used for establishing an Agree relation immediately, whereas if the DP is externally merged in Spec,VP and no element appears in Spec,vP, EPP applies first, forcing the DP to raise.

Turning now to the Swedish past participle, it has been shown that it agrees in gender and number with the internal argument. This is illustrated in the examples in (6:24), repeated from (4:18), in which agreement is shown with bold facr.[12]

(6:24a) Bilen blev träffa**d** av blixten.
car-the became hit.+AGR. by lightening-the, "The car was hit by lightening."
(6:24b) Tåget blev träffa**t** av blixten.
train-the became hit.+AGR. by lightening-the, "The train was hit by lightening."
(6:24c) De blev träffa**de** av blixten.
they became hit.+AGR. by lightening-the, "They were hit by lightening."

The analysis of (6:24a) is given in Figure 6:10, cf. Figures 4:2 and 4:3.

[12] Cf. Taraldsen (2002) and Holmberg (2002), who argue that the agreeing participle in Swedish is the reason for the unacceptability of complex passives in this language, see (i)-(ii), whereas this construction is used in Danish and Norwegian, namely in examples such as (iii)-(iv).

(i) *Bilen blev försökt stulen. (Swedish)
car-the became attempted stolen
(ii) *Sökanden blev beslutet avslaget. (Swedish)
application-the became decided turned-down
(iii) [OK]Bilen ble forsøkt stjålet. (Norwegian)
car-the became attempted stolen
(iv) [OK]Søknaden ble besluttet avslått. (Norwegian)
application-the became decided turned-down

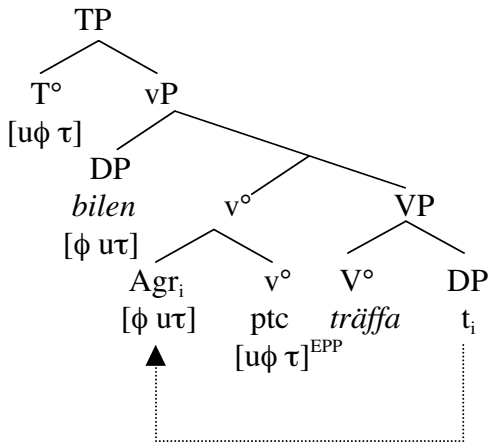

Figure 6:10. The merging of a subject in a construction with an agreeing participle.

Now consider the case in which the matrix verb of an ECM-construction is passivised with *bli*, "become". As has been shown, this leads to ungrammaticality. Consider the structure in Figure 6:11, representing example (6:23c), repeated as (6:25).

(6:25) *De blev sedda gräla på bussen igår. (Swedish)
they became seen quarrel on bus-the yesterday

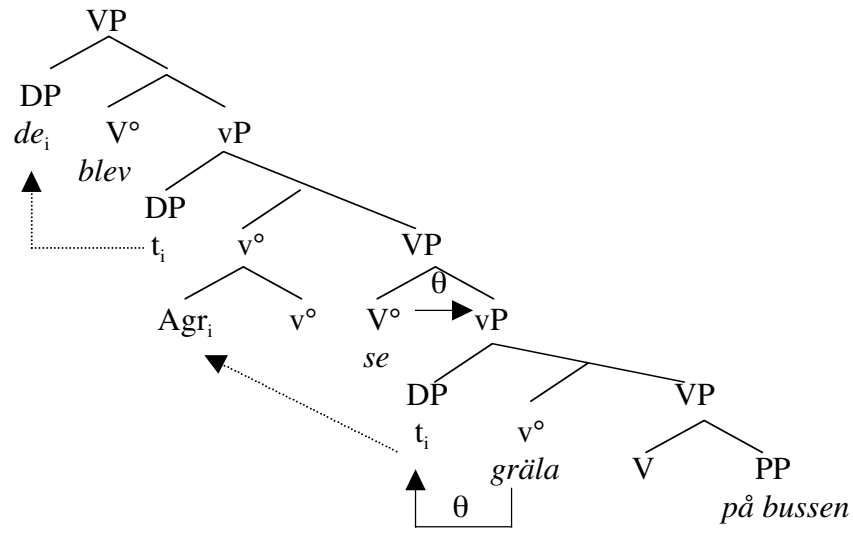

Figure 6:11. The ungrammatical derivation of the passive periphrastic construction with an ECM-complement.

As in Figure 6:10, Agr bears a θ-role; in Figure 6:11 it is externally merged in the lower Spec,vP, receiving its θ-role from the infinitive verb *gräla*, "quarrel" and since Agr is an affix it must be adjoined to this v°, exactly as in Figure 6:10. However, there is an important difference between Figure 6:10 and Figure 6:11, namely that the internal θ-role of the participial verb is represented by Agr in

Figure 6:10, but not in 6:11: here, *se*, "see" takes the whole Small Clause vP as its internal argument, as already mentioned. Consequently, Agr does not represent the θ-role of the complement of *se*, "see", whose function is instead fulfilled by the vP.

The point, then, seems to be that (6:25) is ungrammatical since the agreeing ending of the verb *se*, "see" does not correspond to any θ-role assigned by the participle, which results in a clash of θ-roles. The situation is illustrated in Figures 6:12 and 6:13, where 6:12 is ill-formed and 6:13 is fine.

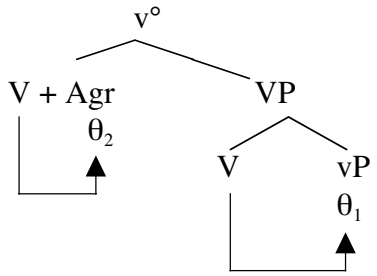

Figure 6:12. The structural description of conflicting θ-roles.

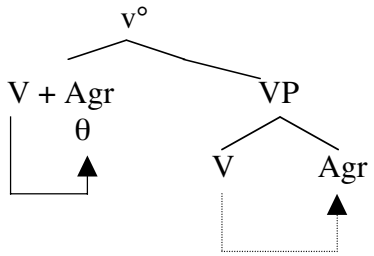

Figure 6:13. The structural description of non-conflicting θ-roles.

In the subsequent section I will present some arguments favouring the assumption that the ungrammaticality of (6:25) is due to clashing θ-roles.

6.3.3 Some arguments favouring the proposed syntactic analysis

As has been shown, the subject-with-infinitive construction is ill-formed when the past participle has an agreeing ending. In this section I will present some arguments supporting the proposal I have made regarding the impossibility of combining the Swedish periphrastic passive construction and an ECM-complement: since the Agreement ending does not conform to the θ-role assigned by the participle (of which it constitutes the internal argument), there is a clash of θ-roles. The arguments are found in expletive constructions.

Since the subject always precedes the participle, one could assume that the formation is not only a chain but a link in a chain, viz. anaphoric binding (see e.g. Chomsky 1995:95f, 100f). Examples with an expletive *det*, "there" point in the same direction. Expletive *det*, "there" is not assigned a θ-role, and hence should not be able to bind an agreeing participle, see section 4.4. This prediction turns out to be correct, see example (6:26), where *det* can not share a θ-role with an agreeing participle *skrivna*, "written". Furthermore, such an arrangement prevents θ-role sharing by the agreeing participle and the DP with which it agrees, hence the construction in (6:26) is out for several reasons. See also Holmberg (2002).

(6:26) *Det blev skrivna tre brev.
there became written.+AGR. three letters

Following this reasoning, there should be two ways to make a construction such as (6:26) work, namely by either letting the DP precede the agreeing participle – in such case it does not matter that *det* does not take on a θ-role – or by using the default agreement instead of the agreeing one, with the word order in (6:26) maintained. See the examples in (6:27). Since *det*, "there" is the default agreement the construction in (6:27a) is fine and since the participle does not have to be bound in such cases the DP *tre brev*, "three letters" can follow the participle. See section 4.4.

(6:27a) Det blev tre brev skrivna.
there were three letters written.+AGR.
(6:27b) Det blev skrivet tre brev.
there were written.–AGR. three letters

Another and even stronger argument favouring the explanation of the ungrammaticality of examples such as those in (6:25) is found in passive existential constructions (cf. section 4.2.3 and 5.2.2 on the active counterparts). The construction with passive-*s* and ECM-complement in (6:28a) is grammatically correct,[13] but, surprisingly, (6:28b) is also acceptable, although the ECM-complement is preceded by a periphrastic passive construction. (6:28c) is incorrect for reasons discussed in the previous section. The structural description of the crucial part is given in Figures 6:14 and 6:15 and illustrates the difference between the constructions in (6:28b) and (6:28c).

(6:28a) Det sågs en katt sitta i parken igår.
it saw.PASS a cat sit in park-the yesterday
(6:28b) ?Det blev sett en katt sitta i parken igår.
it became seen a cat sit in park-the yesterday
(6:28c) *En katt blev sedd sitta i parken igår.
a cat became seen sit in park-the yesterday

[13] Cf. the alternative word order of example (6:28a) in (i), which is also grammatically correct in Swedish.

(i) Det sågs sitta en katt i parken igår.
it saw.PASS sit a cat in park-the yesterday, "A cat was seen sitting in the park …"

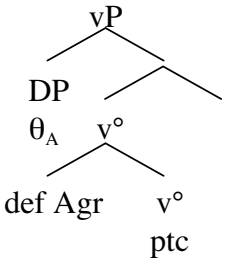

Figure 6:14. The structural description of non-conflicting θ-roles in (6:28b).

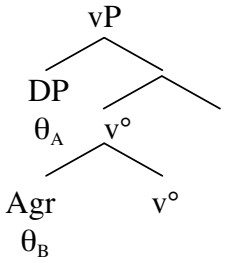

Figure 6:15. The structural description of conflicting θ-roles in (6:28c).

In example (6:28b), Figure 6:14, the participle has default agreement, or agreement with the formal subject. If there is default agreement, there is no element with which the participle agrees, hence the θ-criterion is not violated: *en katt*, "a cat" can safely occupy the complement position, since the participle does not agree and does not carry a θ-role, hence does not have to be bound by a DP. In fact, one can also notice that in (6:28b) the θ-role is assigned to the vP as an entity, which is possible since there are no relations between *en katt*, "a cat" and any element in the matrix clause.

In Figure 6:15, representing (6:28c), on the other hand, the agreeing participle already is carrying a θ-role when cliticised to v°, but this conflicts with the θ-role already given to the DP in Spec,vP, with which the participle is supposed to agree. The same situation occurs if agreement regards *det*, "it"/"there", since *det* as formal subject does not carry a θ-role.

6.4 Constructions with *låta*$_{\mathbf{IN2}}$

6.4.1 Introduction

In chapter 4, I introduced two different meanings of the verb *låta*, "let", namely ALLOW (*låta*$_{AL}$) and INDUCE (*låta*$_{IN}$) and I claimed that both could be given the same syntactic analysis, since the differences are of semantic rather than syntactic nature, see Figures 5:1 and 5:2. Constructions with *låta*$_{AL}$ and *låta*$_{IN}$ are exemplified in (6:29).

(6:29a) Lisa lät$_{AL}$ Kalle sälja bilen. (*lät* = *tillät*)
Lisa let Kalle sell car-the(let = allowed)
(= "Lisa allowed Kalle to sell the car.")

(6:29b) Lisa lät$_{IN}$ Kalle sälja bilen. (*lät* = ung. *fick att*)
Lisa let Kalle sell car-the (let = made)
(= "Lisa made Kalle sell the car.")

In this section the focus is on the so-called *låta*$_{IN2}$, which shares important semantics with *låta*$_{INI}$, but differs crucially from it with respect to syntax. The *låta*$_{IN2}$ construction is illustrated in example (6:30a). The most intriguing characteristic of *låta*$_{IN2}$ is its impact on the AGENT of the clause, namely splitting this into an INITIATOR and a DOER, where only the INITIATOR can be explicit (*Han*, "He" in (6:30)), cf. (6:30b). This impact motivates a further division of *låta* into *låta*$_{IN}$ and *låta*$_{IN2}$ (in addition to *låta*$_{AL}$) and furthermore different structural descriptions of *låta*$_{IN}$ versus *låta*$_{IN2}$. *låta*$_{IN}$ requires an explicit equi-element ('DOER'), namely as Small Clause subject as in example (6:29b), whereas such an element is prohibited in *låta*$_{IN2}$.

(6:30a) Han$_{INITIATOR}$ lät öppna dörren.
he let open door-the
(6:30b) *Han$_{INITIATOR}$ lät undersöka barnen av en läkare$_{DOER}$.
he let examine children-the by a doctor

The vP-analysis implicitly states that the EPP-feature in v° forces the DP-argument (the subject of the ECM-construction) to Spec,vP in cases where it is not externally merged in this position. From this perspective, the word order of the examples in (6:30) appears to constitute an exception, provided that *låta*$_{IN2}$ takes a vP-complement, just like ordinary ECM-verbs. In this section I will argue that this is not the correct analysis, claiming that *låta*$_{IN2}$ is a light verb merged in v°, taking a VP complement. Hence, in cases such as (6:30), there is only one vP and the subject *han*, "he" is merged in Spec,vP, deleting [uϕ]^{EPP} in v°.

The structural description of *låta*$_{IN2}$ is given in Figure 6:16, cf. the one in 6:17 for the ordinary ECM-verbs *låta*$_{IN+AL}$ (including perception verbs and verbs of consideration).[14] The structure in Figure 6:16 accounts directly for examples such as (6:30).

[14] It should be noted that the Mainland Scandinavian languages behave differently with respect to LET$_{IN2}$, for instance regarding word order, cf. Vater (1973), Taraldsen (1983, 1984), Herslund (1986), Platzack (1986a) and Faarlund et al (1997:1006f,1163f). Consider for instance example (i)-(ii), where the object of the Small Clause predicate can precede the infinitive in Danish but not in Swedish (Herslund 1986:143).

(i) Hun lader sine artikler skrive. (Danish)
she lets her articles write, "She has her articles written."
(ii) *Hon låter sina artiklar skriva. (Swedish)
she lets her articles write

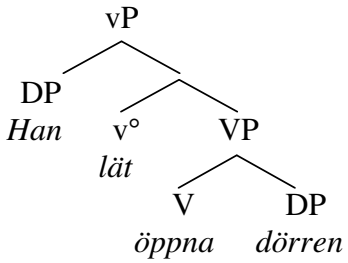

Figure 6:16. The syntactic structure of *låta*$_{IN2}$.

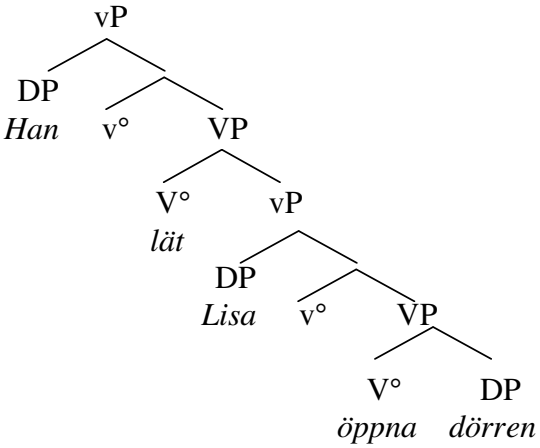

Figure 6:17. The syntactic structure of *låta*$_{IN+AL}$(ECM-construction).

For an enriched version of the construction in Figure 6:16, see the ordinary ECM-structure in section 5.2, Figure 5:2.

