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**Swedish relative clause extractions:
The Small Clause Hypothesis**

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Abstract

On the basis of data from Swedish, this thesis investigates the Small Clause Hypothesis put forth by Kush et al. (2013). The hypothesis is suggested to account for the rare possibility of relative clause extraction, a phenomenon that poses a challenge for syntactic theories of locality. In brief, the hypothesis states that the possibility to extract from relative clauses is restricted to cases where the matrix contains a small clause-selecting verb. In that case the parser can reconstruct the complex noun phrase involving a relative clause as a small clause (from which extraction is not blocked). Language variation is claimed to be derivable from differences with regard to properties of the relative pronoun. A detailed investigation of the Small Clause Hypothesis and the analysis based on that, against data from Swedish, reveals that the predictions generated by the proposal are not borne out. First, a number of extraction examples retrieved from the literature constitute counterexamples to the claim that relative clause extraction is restricted to small clause-selecting matrix verbs. Second, Kush et al.'s (2013) assumptions about the role of the Swedish relative complementizer in the parsing process are implausible in light of data from other Scandinavian languages and extraction data from the relevant small clauses. Finally, the results of a controlled acceptability judgment experiment on Swedish relative clause extractions showed no statistically significant differences between matrix predicates. The conclusion of the thesis is that Swedish relative clause extractions do not provide any support for the Small Clause Hypothesis and therefore that another explanation for the phenomenon must be sought.

Key words: acceptability judgement test, extraction, island constraints, locality, relative clauses, small clauses, syntax, Swedish

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1. Introduction

Swedish and the other Mainland Scandinavian languages (Danish and Norwegian) allow extraction from relative clauses, a phenomenon that appears very rare cross-linguistically:

(1:1) [De blommorna]_i känner jag en man som säljer []_i.
those flowers know I a man who sells
(Allwood 1982: 24)

(1:1) contains a relative clause (*som säljer de blommorna* ‘who sells those flowers’) that specifies the noun phrase *en man* ‘a man’. The object of the relative clause (*de blommorna* ‘those flowers’) appears in sentence-initial position and is thus dislocated from its thematic position within the relative clause. Relative clauses are standardly classified as syntactic *islands* (Ross 1967), structures from which extraction is blocked (cf. the English example below).

(1:2) *Those flowers, I know a man who sells.

Relative clause extractions therefore pose a challenge for syntactic theories of locality, because they appear to violate island constraints that are assumed to apply universally. Finding an explanation for the unexpected behavior of Swedish, Norwegian and Danish in this regard must therefore be considered a crucial task for determining the exact nature of syntactic islands.

Although relative clause extractions have been discussed within theoretical linguistics since they were first noticed (e.g. Erteschik-Shir 1973; Andersson 1982; Maling & Zaenen 1982; Taraldsen 1982; Engdahl 1997), there is to date no agreement as to how to analyze them. In a recent proposal, Kush et al. (2013) offer a potential solution to the problem by suggesting that the possibility to extract from relative clauses in some languages is conditioned by the type of matrix predicate. More specifically, the proposal is that only verbs which also can select for small clause complements can be construed with a NP embedding a relative clause from which extraction is possible, because in that case the parser can reconstruct the relative clause as a small clause (from which extraction is not blocked). However, this so-called *Small Clause Hypothesis* has not been substantiated by any detailed investigation of any of the languages that allow relative clause extractions so far and thus needs to be scrutinized more thoroughly. The current thesis provides such an investigation for Swedish. The aim of this study is to examine if the Small Clause Hypothesis can account for relative clause extractions in Swedish, by testing if the predictions that are generated by the hypothesis are borne out by

the empirical data: data that figure in the literature on the topic, as well as data from an acceptability judgement experiment. I will show that the Small Clause Hypothesis encounters several problems when its predictions are contrasted with Swedish data, because the extraction examples found in the literature provide many counterexamples to the claim that relative clause extraction is restricted to small clause-selecting matrix verbs. Moreover, I show that Kush et al.'s (2013) assumptions about the role of the Swedish relative complementizer in the parsing process are implausible in light of data from other Scandinavian languages and extraction data from the relevant small clauses. The results of the acceptability judgment study do not provide any statistical support for the Small Clause Hypothesis either.

The thesis is organized as follows: Chapter 2 provides a brief introduction to the phenomenon of relative clause extraction, including an overview of why this construction is peculiar from a syntactic point of view in consideration of different approaches to locality that have been developed within the generative framework. In Chapter 3, the Small Clause Hypothesis proposed by Kush et al. (2013) is described in detail, and the predictions that the hypothesis makes are specified. Before we turn to the actual investigation, a classification of small clauses in Swedish is provided in Chapter 4, with an overview of which verbs can select a small clause complement. The predictions of the Small Clause Hypothesis are subsequently scrutinized against data from Swedish and some other Scandinavian languages in Chapter 5. The main prediction of the hypothesis, the predicate restriction of relative clause extractions, is tested in a controlled acceptability judgement study, the results of which are presented in Chapter 6. Chapter 7 concludes the findings of the investigations and evaluates their impact on the plausibility of the Small Clause Hypothesis as an explanation for relative clause extractions in Swedish.

This thesis presupposes basic knowledge of the generative framework such as the X-bar system and basic clause structure. Key terms that are relevant for this study will be introduced where necessary.

2. Background

2.1. Relative clause extractions

Relative clause extraction (henceforth RCE) is generated through fronting of an element (usually the object) of an embedded relative clause to the initial position of the sentence, i.e. to the left of the matrix verb. This fronting yields an unusual type of long-distance movement:

(2:1) [De blommorna]_i känner jag [NP en man [CP som säljer []_i].
those flowers know I a man who sells

In (2:1), the object of the matrix clause (*en man* ‘a man’) embeds the relative clause *som säljer de blommorna* ‘who sells those flowers’. The RC object *de blommorna* ‘those flowers’ has been extracted from the relative clause and fronted to the topic position of the matrix clause. Since the moved element is sub-extracted from an embedded relative clause to a relatively distant position in the superordinate clause, this process creates a non-local dependency between the fronted constituent, also referred to as the *filler* – in this case “[De blommorna]” – and the empty position that it leaves behind in the relative clause, the *gap* “[]”. The dependency is represented by coindexation of the filler and the gap.

The extraction often represents a topic fronting structure, i.e. topicalization of the moved constituent, but relativization (2:2a) and *wh*-movement in questions (2:2b) can also be the source for the extraction (examples from Engdahl 1997: 11).

(2:2a) Här är [en fråga]_i som jag inte känner någon som kan svara på []_i.
here is a question that I not know anybody who can answer to

(2:2b) [Vem]_i var det ingen som kände []_i?
who was there nobody that knew

Furthermore, not only the direct object of the relative clause can be extracted and fronted, but also a prepositional object (2:3a), a predicative (2:3b), or an adverbial (2:3c).

(2:3a) [De flesta objekten]_i var det inte många som bjöd på []_i.
the most objects were there not many who bid for
(Lindahl 2010: 24)

(2:3b) [Ett sjukligt intresse för potatisskal]_i var det någon som kallade det []_i.
a sick interest in potato-peel was there someone who called it
(Lindahl 2010: 24)

(2:3c) Där_i har jag en moster som bor []_i.
there have I an aunt that lives
(Engdahl 1997: 11)

Relative clause extraction is possible in the Mainland Scandinavian languages Swedish, Norwegian (2:4a), and Danish (2:4b), but is otherwise cross-linguistically very rare.

(2:4a) [Dette biletet]_i kjenner eg den målarer som har måla []_i.
that picture know I the painter who has painted
(Faarlund et al. 1997: 1099)

(2:4b) Suppe_i kender jeg mange der kan lide []_i.
soup know I many who can like
(Erteschik-Shir 1973: 67)

Japanese and Korean are claimed to employ similar constructions (e.g. Kuno 1973: 239–240). However, these cases are controversial and argued to be spurious or only apparent by Han & Kim (2004) and Cinque (2010: 81); the same holds for debated cases in Akan (Saah & Goodluck 1995). Not even languages closely related to Mainland Scandinavian, such as Icelandic and Faroese, allow these kind of extractions, cf. Icelandic (2:5a), nor does English (2:5b).

(2:5a) *[Þessi blóm]_i þekki ég mann, sem selur []_i.
those flowers know I a-man who sells
(Maling & Zaenen 1982: 232)

(2:5b) *[Those flowers]_i, I know a man who sells []_i.

2.2. Relative clause extraction and locality

The impossibility to extract from embedded relative clauses (and from a number of other constructions) has led to the formulation of locality restrictions on syntactic computation within theoretical work. The well-formedness of relative clause extractions in Mainland Scandinavian is puzzling from a syntactic point of view because these extractions are ruled out by principles of locality which are assumed to hold universally (Ross 1967; Chomsky 1986; Rizzi 1990; Cinque 1990).

Ross (1967) identified in his work several constructions which are opaque to movement and introduced the term *islands* for these structures. Complex NPs (such as NPs embedding a relative clause) constitute one type of island. The specific rule proposed to bar extraction from relative clauses was termed the *Complex NP constraint* (CNPC), originally formulated as follows:

(2:6) Complex NP constraint:
“No element contained in a sentence dominated by a noun phrase with a lexical head noun may be moved out of that noun phrase by a transformation.” (Ross 1967: 127)

This constraint was supposed to rule out the formation of a sentence like (2:1), repeated below, because it involves movement of the phrase [*De blommorna*] out of a relative clause which is dominated by the noun phrase *en man* ‘a man’.

(2:7) [De blommorna]_i känner jag [NP en man [CP som säljer []_i]].
those flowers know I a man who sells

The movement constraints pertaining to the relevant structures (such as the complex NP constraint) are still referred to as *island constraints*. A distinction is made between *strong* and *weak islands*. Complex NPs with relative clauses are classified as typical strong islands, i.e. they block any kind of extraction (as opposed to weak islands that allow extraction under certain circumstances), see Szabolcsi & den Dikken (2003) for an overview.

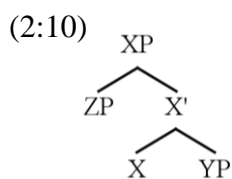
In subsequent approaches, island constraints were proposed to be derivable from more general principles regulating movement. One such principle was introduced in Chomsky (1973): the principle of *Subjacency*, stating that movement cannot cross two or more bounding nodes, where *bounding nodes* – or *barriers* in the terminology of Chomsky (1986) – include (inter alia) DPs and CPs, in terms of modern phrase labels (Chomsky 1986; cf. Boeckx 2007: 10, 29). More specific island constraints such as the CNPC could then be derived from general principles of locality: Under this approach, the grammaticality of relative clause extractions, repeated in (2:8), is unexpected because the constituent [*De blommorna*] moves across two bounding nodes: CP (representing the relative clause) and DP (representing the relative head), thus violating Subjacency.

(2:8) [De blommorna]_i känner jag [DP en man [CP som säljer []_i]].
those flowers know I a man who sells

The concept of *bounding nodes* or *barriers* came to be replaced by that of *phases* with the implementation of Phase Theory in the course of the Minimalist research program (Chomsky 1993; 2000; 2001), see Boeckx (2007) for an overview of approaches to locality within Minimalism. In phase theory, syntactic derivations are assumed to proceed in *phases*, which can be understood as domains that are impervious to operations such as movement. Standardly CP and vP (possibly also DP and PP) are assumed to be phases. The locality principle conditioning phases is called the *Phase Impenetrability Condition* (henceforth PIC), formulated as follows:

- (2:9) Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC):
 “In phase α with head H, the domain of H is not accessible to operations outside α , but only H and its edge.” (Chomsky 2000: 108)

The *domain of H* refers to the complement of the head H and *H and its edge* refers to the head and its specifiers (cf. Boeckx 2007: 52; Gallego 2010: 56). In other terms, given a phrase XP that constitutes a phase, where X is the head and YP the complement of X (i.e. the *domain* of the phase), cf. (2:10), no operation can involve the domain YP and any element that is outside the phase XP, whereas the head X and its *edge*, i.e. the specifiers, are accessible for operations outside the phase (cf. Boeckx 2007: 45).

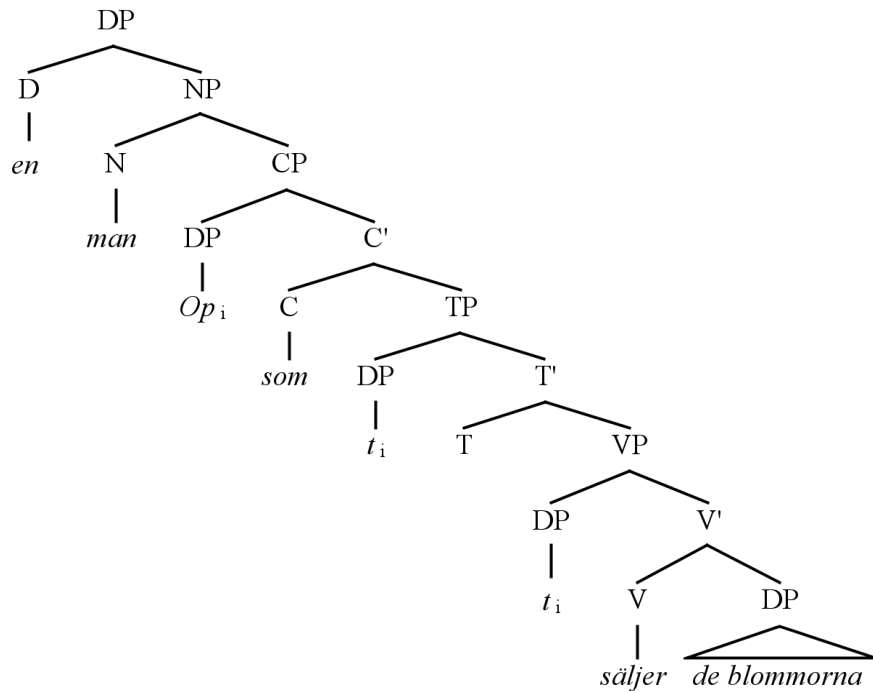


Expressing the PIC somewhat simplified, one can say that anything that is within a phasal category is inaccessible for matching, except for the specifier of the phase (Adger 2003: 326). This principle again entails more specific island constraints, such as the CNPC, which should rule out relative clause extractions like (2:11).

- (2:11) [De blommorna]_i känner jag [DP en man [CP som säljer []_i]].
those flowers know I a man who sells

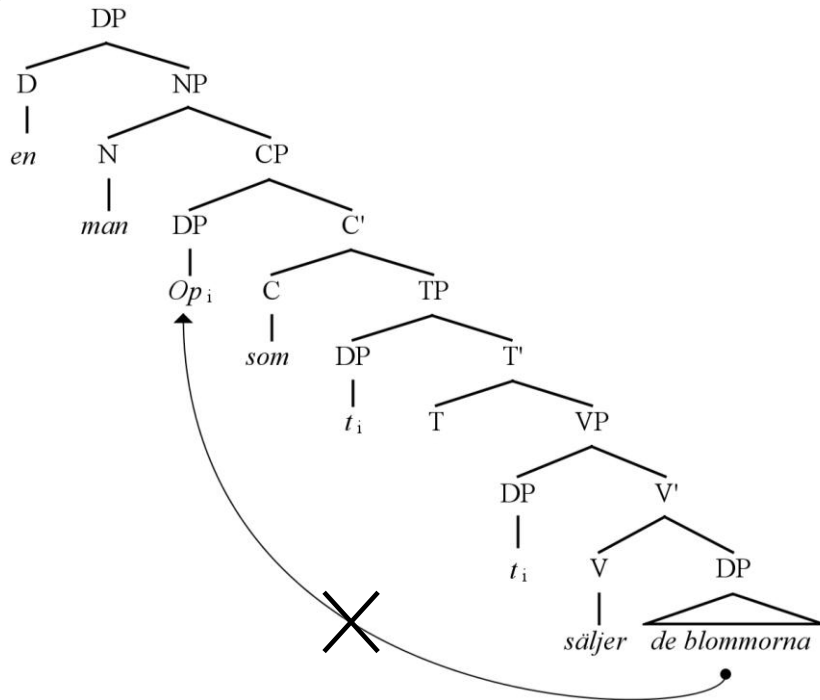
I adopt the analysis for Swedish relative clauses suggested by Platzack (2000: 269), according to which the RC is a complement of N. The relative complementizer *som* is generated in C and an operator phrase *Op* in SpecCP of the relative clause. The operator is connected to the relative head *man* via the relative complementizer *som* in C. The DP in (2:11) without the extraction is thus represented in (2:12).

(2:12)



Now, applying the principles of Phase Theory to this structure, it should theoretically be impossible to extract the constituent [*de blommorna*] from the embedded RC to the matrix clause. This is so because the relative clause [*som säljer de blommorna*] constitutes a CP and thus a phase. The DP [*De blommorna*] is contained in the complement of the phase head C and thus in the phase domain (according to the PIC). It is thus inaccessible for feature matching or movement operations outside of the relative clause CP. Elements that are generated in the phase domain can still move out of the phase as long as they pass through the specifier of the phase head, since the specifiers are in the *edge* of the phase and thus provide *escape hatches*. However, this is not possible in the present case, because SpecCP is already occupied by the silent operator Op_i and thus not accessible as an escape hatch for [*de blommorna*], cf. (2:13).

(2:13)



Possibly, also the DP hosting the relative head *en man* constitutes a phase¹, and in that case, the extracted constituent would have to pass two phases on the way to the matrix CP and would thus need an escape hatch both in SpecCP and in SpecDP (cf. also Platzack 1999: 193). Platzack (2000) offers an analysis of the RC structure under which SpecDP is available as escape hatch in restrictive RCs (which allow extractions in Swedish). However, this does not change the phase- and thus island status of relative clauses. Because the potential escape hatch in the embedded CP is filled by the operator, movement of [*de blommorna*] to SpecCP is theoretically impossible. Nevertheless, [*de blommorna*] shows up in the topic position of the matrix clause in the final structure and thus must have somehow escaped the alleged island:

(2:14) [_{CP} *De blommorna* känner [_{TP} jag [_{DP} *en man* [_{CP} **Op_i** [_{C'} *som* [_{TP} *t_i* [_{VP} *t_i* säljer ~~*de blommorna*~~]]]]]]]]]]

The same problem arises under the RC analysis proposed by Kayne (1994: 91), where the head noun phrase moves to SpecCP of the relative clause. In that case the potential escape hatch of the embedded clause, SpecCP, is occupied by the NP *en man*.

¹ The status of DPs as phases is not entirely clear, as the exact inventory of phases is still controversial. Possibly, only definite DPs constitute islands, but there are further complicating constraints at work here (cf. Adger 2003: 327; Starke 2001: 26).

2.3. A brief overview of earlier proposals

Earlier work on Scandinavian relative clause extraction includes Erteschik-Shir (1973), Andersson (1982), Maling & Zaenen (1982), Taraldsen (1982), and Engdahl (1997). A few attempts have been made to provide an explanation for the acceptability of Scandinavian RCE, but all of these proposals face serious problems and are not elaborated in detail.