6.4.2 *låta*$_{IN2}$ as a light verb

Previously I have claimed that both *låta*$_{AL}$ and *låta*$_{IN}$ are ECM-verbs, i.e. they select for a vP-complement. This is not the case for *låta*$_{IN2}$, which in my analysis is a light verb and actually posited in v° – see Butt (2002) for a recent analysis in which light verbs are classified as a category of their own. Thus, it is not the

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Also note that although two different word orders are accepted in Danish, only one construction allows a PP-adverbial expressing an AGENT, see (iii)-(iv): as seen in (v), Swedish never allows any PP-AGENT.

(iii) *Hun lader skrive sine artikler af en veninde. (Danish)
she lets write her articles by a friend
(iv) Hun lader sine artikler skrive af en veninde. (Danish)
she lets her articles write by a friend
(v) *Hon låter skriva sina artiklar/sina artiklar skriva av en väninna. (Swedish)
she lets write her articles/her articles write by a friend

The Danish word order [DP V_{inf}] is accepted in Swedish only when the object is a reflexive pronoun, see (vi), or when the passive form of the infinitive is used, see (vii). These word orders are grammatical in Danish as well. Note that in (vi) a passive-*s* is a possible but not a necessary option.

(vi) Hon lät sig inte skrämma(s).
she let REFL. not frighten.(PASS.), "She didn't let herself be frightened"
(vii) Hon lät sina artiklar skrivas.
she let her articles write.PASS., "She had her articles written."

case that *låta*$_{IN2}$ is an auxiliary; there are some important differences between true auxiliaries and *låta*$_{IN2}$ which motivate such a distinction. Firstly, *låta*$_{IN2}$ always affects the θ-role assigned by the selected verb, which auxiliaries do not necessarily do. The clearest example perhaps is the English "do", which has an extreme flavour of auxiliary and never changes the content or affects the argument structures. Compare examples (6:31a) and (6:31b).

(6:31a) He went away.
(6:31b) He did go away.

Other auxiliaries, such as the modal ones, see example (6:32a), may affect the event to some extent, or like temporal auxiliaries specify the time of the event, see example (6:32b), but they have no impact on the θ-roles of the main verb, hence they differ in a crucial way from *låta*$_{IN2}$ in (6:32c).

(6:32a) Han bör ge henne boken idag.
he ought give her book-the today
(6:32b) Lotta ska resa till Rom imorgon.
Lotta shall travel to Rome tomorrow
(6:32c) De lät öppna dörren.
they let open door-the, "They had the door opened."

A second difference between auxiliaries and *låta*$_{IN2}$ is that auxiliaries in general can take any kind of VP-complement, whereas the complement of *låta*$_{IN2}$ must be a transitive and agentive verb, i.e. one AGENT and one THEME θ-role has to be assigned in the construction. This is illustrated in the examples in (6:33). In (6:33a) the verb is ergative, and in (6:33b) transitive but not agentive. In both cases the derivation crashes.[15] The converging derivation in example (6:33c), on the other hand, contains a transitive, agentive verb and is correct, cf. (6.32c).[16]

[15] It is to be noticed that if one adds a DP in the complement in (6:33a), i.e. as in (i), one gets the *låta*$_{AL}$- or *låta*$_{IN}$-construction and the accompanying interpretation. It follows directly from the structural analysis given of *låta*$_{IN2}$ here that there is no Spec,vP available into which *Kalle* could be externally or internally merged.

(i) Han lät Kalle komma.
he let Kalle come

[16] Cf. also the reflexive construction in (i). This necessarily has to be ungrammatical, since the AGENT-role with *slå sig*, "hit REFL.", i.e. "get hurt" is lost due to the presence of reflexive *sig*, cf. section 6.2, although it can still be interpreted as the subject *she* having someone else hit her.

(6:33a) *Han lät komma, cf. Han kom.
he let come, cf. he came
(6:33b) *Kalle lät ha en bil, cf. Kalle hade en bil.
Kalle let have a car, cf. Kalle had a car
(6:33c) Kalle lät öppna dörren, cf. Kalle öppnade dörren.
Kalle let open door-the, cf. Kalle opened door-the

Since *låta*$_{IN2}$ does not behave like an auxiliary, as we have seen, I will claim that *låta*$_{IN2}$ instead is a kind of light verb. If this is true, *låta*$_{IN2}$ should display some properties of light verbs. The essential characteristics of light verbs are given below. The light verb construction has

- a corresponding heavy, lexical verb construction, i.e. is a periphrastic construction (e.g. Miyamoto 1999:1f and cited references).
- the same argument structure as the corresponding, lexical verb, i.e. the light verb does not contribute with any arguments on their own (Jayaseelan 1988, Grimshaw 1990:13, Miyamoto 1999:2 and cited references).
- a systematic impact on the argument structure, for instance modification of the (sub)event structure of a lexical verb (Mohanan 1997 and Butt 1995, 2002).

The first characteristic implies that the light verb has no important semantics and that it does not provide any θ-role of its own. This is observed by e.g. Jackendoff (1972), Grimshaw & Mester (1988:210), Fagan (1992) and Harley (1995) – see also Jespersen (1937) and Kearns (1988). In example (6:30) and (6:33c) it is clear that *dörren*, "the door" is the internal argument of *öppna*, "open" and not of *låta*$_{IN2}$. Its heavy, lexical counterpart is of course *låta*$_{AL+IN}$ in (6:29), which is analysed as a main (ECM-) verb (see sections 5.1 and 5.2). According to Butt (2002), a lexical item of the light verb type has double lexical entries, with the result that it can surface either as a light verb (in v°) and then is dependent on another predication/verb, or as a main verb (in V°) and then predicates as do other main verbs.

With respect to the second property of light verbs, the same number of DP arguments are present in a construction with or without *låta*$_{IN2}$, cf. *Kalle öppnade dörren*, "Kalle opened the door" and *Kalle lät öppna dörren*, "Kalle let open the door" = "Kalle had the door opened". As is stated in the third

(i) *Hon lät slå sig.
she let hit REFL., "She let herself become hurt/hit."

characteristic, on the other hand, the light verb and the main verb together can affect the argument structure in the resulting construction (see for instance Mohanan 1997:432f and Butt 2002), which is precisely the case for *låta*$_{IN2}$; as will be shown, *låta*$_{IN2}$ absorbs and modifies the AGENT of the main verb.

6.4.3 *låta*$_{IN2}$ as an AGENT-splitter

I will now turn to the crucial property of *låta*$_{IN2}$, namely its function as AGENT-splitter, as mentioned above. Consider the examples in (6:34).

(6:34a) Kalle öppnade dörren.
Kalle opened the door
(6:34b) Kalle lät öppna dörren.
Kalle let open door-the, "Kalle had the door opened."

The prototypical AGENT is 'doer' as well as 'initiator', as seen e.g. in (6:34a). When combined with *låta*$_{IN2}$, on the other hand, the AGENT-concept is split, with the result that the subject functions only as INITIATOR (=*Kalle*), whereas the one performing the act, the DOER (≠*Kalle*), is never expressed, as in (6:34b). This indicates that the light verb *låta*$_{IN2}$ has preserved part of the θ-role criteria of the corresponding main verb, in this case an AGENT-like role (INITIATOR). As a consequence, *låta*$_{IN2}$ can only conflate with an agentive verb – otherwise the θ-roles would be contradictory. The role of the verb *låta*$_{IN2}$ in this case is to split the AGENT and if there is no AGENT to split, *låta*$_{IN2}$ can not be used, as in example (6:33a)-(6:33b).[17]

The present situation can be expressed in the following way: *låta*$_{IN2}$ involves two events, seemingly performed by only one AGENT. The reasoning is in line with Pustejovsky's (1991) idea that each EVENT has a more or less complex subevental structure, where an example like (6:34a) would be given the formal, linear description in (6:35). By adding *låta*$_{IN2}$, the EVENT of opening is split into two SUBEVENTS, namely the event of introducing the act of opening and the pure act of opening. In the *låta*$_{IN2}$-case, however, only the INITIATOR is allowed to surface.

(6:35) cause([act(*k*, dörren], bli([öppen(dörren)]))
cause([act(k, the-door], become([opened(the-door)]))

The situation at hand, thus, is that the complete AGENT allows/initiates/makes/performs something, whereas by splitting the AGENT *låta*$_{IN2}$ removes the

[17] Cf. Kural (1996:91,112) and Pustejovsky (1991:59).

DOER-part. Hereby the DOER is prevented from being realised, and at the same time *låta*$_{IN2}$ gives prominence to the element in Spec,vP as INITIATOR. Against the background of the light verb constructions presented here, my proposal for a structural description of *låta*$_{IN2}$ is illustrated in Figure 6:18, an augmented version of Figure 6:16, where *låta*$_{IN2}$ is in v° and the main verb in V°. See also Butt (2002). Note that *låta*$_{IN2}$ does not carry any features of its own, but that the feature bundle in v° belongs to V° *öppna*, "open".

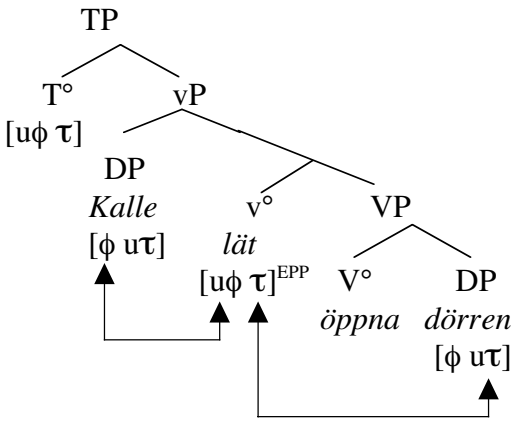

Figure 6:18. The features establishing the relations holding inside *låta*$_{IN2}$-construction.

Since *låta*$_{IN2}$ is in v°, it follows that *låta*$_{IN2}$ prevents the main verb from moving to this position. My description also predicts that *låta*$_{IN2}$ can not passivise, either with *-s* or as part of a periphrastic passive – being situated in v° it competes with *-s* and the participle, which, as was seen in sections 4.4 and 6.3, also originates in v°.[18] The prediction turns out to be right, see example (6:36).

(6:36) *Han läts öppna dörren.
he let.PASS open door-the

The analysis of the Swedish *låta*$_{IN2}$ as a light verb, posited in v°, is supported by the situation in Hungarian. In Hungarian, the corresponding element to *låta*$_{IN2}$ is

[18] A problem arises when one has a three stage predicate like *ge*, "give" illustrated in example (i). The indirect object is in Spec,VP. The question is where the main verb *ge* is situated. Presumably there is another head somewhere, but with the head comes an extra Specifier as well, i.e. one has a structure like [$_{VP}$ IO V [$_{VP}$ DO V]]. I will not discuss this any further, but remain satisfied with an analysis which provides an account for one and two stage predicates.

(i) Han lät ge henne tolv röda rosor.
he let give her twelve red roses

expressed by a morphological suffix on the verb, whereas constructions with *låta*$_{IN}$ and *låta*$_{AL}$ are analytic (Valéria Molnár, p.c.). This is illustrated in the examples in (6:37), in which *låta*$_{AL}$ is illustrated in (6:37a) and *låta*$_{IN2}$ in (6:37b), the morphological ending in bold and only the relevant morphology is marked. For further examples and discussion of the so-called morphological causatives, see Guasti (1993:3f).

(6:37a) Péter hagyta Annát ablakot pucolni.
Peter allowed/induced Anna.ACC. window.ACC. clean.INF.,
"Peter allowed/induced Anna to clean the window."
(6:37b) Péter ablakot pucol**tat**ott.
Peter window.ACC. clean+induce,"Peter had the window cleaned."

6.4.4 Some similar cases

To conclude so far, I have shown that *låta*$_{IN2}$ is a light verb in v° that must be combined with an agentive verb, the AGENT-role of which is split by *låta*$_{IN2}$ into INITIATOR and DOER. This can also be expressed in the following way: *låta*$_{IN2}$ hosts some kind of agentivity, presumably initiating and therefore requires agentivity in the verb with which it conflates. This assumption finds support in the works of Ekberg (1993a,b). Ekberg discusses the metaphoric use of the pseudo-co-ordination with *take and V* and states that there must be concord between the verbs involved in order for the metaphoric use to be possible (Ekberg 1993a:135): *take* requires an AGENT θ-role and this ramifications for the verb with which it combines as well. See the examples in (6:38). Also cf. the work of Pustejovsky (1991) on EVENTS and SUBEVENTS.

(6:38a) Han tog och flyttade på sig.
he took and moved on himself, "He moved."
(6:38b) Vi tar och ger oss iväg.
we take and give us away, "Let's leave."

The point is that the θ-role which is prototypically associated with the subject of *ta*, "take" is added to the set of θ-roles which is already there, hence *ta* is amalgamated and accordingly co-ordinated with another verb or verbal phrase, and this combination stresses the role of the subject (Ekberg 1993a:135, 1993b:22). Since the subject role of *ta* is intentional, the subject role of the other verb in the construction (*flyttade*, "moved" etc.), with which it works in combination, cannot be non-intentional, since they should constitute an entity (Ekberg 1993a:135, 1993b:35). See the examples in (6:39).

(6:39a) *Han tog och blev mördad.
he took and became murdered
(6:39b) *Han tog och fick boken.
he took and got book-the

A split of θ-role related to the one found with *låta*$_{IN2}$ is observed by Josefsson (1998:77ff) in examples such as (6:40), that contain a compound of the N+V-type. In such cases "the lefthand segment of the compound could be analysed either as an Agent or as an Instrument for something that could be characterized as the Primus Motor of the Event" (Josefsson 1998:77f). The so-called Primus Motor is to be kept distinct from the instantiator of the event/action, namely the subject of the clause.

(6:40a) Skolan läkarundersökte barnen, cf. Läkaren undersökte barnen.
school-the doctor+investigated children-the, cf. *doctor-the investigated children-the*,
"The school had the children investigated by a doctor".
(6:40b) CIA polisbevakade demonstrationen, cf. Polisen bevakade demonstrationen
CIA police+surveilled demonstration-the, cf. *police-the surveilled demonstration-the*
"The CIA surveilled the demonstration by using the police".

The similarity between the situation here and the one with *låta*$_{IN2}$ is striking. In the examples in (6:40), the doctor and the police, respectively, in some way are the ACTORS of the verbs that constitute the event/predicate of the clause, whereas on the other hand they are not the subjects of the clause. In both cases the AGENT is affected: the syntactic subject in (6:40) is the INITIATOR and the incorporated DP is the DOER, hence one has a split of the AGENT role more or less identical to the one found with *låta*$_{IN2}$.

An interesting effect is obtained if one embeds an N+V-compound as the main verb under *låta*$_{IN2}$, as in the examples in (6:41).

(6:41a) Skolan lät$_{IN2}$ läkarundersöka barnen.
school-the let doctor+examine kids-the
(6:41b) CIA lät$_{IN2}$ polisbevaka demonstrationen, cf.
CIA let police+surveil demonstration-the

As seen in these examples, it is actually possible to express both parts of the split AGENT: the subject is expressing the INITIATOR and the V-part of the composed verb the DOER.

6.4.5 An application of the *låta*$_{IN2}$-analysis: object predicative after *få*, "get"

A special situation, which is in many respects similar to the *låta*$_{IN2}$ construction, occurs in constructions with *få*, "get". When constructed with an OP-

complement, *få* is either causative, a function it otherwise almost never has (Teleman et al 1999[3]:367), or it can be related to a person taking advantage or disadvantage of an action without causing it. See Sundman (1986, 1987:273ff), Herslund (1986:143), Kural (1996:83) and Taraldsen (1995:212). The situation in Swedish is illustrated in the examples in (6:42). Recall from section 4.4 (and 6.3) that Swedish has an agreeing participle (in (6:42a) but not in (6:42b)). In example (6:42b), the participle has the unmarked neuter singular form: the form is inflected but does not agree. Holmberg (2002:101) considers the (6:42b) type to be a control construction.