Some of these analyses are based on the assumption that the extracted element is not actually moved, but rather base-generated in the matrix clause, e.g. as a reduced question (Huber 2001), as a left dislocation, or that the RC is extraposed (Taraldsen 1982). Engdahl (1997: 6–8) shows convincingly that such analyses cannot be on the right track. A left dislocation analysis can be excluded because left dislocation – in contrast to topicalization – does not trigger verb second in Swedish and fronting in RCE is always accompanied by verb second. A rightward extraposition of the RC is implausible under the current assumption that all movement is leftward (e.g. Kayne 1994).

Another potential analysis is to assume an *empty resumptive pronoun strategy*, in which the extracted element in Swedish sentences is not linked to a gap, but to a resumptive pronoun without phonetic content (2:15).

(2:15) De blommorna_i känner jag en man som säljer *pro*_i.
those flowers know I a man who sells pro

As Engdahl (1997: 5–6) shows, the occurrence of an empty resumptive pronoun in Swedish RCEs is unlikely because Swedish does not otherwise allow empty *pro*, and crucially RCE is ungrammatical with an overt resumptive pronoun:

(2:16) *De blommorna_i känner jag en man som säljer dem_i.
those flowers know I a man that sells them

A third class of approaches tries to explain the cross-linguistic variation seen with respect to extractions by assuming that languages differ regarding where the relative complementizer is generated. More specifically, the relative complementizer (or operator) is assumed to be in a lower position in the C-domain in those languages that allow extractions, thus providing an escape hatch (e.g. Platzack 2000: fn. 22; Cinque 2010). These suggestions are not elaborated in detail for Swedish and are in need of independent support.

Summing up, no satisfying explanation has been provided to account for the possibility to extract from relative clauses in Swedish and the other Mainland Scandinavian languages.

2.4. Summary

In conclusion, various theoretical approaches to locality have been developed within generative syntax over the years, all of them maintaining the island status of noun phrases embedding relative clauses. Crucially, the locality principles underlying the CNPC are assumed to be universal in the sense that we should not see any cross-linguistic variation. Yet, relative clause extraction in Swedish, Norwegian and Danish is possible, thus posing a serious problem for theories of locality. Attempts have been made to account for the phenomenon within the existing theories of locality, however, all of them with problems.

A fairly recent proposal made by Kush et al. (2013) operates with a small clause analysis of the relevant relative clause structures and *prima facie* seems to provide a potential solution to the apparent island violations of RCE. However the proposal has not been tested empirically against a larger set of data from any of the Mainland Scandinavian languages. Using data from Swedish, the following chapters investigate the Small Clause Hypothesis in detail.

3. The proposal by Kush et al. (2013)

3.1. The Small Clause Hypothesis

In their article *Microvariation in Islands?*, Kush et al. (2013) present a tentative explanation for the apparent island violations that we find in the Mainland Scandinavian languages. They base their proposal on the assertion that the possibility to extract from relative clauses is restricted to RCs in the complement position of a certain type of verb, i.e. RC extractions are subject to a *predicate restriction*. Specifically, extractions from relative clauses are claimed to be possible only if the matrix predicate is a verb that can select for a small clause (henceforth SC) complement. This proposal is formulated as the “Small Clause Hypothesis” (henceforth SCH):

(3:1) Small Clause Hypothesis (SCH):

“Verbs that select for SC complements (either ‘thetic’ or ‘categorical’) permit extraction from subject RCs in complement position.” (Kush et al. 2013: 243)

Although not explicitly stated in (3:1), Kush et al. (2013) claim that verbs that do not select for SC complements do not permit extraction. The matrix verb’s ability to license SC complements is supposed to enhance extraction from a subordinate relative clause, because it gives the parser the possibility to analyze the relative clause as a small clause complement instead, from which extraction is not blocked since small clauses are not islands. The proposal

thus predicts that only SC-selecting predicates can take complex NP complements from which extractions are possible in Swedish, whereas non-SC-selecting verbs cannot.

Kush et al. (2013) claim furthermore that we see effects of this predicate restriction also in languages which do not allow RC extractions, e.g. in English. In four acceptability judgement experiments they investigate the acceptability of RC extractions in English under four different matrix verbs. Three of these are SC-selecting (*be*, *see* and *know*) and one is non-SC-selecting (*meet*). The results imply a partial amelioration in the judgements of RC extractions that are embedded under SC-selecting verbs, compared to the same constructions under non-SC-selecting predicates. The acceptability contrast is demonstrated in (3:2).

(3:2) This is the battle_i that I { ?saw/?knew/*met } many historians who studied []_i.

While this sentence containing an extraction is rejected with *met* (non-SC-selecting) as matrix verb, it can be judged marginally acceptable under the SC-selecting predicates *saw* or *knew*. This relative amelioration for island violations in the complement of SC-selecting verbs in English is, according to Kush et al. (2013), due to a grammatical illusion that the parser creates in order to repair the ungrammatical input. This mechanism is illustrated by means of the following example, once again representing an extraction that is judged ungrammatical with *met* (non-SC-selecting) as matrix verb, and relatively better with *saw* (SC-selecting).

(3:3) That was the bill that he { ?saw/*met } many senators who supported at the congress.

The sentence is, according to Kush et al.'s (2013: 257) proposal, processed in the following way. When encountering the filler *the bill*, the parser will start to search for the corresponding gap. Upon encountering *saw*, the parser could either expect the gap corresponding to *the bill* in the direct object position of *saw*, or – since the verb *see* can select for a small clause such as in *I saw her leave* – the gap could be inside the small clause complement. However, the former option is disconfirmed upon seeing the NP *many senators* in the direct object position of *saw*, and the latter option is disconfirmed by the appearance of the relative pronoun *who*. Thus, both the initial analyses of the parser fail. In order to assign an interpretation to this sentence, the parser will now employ repair strategies which involve a re-adoption of the formerly abandoned small clause analysis and a disregard of the relative pronoun *who*, which only leads to a marginal acceptability of this sentence in English. However, the rating in that case is still better than the rating for the plain ungrammatical version with *met* as matrix verb. Because the verb *meet* cannot select for a small clause complement, the parser could in that case at no point of the processing hypothesize a small clause analysis in order to complete the

filler-gap dependency, not even temporarily as in the case of *saw*. Therefore, the parser is unable to assign an interpretation to the structure and has to conclude that the sentence is ungrammatical, in contrast to the version with *saw*, where a small clause analysis could be assumed temporarily and therefore retrieved later on in order to interpret the input.

3.2. The contrast between English and Swedish

The analysis presented in the preceding section still does not explain the contrast between English, where extractions under SC-selecting predicates are only partially ameliorated (their status is at best marginally acceptable), and Swedish, where extractions under SC-selecting matrix verbs are fully acceptable. Kush et al. (2013: 254) relate this contrast to the Swedish relative complementizer *som*, which is lexically identical to the predicational operator *som*: The latter can head small clauses in Swedish, see (3:4) (examples from Kush et al. 2013: 254).

(3:4a) Jag betraktar honom **som** en idiot.
I consider him as an idiot.

(3:4b) Jag känner honom **som** Clark Kent.
I know him as Clark Kent

Because of this syncretism, examples like (3:5) are in fact structurally ambiguous between a relative clause structure, thus involving an island, and a small clause structure, involving no island; only the latter permits extraction.

(3:5) De blommorna känner jag en man **som** säljer.
those flowers know I a man who sells

According to this analysis, the parser can – due to *som* being both a relative complementizer and a predicational operator – easily analyze the relative clause as a SC structure, yielding the possibility of extraction. Since the English relative pronoun can never be used as predicational operator in a small clause (neither *who*, *which*, nor *that*), English speakers do not have this option – or, following the suggested repair mechanisms described above, English speakers can only assume a small clause analysis temporarily and have to abandon it again upon encountering the relative pronoun *who*, which cannot appear in English small clauses.

3.3. The predictions for Swedish

The Small Clause Hypothesis and the concomitant proposals put forth by Kush et al. (2013) also generate some strong predictions about languages in which RC extraction is grammatical

(such as Swedish). These have not been confirmed or disproved in any detailed study so far and thus remain to be tested. The strongest prediction of the Small Clause Hypothesis is:

Prediction A: Extraction from relative clauses in Swedish is restricted to relative clauses that are embedded under SC-selecting matrix verbs.

As mentioned in the above section, full acceptability of RC extraction in a language is tied to the presence in that language of syncretism between a relative pronoun / complementizer and a predicational operator that heads small clauses in the account proposed by Kush et al. (2013). The implicational relation between this syncretism and acceptability of RC extraction is left vague in Kush et al. (2013); however, Kush & Lindahl (2011: 9) state explicitly that languages that lack syncretism between a relative pronoun and a predicational operator will not allow island extraction. This follows moreover logically from the argumentation in Kush et al. (2013), since the syncretism of Swedish *som* is taken to account for the acceptability of Swedish RCEs in contrast to English extractions. If this syncretism was not relevant for the possibility to extract from RCs, the contrast between Swedish and English in this regard would remain unexplained and an important part of the argumentation in Kush et al. (2013) would vanish. Thus, I interpret the proposal to generate the following prediction:

Prediction B: There should be no language where RC extraction is fully acceptable, but where there is no syncretism between the relative pronoun / complementizer and a predicational operator. In addition, I take the inverse case, i.e. the presence of a language where there is such syncretism, but where RC extraction is impossible, to weaken the proposal considerably.

Though not mentioned explicitly in Kush et al. (2013), their analysis presupposes that it is licit to extract elements from the relevant small clauses in Swedish, because only in that case the parser can be expected to consider extractions from the (reconstructed) small clauses as acceptable. Hence, the proposal also implies the following prediction for Swedish:

Prediction C: It is possible to extract from small clauses involving *som*.

3.4. Summary

The Small Clause Hypothesis proposed by Kush et al. (2013) claims that relative clause extraction is only possible if the matrix predicate in case is a small clause-selecting verb, because this gives the parser the possibility to reconstruct the relative clause as a small clause, from which extraction is not blocked. The violation of island constraints is according to this approach only illusory. Differences between languages, e.g. between English and Swedish,

regarding the degree of acceptability of extractions are explained by different properties of the relative complementizer (which is lexically identical to a SC-heading operator in Swedish, but not in English.) To evaluate the explanatory power of the SC hypothesis for RC extractions in Swedish, its three predictions, as stated above, will be tested in Chapter 5. Before, however, the next chapter provides a more detailed account of *small clauses* in Swedish in order to identify which verbs in Swedish are SC-selecting, and which of these verbs can appear with *som* in the SC.

4. Small clauses in Swedish

4.1. Defining properties of small clauses

Before turning to the different types of small clause constructions that can be found in Swedish, some remarks on the term *small clause* in general are warranted. Kush et al. (2013) do not provide a definition of small clauses that could be adopted here and refer instead to Basilico (2003: 3), who describes small clauses as a string of two constituents XP and YP which enter into a predication relation, where the predicate YP, rather than containing a fully inflected verb, contains an adjective phrase, a noun phrase, a prepositional phrase, or an uninflected verb phrase. The examples given below demonstrate typical small clause constructions in Swedish:

(4:1a) Jag hörde [Lisa sjunga].
I heard [Lisa sing]

(4:1b) Han ansåg [henne dum].
he considered [her stupid]

(4:1c) Vi målade [huset rött].
we painted [house-the red]

In (4:1a), the noun phrase *Lisa* enters into a predication relation with the infinitival phrase *sjunga* ‘sing’; in (4:1b) the noun phrase *henne* ‘her’ enters into a predication relation with the adjectival phrase *dum* ‘stupid’, and in (4:1c) a predication relation holds between *huset* ‘the house’ and *rött* ‘red’. Thus, on a par with finite clauses, small clauses express a *predication relation* (or *nexus relation*), i.e. a proposition about a semantic subject, such as *Lisa* in (4:1a), by means of a predicate, in this case *sjunga* ‘sing’ (cf. Lundin 2003: 11). In contrast to full clauses, however, small clauses lack a finite, tensed verb. A further characteristic of small clauses is that the subject usually receives its case from the matrix verb. In (4:1b), the semantic subject of the SC *henne* ‘her’ is in the accusative form and not in the nominative.

Moreover, small clauses are dependent on a matrix clause in that the propositions expressed by them need to be temporally anchored in a matrix clause (Lundin 2003: 17). Despite this, small clauses are not visibly linked to their matrix clause by a complementizer, as Lundin (2003) points out.

Analyses of small clauses differ (amongst others) with respect to whether the small clause forms a constituent or not, and with regard to the presence of functional structure in small clauses. Regarding the constituency question, I follow the argumentation in amongst others Basilico (2003), Hoekstra (1988), Lundin (2003), and Starke (1995), who treat small clauses as constituents. This implies that the small clause as a whole is selected by the matrix verb and receives a θ -role by it. Thus, in (4:1a) the entire SC [*Lisa sjunga*] ‘Lisa singing’ receives a thematic role by the matrix predicate *hörde* ‘heard’.

Small clauses can be divided into argumental and adjunct small clauses (Starke 1995). Argumental SCs are exemplified in (4:1) above and in (4:2a), adjunct SCs in (4:2b) and (4:2c) (examples from Starke 1995: 237, 240):

(4:2a) Phil found the fondue too liquid.

(4:2b) Phil ate the fondue cold.

(4:2c) John observed Mary drunk.

The adjunct SC has a Null subject PRO which can be controlled by the matrix clause subject or object, leading to ambiguities of the kind *John_i observed Mary_k [_{SC} PRO_{i/k} drunk]* (Starke 1995: 240). Adjunct SCs of this kind should not be relevant for the present study, because the Small Clause Hypothesis only refers to verbs that *select* for SC complements, excluding adjoined SCs (but see Chapter 5.1. for further discussion).

4.2. The classification in Lundin (2003)

In the following, Swedish small clauses will be categorized and described based on Lundin’s (2003) work. The aim is to examine which Swedish verbs can select for a small clause complement, and which of these verbs in turn have the possibility of selecting a small clause complement involving *som*, since the role of *som* is a crucial factor in Kush et al.’s (2003) account for variation with respect to RC extractions. These steps are necessary in order to establish a basis for further empirical testing of the predictions that the Small Clause Hypothesis makes for Swedish. Lundin (2003) distinguishes the following three main classes of SCs in Swedish, with examples (also from Lundin 2003: 12–13) given below:

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

- (1:1a) Jag hörde [henne sjunga].
I heard [her sing]
- (1:1b) Vi målade [husen röda].
we painted [houses-the red]
- (1:1c) Med [rosorna klippta] kunde han ta sig an gräsmattan.
with [roses-the cut] could he see to lawn-the
- (1:1d) [Momsen inräknad] kostar boken 200 pund.
[VAT-the included] costs book-the 200 pounds
- (1:1e) [Inräknat moms] kostar boken 200 pund.
included VAT costs book-the 200 pounds
- (1:1f) [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.” (Lundin 2003: 12–13)

The first class consists of small clauses that are selected complements of the matrix verb and is divided into two subclasses: ECM-constructions (1a) and Object Predicative (henceforth OP) constructions (1b). The second class represents absolute constructions that are selected by a preposition (usually *med* ‘with’), and the third small clause class consists of absolute constructions that are not selected by any element and thus adjoined to the sentence, exemplified in (1:1d)-(1:1f). This class thus represents adjunct small clauses similar to (4:2b) and (4:2c) above. As adjuncts, they are not selected by any element in the matrix clause and are thus compatible with any matrix predicate. No conclusions can therefore be drawn from these cases with respect to the alleged predicate restriction of relative clause extractions.³ The same holds for absolute constructions selected by *med* ‘with’ as in (1:1c), since in these cases the small clause is a complement of a preposition and not of a verb. Moreover, the entire prepositional phrase is an adjunct and thus not selected by the matrix verb. In the following section, I thus focus on the SC types that are selected by a verb (argumental small clauses), i.e. type (1a) (ECM-constructions) and type (1b) (Object Predicative constructions).

4.3. ECM-constructions

The first of the above named SC types is referred to as *ECM-* or *object-with-infinitive construction*. The term ECM (*Exceptional Case Marking*) is used in mainstream generative grammar because the subject of the ECM-clause is assigned accusative case by the matrix

² The whole PP (Preposition + small clause, e.g. *Med rosorna klippta* ‘with the roses cut’) is an adjunct and not a complement.

³ Chapter 5.1. will deal more thoroughly with this issue.

verb. In contrast to Object Predicatives, however, the small clause subject is not a semantic argument of the matrix verb and does not receive a thematic role by it.

Following the categorization in SAG (Teleman et al. 1999[3]: 576–580), one can discern three types of ECM-verbs (cf. also Lundin 2003: 69):

a) Perception verbs:

se ‘see’, *känna* ‘feel’, *höra* ‘hear’

b) Verbs of consideration:

anse ‘consider’, *påstå* ‘claim’, *förklara* ‘declare’ and ‘explain’, *tycka* ‘think’, *tro* ‘believe’, *erkänna* ‘admit’, *hävda* ‘argue’, *meddela* ‘declare’, *medge* ‘admit’, *säga* ‘say’, *anta* ‘assume’, *bedöma* ‘judge’, *befara* ‘fear’, *finna* ‘find’, *förmoda* ‘presume’, *förutse/vänta/förvänta* ‘expect’, *mena* ‘mean’, *misstänka* ‘suspect’, *uppge* ‘declare’ and *visa* ‘show’

c) LET:

låta ‘let’

Within the second group of ECM-verbs (verbs of consideration), one subgroup exhibits a special behavior: Certain verbs expressing thoughts or utterances take an ECM-complement only when the subject of the ECM-complement is a reflexive pronoun, illustrated in (4:3) (examples from Lundin 2003: 71, 105).

(4:3a) Kalle trodde sig vinna loppet.

Kalle thought REFL win race-the, ‘Kalle thought that he would win the race.’

(4:3b) *Kalle trodde Olle vinna loppet.

Kalle thought Olle win race-the

Lundin (2003: 71) refers to this group as ‘ECM_{REFL}-verbs’. Other ECM_{REFL}-verbs are *inbilla* ‘imagine’, *låtsa* ‘pretend’, *tro* ‘believe’, *tycka* ‘think’, *önska* ‘wish’, *säga* ‘say’ and *veta* ‘know’ (Lundin 2003: 105; Teleman et al. 1999[3]: 577).

The above listed verbs differ in regard to their selection properties. This of course has an impact on the possibility to combine these verbs with a complex DP (relevantly, a DP with a relative clause) instead of a small clause. Verbs of perception (such as *se* ‘see’) can take any kind of phrasal category – DPs, CPs, vPs, and in some cases even adjectival phrases and prepositional phrases – as their complement (Lundin 2003: 80–81). Thus, verbs of perception can also take DPs that are modified by a relative clause as their complement, see (4:4), which is relevant for the present study.

(4:4) Jag såg [DP en man [CP som spelade cello]].
I saw a man who played cello

In contrast, verbs of consideration (e.g. *anse* ‘consider’) allow only a CP, vP, or an adjectival phrase as their complement. Consequently, these verbs can only be followed by a complex DP (DP + relative clause), if this DP is part of an ECM small clause, cf. (4:5), thus only in a very restricted set of cases.

(4:5) Jag anser [SC [DP tjejen [CP som har skrivit denna bok]] vara begåvad].
I consider girl-the who has written that book to-be talented.