(6:42a) Han fick boken skriv**en**.
he got book-the written.PTC+AGR.
(6:42b) Han fick skrive**t** boken.
he got written.PTC.–AGR. book-the

The interplay between the agreeing participle and the non-agreeing participle and their crucial impact on the word order was pointed out and discussed in detail in section 4.4, see the examples in (6:43), see also Platzack (1998:49) and Teleman et al (1999[3]:371) and for Norwegian, see Taraldsen (1995:225).

(6:43a) *De fick skriven boken.
they got written.+AGR. book-the
(6:43b) *De fick boken skrivet.
they got book-the written–AGR,

I will claim that the example in (6:42a) is accounted for by the vP-analysis presented for ECM-constructions and OP-constructions. Furthermore, I will claim that the construction in (6:42b) is perfectly in line with the analysis of *låta*$_{IN2}$, i.e. this type of *få* is a light verb just as *låta*$_{IN2}$ is. The idea of analysing constructions with *få* on par with constructions with *låta* finds support in Platzack (1998:130), who mentions that verbs like *få*, "get" and *låta*, "let" ought to be given a common analysis. Cf. the reasoning on the same construction in Egerland (1996:313ff).

The two constructions are illustrated in Figures 6:19 and 6:20, the former giving the analysis of example (6:42a) and the latter of example (6:42b). The dashed arrow illustrates a chain established between the agreeing participle ending, which receives the internal θ-role of the verb constituting the participle – see section 4.4 – and the DP, which binds the participle and shares its θ-role. The uninterpretable features of Agr and v° are mutually deleted when Agr is

cliticised to v°. See sections 4.4 and 6.3 for a detailed analysis of agreeing participles.[19]

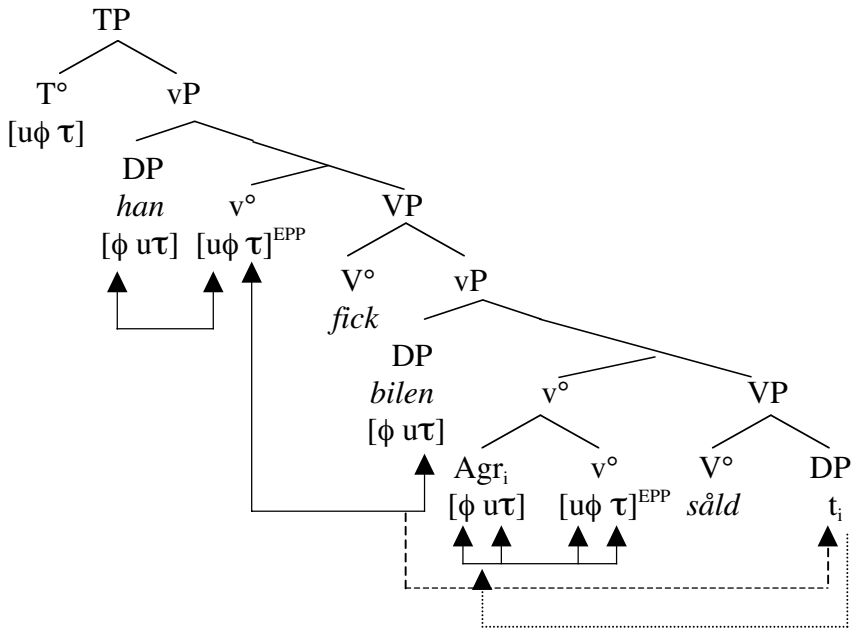

Figure 6:19. The structural description of the Swedish *få* with agreeing participle.

Since a chain is established between the agreeing participle (Agr) and the DP *bilen*, "the car" in Figure 6:19, the DP *bilen* does not receive any θ-role of its own; the features are shared by the elements constituting the chain, and the DP can be seen as kind of a binder of the agreement ending. When *fick*, "got" is merged, the verb – or to be more exact; its functional projection v° – probes *bilen* "the car", which is externally merged in the lower Spec,vP (or in Spec,VP; it ends up in Spec,vP in either case). The main verb *fick*, "got" presumably assigns its second θ-role to the whole vP (just as do ECM-verbs). In order to simplify the structural description, I have put the matrix subject directly in the higher Spec,vP, although it is presumably externally merged in Spec,VP and hereby receives a BENEFICIENT/ PATIENT θ-role and then, due to EPP in v°, is consequently internally merged in Spec,vP, where it establishes an Agree relation with T°.

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[19] Note that the construction works with aPs and pPs as well, just as is the case for other Small Clause complements, see examples (i) and (ii).

(i) Olle fick [$_{aP}$ tavlan färdig] redan igår.
Olle had painting-the ready already yesterday, "Olle had the painting ready…"
(ii) Lisa fick [$_{pP}$ bilen på lagning] redan samma dag.
Lisa had car-the on repair already the same day
"Lisa had the car to be repaired on the very same day."

Now, let us turn to *få*, "get" analysed as light verb in line with *låta*$_{IN2}$. Figure 6:20 illustrates example (6:42b). Cf. the reasoning in section 4.4. Recall that since the default agreement ending does not carry any θ-role, it is assumed to be externally merged in v°, eliminating the [uϕ]^{EPP} feature bundle of the head of the functional phrase.[20]

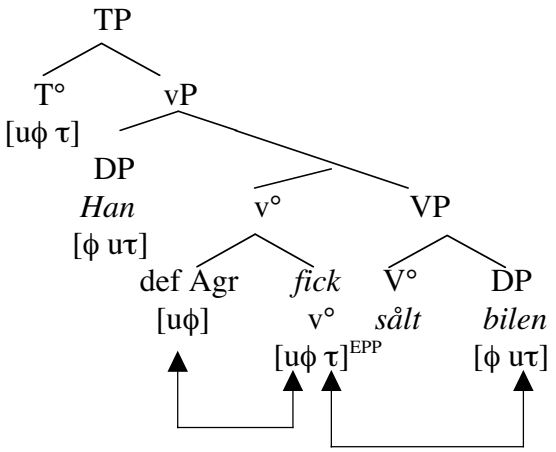

Figure 6:20. The structural description of the Swedish *få* without agreeing participle.

In Figure 6:20, in the same way as for *låta*$_{IN2}$ in Figures 6:16 (and 6:18), I assume an entity consisting of the two verbs present, namely something like *få-sålt*, "get-sold". This is due to the light verb not having any set of features of its own; it is situated in v° but the feature bundle in v° belongs to V.[21] One further

[20] Notice the corresponding construction with aP, which follows the same pattern, see (i), compare footnote 19, example (i).

(i) Olle fick färdig**t** tavlan redan igår
Olle had ready painting-the already yesterday, "Olle had the painting ready…"

[21] The idea of different analyses for the Swedish *få*-constructions is supported by the corresponding situation in Danish and Norwegian. Danish and Norwegian lack agreeing participle and both word orders are grammatical in these languages (e.g. Herslund 1986:143, Mikkelsen 1911:430, Taraldsen 1995:208 and Faarlund et al 1997). See (i)-(ii).

(i) Han får sine artikler skrevet. (Danish)
he gets his articles written
(ii) Han får skrevet sine artikler. (Danish)
he gets written his articles

Although both word orders are grammatical, one can still argue in favour of two different construction types here as well when dealing with *låta* (section 6.4) based on the fact that only the word order [DP V$_{inf}$] can take a PP-agent, see (iii)-(iv).

important similarity is that *få*, "get" here, like *låta*, "let", takes the θ-role INITIATOR whereas the DOER is implicit (and the AGENT never present). Note that the splitting of the AGENT can be made visible here as well, see example (6:44).

(6:44) Presidenten fick polisbevakat demonstrationen.
president-the got police+surveilled.—AGR. demonstration-the,
"The president had the demonstration surveilled by the police."

6.5 Summary

In this chapter, I have discussed three special cases of ECM-constructions:

(1) ECM-complements where the equi-element is a reflexive pronoun
(2) the subject-with-infinitive construction
(3) constructions with the light verb $låta_{IN2}$

The proposed analyses support my general claim that Small Clauses are vPs. Regarding verbs of consideration, there is a subgroup which takes an ECM-complement only when the equi-element is a reflexive pronoun, see the examples in (6:45). I have referred to these as ECM_{REFL}-verbs. These verbs behave almost exactly like Reflexive verbs; the notation 'Reflexive verbs' refers to verbs which can only take a reflexive pronoun as complement, e.g. *förälska sig*, "fall *REFL.* in love", in contrast with ordinary transitive verbs that take a reflexive object when the subject and the object have identical reference, like *tvätta*, "wash". Example (6:45a) shows an ECM_{REFL}-verb where *sig* has an EXPERIENCER θ-role assigned by *gilla*, "like".

(6:45a) Han sade sig gilla ostron. (Swedish)
he said REFL. like oysters, "He said that he liked oysters."
(6:45b) *Han sade Kalle gilla ostron. (Swedish)
he said Kalle like oysters

(iii) *Han får skrevet sine artikler af en ven. (Danish)
he gets written his articles by a friend
(iv) Han får sine artikler skrevet af en ven. (Danish)
he gets his articles written by a friend

The fact that ECM_{REFL}-verbs require a reflexive object in order to take an ECM-complement follows from the Binding Theory. Since the equi-element must co-refer with the matrix subject, it must be an anaphoric pronoun which is bound in its local binding domain. With this reasoning, the reflexive form of the pronoun is a result of interplay between independent principles.

I have suggested however, that the fact that equi-*sig* systematically behaves like *sig* of Reflexive constructions indicates that *sig* is on par with passive-*s* with respect to structural position, i.e. *sig* ends up in v°, eliminating $[\phi]^{EPP}$ and receiving the θ-role of the Small Clause predicate. In this respect, ECM-*sig* is more of a head than a phrase. In receiving a θ-role of its own, ECM-*sig* differs crucially from ordinary reflexive *sig*, which shares a θ-role with the subject of the clause.

In the second part of this section, I suggested an explanation for the fact that Swedish ECM-verbs (perception verbs and verbs of consideration) can appear with a *s*-passive but not with the periphrastic passive when taking an ECM-complement. According to my account, the crucial point is that Swedish has an agreeing past participle, which carries the feature bundle [ϕ uτ] and is assigned the complement (object) θ-role of the Small Clause predicate. See examples (6:46a)-(6:46c) and compare with Danish, where there is no such agreeing participle, hence nothing prevents ECM-complements following a periphrastic passive, see example (6:46d).

(6:46a) *De blev sedda gräla på bussen. (Swedish)
they became seen quarrel on bus-the
(6:46b) De sågs gräla på bussen. (Swedish)
they saw.PASS quarrel on bus-the
(6:46c) De blev sedda på bussen. (Swedish)
they became seen on bus-the
(6:46d) Hun blev hørt synge af mange mennesker. (Danish)
she was heard sing by many people

The agreeing participle, then, is assigned the complement (object) θ-role in (6:46a) as well as in (6:46c). The crucial difference is that in (6:46a), the θ-role of the complement of *se*, "see" is not represented by Agr, since in this case *se*, "see" takes the whole Small Clause (vP) as its complement.

In the final part of this section, I have claimed that $låta_{IN2}$ is a light verb that is merged in v°. As such, $låta_{IN2}$ does not select for an ECM-complement but for an ordinary main verb, hence it follows that no equi-element can be present in its complement. As a result, the structure contains only one phase. Since $låta_{IN2}$ is a light verb, it carries no set of features of its own and being placed in v° $låta_{IN2}$

correctly prevents the passive ending from being used, since the light verb and the passive morpheme compete for the same structural position. See example (6:47b).

(6:47a) Kalle lät öppna dörren. (Swedish)
Kalle let open door-the
(6:47b) *Kalle läts öppna dörren. (Swedish)
Kalle let.PASS. open door-the

As is seen, *låta*$_{IN2}$ plays a crucial role in splitting the AGENT of the clause into an INITIATOR (the subject of the matrix clause) and a DOER (the subject of the Small Clause which is obligatorily unexpressed), i.e. one is dealing with a split of one event into two different subevents. The AGENT-splitting function of *låta*$_{IN2}$ forces the verb in V° to be an agentive and transitive verb; if there is no AGENT, there can be no AGENT-splitting.

7 Absolute constructions

7.1 Introduction

Having discussed ECM-Small Clauses and related constructions in chapters 5 and 6, I will now turn to absolute constructions, concentrating on the two types illustrated in (7:1).

(7:1a) **Med** [rosorna klippta] kunde han ta sig an gräsmattan.
with [roses-the cut] could he see to lawn-the
(7:1b) [Momsen inräknad] kostar boken två hundra pund.[1]
[VAT-the included] costs book-the two hundred pounds

Absolute constructions differ from ECM-complements in not being selected by any matrix verb and hence they are adjunct Small Clauses. Also non-finite adjuncts nevertheless need a matrix clause (a CP), since they are not themselves anchored in time and space. The *med*-phrase illustrated in (7:1a) is by far the most common type of the two Swedish absolute constructions. We have here a Small Clause introduced by a preposition, which as a whole functions as an adjunct; the Small Clause per se is however the complement of a preposition. Example (7:1b) illustrates a less common variant of the Swedish absolute construction, namely that without an introducing preposition. In my analysis, the absolute construction is regarded as a Small Clause, which in some languages and situations requires an introducing preposition, such as a *med*-phrase.

I will use the label 'absolute construction' for both variants in (7:1), i.e. regardless of the presence of *med*, "with", following van Riemsdijk (1978) and Gunnarsson (1994), which is motivated if one takes 'absolute' to relate to

[1] This construction is to be discerned from the predicative construction in (i), which seems identical to (7:1b) on the surface. Nevertheless, (i) crucially differs since the participle shows agreement with an element in the matrix clause (crucial elements are shown in bold), which is never the case in absolute constructions. The construction in (i) is however defined as 'absolute' by Egerland (2002:78ff).

(i) Berövad sin heder tog **han** sitt liv.
deprived his honour took he his life

independency from the matrix clause in some sense. As pointed out by Egerland (1996:183), absolute constructions are syntactically dependent with respect to potentially co-referential arguments in the matrix clause and the Small Clause, and they are semantically dependent with respect to their temporal value, which is set in relation to the finite/matrix verb.

As described in the Swedish Academy grammar (Teleman et al 1999[3]:697), the *med*-phrase consists of the preposition *med* and a complement consisting of two parts and is claimed to be indivisible under all circumstances. Incidentally, the equivalent Spanish construction also contains a preposition plus a Small Clause complement (e.g. Suñer 1990, chapter 4 and Gunnarsson 1994:138). According to Janson (1972:2), *med* signals that the complement is a reduced clause, and Josefsson (2002, chapter 5) describes *med*-phrases as truncated clauses (see section 3.3).

In example (7:2), it is shown that other elements than participles can provide the second element in a *med*-complement, namely a PP in (7:2a) and an AP in (7:2b).[2]

(7:2a) Med pistolen i fickan gick Lisa in i rummet.
with gun-the in pocket-the went Lisa in room-the
(7:2b) Med ansiktet vitt av ilska anföll Kalle hundägaren.
with face-the white by anger attacked Kalle dog owner-the

There is one further construction that I will include in the group of absolute constructions, namely the one in example (7:3). (7:3a) differs crucially from (7:1b) in the position of the participle. A similar distinction between

[2] There are a number of constructions related to the absolute ones that I will not discuss here. Example (i) shows an attributive use of the *med*-construction (Teleman et al 1999[3]:697f). The clause final DP+PP in (ii), although formally related to (7:1b), can only appear clause final, and I consider it to be clause external. The construction in (iii) is an ordinary DP with an attribute, functioning as the DP-complement of a preposition. That it is an ordinary DP is seen when one adds an Agent PP in (iv), which precedes the adjective/participle (all free predicates precede the agent phrase).