The verb *låta* ‘let’, constituting the third type of ECM verbs, is even more restricted regarding its selectional properties and can only take a vP-complement (Lundin 2003: 81–82). Hence, this verb can only be followed by a complex DP if this DP is the subject of an ECM small clause with a vP, see (4:6).

(4:6) Jag lät [SC [DP en kompis [CP som vet mer om detta]] sälja min bil].
I let a friend who knows more about that sell my car

4.4. Object Predicative constructions

The Object Predicative (OP) constructions, exemplified in (4:7) (examples from Lundin 2003: 86), are characterized by an object complement (e.g. *huset* ‘the house’) which is the base of predication for the small clause predicate in Lundin’s terminology, and a predicate AP, NP or PP (e.g. *rött* ‘red’) that describes this object.

(4:7a) Vi målade huset **rött**.
we painted house-the red

(4:7b) Pelle hade några biljetter {klara/reserverade} för pressen.
Pelle had some tickets {ready/reserved} for press-the

Teleman et al. (1999 [3]: 366–374) and Lundin (2003: 86) report a wide range of verbs that take OP-complements, among them causative verbs (e.g. *göra* ‘do’ and *få* ‘get’) and many resultative verbs denoting a change of states (such as *måla* ‘paint’ or *skriva* ‘write’); verbs of thought and perception (e.g. *se* ‘see’, *anse* ‘consider’ and *finna* ‘find’); and finally verbs that give the object referent a special status e.g. *välja* ‘chose’ and *utse* ‘elect’ (for a more exhaustive list, see Teleman et al. 1999[3]: 366–374).

Since verbs of consideration and verbs of perception can select both for an ECM-complement and an OP-construction, small clauses embedded under those verbs, see e.g. (4:8), are ambiguous between the two types.

(4:8a) Han ansåg Lisa dum.
he considered Lisa stupid

(4:8b) Han ansåg Lisa vara dum.
he considered Lisa to-be stupid

It is not entirely clear how Lundin (2003) distinguishes between ECM- and OP-small clauses. I base my distinction on the function that the post-verbal NP (the small clause subject) has in relation to the matrix predicate. In the ECM-construction, the subject of the small clause is an argument of the predicative expression in the SC, but not an argument of the matrix verb. In (4:8a) for instance, *Lisa* is an argument of the SC predicate *dum* ‘stupid’, but not an object of the matrix verb *ansåg* ‘considered’. The matrix verb merely assigns case to the SC subject (as would be obvious if *Lisa* was substituted by a pronoun). The constructions in (4:8) are according to this criterion classified as ECM- and not as OP small clauses. Another difference between the two is that the SC complement of ECM verbs (as defined here) can usually be replaced by a finite clause (4:9a), whereas this is not possible with OP complements, cf. (4:9b) and (4:9c).

(4:9a) Jag anser att hon är dum.
I consider that she is stupid

(4:9b) *Vi målar att huset blir rött.
we paint that house-the becomes red

(4:9c) *Pelle hade att några biljetter var klara/reserverade.
Pelle had that some tickets were ready/reserved

In OP constructions, on the other hand, the NP following the matrix predicate can be said to be a semantic argument of the matrix verb, as e.g. *huset* ‘the house’ in (4:7a) is an object of the predicate *målade* ‘painted’, and this object in turn is further described by the predicate phrase of the small clause (e.g. *rött* ‘red’).⁴ The SC subject in Object Predicatives is thus an

⁴ One might argue that OP constructions under this analysis rather resemble adjunct small clauses; however, see Ramchand (2008: 138) for several arguments showing that the predicate in resultative small clauses (which form the major part of OP small clauses) “does form part of the event building portion of the clause and hence creates a complex predicational structure rather than an adjunct structure”.

argument of the matrix verb, while at the same time fulfilling the function of the SC subject of the small clause.⁵

One might object that this analysis is problematic in case of OP resultative constructions in the complement of intransitive verbs, or OP small clauses that otherwise do not correspond to the normal object of the verb as in (4:10), since there is no theta-marking relation between the verb and its supposed object in these cases (Guéron & Hoekstra 1995: 99–100; Hoekstra 1988: 115).

(4:10a) The joggers ran the pavement thin.

(4:10b) John drank his cup empty.

However, see Ramchand (2008: 133–143) for a unified account of resultative small clauses with selected and unselected objects that solves this contradiction. Her analysis assumes that in the case of unselected objects such as (4:10), a result state subevent augments the otherwise unresultative verb, i.e. it adds the secondary predication and licenses the existence of an extra object.

4.5. Other small clause constructions

The small clause typology that Lundin (2003) proposes is not exhaustive and other constructions than the above mentioned ones are occasionally analyzed as small clause structures as well. However, not all of them are relevant for the present investigation. I briefly discuss some of them here.

One possible SC type not discussed in Lundin (2003) concerns double object constructions such as *John gave Mary a book*, which are analyzed as small clauses by e.g. Larson (1988), Kayne (1984: 146; 1994: 72) and Hoekstra (1988: 135–137) (but see Starke (1995), Moro (1995) and Emonds & Whitney (2005: 100–115) for a different view). However, as Kush et al. (2013) and Heinat & Wiklund (2013: 5) point out, only the direct object in these constructions can possibly be extended with a RCE, see (4:11a), whereas extraction is not possible if the relative head is an indirect object, cf. (4:11b).

⁵ I will not go into a detailed analysis of the structure of OP small clauses here that explains the dual status of the SC subject in these cases. The reader is referred to Stowell (1995), who suggests a potential solution based on Larson's VP shell theory.

- (4:11a) Soltak_i har han skaffat sig en motorbåt som har [_i].
sun-deck has he got himself a motor-boat that has
 (Teleman et al. 1999[4]: 423)
- (4:11b) *Vilken bok_i gav du mannen som läste [_i] ett förstoringsglas?
which book gave you man-the that read a magnifying-glass
 (Kush et al. 2013: 241)

Under the assumption that the subject of a small clause can be a trace, also raising verbs such as *seem* can be analyzed as SC-selecting verbs (Hoekstra 1988: 113; Basilico 2003: 4; Stowell 1995: 275).

- (4:12) The prisoner_i seems [_{SC} t_i intelligent].

However, raising verbs are not relevant for this study because they are intransitive and cannot have a bare nominal complement that could be extended with a relative clause, cf. (4:13) for an example with a Swedish raising verb.

- (4:13) *Maria verkar en bra lärarinna.
Maria seems a good teacher

Furthermore, prepositional small clauses such as *I expect him off my ship*, i.e. SCs in which the predicate phrase is a PP, are disregarded in this study, because extraction from a prepositional small clause in Swedish yields a different surface structure than extraction of a prepositional object from a relative clause: In the latter case, the preposition is stranded (4:14a)-(4:14b), whereas extraction of a prepositional SC predicate usually requires movement and fronting of the preposition along with the extracted element (4:14c)-(4:14d).

- (4:14a) [De flesta objekten]_i var det inte många som bjöd **på** [_i].
the most objects were there not many who bid for
 (Lindahl 2010: 24)
- (4:14b) Det_i finns det ingen som kan hjälpa mig **med** [_i].
that is there nobody that can help me with
 (Engdahl 1997: 11)
- (4:14c) **Till** ordförande valde vi honom. / ?*Ordförande valde vi honom **till**.
to president elected we him / president elected we him to
- (4:14d) **I** operationssalen behöver vi henne. / ?*Operationssalen behöver vi henne **i**.
in operating-room-the need we her / operating-room-the need we her in

Consequently, prepositional SCs with extractions can hardly be assimilated to RC extractions and are thus not considered as a possible model for parsing relative clause extractions in a linear analysis.

Lastly, also the complement of copular verbs such *vara* ‘be’ in existential constructions is in several studies analyzed as a small clause construction; i.e. the two constituents following the copula in (4:15a) are said to form a predication phrase that has a SC character (Huber 2002: 54–55).

(4:15a) There is a cat on the garage.

(4:15b) There is [_{SC=PP} [_{NP} a cat] [_{PP} on the garage]].

Applying the defining properties of a small clause that have been established in Chapter 4.1., nothing speaks against this analysis; see also Stowell (1981: 267–282); Lasnik (1992: 395–401) and Svenonius (1998) (amongst others) for further arguments in favor of a SC analysis of copula complements. Hence, the existential predicates *vara* ‘be’ and *finnas* ‘there is’ are further SC-selecting predicates in Swedish.⁶

4.6. *Som* in small clause complements

Kush et al. (2013) propose that Swedish relative clauses are easier to reconstruct as small clauses because the Swedish relative complementizer *som* is “lexically identical to the predicational operator *som*” (Kush et al. 2013: 254). This is supposed to account for the contrast between English and Swedish regarding RCE.

However, not all SC-selecting verbs in Swedish can have a SC predicate headed by *som*. Looking at OP verbs, most of the causative verbs (such as *göra* ‘do’, *förvandla* ‘convert’ and *få* ‘get’) as well as the resultative verbs (e.g. *måla* ‘paint’, *skriva* ‘write’ or *tvätta* ‘wash’) cannot take an OP complement with *som*, but have an unintroduced predicative, cf. (4:16a)–(4:16d), or a predicative headed by *till* ‘to’, c.f. (4:16e)–(4:16f).

⁶ Some authors have extended the analysis of SC constructions to include also small clauses of the category CP, e.g. as in (i) (Huber 2002: 55).

(i) Jack_i is [_{SC=CP} *t_i* what I call a man].

Under that account, also cleft clauses have been analyzed as SC complements of the matrix copula (e.g. by Heggie 1988; Svenonius 1998). However, an inclusion of CPs as SC-complements would obscure a differentiation between full clauses and small clauses, since the lack of a finite verb was taken to be a crucial property of a small clause as opposed to full CPs. CP-complements of copular verbs are thus not considered as small clauses in this work. (See Huber 2002: 61 for further counterarguments against a SC-analysis of clefts.)

- (4:16a) Den här filmen gör mig (*som) ledsen.
this here movie makes med (as) sad
- (4:16b) Hon fick uppsatsen (*som) färdig i god tid.
she got paper-the (as) ready in good time
- (4:16c) Vi målade huset (*som) rött.
we painted house-the (as) red
- (4:16d) Han tvättar skjortan (*som) ren.
he washes shirt-the (as) clean
- (4:16e) Grodan förvandlade sig {till/*som} en prins.
frog-the turned itself to / as a prince
- (4:16f) Jag skrev ihop några ord {till/*som} en dikt.
I wrote together some words to / as a poem

Causative verbs denoting non-change however can take an Object Predicative with *som*, for instance *ha* ‘have’, *hålla* ‘keep’ and *bevara* ‘preserve’, cf. (4:17).

- (4:17a) Han har tidningen **som** underlag när han skriver.
he has newspaper-the as pad when he writes
- (4:17b) Det här ska jag hålla **som** en hemlighet.
this here will I keep as a secret
- (4:17c) Vi ska bevara området **som** naturreservat.
we will keep area-the as nature-reserve

Verbs that give the object referent a special function differ in that some take OP complements with *som*, while others have to be construed with *till*, and some allow for both options, though they prefer *till*, see (4:18).

- (4:18a) Partiet har satt **som** mål att sänka arbetslösheten i Sverige.
party-the has set as goal to reduce unemployment-the in Sweden
- (4:18b) Delfiner använder ljud **som** tilltalsnamn.
dolphins use sounds as names
- (4:18c) Han utsåg sin son {till/som} tronarvinge.
he designated his son to/as heir-apparent
- (4:18d) Hon blev befördrad {till/*som} ordförande.
she was promoted to/as president

The same holds for verbs of consideration and perception: Only some of them can take a small clause headed by *som* (these verbs are *betrakta/anse/uppfatta* ‘consider’, *stämpla* ‘mark’, *beteckna* ‘denote’, *se* ‘see’, *räkna* ‘count’ and *ta* ‘take’, cf. (4:19a)-(4:19f), while others are construed without *som* (4:19g) or with *för* ‘for’ + predicative (4:19h) (cf. also Teleman et al. 1999[3]: 366–374).

(4:19a) Vi har alltid {betraktat/ansett/uppfattat} henne **som** ärlig.
we have always considered her as honest

(4:19b) Nu stämplas han **som** kriminell.
now mark-PASS he as criminal

(4:19c) Läkarna betecknade hans tillstånd **som** kritiskt.
doctors-the described his condition as critical

(4:19d) Jag ser honom **som** min räddare.
I consider him as my saviour

(4:19e) Under 20 räknas man **som** ungdom.
under 20 count-PASS one as young-person

(4:19f) Jag tar det **som** ett ja.
I take this as a yes

(4:19g) Han fann henne (*som) trevlig.
he found her (as) nice

(4:19h) I denna religion håller man kor {**för/*som**} heliga.⁷
in this religion holds one cows for/as holy

4.7. Summary

The selectional properties of the two main classes of SC-selecting verbs, i.e. ECM and OP verbs, are summarized in Table 1. For each verb, the second column indicates if it can select an ECM complement, the third column if it can select an OP complement, and the last column provides information on the verb’s possibility to take a small clause whose predicative is preceded by *som*. The existential predicates *vara* ‘be’ and *finnas* ‘there is’ are not contained in this table, but do nevertheless count as SC-verbs in this work (Chapter 4.5).

⁷ For *hålla* ‘hold’, two different meanings have to be distinguished. As a verb of consideration, it takes a small clause complement headed by *för* ‘for’ as in (4:19h). As a causative verb denoting non-change it takes a small clause with *som*, e.g. as in *I Indien håller man kor som husdjur*. ‘In India they keep cows as domestic animals’, and as in (4:17b) above.

Table 1. Selectional properties of ECM- and OP-verbs in Swedish

SC-selecting verb	ECM-complement ⁸	OP complement ⁹	Small clause can or must occur with <i>som</i>
Verbs of perception			
<i>se</i> ‘see’	✓	✓	✓
<i>höra</i> ‘hear’	✓	*	*
<i>känna</i> ₁ ‘feel’	✓	✓ (if REFL)	*
Verbs of consideration or utterance			
<i>känna</i> ₂ ‘know’	*	✓	✓
<i>bedöma</i> ‘judge’	*	✓	✓
<i>anse</i> ‘consider’	✓	*	✓
<i>uppge</i> ‘declare’	✓	*	✓
<i>påstå</i> ‘claim’	✓	*	*
<i>förklara</i> ‘declare’	✓	*	*
<i>finna</i> ‘find’	✓	*	*
<i>förmoda</i> ‘presume’	✓	*	*
<i>förutse</i> ‘expect’	✓	*	*
<i>förvänta</i> ‘expect’	✓	*	*
<i>misstänka</i> ‘suspect’	✓	*	*
<i>visa</i> ‘show’	✓	*	*
<i>erkänna</i> ‘admit’	✓ (ECM _{REFL})	*	*
<i>meddela</i> ‘declare’	✓ (ECM _{REFL})	*	*
<i>medge</i> ‘admit’	✓ (ECM _{REFL})	*	*
<i>anta</i> ‘assume’	✓ (ECM _{REFL})	*	*
<i>befara</i> ‘fear’	✓ (ECM _{REFL})	*	*
<i>vänta</i> ‘expect’	✓ (ECM _{REFL})	*	*
<i>mena</i> ‘mean’	✓ (ECM _{REFL})	*	*
<i>inbilla</i> ‘imagine’	✓ (ECM _{REFL})	*	*
<i>låtsa</i> ‘pretend’	✓ (ECM _{REFL})	*	*
<i>tro</i> ‘believe’	✓ (ECM _{REFL})	*	*
<i>tycka</i> ‘think’	✓ (ECM _{REFL})	*	*
<i>önska</i> ‘wish’	✓ (ECM _{REFL})	*	*
<i>säga</i> ‘say’	✓ (ECM _{REFL})	*	*
<i>veta</i> ‘know’	✓ (ECM _{REFL})	*	*
<i>tänka</i> ‘think’	✓ (ECM _{REFL})	*	✓
<i>uppfatta</i> ‘consider’	✓ (ECM _{REFL})	✓	✓
<i>betrakta</i> ‘consider’	*	✓	✓
<i>rapportera</i> ‘report’	*	✓	✓
<i>stämpla</i> ‘mark’	*	✓	✓

⁸ “(ECM_{REFL})” indicates that for this verb, the subject of the ECM-small clause must be a reflexive pronoun.

⁹ “(if REFL)” in this column indicates that the verb may only take an OP complement if the SC subject is a reflexive pronoun.

<i>beteckna</i> ‘denote’	*	✓	✓
<i>räkna</i> ‘count’	*	✓	✓
<i>ta</i> ‘take’	*	✓	✓
<i>hålla</i> ₁ ‘hold’	*	✓	*
LET			
<i>låta</i> ‘let’	✓	*	*
Causative verbs denoting change			
<i>göra</i> ‘do’	*	✓	*
<i>förvandla</i> ‘convert’	*	✓	*
<i>få</i> ‘get’	*	✓	*
Causative verbs denoting non-change			
<i>ha</i> ‘have’	*	✓	✓
<i>hålla</i> ₂ ‘keep’	*	✓	✓
<i>bevara</i> ‘preserve’	*	✓	✓
Resultative verbs¹⁰			
<i>måla</i> ‘paint’	*	✓	*
<i>skriva</i> ‘write’	*	✓	*
<i>tvätta</i> ‘wash’	*	✓	*
Verbs giving the object referent a special function / status			
<i>sätta</i> ‘set’	*	✓	✓
<i>använda</i> ‘use’	*	✓	✓
<i>välja</i> ‘elect’	*	✓	✓
<i>utse</i> ‘chose’	*	✓	✓
<i>befordra</i> ‘promote’	*	✓	*
<i>degradera</i> ‘degrade’	*	✓	*
<i>insätta</i> ‘appoint’	*	✓	✓
<i>föreslå</i> ‘suggest’	*	✓	✓
<i>nominera</i> ‘nominate’	*	✓	✓
<i>lämpa</i> ‘be suitable’	*	✓ (if REFL)	✓

5. Predictions of the Small Clause Hypothesis

5.1. The predicate restriction

After having identified the verbs that are small clause-selecting in Swedish, the three predictions generated by the Small Clause Hypothesis as presented in Chapter 3.3. can now be tested in detail, starting with prediction A (the predicate restriction), repeated below.

Prediction A: Extraction from relative clauses in Swedish is restricted to relative clauses that are embedded under SC-selecting matrix verbs.

¹⁰ The list of resultative verbs can be extended with a lot more examples; however, none of these can occur with *som*, so the above named examples are representative of all other resultative verbs that can take an OP complement.

In this section I investigate this prediction in the light of empirical data; a collection of examples of RC extractions in Swedish that other authors have found in e.g. corpus studies or conversations (Allwood 1982, Andersson 1982, Engdahl 1982; 1997, Lindahl 2010, Teleman et al. 1999 [4] and Wellander 1948). The aim is to investigate whether these instances of extractions appear exclusively with SC-selecting matrix verbs, as the predicate restriction predicts, or if also other kinds of matrix predicates are possible. Chapter 4 has already outlined which verbs in Swedish are SC-selecting verbs. If the proposal by Kush et al. (2013) is on the right track, only matrix verbs of the type listed in Table 1 should appear in relative clause extractions.