(i) En leksaksbil med ena hjulet av låg vid sängen.
a toy-car with one wheel off lay by bed-the
(ii) Han gick in i rummet, pistolen i fickan.
he went into room-the, gun-the in pocket-the
(iii) Med knuten hand sprang pojken mot demonstranterna.
with clenched hand ran boy-the towards demonstrators-the
(iv) Med av vinden tillrufsat hår var Johan mycket vacker.
with by wind-the tousled hair was Johan very beautiful

constructions like the ones in (7:1) and (7:3) is made by Palmér (1925:172) and Körner (1936:202) for Swedish, who claim there is a difference with respect to the syntactic status of absolute constructions and a construction of the kind with an eliminated *med*. Note that the participle agrees with the DP when following it, as in (7:1a), whereas there is no agreement when it precedes the DP, as in (7:3a). Cf. section 4.4. Furthermore, note that one cannot add *med*, "with" in a participle initial construction, as illustrated in (7:3b).

(7:3a) Inräknat moms kostade boken 200 pund.
included–AGR. VAT costs book-the two hundred pounds
(7:3b) *Med inräknat moms kostade boken 200 pund.
with included–AGR. VAT costs book-the two hundred pounds

Absolute constructions without any introducing preposition are frequently used in languages which are rich in case, for instance Latin, but they are also found in e.g. English, French and Spanish. An important fact with respect to these constructions in Swedish is that they can not be formed with all types of verbs, but, as will be shown, the verb must display a clitcised particle like *in-*, "in-" in (7:3a). This in turn affects the range of possible verbs in such a construction. I will return to this in section 7.2.5.

The fact that *med*, "with" is optional in cases like (7:1) but obligatorily absent in cases like (7:3a) indicates that *med* in some sense lacks semantic content. This idea is supported by the possibility of adding the preposition in absolute constructions without any change in meaning, see example (7:1b). As early as the work of Jespersen (1924:124) it was noted that "with" has a vague meaning in cases like these; see also van Riemsdijk (1978) and Gunnarsson (1994:164) among others.[3] For Swedish it has also been stated that *med* – in this use – has less semantic content than other prepositions: its only function in cases like (7:1) and (7:2) etc. seems to be a marker for a syntactic relation (Janson 1972:2f and Teleman et al 1999[3]:699).[4] This in fact supports an assumption that only in

[3] A Spanish example is given in (i) taken from Gunnarsson (1994:164)

(i) Tengo [a mis hijos enfermos].
have.1SG. my children sick, "My children are sick."

[4] The similarity between *med*(-phrases) and the auxiliary verb *ha*, "have" is pointed out by e.g. Janson (1972:9), Gunnarsson (1994:164), Teleman et al (1999[3]:698f) and Josefsson (2002); Josefsson (2002, chapter 5) even claims that *med* is *ha* in the disguise of a preposition. The reasoning recalls the one found in Kayne (1993:21f) – see also Hoekstra 1999:63ff – where it is stated that *have* is in fact the copula *be* plus an incorporated preposition, although

this case the functional projection of *med* hosts an EPP-feature, whereas the functional projection accompanying the comitative and instrumental use of *med* does not display such a feature. See section 7.2.3.

Just as was the case for ECM-constructions, the absolute construction with or without a preposition corresponding to *med* is found in a variety of languages; for discussions, see for instance Jespersen (1924:123f, 1937) on Danish, Latin and Swedish, van Riemsdijk (1978) on Dutch, Gunnarsson (1994) on Spanish and Aarts (1989) and Kayne (1994) on English. Both variants are commonly referred to as 'absolute constructions since' they are assumed to correspond to a construction in the old Indo-European languages expressed by means of absolutely used Case.[5] In languages with morphological case the construction can be expressed by different Cases, namely absolute ablative in Latin, absolute genitive in Classical Greek, absolute locative in Sanskrit and absolute dative in Gothic. In this chapter I will try to account for the absolute constructions in modern Swedish.

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be is never part of the derivation (it is not visible). This similarity is also discussed in the work of van Riemsdijk (1978:65ff). Also see Egerland (1996:121).

The same reasoning can be pursued for Latin as well as Swedish; the two verbs *esse/vara* "be" and *habere/ha* "have" in Latin and Swedish, respectively, are illustrated in (i)-(ii).

(i) Marco domus est./ Marcus domum habet.
M.DAT. house.NOM. is/M.NOM. house.ACC. has.3SG., "Marcus has a house."
(ii) Johan är mig kär/Jag har Johan kär.
Johan is me dear/I have Johan dear, "Johan is dear to me."

[5] Miller (2002:14, 310) states that in the Latin *ablativus absolutus* construction there is a potential problem for a theory of (semantic) case, since the ablative case in the absence of a preposition is not easily motivated. To solve the problem, he introduces the Default Case Rule (after Schütze 1993): "A nominal that lacks any case feature when it comes from the syntax should be supplied with the set of features corresponding to the default case setting for that language". The Latin default case ablative is assigned to the entire adjunct, see (i), from *De Bello Gallico* (Miller 2002:310f). In English the default case seemingly is accusative, see (ii), whereas in Swedish it is more likely nominative, see (iii) and Teleman et al (1999[4]:828). Jespersen (1924:131), however, gives examples of the same type of construction (Mad Magazine sentence) with a nominative DP.

(i) fugato omni equitatu Vercingetorix copias […] reduxit
escape.PTC.ABL. all.ABL. cavalry.ABL. V. troops.ACC. returned.3SG.PERF.
"With his entire cavalry routed, Vercingetorix returned his troops."
(ii) *He/Him tired, they decided to camp for the night./*She/Her cheat on me?
(iii) Hon/*Henne vara otrogen mot mig?
she/her be unfaithful to me?

A syntactic analysis of the absolute construction is presented in section 7.2. The subsequent sections 7.2.2 and 7.2.3 deal with the analysis when a participle constitutes the Small Clause predicate and when this is replaced by a PP, respectively. In section 7.2.4, I give an account of the participle initial special absolute construction, and section 7.2.5 addresses the necessity of a particle on the Small Clause predicate when there is no introducing preposition. In section 7.2.6, I discuss the use of definite and indefinite DPs in absolute constructions. Section 7.3 summarises the chapter.

7.2 Syntactic analysis of absolute constructions

7.2.1 Introduction

In this subsection, I will briefly present the basic syntactic analysis which is to be applied to all absolute Small Clauses discussed here. My analysis is based on an extension of an idea argued for in Pesetsky & Torrego (2001:393ff) regarding the analysis of cases such as those in (7:4). Pesetsky & Torrego (2001:394) suggest that the preposition *for* in (7:4) has an interpretable τ-feature and is a form of T and they even refer to it as TP_{prep} (Pesetsky & Torrego 2002:19). Applying this line of analysis to the Swedish *med*-construction, I will assume that *med*, "with" also hosts an interpretable τ-feature (in its functional projection p°); that *med* is carrying temporal information has been previously claimed by Janson (1972:4). Note however, that in the absence of *med*, "with", this extended idea is not necessary, since then vP is the only phrase present.

(7:4a) I would like [(for) Sue to buy this book].
(7:4b) I would prefer [(for) my students to buy this book].

Pesetsky & Torrego (2002:20) argue that supposing prepositions to be instances of T is not farfetched, since often "elements of the prepositional vocabulary are found in the T position of a variety of clause-types across languages." Examples are given in (7:5). According to Pesetsky & Torrego (2002:20), both P and T relate events and individuals in time and space; often the same vocabulary is used for ordering with respect to time and space, e.g. 'within' or 'after'. Cf. the reasoning in Gunnarsson (1994:135) – see also Johnson (1988:586f) on e.g. 'before' and 'after' as so-called temporal prepositions.

(7:5a) John considers [there **to** be many reasons for this].
(7:5b) Mary kept [there **from** being a riot].

Against this background, I will propose the structure in Figure 7:1 for Swedish *med*-phrases; by excluding PP, one also expresses the structural description of absolute constructions that are not introduced by this preposition. For ease of exposition the structure is simplified since the feature bundle of the preposition is posited in the lexical head P° instead of the functional p° – this does not have any theoretical or practical implications, though. Note that if PP is exchanged for a TP the result is an ordinary full clause, truncated at TP, and if it is exchanged for a VP the result is an ECM-/OP-construction. Cf. Josefsson (2002, chapter 5). Since the Small Clause in absolute constructions is usually based on a verb – and is always based on a verb in the absence of *med* – I label the Small Clause 'vP' here.

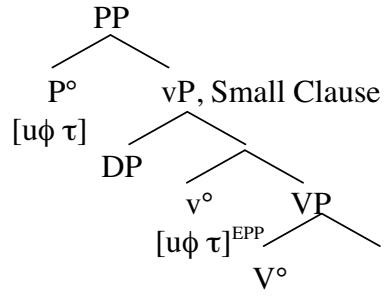

Figure 7:1. The structural description of the preposition *med* and its Small Clause complement.

I will assume that *med* assigns a θ-role to the whole vP Small Clause complement, which can be interpreted as a kind of STATE or PROCESS. This STATE/PROCESS is contemporaneous with the event expressed in the matrix clause, either when the Small Clause contains a present participle or when it contains a past participle; in the latter case, the event expressed in the Small Clause has resulted in a STATE/PROCESS, which is simultaneous with the event expressed in the matrix clause. See the examples in (7:6).

(7:6a) Med handen knuten… (STATE)
with hand-the clenched…
(7:6b) Med spjutet kastat… (STATE/PROCESS)
with spear-the thrown…
(7:6c) Med kläderna fladdrande… (PROCESS)
with clothes-the fluttering…

If the introductory preposition *med*, "with" is assumed to assign its θ-role to the vP as a whole, an analysis is required in which the [DP XP]-sequence in *med* [DP XP] is seen as one constituent, i.e. (7:7a) and not (7:7b) describes the

situation properly. An analysis as in (7:7b) is argued for by among others van Riemsdijk (1978) and Siegel (1983), see section 3.3.

(7:7a) Med [$_{SC}$ gräsmattan klippt]…
with lawn-the mowed
(7:7b) Med [$_{DP}$ gräsmattan] [$_{XP}$ klippt]…
with lawn-the mowed

The analysis with the complement of *med* as an entity, a vP, is in line with my analysis of ECM-verbs, see for instance section 4.2.3. In fact it is perhaps even more motivated to conceive of absolute constructions as entities than either ECM-complements or OPs. Firstly, the fact that *med* need not always be present favours the idea of a nexus relation between the DP and the XP, even in the presence of *med*, "with".

Secondly, if *med* takes one single DP as complement, it has a comitative or instrumental meaning, which is incompatible with the analysis or with the intended semantics in the present situation. Cf. the reasoning on for instance *se*, "see" and *finna*, "find" with OP-complements in section 5.4. Instead, in the absolute construction *med* is rather semantically 'empty' and primarily a predicational element, which is only possible when the complement of *med* consists of two elements that establish a nexus relation through the projecting of the functional head p°.

Thirdly, a mere DP as complement is not always licit, see the examples in (7:8). Example (7:8b) is correct, if one has an instrumental/comitative topicalised PP with the meaning "together with him" (but in such case one has another construction), whereas (7:8a) can hardly be interpreted in this way. Note that van Riemsdijk's (1978) analysis (section 3.3) also predicts the ungrammaticality of the examples in (7:8), although he allows tertiary branching.

(7:8a) *Med gräsmattan kunde Kalle…
with lawn-the could Kalle…
(7:8b) *Med honom kunde Kalle…
with him could Kalle

Actually, the assumption that *med*, "with" selects a whole vP [DP + predicate] can be structurally accounted for as well. Consider Figure 7:2, where a vP is the Small Clause constituting the complement of *med*. It is obvious that *med* cannot take this type of complement unless a DP is merged in Spec,vP, or at least an element deleting [uϕ]^{EPP} in p° is present, since P°/p° as well as v° carries [uϕ τ], with the result that their [uϕ]-features (and EPP in v°) would be left unsatisfied.

If the complement were a single DP, the construction would be fine, but then, again, the meaning of *med*, "with" is instrumental/comitative. As in Figure 7:1, the features of *med* are put in P° in order to simplify the description, but they are of course in p°, in line with the assumption that the feature bundles are always posited in the functional projection of a lexical head.

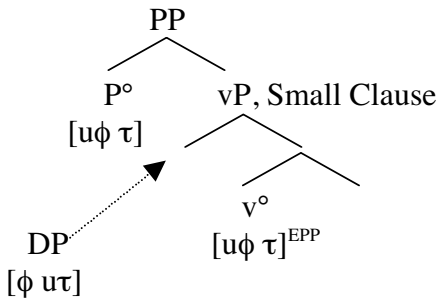

Figure 7:2. The need for a DP in the Small Clause complement of *med*, "with".

Consequently, a DP must be externally or internally merged in Spec,vP in the presence of *med*, "with", as shown by the dotted arrow. As pointed out in section 4.4 however, there ought to be another alternative as well, namely the presence of an agreeing participle ending, which deletes $[u\phi]^{EPP}$ in v° by cliticising to the participle. In such case, the result is a construction such as the one in example (7:9).

(7:9) Med knuten hand sprang pojken mot demonstranterna.
with clenched hand ran boy-the towards demonstrators-the

As already pointed out (footnote 2, section 7.1), I will not address this use of *med*, "with" with an attributive, but it is nevertheless a welcome result that my analysis makes a prediction about this the construction as well.

When there is no *med* introducing the Small Clause, as in example (7:1b), there still must be a DP in Spec,vP since there is an agreeing ending that must be bound. If there is a default agreeing participle, on the other hand, as in example (7:3a), the DP remains in situ (in either case the [uϕ]-feature in v° is deleted iva Agree by the ϕ-feature on the participle).

7.2.2 Absolute constructions consisting of a DP plus a participle

The absolute construction in Swedish is described as an 'adverbial nexus phrase' (Teleman et al 1999[3]:695), i.e. the two parts constituting the construction are in a nexus relation and the resulting predication functions as an adverbial. In this subsection, I will discuss absolute constructions containing a DP and a past

participle, in which the word order is obligatorily [DP V_{ptc}], see examples (7:10a)-(7:10b), cf. section 7.1. The example in (7:10c) illustrates the present participle in the same use, but since the analysis of such constructions is identical to the one for infinitival Small Clauses (chapters 5 and 6), I will not comment further on it: the difference between constructions with present and perfect participle resides in the temporal relations that obtain.[6] Note however, that in the presence of *med*, "with" in (7:10a) and (7:10c) present as well as past participles can be used, whereas only past participles are grammatically correct in the absence of an introducing preposition. The construction in (7:10b) is marginally used in Swedish, and only a minor set of participles and an even smaller set of adjectives can constitute the Small Clause predicate in the absence of *med* (Teleman et al 1999[3]:695).

(7:10a) Med händerna knutna kunde han slå knockout på motståndaren.
with hands-the clenched could he beat knockout on antagonist-the
(7:10b) Momsen inräknad kostade boken 200 pund.
VAT-the included costs book-the two hundred pounds
(7:10c) Med katten hoppande runt benen försökte Pelle stryka skjortan.
with cat-the jumping around legs-the tried Pelle iron skirt-the

In focus of this subsection is constructions such as (7:10a) and (7:10b). Against the background already sketched and the subsequent structural description of the PP/TP *med* in Figure 7:1, my account for the syntactic analysis of such examples is the one given in Figure 7:3. The "med/Ø" marking is intended to show that the preposition can be absent as well as present, with no further syntactic or semantic differences inferred. As has been the case hitherto, I will ignore the matrix clause at the moment, although the implicit external role of the participle is usually identical to the matrix subject; temporary neglect of the matrix is motivated here since the *med*-phrase per se is relatively independent of the

[6] The analysis predicts that one could have transitive verbs in the constructions as well, which is borne out in example (i). This is obviously not be the case for absolute constructions with perfect participles, since a perfect participle in vP blocks an external argument in such constructions. That only the external argument is blocked can be seen in (ii), cf. the alternative word order in (iii).

(i) ?Med pappan dukande bordet kunde Lisa fortsätta läsa tidningen.
with father-the laying table-the could Lisa continue read paper-the
(ii) Med Kalle tilldelad priset kunde kommittén börja med nästa ärende.
with Kalle awarded price-the could committee-the start with next matter
(iii) Med priset tilldelat Kalle kunde kommittén börja med nästa ärende.

matrix clause and not selected by the matrix verb. The double headed arrows illustrate the Agree relations established, the dotted arrow illustrates internal Merge and the dashed one illustrates the chain between the DP and the agreeing participle.

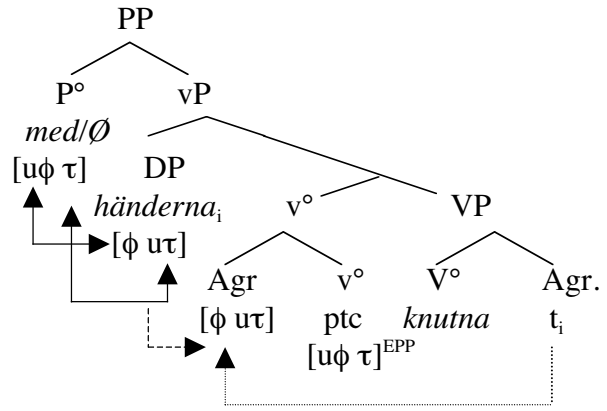

Figure 7:3. The structural description of *med*-phrases containing a perfect participle.

The behaviour of the Swedish agreeing participle was presented in detail in 4.4 and will be recapitulated only briefly. Agr is an argument with [uϕ τ]. The fact that it is a clitic prevents it from being merged into a higher Specifier, but since it can still be adjoined to a head, it moves to v°, cliticising on to the verb. In doing so, it deletes [uϕ]^{EPP} in v° and eliminates its own [uτ]-feature.

The DP *händerna*, "the hands" and the agreeing participle Agr, which receives the object θ-role of *knyta*, "clench", create a chain (cf. section 6.4 on the subject-with-infinitive construction): *händerna* must be coindexed with Agr in order to prevent a violation of the θ-criterion, viz. it can not receive a θ-role of its own. In creating a chain with an element which has already received a proper θ-role, *händerna* behaves like an internally merged element, regardless of the position in which it is externally merged (UTAH does not apply). In either case, the AGENT role is blocked.

One can argue in favour of *händerna* being externally merged in Spec,VP or in Spec,vP, but this reasoning has no deeper theoretical implications, since in either case this DP will not receive any θ-role, and being probed by p°, it will end up in Spec,vP anyhow. The external merging of *händerna* (in Spec,vP) is possible only in constructions where the subject role of the clause is suppressed or absorbed, viz. prevented from being realised. The DP in Spec,vP and Agr can be seen as different representations of the same argument. The chain formation is licit since it is tied to one and only one θ-role. The same reasoning goes for *momsen*, "the VAT" in (7:10b).

Regarding θ-roles, one can further assume that the vP receives a θ-role as an entity, just as is the case for ECM-complements, since it constitutes the complement of the preposition *med*, "with". The idea that (the elements constituting) the vP should be conceived of as an entity finds support in Beukema & Hoekstra (1984:691); data arguing in favour of this assumption are found in Dutch. Cf. the reasoning on ECM-complements in section 3.2 and 4.2.3.

With this reasoning, the word order in (7:10a)-(7:10b) is accounted for by the fact that the DP *momsen*, "the VAT" must c-command the agreeing participle ending in order to be a part of the feature chain. Although EPP is satisfied once the agreeing participle has moved to v°, a DP in Spec,vP is nevertheless still needed in order to bind the participle (and in order to delete [uϕ] on the preposition *med*, "with" if it is present). That the reverse is impossible, as predicted, is seen in example (7:11). The construction is also grammatically incorrect due to a lack of an agreeing participle binder.

(7:11) *__Med__ inräkna__d__ moms__en__ kostar boken 200 pund.
with included.+AGR. VAT-the costs book-the 200 pounds

The same situation occurs in examples such as (7:12), which in fact is an argument in favour of my analysis: the default non-agreeing ending in (7:12a) allows the DP to follow, whereas the opposite situation holds for the agreeing participle in (7:12b). The structural description of (7:12a) is given in Figure 7:4. Recall from section 4.4 that the default agreement ending does not have to be bound, unlike the agreeing ones, and furthermore, it lacks an uninterpretable τ-feature.

(7:12a) Det blev skriv__et__ några brev den kvällen.
it became written.–AGR. some letters that night
(7:12b) Det blev några brev skriv__na__ den kvällen.
it became some letters written.+AGR. that night
"Some letters were written that night."

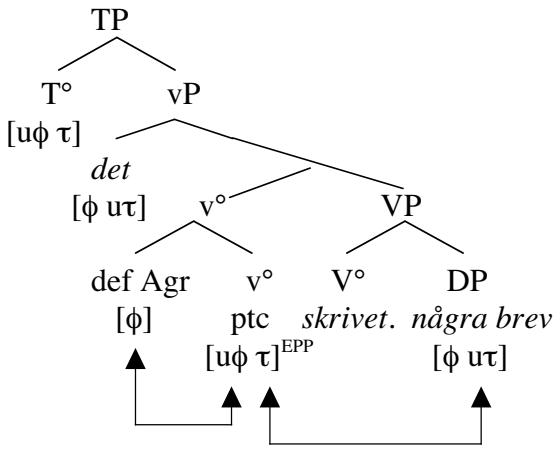

Figure 7:4. The structural description of default agreement and expletives.

It should be noticed that the absolute construction with a DP before the participle comes in two variants: with or without agreement, as shown in (7:13).

(7:13a) Moms**en** inräkn**ad** kostar boken 200 pund.
VAT-the included.+AGR. costs book-the 200 pounds
(7:13b) Moms inräknat kostar boken 200 pund.
VAT included costs book-the 200 pounds

In both cases the DP precedes the participle, but in example (7:13a) the DP is definite and the participle agrees with it, whereas there is no agreement in example (7:13b), where DP is a bare noun. There is no semantic difference between the two cases and in (7:13a) as well as (7:13b) one can add *med*, "with" without any changes in semantics or syntactic structure, see the examples in (7:14). Note that the construction in example (7:14b), i.e. a bare noun followed by a non-agreeing perfect participle, is seemingly very restricted in its use.

(7:14a) **Med** moms**en** inräkn**ad** kostar boken 200 pund.
with VAT-the included.+AGR. costs book-the 200 pounds
(7:14b) **Med** moms inräknat kostar boken 200 pund.
with VAT included costs book-the 200 pounds

In example (7:14b) one can assume that the default ending affix is externally merged directly in v° and eliminates its $[u\phi]^{EPP}$ (cf. Figure 7:4); since the default agreeing participle, unlike the agreeing one, does not carry any θ-role, it is presumably not the case that it is externally merged in the complement of V. The syntactic description of the absolute construction without an agreeing participle, but where the DP still precedes the perfect participle, should look like the one given in Figure 7:5. Since an implicit preposition still carries a feature

bundle, it probes the DP *moms*, "VAT", which is externally merged in the complement of V and subsequently raised to Spec,vP. Note, then, that the internal Merge of *moms*, "VAT" is not due to the EPP-feature in v°, but to the [uϕ]-feature in P° (p°).

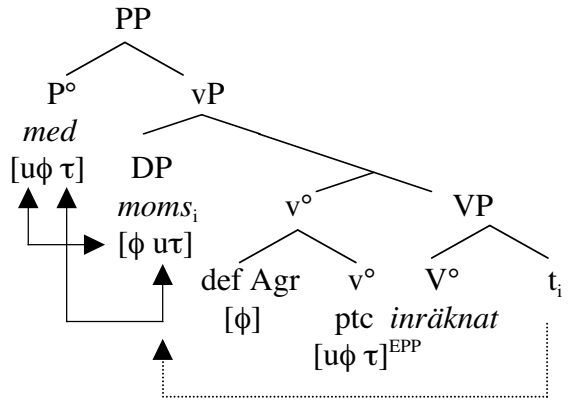

Figure 7:5. The structural description of the absolute construction with [V_{ptc} DP]-complement.

The analyses presented follow from what has been claimed earlier: agreeing participle endings must be bound by a DP, whereas no such restriction actually occurs for the non-agreeing default participles, see 7.2.4. In Figure 7:5 however, the participle is bound by/preceded by the DP *moms*, but this is a result of the feature bundle in P° (p°) rather than a requirement of the participle.

In the subsequent section I will discuss constructions where PP and no VP constitutes the predicate element of the Small Clause.

7.2.3 Absolute constructions consisting of a DP plus a PP

As mentioned in the introduction, not all *med*-phrases contain a visible participle/verbal element, although this seems to be the most common case. In this subsection, I will discuss cases in which the complement of *med*, "with" seems to consist of a DP plus a PP, and I will claim that they can also be accounted for by the proposed analysis, where the functional projection in this case is pP, still containing the same feature bundle [uϕ τ]^{EPP}. The construction is illustrated in the examples in (7:15).

(7:15a) Med pennan i handen började hon genast märka böckerna.
with pen-the in hand-the started she immediately mark books-the
(7:15b) Med honom som domare skulle vi säkert vinna matchen.
with him as judge should we surely win game-the

Although there is no visible predicate, the complement expresses a proposition, viz. a nexus relation is established between *pennan*, "the pen" and *i handen*, "in the hand" in example (7:15a) and between *honom*, "him" and *som domare*, "as judge" in (7:15b), see Teleman et al (1999[3]:698). As pointed out in chapter 1, a nexus relation expressing a proposition is in some sense a minimal requirement for a construction to be labelled a 'Small Clause'.

In the examples in (7:16) it is shown that the constructions under discussion can be paraphrased with the copula verb *vara*, "be" as well as the verb *ha*, "have", which here function as main verbs. The fact that the verbs do not contribute much to the semantics of the clause stresses their role in the clause as mainly linking together two elements into a proposition (nexus relation). See also Janson (1972:8f), Gunnarson (1994), Teleman et al (1999[3]:698f) and Josefsson (2002, chapter 5). Hence examples (7:15a) and (7:16a)-(7:16b) are equal in meaning, as are (7:15b) and (7:16c)-(7:16d).

(7:16a) Pennan var i hennes hand, och hon började genast märka böckerna.
pen-the was in her hand and she started immediately mark books-the
(7:16b) Hon hade pennan i handen, och hon började genast märka böckerna.
she had pen-the in hand-the and she started immediately mark books-the
(7:16c) Kalle var domare, och därför skulle vi säkert vinna matchen.
Kalle was judge and therefore we should surely win game-the
(7:16d) Vi hade Kalle som domare, och därför skulle vi säkert vinna matchen.
we had Kalle as judge and therefore we should surely win game-the

I will suggest that the structural description of *med*-phrases with [DP PP]-complements should be analysed as pPs, as previously pointed out. The proposed analysis of the absolute *med*-phrase in (7:15a) is given in Figure 7:6. The thought is that inside the root phrase √P there is a predicate √° and two arguments, exactly as when V takes two arguments. When the nexus relation is established, i.e. pP is projected, the result is a proposition. As in the usual case, the EPP in p° forces *pennan* to move to Spec,pP, as illustrated by the dotted arrow, where it also eliminates [uϕ] in P° *med*, "with". It is therefore mainly due to EPP that a nexus relation is established. The chain [Spec,pP– Spec,√P] eliminates its uninterpretable τ-feature via an Agree relation with τ in *med*, "with".

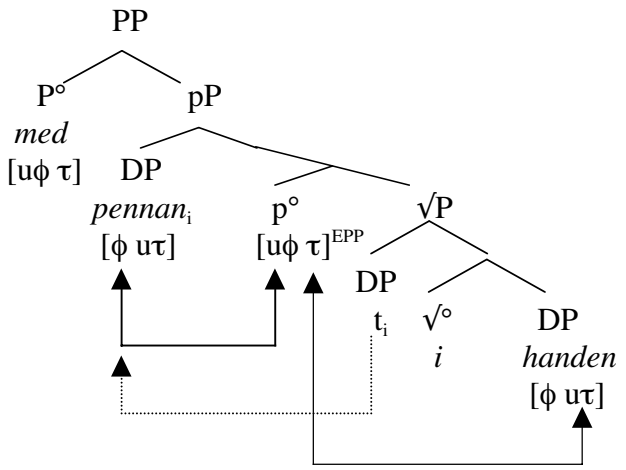

Figure 7:6. The structural description of a *med*-phrase with [DP PP]-complement.

Recall the aforementioned difference regarding the feature bundles in p°: when p° is part of a Small Clause nexus relation, expressing a proposition and selected for as an entity, it carries the feature bundle [uϕ τ]^{EPP}, just as v° and a°, whereas when no proposition is made, it does not carry the EPP-feature (it does not behave like v°). This is also argued by Teleman et al (1999[3]:698f), who claims that there is actually a nexus relation established between the elements constituting the complement of the preposition, hence a proposition is made. The situation is clearly illustrated in Figure 7:6, where *med*, being non-propositional, does not carry any EPP-feature (the feature bundle is actually posited in p°, a position I have omitted here for ease of exposition).

There is however more to the present situation that deserves comment. First, consider examples (7:17a)-(7:17b), cf. footnote 3 in section 2.2. Here two interpretations are possible, namely a DP plus a PP (p° without the feature bundle [uϕ τ]^{EPP}) in (7:17a) and a NP (with a preposition attribute) in (7:17b). Both variants are fine, since *såg*, "saw" only requires its complement to be perceivable. Note that *mannen*, "the man" constitutes a DP in (7:17a) but a nP in (7:17b).[7]

[7] An identical situation occurs in the metaphoric use of *såg*, "saw", namely with an OP-complement, see (i), where the complement according to the analysis I have proposed is a pP and p° has the feature bundle [uϕ τ]^{EPP}.

(i) Jag såg [$_{pP}$ honom som min bäste vän].
I saw him as my best friend, "I considered him my best friend."

(7:17a) Kalle såg [$_{DP}$ mannen] [$_{PP}$ på taket].
Kalle saw [man-the] [on roof-the]
(7:17b) Kalle såg [$_{nP}$ mannen på taket].
Kalle saw [man-the on roof-the]
(7:17c) Med [$_{pP}$ mannen på tjänsteresa] kunde Lisa dansa hela natten.
with [man-the on business trip] could Lisa dance whole night-the

Turning to example (7:17c), then, the situation is different, due to the two strictly separate uses of *med*, "with", namely as instrumental/comitative, or as predicational, i.e. as the establisher of a STATE or PROCESS. Still however, the complements of the prepositions are entities in some sense, which motivates the common brackets in (7:17c). If *med*, "with" is seen as instrumental or comitative, one gets the DP-reading, i.e. "together with the man who was on a business trip…". In this case, as in (7:17b), the complement is a nP.