A first look at the examples in the literature shows that most of them have an existential predicate such as *vara* ‘be’ or *finnas* ‘there is’ as their matrix verb and therefore involve *presentational* (a), *existential* (b), or *cleft* (c) constructions (Engdahl 1997: 12). Lindahl (2010) has restricted her corpus study to extractions from sentences with an expletive subject *det* ‘it’ and either of the verbs *vara* or *finnas* in the matrix clause. It should be noted that Engdahl (1997) and Lindahl (2010) do not make a clear distinction between *existential* and *presentational* sentences and seem to use *presentational* as a cover term for constructions with an expletive and an existential predicate (*vara* or *finnas*). However, while presentational constructions (a) introduce a new referent and can appear with a number of different matrix verbs, existentials (b) refer to the existence of something and are restricted to existential predicates like the above mentioned *vara* ‘be’ or *finnas* ‘there is’ (and potentially also *ha* ‘have’) in Swedish.¹¹ In that sense, existentials can be regarded as a subcategory of presentational constructions, cf. Viberg (2010: 132). A clear differentiation between these two is not always possible without knowledge of the context and is not directly relevant for the current study. Sentence (5:1) provides an example for the relevant kind of construction, with an expletive *det* as subject and a (usually indefinite) NP as associate (in this case *många* ‘many’), which at the same time is extended by a RC.

(5:1) Det språket_i **finns** det [NP många [CP som talar []_i]].
that language there are many that speak
 (Engdahl 1997: 14)

¹¹ Also posture verbs such as *sitta* ‘sit’, *stå* ‘stand’ and *ligga* ‘lie’ can be used in Swedish existential constructions; however, these verbs do not appear in the examples examined here.

Extractions also occur under the matrix verb *ha* ‘have’ (5:2), which is occasionally categorized as a verb occurring in existential (or presentational) constructions (see Viberg 2010: 129).

(5:2) Där_i **har** jag en moster som bor []_i.
there have I an aunt that lives
(Engdahl 1997: 11)

Sentence (5:3) exemplifies an extraction out of a cleft-construction (c):¹²

(5:3) Garagedörren_i **är** det bara Kalle som kan öppna []_i.
garage-door-the is it only Kalle who can open
(Engdahl 1997: 22)

Some cleft sentences look *prima facie* very similar to existential sentences with a relative clause extension such as (5:1) (cf. Huber 2002: 22; Haugland 1993). Comparing the underlying sentences of (5:1) and (5:3) without the extractions, one can see the parallels (both have the linear structure *Det* + COPULA + NP + relative clause):

(5:4a) Det finns många som talar det språket.
there are many who speak that language

(5:4b) Det är bara Kalle som kan öppna garagedörren.
it is only Kalle who can open garage-door-the

Cleft sentences are used to focus an element in the sentence (the constituent that is *clefted*) and can be related to an underlying non-cleft sentence (Huber 2002: 2). (5:4b) can be said to be derived from *Bara Kalle kan öppna garagedörren* ‘Only Kalle can open the garage-door’. Existential (or presentational) constructions often introduce a new referent; they “state that something is present or exists in a specific location and usually contain a reference to a specified Place” (Viberg 2010: 132), albeit this place reference is sometimes implicit. While *finnas* ‘there is’ can only be used in existential constructions, the copula *vara* ‘be’ appears both in existential and in cleft sentences, which is why Swedish cleft sentences and existential sentences based on *vara* that have been extended with a relative clause can in principle be ambiguous between the two. Thus, (5:4b) is potentially ambiguous between a cleft and an existential construction. On the latter reading, *det* ‘it’ is referential (cf. Huber 2002: 22).

¹² For the purposes of this study, only *det*-clefts (the Swedish version of *it*-clefts) such as (5:3) are relevant, as opposed to *wh*-clefts such as *Vad jag vill köpa är nya byxor* ‘What I want to buy is new trousers’. Only the former ones show syntactic parallels to sentences with true relative clauses, since only in *det*-clefts the embedded clause is introduced by the relative complementizer *som*, cf. the discussion below.

Several criteria have been suggested to distinguish between clefts and existentials, one of them being that the head associate NP in an existential sentence is usually indefinite (with some exceptions, see Engdahl 1997: 26; Haugland 1993: 410), while the head of a cleft (the focused constituent) can also be definite or a proper name (Engdahl 1997: 26–27; Haugland 1993: 410).¹³

What makes the above distinction potentially relevant for the present study is that the embedded clause in extended existential sentences, such as (5:1), is a true relative clause, whereas the subordinate clause in an *it*-cleft sentence is commonly not analyzed as a “true” relative clause, mainly because the subordinate clause in clefts does not form a constituent with its antecedent (the clefted element), as constituency tests show (cf. e.g. Huber 2002: 145):

(5:5) **[Kalle som kan öppna garagedörren] är det bara.*
Kalle who can open garage-door-the is it only

Extractions from cleft clauses such as (5:3), repeated below, are therefore not relevant to the discussion of relative clause extractions.¹⁴

(5:6) *Garagedörren_i är det bara Kalle som kan öppna []_i.*
garage-door-the is it only Kalle who can open

Summing up, extractions out of true relative clauses occur frequently in existential / presentational sentences with *vara* ‘be’ or *finnas* ‘there is’ as matrix predicate, occasionally also with *ha* ‘have’. All of these verbs have been analyzed as a SC-selecting verb in Swedish (cf. Chapter 4) (although existential constructions are not mentioned in Lundin’s (2003) study of small clauses) and are thus expected to occur under the Small Clause Hypothesis. Further extraction examples that are in line with the SCH involve the SC-selecting verbs *känna* ‘know’ and *se* ‘see’:

¹³ Further distinguishing criteria are the identificational meaning and exhaustiveness implicature of clefts, which existential constructions lack (Huber 2002: 22-23; Haugland 1993: 411).

¹⁴ Note, though, that – in contrast to Swedish – extractions from cleft clauses in e.g. English are banned, cf. (ii), just as extractions from relative clauses, indicating that also cleft clauses are usually subject to island constraints, with Swedish apparently constituting an exception to these (cf. also Reeve 2010: 42).

(ii) **[The garage door]_i it is only Peter who can open []_i.*

(5:7a) Här är en fråga_i som jag inte **känner** någon som kan svara på []_i.
here is a question that I not know anybody that can answer to
(Engdahl 1997: 11)

(5:7b) En sådan frisyr_i har jag aldrig **sett** någon som ser snygg ut i []_i.
a such hairstyle have I never seen anyone who looks good in
(Engdahl 1997: 25)

Problematic for the predicate restriction and as a consequence for the SC Hypothesis though are the following examples, which all represent extractions under matrix verbs that definitely cannot select for any kind of small clause in Swedish, viz. *släppa in* ‘let in’, *hitta på* ‘make up’, *beundra* ‘admire’, *delta* ‘take part’.

(5:8a) Rödsprit_i **släpper** vi inte **in** någon som har druckit []_i.
red-spirit let we not in anybody that has drunk
(Engdahl 1997: 7)

(5:8b) Ja, det_i kan vi **hitta på** en sång som heter []_i.
yes, that can we make up a song that is-called
(Engdahl 1997: 25)

(5:8c) Den här teorin_i **beundrar** jag dem som förstår []_i.
this here theory admire I those that understand
(Engdahl 1997: 25)

(5:8d) Akupunktur brukar det **delta** en läkare som kan []_i vid våra seminarier.
acupuncture uses there attend a doctor who can at our seminars
(Teleman et al. 1999[4]:423)

None of these verbs are capable of selecting a SC as their complement in Swedish and therefore constitute clear counterexamples to the SCH. (5:9b) shows that e.g. *beundra* ‘admire’ cannot select for an ECM-clause, unlike *höra* (5:9a).

(5:9a) Jag hörde [henne sjunga].
I heard [her sing]

(5:9b) *Jag beundrar [henne sjunga].
I admire [her sing]

Neither can *beundra* take an OP complement, e.g. with an adjectival predicative as in (5:10) – neither with nor without the copula.

(5:10) *Jag beundrar [henne (vara) intelligent].
I admire [her (to-be)intelligent]

The same kind of test proves all of the above named verbs entirely unable to take an ECM-complement (the a-examples) or an OP-complement (cf. the b-examples), here demonstrated for *hitta på* ‘make up’, *delta* ‘take part’, and *tala* ‘talk’.

- (5:11a) *Vi hittar på en sång låta roligt.
we make up a song sound funny
- (5:11b) *Vi hittar på en sång (som) rolig.
we make up a song (as) funny
- (5:12a) *Han deltar vid ett seminarium upplysa alla.
he takes-part in a seminar enlighten everyone
- (5:12b) *Han deltar vid ett seminarium (som) intressant.
he takes-part in a seminar (as) interesting
- (5:13a) *Jag talar med någon känna Lisa.
I talk to someone know Lisa
- (5:13b) *Jag talar med pojken (som) snäll.
I talk to boy-the (as) kind

Additional counterexamples can be found in Teleman et al. (1999[4]: 423), who note that extractions from relative clauses are possible under (amongst others) the following matrix verbs: *få syn på* ‘catch sight of’, *hitta* ‘find’, *sakna* ‘miss’, *förlora* ‘lose’, *längta efter* ‘long for’. In addition, Teleman et al. (1999[4]: 423) provide the following examples of extractions under the non-SC-selecting predicates *söka upp* ‘seek out’, *ta reda på* ‘find out’, *lyssna* ‘listen’ and *komma* ‘come’.