If *med* is used as to replace something like *ha*, "have", as previously discussed (see for instance Gunnarsson 1994:164, Teleman et al 1999[3]:698f and Josefsson 2002), one has instead an argument in which p° carries a $[u\phi\ \tau]^{EPP}$ feature bundle due to it predicational status. This *med* selects for a proposition consisting of DP plus XP, whereas with the instrumental/comitative use, *mannen*, "the man" (without any attribute) is sufficient as complement. Furthermore, with this predicational use of *med*, one actually *cannot* achieve the instrumental/comitative meaning, since nPs can never function as Small Clauses in Swedish due to the lack of τ-feature in n°, see section 5.5. Consequently, the pP/PP in which *med* is the head is identical in the instrumental/comitative use and the predicational one; what differs it what *med* selects for in each case (cf. the selectional properties of perception verbs, discussed in section 5.3).

7.2.4 Participle initial absolute constructions

In this section I will present the absolute adjunct Small Clause where the participle precedes the DP. This is analysed as a vP in line with the other absolute constructions presented so far, although it can not be selected by any preposition. The construction is presented in (7:18a).

(7:18a) Inräknat moms(en) kostar boken 200 pund.
included VAT costs book-the 200 pounds
(7:18b) *Inräknad momsen kostar boken 200 pund.
included.+AGR. VAT-the costs book-the 200 pounds

The examples in (7:18) in fact constitute evidence in support of my assumption that non-agreeing participles do not have to be bound, which conceptually predicts that only (7:18a) is grammatical. Non-default agreement must be bound,

hence the ungrammaticality of the sentence in (7:18b) falls out perfectly from the previous analyses of *med*-phrases and agreeing participles.

Turning back to example (7:18a), this can never be introduced by *med*, "with" since in such case the [uϕ]-feature in p° of *med*, "with" would not be deleted. This is illustrated in example (7:19).

(7:19) *Med inräknat moms kostar boken 200 pund.
with included VAT costs book-the 200 pounds

The way to handle the construction in (7:18a) was briefly touched upon in section 7.2.2 when dealing with *med*-phrases containing a non-agreeing participle. Recall from section 4.4 that the default agreeing *-t* is not assigned any θ-role nor hosts any [uτ]-feature, and hence it does not have to be bound by a DP. Consequently the DP *momsen* is the proper argument in (7:18a). Another explanation for the possibility of the DP remaining in situ is that there is no head higher up probing the DP. My proposal is therefore the one presented in Figure 7:7.

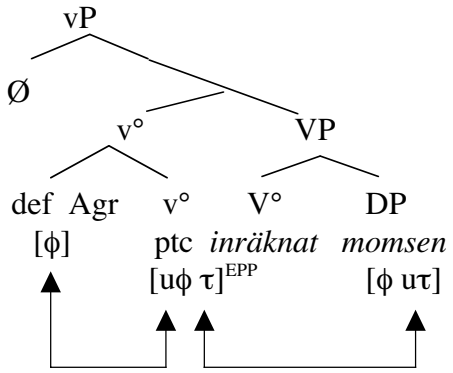

Figure 7:7. The structural description of the absolute construction with [V_{ptc} DP]-complement.

With this reasoning, the impact of the introducing preposition *med*, "with" in absolute constructions is obvious and several different scenarios result, due to the fact that the agreeing as well as the default agreeing participle properly eliminates the [uϕ]^{EPP}-feature in v°. If there is an agreement ending, the DP must precede the participle, as seen for instance in examples (7:1b) and (7:18b). Instead, if one has a default agreement ending, the DP can precede as well as follow the participle, see examples (7:14b) and (7:18a), but since a default agreeing participle need not be bound, the DP must be probed by a preposition in order to be internally merged in Spec,vP, and hence it precedes the participle. The different types are properly accounted for by the vP-analysis, which can be extended to account for other Small Clauses as well.

7.2.5 The occasional necessity for a particle on the Small Clause predicate

For an absolute construction without an introducing *med*, "with" to be grammatical in Swedish, the Small Clause predicate requires a particle, usually *in-*, "in-" but also *med-*, "with-", *från-*, "from-" and *undan-*, "ex-" (Teleman et al 1999[3]:695). The fact that the absolute constructions are ungrammatical without any of these particles is shown in the examples in (7:20), with the crucial elements in bold. Such a requirement obviously has an impact on the semantics of the (verbs constituting the) participles involved.[8] Cf. the reasoning in Pesetsky & Torrego (2002:19f), where the preposition is generated between D and NP, as a variant of T and is triggered by the uninterpretable tense feature on D, hence raised (via head movement), without morphological merger.

(7:20a) Syskonen **med**räknade blir vi sjutton personer på festen.
siblings-the with+counted become we seventeen persons at party-the
(7:20b) *Syskonen räknade blir vi sjutton personer på festen.
siblings-the counted become we seventeen persons at party-the
(7:20c) **In**räknat dricksen spenderade vi tusen pund.
in+counted tip-the spent we thousand pounds
(7:20d) *Räknat dricksen spenderade vi tusen pund.
in+counted tip-the spent we thousand pounds

In many other languages, no particle is needed, as illustrated by the examples in (7:21), where adverbs in English and nouns in Latin can constitute the predicate as well as a participle. On the other hand, in ancient Latin the absolute ablative construction was construed only with a perfect participle accompanying the DP, and the construction was used to show that one action or event had come to an end before another (Riemann 1886:155f).[9]

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[8] Cf. the situation in Modern Italian, where unergative predicates are illicit, see (i) from Belletti (1990:89) and (ii) from Egerland (1996:198).

(i) *Telefonato Gianni, Maria andò all'appuntamento.
telephoned John, Maria went to the appointment
(ii) *?Cantato 20 anni alla Scala, il tenore si retirò.
sing 20 years at the Scala, the tenorREFL. retired

[9] A constructions similar to the Latin construction is the so-called 'absolute dative' which is found in Old Swedish, according to Wessén (1956:162) modelled on the Latin *ablativus absolutus*. Examples are given in (i)-(ii) from Swedish legal texts from the14th century. For corresponding examples with present participle, see e.g. Ahlberg (1942:30). See section 8.3.

(i) Lowe aff biscupe taknu farin bönder hem til sokn. (*Södermannalagen*)
permission.DAT. by bishop taken.PERF.PART.DAT. go farmers home to parish,
"[Since] permission [is] taken by the bishop the farmers return to their parish."

(7:21a) Dinner over, all guests went to bed.
(7:21b) Its hands free, Moscow could turn to the great problem that had long defied solution.
(7:21c) Romulo rege (Latin)
Romulus.ABL. king.ABL., "With Romulus king."/"When Romulus was king."

As a consequence, in Swedish the verbs used as Small Clause predicates in absolute constructions always introduce some kind of inclusiveness, i.e. the Small Clause DP is either in : out (included : excluded) or with : without with respect to the Small Clause predicate, which seems to indicate that the particles function as some kind of Event Measurers. This is in line with the reasoning in the work of Gunnarsson (1994:166) on the Spanish *con*-construction ("with"-), which cannot be negated, since if there is a negation present, the event expressed in the Small Clause predicate would not have come to an end, and hence cannot state any point of time.

It seems then as if the particle introduces a kind of necessary limit: a *terminus ante quem*, i.e. a restricted point of time by which the event/situation expressed in the absolute construction must have reached its end.[10] In other words, the Aktionsart is affected by the particle (adverbial), see e.g. Teleman et al (1999[3]:429f, [4]:323ff). Aktionsart can be understood as the internal time of the verb, classified e.g. as telic : atelic (cf. Tenny 1987) or according to the so-called Vendler classes: statives, activities, accomplishments and achievements, see e.g. Christensen (1995) and Teleman et al (1999[4]:346-353). In the prototypical case the internal time is expressed by the relation between the verb and its object (V° and a complement DP). With the particle present, the event expressed by the Small Clause predicate is telic, whereas without the particle the Small Clause predicate is atelic. A similar observation (for Swedish) is found in Noréen (1904:616, passim), who claims that particles/prefixes do not only change, modify and specify the meaning of a verb but also affect the Aktionsart.

(ii) Ok eðum.DAT. gangnum.DAT. sculu the fylghia hanum…
"And when the oath was sworn should they follow him…"

[10] Against this background one could assume that verbs whose lexical meaning display this kind of limit would work, e.g. *döda*, "kill", but this is not the case, see (i). The situation indicates that semantics is not enough, but that formal support is needed to provide the limit. Cf. the idea in Egerland (1996:260), where a delimiting adverbial expression like the Italian *una volta*, "once" allows the presence of unergative predicates in participial adjunct small clauses, where otherwise predicates cannot appear in this use.

(i) *Caesar dödad kunde Brutus ta makten.
Caesar killed could Brutus take power-the

If one assumes that the explicit *med* fulfils the function of expressing telicity in the absolute constructions, the prefixed particle of the verb would be the corresponding element in the absolute construction in the absence of *med*, "with". This is not farfetched since there is an interplay between objects and prepositions as well, prepositions and particles being similar; the form of the object has impact on the telicity of the clause, see the examples in (7:22). As is seen, a definite form of the object results in a telic or bound event, whereas an indefinite plural or a naked form yields an atelic or unbound event (Platzack 1998:75, see also Platzack 1978).

(7:22a) Han skrev brev**et på** fem minuter./Han skrev brev **i** två timmar.
"He wrote the letter in five minutes."/"He wrote letters for two hours."
(7:22b) Han skalade äppl**et på** tio sekunder./Han skalade äpplen **i** en timme.
"He peeled the apple in ten seconds."/"He peeled apples for an hour."

With this reasoning one has to assume that when there is no introducing preposition *med* in P°, a corresponding element must instead be explicitly realised as a prefixed particle on the Small Clause predicate. This could be illustrated as in (7:20a), being given a structural description such as that in Figure 7:8. The dotted arrow indicates that the absent preposition in P° is realised as a particle cliticised in V°. Note that it is not the preposition that has moved and cliticised to V°, but the figure is supposed to illustrate that if there is no preposition (*med*) in P°, there must be a prefixed particle on the verb in V° instead (however not necessarily *med*, as has been shown).

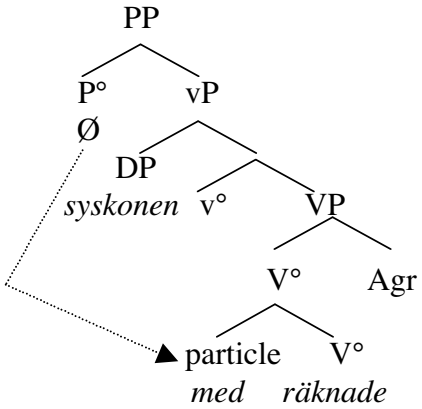

Figure 7:8. The structural description of the absolute construction with *med*, "with" as a prefixed particle on the verb.

A similar situation often occurs in ordinary Swedish clauses. In the examples in (7:23) two versions of the same utterance are illustrated, where *till*, "to" is explicitly realised either as a prefix cliticised to the verb or as a free particle

adverbial. When there is no free particle adverbial present, the verb must instead display this as a prefix, a situation which is identical to the one illustrated in Figure 7:8. Crucial elements are indicated in bold in (7:23). Note however, that although constructions with participles can sometimes be paraphrased as in (7:23), the semantics is not always maintained in the paraphrase (see Teleman et al 1999[3]:257,431f, cf. Noréen 1904:659-668), e.g. *gå* ***av***, "break" and ***av****gå*, "resign".

(7:23a) Kalle lägger **till** en sak.
Kalle puts to a thing, "Kalle adds one thing."
(7:23b) Kalle **till**ägger en sak.
Kalle to+puts a thing, "Kalle adds one thing."

The structural descriptions of (7:23a) and (7:23b) are given in Figure 7:9 and Figure 7:10, respectively. If *till*, "to" is not cliticised to the verb *lägger*, "puts" in V°, it must enter the derivation as a free particle adverbial in order to enable *lägger*, "puts" to take a complement in its abstract use *lägga till*, "add": **Kalle lägger en sak*, "Kalle puts a thing" is ungrammatical in Swedish. On the other hand, if there is already a cliticisation in V°, the PP is presumably not present at all, although I have illustrated it in Figure 7:10 for the sake of parallelism between the structures.[11]

[11] Regarding the request for a prefixed particle on the participle, a parallel in some sense can be seen in the passive double object construction, see (i) and in constructions with adjectives taking an object, see (ii).

(i) Belöningen **till**delades honom.
price-the awarded.PASS. him, "He was awarded with a prize."
(ii) Lisa var sin motståndare **över**lägsen/kär/trogen.
Lisa was her opponent superior/dear/faithful, "Lisa was superior to her opponent." etc.

A particle is necessary in cases like (i), but in general one can not use a paraphrase with *till-* "to-" as adverbial participle (Teleman et al [4]:367f) in such constructions. Cases like (ii) are assumed to at least implicitly always contain a kind of particle/preposition in the structure, namely *kär för*, "dear to" and *trogen mot*, "faithful to", although this may not always be expressed. In (ii) a paraphrase with a particle/preposition generally is possible (Teleman et al 1999[3]:213ff). The idea is however rejected by Platzack (1982), convincingly claiming that the adjectives are not PPs in disguise.

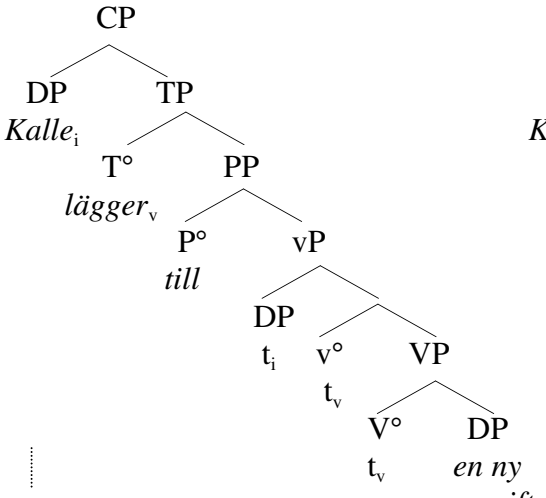

Figure 7:9. The ECM-complement.

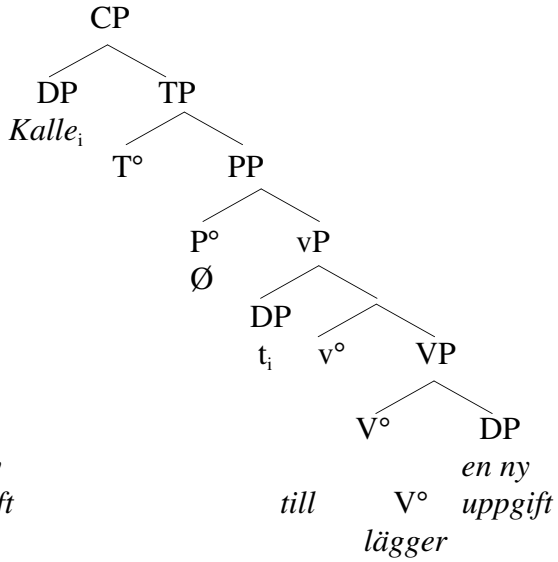

Figure 7:10.The object predicative construction.

Note a crucial difference between the examples in (7:23) and the absolute constructions, though. In absolute constructions one can always add *med*, "with", although one seemingly receives a kind of tautological expression with two preposition-like elements filling the same function, whereas one can not use for instance *till*, "to" twice in (7:23): **Kalle tillägger till en sak* ≈ "Kalle adds to one thing." This actually stresses the semantic vagueness/emptiness of *med* when introducing an absolute construction, which is in line with what has been argued for *med* in this use so far.

A similar example is found in Latin, namely the interplay between a preposition and a prefixed particle: the preposition copy in parentheses is optional in example (7:24b) when *de-* is a cliticised prefix on the verb, but must be explicitly realised in at least one of the positions (Miller 2002:16). There is no semantic difference between the use of a preposition or a particle in this case; note that one can use *de*, "from" twice in (7:24b), which is similar to the Swedish absolute construction when adding *med*.

(7:24a) **de** monte currit.
from mountain.ABL. run.3SG.PRES.
"He is running down from the mountain."
(7:24b) (**de**) monte (**de**)-currit
from mountain.ABL. from-run.3SG.PRES.
"He is running down from the mountain."

Perhaps a comment should be made regarding the interplay between prepositions, particles and prefixes, which are seemingly treated as if they were equal. In fact most one-word prepositions can be used as particles (particle adverbials), and hence particles can be used as words of their own. Prefixes, on the other hand never constitute separate words (see e.g. Teleman et al 1999[1]:211). Hoekstra (1988:114f) sees no reason to treat particles as a separate category, cf. also Noréen (1904:143f, cf. 187). For a discussion of the similarity between Small Clauses, prepositions and particles, see e.g. Starke (1995).

I have no good explanation for the fact that for example *med-* and *in-* but not *av-*, "from-" and *på-*, "on-" are possible particles in Swedish absolute constructions, except for these being obvious Event Measurers and hence constituting a point of time; a limit post or ante quem. It should be noted, though, that in Old Swedish there was actually a construction with *at*, "at" which indicated a simultaneous event or circumstantial situation to the event expressed in the matrix clause, i.e. a construction very similar to the *med*-phrase (Wessén 1956:160f): *at opnom dorom*, ≈ "with opened doors", i.e. "when the doors were open" (see section 8.3). The fact that *med* is seemingly the most common word in this construction is presumably related to the absolute construction appearing with or without this preposition in for example Spanish, English, Italian, or Swedish. Since *med*, "with" always involves some kind of connecting of entities, abstract or concrete, with comitative, instrumental or just connective meaning, the cross-linguistic use of this preposition in absolute constructions is not surprising.

7.2.6 Definite and indefinite DPs and the role of the participle

Hitherto I have paid little attention to the fact that the DP in the absolute constructions is sometimes definite and sometimes indefinite, although the absolute construction always refers to a bound (telic) event, at least in the presence of a past participle. As has been pointed out, the choice between definite and indefinite DPs is to some extent dependent on but also affecting the environment: when the absolute construction contains an agreeing participle, the DP is always definite, whereas the opposite goes for non-agreeing participles. The form of the DP has an impact on the telicity of the clause.

The issue is related to the DP being used as an Event Measurer (cf. section 7.2.5), which affects the interpretation of the event containing the DP. Compare examples (7:25a) and (7:25b), where the DP and the event expressed in (7:25b) is clearly more limited, which is also shown by the prepositions in the adverbial

phrase, *i*, "for" and *på*, "in", respectively, cf. the examples in (7:22). The duration adverbial *i X tid*, "for X time" indicates an unbounded (atelic) event, whereas *på X tid*, "in X time" a bounded (telic) event.

(7:25a) Han läste en bok i tre timmar.
he read a book for three hours
(7:25b) Han läste boken på tre timmar.
he read book-the in three hours

Applying the same reasoning to absolute constructions, I suggest an account for when DP should be definite or indefinite, but not exactly as the way indicated. I do not claim that the key is primarily that the event expressed in the absolute construction must be completed before the beginning of the event expressed in the matrix clause is introduced, although *med*-phrases result in a STATE, which is contemporaneous with the EVENT expressed in the matrix clause (which is in line with Gunnarsson 1994). Instead, without going into detail, I will suggest that the key is the agreeing past participle here as well, which must be bound by a DP and not a NP; in such case it has to be assumed that the bare noun is not a DP, see example (7:26a), cf. Delsing (1993:72ff) and Platzack (1998:181f). The examples in (7:26) show that the indefinite form of the DP is impossible, whereas the definite form, as has been shown, is fine; a stressed indefinite article functions in the same way as the definite form of the noun in (7:26c).

(7:26a) *Med morot skalad…
with carrot peeled…
(7:26b) Med moro**ten** skalad…
with carrot-the peeled…
(7:26c) Med **en** morot skalad…
with one carrot peeled…

Consequently, in such a case the DP functions as the Event Measurer: a DP together with a past participle indicates that the event referred to is brought to its end. See Tenny (1987), Borer (1993) and Arad (1996); see also Platzack (1978, 1998:75). The definite form of the noun, then, is the DP that is obligatorily present in order to bind the agreeing past participle.

Furthermore, regarding Event Measurers, the fact that not only the form of the DP but also the participle per se is crucial actually favours a reasoning like mine, in which the form of the DP is not directly connected to the measuring of the EVENT, but to the binding of the agreeing participle. Many verbs are telic (bound) by themselves, like *tappa*, "drop", *döda*, "kill", or *stjäla*, "steal". As was pointed out in the section 7.2.5, footnote 10, the telicity is however not

enough to allow these verbs to appear in absolute construction without an introducing *med*, "with", but that in such case a prefixed particle on the verb is necessary.

7.3 Summary

In this chapter I have shown that the vP-analysis proposed for ECM-complements and OPs can be extended to account for different kinds of absolute constructions as well. In Swedish there are primarily two types of absolute constructions, namely introduced or not introduced by the preposition *med*, "with". The two absolute constructions are illustrated in the examples in (7:27). Since one can always add *med*, "with" in constructions like (7:27b), the constructions are analysed on par, as vPs, the difference being that sometimes there may optionally be a preposition present, as in (7:27a). Note that when the preposition is not phonetically realised, the participle must include a prefixed particle, like *med-*, "with-", *undan-*, "ex-" or *in-*, "in" to be grammatically correct (denoted in bold in example (7:27b)).

(7:27a) Med rosorna klippta kunde han ta sig an gräsmattan.
with roses-the cut could he see to lawn-the
(7:27b) Momsen **in**räknad kostar boken två hundra pund.
VAT-the included costs book-the two hundred pounds

I have shown that the absolute construction can be analysed as a functional projection vP (pP). In cases like (7:27a), this vP (pP) is embedded under a PP, whose P has a function similar to the V under which ECM-complements and OPs are embedded, namely as selector and provider of an interpretable τ-feature. Against this background, the analysis of the examples in (7:27) is as shown in Figure 7:11. As I argued in section 6.3 when discussing a similar case with ECM (periphrastic passive of the ECM-matrix), the DP in Spec,vP must form a chain with Agr to avoid a violation of the θ-criterion. This is indicated by the dashed arrow. I have put the feature bundle of *med*, "with" in P° instead of p° in order not to overload the figure.

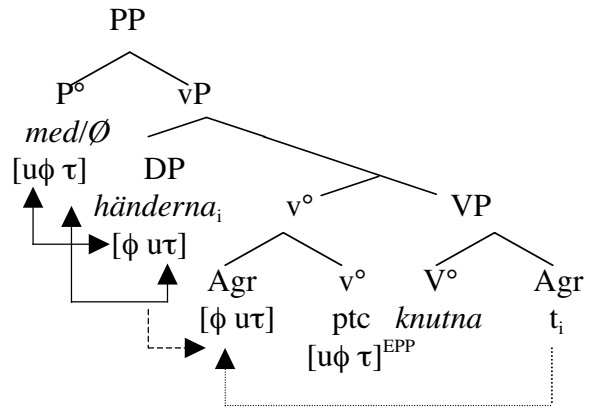

Figure 7:11. The structural description of absolute constructions with a perfect participle.

The agreeing morpheme of the participle (Agr) occupies the complement position of V, is assigned the internal θ-role of V and is probed by v°, since it contains a ϕ-feature, satisfying [uϕ]^{EPP} in v°. This is shown by the double sets of feature bundles in v°. With this reasoning, no DP is forced to move to Spec,vP in order to satisfy the EPP-feature in v°, but rather to bind the agreeing participle. Additionally, the DP in Spec,vP deletes the [uϕ] on *med* "with" (in case *med* is present). Since the perfect participle prevents any kind of subject θ-role from being assigned, the Spec,vP position is available for a DP that is in a chain with a θ-role.

The analysis in Figure 7:11 holds for *med*-phrases taking [DP PP]-complements as well, although in such cases VP is exchanged for a root phrase √P, in which a proposition is made in the same way as in VP. √P is topped by a pP, whose functional projection also is classified as vP, hosting a [uϕ τ]^{EPP}-feature bundle (unlike the introducing preposition *med*, "with", that contains only [uϕ τ], see sections 2.2 and 7.2.1). Examples of PP- (and DP)-complements are given in (7:28a) and (7:28b), respectively, where *i*, "in" and *som*, "as" are in √°.

(7:28a) Med pennan i handen började hon genast märka böckerna.
with pen-the in hand-the started she immediately mark books-the
(7:28b) Med honom som domare skulle vi säkert vinna matchen.
with him as judge should we surely win game-the

The absolute construction displays one interesting participle-initial variant, illustrated in (7:29). This construction can not be selected by any preposition but is a direct adjunct to the matrix clause. The construction in (7:29) has a participle with default agreement, and one can never add *med* as introducing preposition.

(7:29) Inräknat momsen kostade boken 200 pund.
VAT-the included costs book-the two hundred pounds

I have analysed the default agreeing participle as a non-argument, which consequently does not carry a θ-role. Furthermore, it lacks a [uτ]-feature but carries a ϕ-feature. Since this is the case, it does not have to be bound by a DP and it follows that the DP *momsen*, "the VAT" is the proper argument – as such, it properly occupies the complement position of the participle. The $[u\phi]^{EPP}$-feature in v°, then, is eliminated by the movement of *-t* to v°. It follows that Spec,vP is actually empty in this construction.

8 Concluding remarks

8.1 Introduction

In this thesis I have argued for the hypothesis that (the basic types of) Small Clauses are vPs. In a phase-driven model, this has the conceptually attractive consequence that the phases in the extended projection of the verb correspond to clauses: full clauses are CPs, Small Clauses vPs. Since the clause (full or small) is the syntactic expression of a proposition, a natural extension of my hypothesis would be to claim that there is a one-to-one relationship between clause and proposition, hence a proposition must be expressed either as a vP or a CP, and that a certain type of Small Clause is an AgrP or a TP, cannot be upheld. I have however not investigated this extension.

Arguments for my hypothesis that Small Clauses are vPs have mainly been drawn from Swedish: by showing that the central types of Swedish Small Clauses easily lend themselves to an analysis in terms of vP (occasionally aP or pP), I have given a first corroboration of my hypothesis. The underlying presupposition is that the vP-hypothesis holds universally, but there is no attempt in my thesis to give any kind of support to this claim. What I hope to have achieved in this book is a demonstration of the empirical fruitfulness of the vP-hypothesis when applied to Swedish.

In the rest of this chapter I will discuss advantages and extensions of the vP-analysis and add some concluding remarks.

8.2 The vP-analysis applied and extended

I have claimed that the vP-analysis accounts for several types of Swedish Small Clauses. I will briefly recapitulate the result here before trying to apply the same analysis to constructions that have not been discussed so far. The central types of Small Clauses are presented in the examples in (8:1).

(8:1a)	Kalle såg [henne öppna fönstret]. *Kalle saw [her open window-the]*	Object with infinitive (ECM)
(8:1b)	Vi målade [husen röda]. *we painted [houses-the red]*	Object Predicative
(8:1c)	Med [gräset klippt] kunde Pelle tvätta bilen. *with [grass-the mowed] could Pelle wash car-the*	Absolute construction

There are several subgroups of the types (8:1a) and (8:1c) that are discussed in detail in my thesis; regarding the type (8:1b) however, there is much more to say than I have done here; I have mainly outlined what a vP-analysis of Object Predicatives would look like.

The theoretical framework for my analysis of Swedish Small Clauses is the Minimalist Program, outlined in Chomsky (1995, 2001a,b). In this program, the derivation of sentence structure is driven by features: the lexicon supplies the derivation with interpretable and uninterpretable features (F and uF, respectively), and syntactic structure is derived in order to eliminate the uninterpretable instances. In my account, inspired by recent work of Pestesky & Torrego (2002), v° (a°, p°) carries an interpretable tense feature [τ] and an uninterpretable phi-feature [uϕ], where ϕ ranges over specific features like person, number and gender. Argument DPs have the same ϕ and τ features with reversed values. This makes it possible to establish a nexus relation between v° (a°, p°) and the highest argument of the Small Clause; hence vP (aP, pP) is the minimal sentential structure expressing a proposition.

In almost all Swedish Small Clauses, the Small Clause predicate must be preceded by a DP, and hence there are reasons to believe that v° (a°, p°) hosts an EPP-feature in addition to [uϕ τ], forcing the presence of DP in Spec,vP. I have argued that [uϕ] in v° is associated with EPP, and it follows that v° (a°, p°) carries the feature bundle $[u\phi\ \tau]^{EPP}$. Recall that this is the case for p° only when the preposition is in a nexus relation with a DP, together constituting an entity. To eliminate $[u\phi]^{EPP}$, an element hosting a ϕ-feature (normally but not necessarily a DP) must be externally or internally merged in Spec,vP; alternatively, when the Swedish agreeing past participle Agr is the θ-role bearer, Agr is adjoined to v° to eliminate EPP. When Agr is not the θ-role, bearer it nevertheless still adjoins to v° and carries a ϕ-feature.

Since the tense feature of the Small Clause head regulates the internal time of the event/state expressed, it cannot be anchored to the time of speech. The Small Clause is hence dependent on being embedded in a matrix clause for its interpretation. By this embedding, the time of the Small Clause is related to the time of the matrix clause; unless a language has particular tense morphemes for

non-finite verbs, the event expressed in the Small Clause will be simultaneous with the event expressed in the matrix clause.

In Figures 8:1-8:3, I have outlined the structure of the three Small Clause types illustrated in (8:1a)-(8:1c).

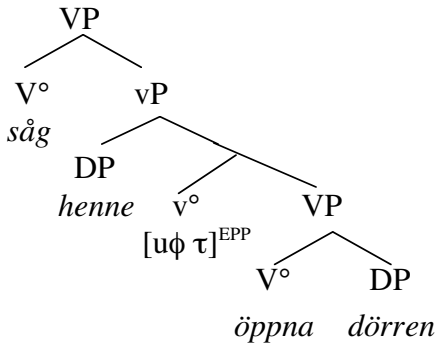

Figure 8:1. ECM-constructions.

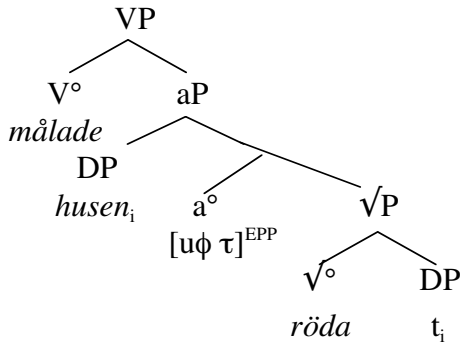

Figure 8:2. Object Predicative constructions.

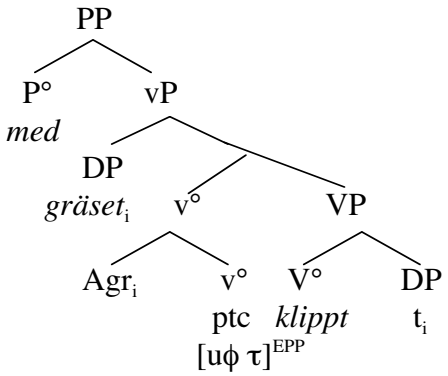

Figure 8:3. Absolute constructions (*med*-phrases).

If all Small Clauses are vPs (aPs/pPs), we may ask what motivates the (traditional) division into several different types. In my thesis, I have argued that the crucial factor is how the Small Clause is related to its matrix clause or at least to a higher selector – generally speaking, a Small Clause can not survive without to some extent being part of a larger structure, although there is seemingly no overarching link in all situations; see for instance the three Small Clause constructions in example (8:2) – also see example (8:1c). Example (8:2a) is linked by the covert 'subject' of the Small Clause, which is identical to the matrix subject. Examples (8:2b)-(8:2c), where no such link is displayed (just like other absolute construction), need at least to be anchored in time and space by a matrix clause.

(8:2a) [Lämnad ensam på stranden] vill pojken inte bada mer.
[left alone on beach-the] wanted boy-the not bathe anymore
(8:2b) [Momsen inräknad] kostar boken 50 pund.
[VAT-the included] costs book-the 50 pounds
(8:2c) [Inräknat moms] kostar boken 50 pund.
[included VAT] costs book-the 50 pounds

As shown in Figures 8:1 and 8:2, the analysis of ECM-complements and OPs is the same. One type of ECM-complement does not fit into this pattern however, namely the complement of so-called ECM_{REFL}-verbs like Swedish *tro*, "think" and *tycka*, "consider". These verbs *only* take an ECM-complement when the equi-element surfaces as a reflexive pronoun, often 3rd person singular *sig*. See the examples in (8:3).

(8:3a) *Olle tror **Kalle** kunna springa 50 kilometer.
Olle thinks Kalle be-able-to run 50 kilometres
(8:3b) ^{OK}Olle tror **sig** kunna springa 50 kilometer.
Olle thinks REFL. be-able-to run 50 kilometres

I have claimed that this ECM-*sig* is carrying a θ-role and is placed in v°. As was shown in section 6.2, this analysis, which is identical to the analysis of reflexive verbs, also has interesting consequences for the analysis of *s*-passives and deponent verbs.

Turning to the absolute constructions, these are linked to their matrix in a more indirect way than the ECM-complements and OPs – usually, absolute constructions refer to or implicate a state that includes the time of the matrix. Swedish absolute constructions are usually introduced by the preposition *med*, "with", although there are cases without a preposition as well, as discussed in chapter 7. See examples (8:2b)-(8:2c). In these cases however, there must be a prefix on the participle, like *in-*, "in-" in (8:2b)-(8:2c).

The Swedish agreeing past participle plays a crucial role in absolute constructions as well as in the passive counterpart to the ECM-construction, namely the subject-with-infinitive construction. Following an idea in Platzack (2000a:15f), further elaborated in Platzack (2002a,b), I have assumed that the Swedish agreeing participle ending is of greater importance than has hitherto been suggested, namely I have assumed that the agreement suffix does not only agree with the internal argument but *is* the internal argument, thus bears the θ-role. An example is *klippt*, "mowed" in example (8:1c), which agrees with *gräset*, "the lawn"; also see the past participles in (8:2a)-(8:2b). A consequence of such an analysis is that the $[u\phi]^{EPP}$-feature in v° is deleted when the agreement

ending cliticises to the verb in V°, moving to v°, and hence no DP is required in Spec,vP for this reason.

The role of the DP *gräset*, "the lawn" etc. is thus not to be the θ-role bearer or to delete $[u\phi]^{EPP}$ in v°, but rather to bind the agreement ending, which is seen as anaphoric in nature. In this way, the DP comes to specify the reference of the agreement ending and therefore must precede it, exactly as in the examples just mentioned. In example (8:2c), on the other hand, the past participle displays a default ending, hence the DP *moms*, "VAT" does not have to precede the participle: instead this DP is the proper argument, bearing the complement θ-role.

I will conclude this section with a brief look at another construction which should also be regarded as a kind of adjunct Small Clause, in order to show that the vP-analysis can be extended to include other types of reduced non-finite clauses – Small Clauses – as well. The construction is the one presented in (8:2a), the non-restrictive adverbial participial construction, shortened 'NRAP'. In Teleman et al (1999), this construction is classified as a free predicative, hence it is an adjunct Small Clause which can occupy different positions with respect to the DP to which it relates; see example (8:4), repeated from (8:2a). See also e.g. Guéron & Hoekstra (1995) and Staudinger (1997:213). As regards the internal structure of NRAPs, the participle is the nucleus and the only obligatorily visible element, and the predication holds between this participle and an implicit pronoun/DP, represented as PRO in the structural description in (8:4).

(8:4) PRO_i Lämnad$_i$ ensam på stranden vill pojken$_i$ inte bada mer.
left alone on beach-the wants boy-the not bathe anymore
"Left alone on the beach, the boy does not want to bathe anymore."

I will suggest that the structural analysis of NRAPs is perfectly in line with the one presented for absolute constructions, where one crucial similarity is the presence of an agreeing participle. The agreeing participle Agr, posited in the complement of V, eliminates the EPP and ϕ-feature in v° by cliticising to the verb that is raised to this position, just as is the case for the absolute constructions (section 7.2.2) and the subject-with-infinitive construction (section 6.3). See Figure 8:4, illustrating example (8:4) when the agreeing participle has moved to v°. In order to make the derivation work, Agr must be bound – just as is the case for all agreeing participles – by the matrix subject. One must assume that vP starts as an apposition to this subject in some way, i.e. similar to the reduced non-restrictive relative clauses, which is assumed to constitute

complements of N (see for instance Platzack 2000b:269). With this analysis, the DP functions in the matrix clause as well. Note that the Small Clause Spec,vP is empty.

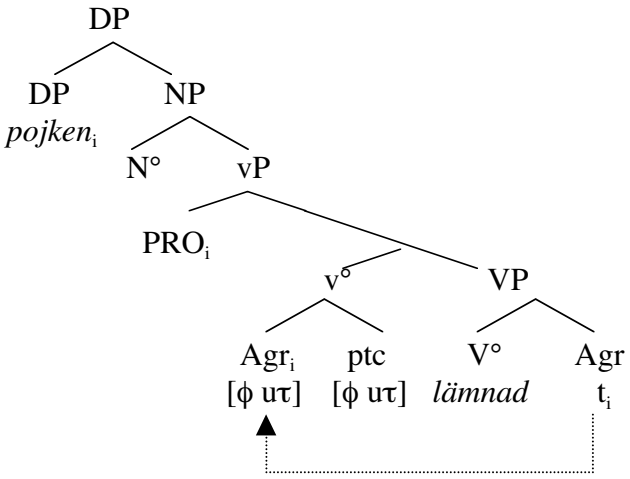

Figure 8:4. The structural description of NRAPs.

One must still explain how *pojken*, "the boy" becomes the subject of the matrix clause, and hence carries a θ-role, if the analysis looks like this. I have not studied the construction in detail and can not offer a fully elaborated structural description; nevertheless, I assume that the fact that *pojken* has no θ-role in relation to *lämnad*, "left" is related to the θ-role of the past participle already being carried by the agreement ending Agr. Such an analysis is compatible with the theory of apposition, which seems to relate to the present situation.

Turning to the corresponding construction with a present participle, exemplified in (8:5), one is faced with the EPP-problem; the behaviour of these NRAPs is not as one would have expected.

(8:5) Springande så fort han kunde, hann Pelle med bussen.
"Running as fast as he could, Pelle was able to catch the bus."

Since the Swedish present participle does not show agreement and since assuming invisible agreement on present participles is not an attractive solution, an empty Spec,vP will leave the EPP-feature unsatisfied. No DP can appear in the Small Clause Spec,vP, since the matrix subject cannot be represented in this position. And there is more to it: although there is no agreement indicating the connection between the implicit subject in the Small Clause and the subject of the matrix clause, these are still obligatorily coindexed.

One way to deal with the situation would be to assume that the non-agreeing inflection actually carries a ϕ-feature in this case as well and that the participle is merged to v° in order to eliminate the EPP-feature on [uϕ] in v°. Such a description would be similar to the one for the construction with perfect participles with default agreement. The crucial difference between present and past participles would in such cases be captured by the presence or absence of a τ-feature in the participle morpheme. With this analysis the empty Spec,vP – however presumably containing PRO – is accounted for as well, since the EPP-feature in v° is already eliminated and consequently no DP must be merged in this position.

Another way to overcome the EPP-problem however, would be to assume that the present participles, due to their nominal character, actually are to be analysed as nPs, at least in Swedish. In such case no EPP is present, as pointed out in section 5.5. I will leave this an interesting area for further research.

8.3 Some concluding remarks

I have treated Small Clauses in this thesis as a natural part of our language, which among other things implies that they should not be considered as particularly complex or complicated with respect to syntax or semantics. It should be noted though, that some of the constructions addressed here are used almost exclusively in written Swedish, for instance the absolute construction and the participial construction discussed in section 8.2, see the examples in (8:6).

(8:6a) Med rosorna klippta kunde han ta sig an gräsmattan.
with roses-the cut could he see to lawn-the

(8:6b) Momsen inräknad kostar boken två hundra pund.
VAT-the included costs book-the two hundred pounds

(8:6c) Lämnad ensam på stranden ville pojken inte bada mer.
left alone on beach-the wanted boy-the not bathe anymore
"Left alone on the beach, the boy didn't want to bathe anymore."

On the other hand, object predicatives, ECM-constructions and subject-with-infinitive constructions, exemplified in (8:7a)-(8:7b), are found in spoken language as well as written, see Jörgensen (1976:64ff). ECM-complements after *låta*, "let", see example (8:7c), are common both in written *and* spoken language, which is not surprising since this is the only complement that *låta* takes.

(8:7a) Kalle såg henne öppna dörren.
Kalle saw her open door-the
(8:7b) Vi målade husen röda.
we painted houses-the red
(8:7c) Lasse lät Eva köpa bilen.
Lasse let Eva buy car-the

Neverthless, all types of Small Clauses are not found readily in spoken Swedish and one is faced with the question of why this should be the case. I will briefly comment upon this and provide a short note on the history of Swedish Small Clauses; note that my intention is only to point out some circumstances and not to give an overall explanation.

It is well known that different kinds of Swedish reduced clauses are taken from Latin (via translations of mainly legal and religious texts, text types primarily belonging to the written style). In this respect it is therefore not surprising that these constructions do not feel natural outside the written language. That the primarily Latin and Greek constructions, with the semantic but not syntactic value of clause, were introduced into the Swedish language in the first place is presumably due to the fact that they would be calqued on similar domestic construction types, such as the present participle (see for instance Wessén 1956 and Holm 1967). See examples (8:8) and (8:10). This may have paved the way for the Latin reduced clause constructions (based on the Latin *participium coniunctum*), which did not seem so different from the ones already existing in Old Swedish, and hence could be more or less adopted into the Swedish syntactic patterns for written language. That the participle constructions did not conform perfectly is also witnessed by translated texts, see for instance the discussion in Holm (1967:80f).

An example of the use of participles in Old Swedish is the attributive use of a present participle, which is frequently found within Swedish legal texts and is presumably not taken over from Latin (Wessén 1956:155f and Holm 1967:68), see example (8:8a). The Small Clause in (8:8b), on the other hand, displays influences of Latin syntax. Example (8:8c) is clearly also under Latin influence: the Latin gerund (here *ad intuendum*, "to see") results in a present participle instead of an infinitive in Swedish, a construction which hardly appears in this language in contexts other than translations (Wessén 1956:155f).

(8:8a) **rinnande** watn, **gangande** fä (*Södermannalagen*, a legal text, 14th century)
pouring water, wandering cattle
(8:8b) vtan hon fae naðder af Þem **liwandu**. (ibid.)
unless she receives mercy of them living.PRES.PTC.DAT.,
"If she is not pardoned by them while they are living."
(8:8c) väggiana äru sua styggelika **aseande** (*Birgitta*, a religious text, 14th century)
walls are so horrible to-see."GER.", "The walls are so horrible to see."

The absolute construction without any introducing preposition, with present as well as perfect participle (the Latin *ablativus absolutus*), also appears in Swedish only where one can assume foreign influence, for instance in legal texts (Wessén 1956:162), see example (8:9). Note that the Latin ablative corresponds to a Swedish dative. For further examples, see Ahlberg (1942:30f) and Holm (1967:72).

(8:9a) hanum liuande, "medan han levde" (*Östgötalagen*, a legal text, 13th century)
him.DAT. living, "while he was alive"
(8:9b) myklom thyma nw framlidhnom (*Pantateuk.*, a religious text, 14th century)
much.DAT. time now passed.PERF.PTC.DAT., "since long time has now passed"

The corresponding construction with explicit *at*, "at" is however frequently used/found in Old Swedish and presumably is a domestic construction, see example (8:10).

(8:10a) at vfäldu mali, "vid ofällt mål" (*Västgötalagen*, a legal text, 13th cent.)
with non-decided case, "without the case being decided"
(8:10b) at manni levandis, "medan mannen levde" (*Södermannalagen*, see example (8:8a))
with man living, "while the man was living"

The different types of participial constructions (including absolute constructions) have seemingly remained in the same contexts in which they were once introduced and have not entered the spoken language. As has been pointed out, these constructions are never selected by any matrix verb/clause and are linked to such matrices only to obtain an anchorage in time (they need a CP). Since this is the case, it is understandable that subordinate clauses are favoured over participial constructions in spoken languages since it is presumably preferable to have an overt complementiser that indicates the relationship between the matrix and the Small Clause. Small Clauses do not contain any such element. Cf. Janson (1972:12).

Regarding the object-with-infinitive construction, the situation is different. It is usually assumed that an ECM-complement was originally used only with transitive verbs and extended by analogy to verbs of utterances and LET as well.

According to Wessén (1956:339), the Small Clause is only fully developed in languages where this extension has taken place. As mentioned, these constructions also appear in spoken language (see Jörgensen 1976). As compared with absolute constructions and participial constructions, the range of possible semantic relations between the Small Clause and the matrix clause is not very expansive.

Finally, constructions with *låta*$_{\text{IN+AL}}$ + ECM-complement, exemplified in (8:11), are relatively frequent in Old Swedish legal texts, whereas otherwise ECM-complements are infrequently used, according to Wessén (1956:339). This is not surprising since *låta*$_{\text{IN+AL}}$ requires an ECM-complement.

(8:11a) Swa lati GuÞ os skiptä arff (*Upplandslagen*, a legal text,13th century)
so lets god us distribute, "In this way, God should let us divide heritance."
(8:11b) Þa skal han lata tua män suäria (*Östgötalagen*, see example (8:9a))
than shall he let two men swear, "the he should let swear two men."

To conclude, I have argued that the types of Small Clauses discussed in this thesis are best analysed as functional categorial projections vP (aP, pP) of VP (AP, PP), where the head v° (a°, p°) carries the feature bundle [uϕ τ]$^{\text{EPP}}$. Furthermore, this analysis can be extended to account for Small Clauses which have not been in focus here, for instance the non-restrictive adverbial participle construction presented in section 8.2. It additionally seems to capture other Small Clause-like constructions such as double object constructions (see Larson 1988, Kayne 1994:72 and Collins & Thráinsson 1993) and particle constructions (see Kayne 1994:77).

A unified account such as the one presented in this thesis stresses the similarities between seemingly different types of constructions, grouped together due to their lack of finite verb and nominative subject, expressing a proposition. In the present framework this similarity is conceptually appealing and, as I have tried to show, is supported by the empirical data.

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LI = Linguistic Inquiry
NLLT = Studies in Natural Language and Linguistic Theory

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