- (5:14a) Sonetter_i **sökte** jag **upp** en som kunde skriva []_i.
sonnets seeked I out one who could write
- (5:14b) [Piratdelar till Volvo]_i har jag **tagit reda på** en som säljer []_i.
pirated-parts for Volvo have I found one who sells
- (5:14c) Regnskogarna_i har jag **lyssnat** hela förmiddagen på en som pratade om []_i.
rainforests-the have I listened whole morning-the to one who talked about
- (5:14d) [Överblivna biljetter]_i **kom** det en som ville sälja []_i.
left-over tickets came there one who wanted-to sell

Again, none of the above listed verbs may select small clauses by the tests given above. That both SC-selecting and non-SC-selecting verbs can take a NP embedding a relative clause from which extraction is possible is also in line with the observation of Andersson (1982: 39), who claims that extraction from relative clauses is acceptable regardless of the matrix verb. His

article contains the following examples, involving the verb *vissla* ‘whistle’, which is not a SC-selecting verb by the tests given above.

(5:15a) Ben_i skall man inte **vissla** på hundar som äter []_i.
bones should one not whistle on dogs that eat
(Andersson 1982: 40)

(5:15b) Röda strumpor_i skall man inte **vissla** på flickor som har i Köpenhamn []_i.
red stockings should one not whistle on girls who have in Copenhagen
(Andersson 1982: 44)

Andersson (1982) argues that the only reason why some extractions are judged less acceptable than others is that it is hard find a context in which these sentences make sense (cf. also the discussion in Engdahl 1997 about the relevance of context). As long as there is a suitable context, RC extractions are possible, regardless of the matrix verb.¹⁵

Kush et al. (2013) use *träffa* ‘meet’ as a typical example of a non-SC-selecting verb, which is correct, considering (5:16).

(5:16) *Jag **träffade** honom resa till Oslo.
I met him travel to Oslo

As shown by examples like (5:17), however, RC extraction is unproblematic under *träffa* as matrix verb (confirmed by my Swedish informants), again disproving the prediction of the SCH.

(5:17) Det_i hade jag aldrig **träffat** någon som hade gjort []_i.
that have I never met someone who has done
(Wellander 1948: 507)

The above tests only rule out argument (selected) small clauses. However, some (perhaps all) of the verbs above, classified as non-SC-selecting verbs, can appear with an adjunct small clause (not selected):

(5:18a) Jag träffade honom [PRO full].
I met him [PRO drunk]

(5:18b) Vi släpper in honom [PRO nykter].
we let in him [PRO sober]

¹⁵ (5:15a) for instance is acceptable considering that “dogs should not be irritated when they are eating” (Andersson 1982: fn. 5) and (5:15b) can easily be accepted in a context where “Girls in red stockings in Copenhagen are supposed to be angry members of the women’s liberation movement” (Andersson 1982: fn. 5), although both relative clauses are embedded under the non-SC-selecting verb *vissla* ‘whistle’.

As opposed to argument small clauses, an adjunct small clause can be omitted without a change of the meaning (5:19a). This is usually not possible with selected (argument) small clauses, where the sentence is either ungrammatical without the small clause predicate (because the SC-selecting verb cannot take a bare DP), e.g. (5:19b), or where the sentence gets a different reading (specifically, the verb changes its meaning) without the predicate, e.g. (5:19d) and (5:19f).

(5:19a) Jag träffade honom.
I met him

(5:19b) *Han anser henne.
he considers her

(5:19c) Jag fick [SC brevet färdigskrivet].
I got letter-the ready-written

(5:19d) Jag fick brevet.
I received letter-the

(5:19e) Jag fann [SC honom kvalificerad].
I found him qualified

(5:19f) Jag fann honom.
I found him

The Small Clause Hypothesis makes no predictions for adjunct small clauses, since it refers to predicates that *select* for small clause complements. Note that if we take adjunct SCs into consideration, there would be no predicate restriction, because most (if not all) verbs can be combined with an adjunct small clause. But if no difference can be made between *SC-verbs* and *non-SC-verbs*, an analysis based on a predicate restriction would be impossible. Taking the SCH literally, I will – like Kush et al. (2013) – disregard adjunct small clauses in the subsequent discussion and treat only argument small clauses as possible models for a small clause reanalysis of RCEs. Under that view, the data given in this section pose a problem for the SCH, since they contain examples of relative clause extractions under matrix predicates that are not SC-selecting verbs. In essence, the examples examined in this chapter disprove that RC extractions are restricted to SC-selecting matrix verbs in Swedish.

5.2. The *som*-restriction

The account for the contrast between English and Swedish regarding possibility of RCE, suggested by Kush et al. (2013), hinges on the syncretism between *som* as a relative

complementizer and *som* as a predicational operator (Prediction B, Chapter 3.3.). This syncretism is the reason why relative clauses in Swedish are structurally ambiguous between a relative clause structure (and thus an extraction island) and a small clause structure (from which extraction is possible). The full acceptability of the Swedish RC extractions, in contrast to e.g. the English counterparts, can according to Kush et al. (2013) therefore be accounted for by assuming that a reconstruction of the relative clause into a small clause takes place in these cases, an option that English speakers do not have.

Returning to the observations in Chapter 4.6., however, only a few verbs in Swedish may occur with *som* in the small clause (cf. Table 1, pp. 27–29), viz. *se* ‘see’, *känna* ‘know’, *anse* ‘consider’, *bedöma* ‘judge’, *uppge* ‘declare’, *uppfatta* ‘consider’, *tänka* ‘think’, *betrakta* ‘consider’, *rapportera* ‘report’, *stämpla* ‘mark’, *beteckna* ‘denote’, *räkna* ‘count’, *ta* ‘take’, *ha* ‘have’, *hålla* ‘keep’, *bevara* ‘preserve’, *sätta* ‘set’, *använda* ‘use’, *välja* ‘elect’, *utse* ‘chose’, *insätta* ‘appoint’, *föreslå* ‘suggest’ and *nominera* ‘nominate’.¹⁶ Consequently, if the possibility to reconstruct a relative clause as a small clause is tied to the relative complementizer being identical to the predicational operator that heads the respective small clause, this kind of reconstruction should only be possible in the context of a very limited set of matrix predicates.

Although, as noted in connection with Prediction B, the implicational relation between the syncretism and extraction is left vague in Kush et al. (2013), another prediction tied to the importance of *som* is that we should not find a language where RC extraction is possible, but where the relative clause introducer is not lexically identical to a predicational operator. This is, however, exactly the situation we find in Danish. In Danish, subject relative clauses can be introduced by the complementizer *der* (as an alternative to *som*), which – in contrast to *som* – is unambiguously a relative pronoun. *Der* cannot head a small clause as a predicational operator (Ken Ramshøj Christensen, p.c.). Nevertheless, extractions from relative clauses introduced by *der* in Danish are possible, cf. (5:20).

(5:20) Det_i kender jeg mange **der** kan lide []_i.
that know I many who can like
 (Erteschik-Shir 1982: 176)

Hence, Danish provides a counterexample to the suggestion that the syncretism of *som* with a predicational operator is a necessary condition for full acceptability of relative clause extraction.

¹⁶ *Lämpa* ‘be suitable’ was excluded from the list because it can only take a reflexive pronoun as its object, which cannot be extended with a relative clause.

Icelandic constitutes the inverse case, further weakening the importance of *som* in the case of RCEs. Icelandic has a relative clause introducer *sem* (5:21a) that is syncretic with a predicative operator (5:21b). However, Icelandic – in contrast to Swedish – does not allow relative clause extraction (5:21c).

(5:21a) Ég þekki mann **sem** selur þessi blóm.
I know a-man who sells those flowers

(5:21b) Ég tel hann **sem** bróðir minn.
I consider him as brother mine

(5:21c) *Þessi blóm_i þekki ég mann, sem selur []_i.
those flowers know I a-man who sells
 (Maling & Zaenen 1982: 232)

Considering these facts, the polysemy of the relative complementizer *som*, which is crucial to explain the contrast between English and Swedish in Kush et al. (2013), cannot account for the possibility of RCEs in Swedish. With the argument based on *som* rendered invalid, the SCH could only be retained if there were no contrast between Swedish and English regarding RC extraction. This is however not the case. The Swedish RCEs are well attested.

5.3. Extraction from small clauses

The small clause analysis of relative clauses with extractions naturally hinges on the assumption that it is licit to extract from the relevant small clauses in Swedish, because only in that case speakers can be expected to rate the extractions from the alleged (reinterpreted) *small clauses* as acceptable. However, Kush et al. (2013) do not provide any example of Swedish small clause extractions of the relevant kind. The only example given by Kush & Lindahl (2011: 6) is (5:22).

(5:22) Det var bara Clark Kent som jag {kände / (?)såg / *träffade / *kysste} honom som.
*it was only [Clark Kent]_i that I {knew / (?)saw / *met / *kissed} him as t_i.*

They claim that extraction from the *som*-headed SC is only possible in the context of *känna* ‘know’ and *se* ‘see’ as matrix predicate, because only in these cases the small clause reanalysis is possible.

However, the situation turns out to be more complex. Basically, there are three kinds of operations that can yield extraction: topicalization, relativization and *wh*-movement (Allwood 1982: 17; Kush & Lindahl 2011: 1; Engdahl 1997: 11). As can be seen in Table 1 (pp. 27–29), there are four verb groups in Swedish that are able to take a *som*-headed small

clause as their complement (which should be the verbs allowing for RCE, according to Kush et al. 2013), viz. the perception verb *se* ‘see’, some verbs of consideration (e.g. *känna* ‘know’), some causative verbs denoting non-change (e.g. *bevara* ‘preserve’), and some verbs that give the object referent a function (e.g. *använda* ‘use’). Extracting the predicative from a small clause embedded e.g. under *se* ‘see’ yields the following results. (5:23a) exemplifies a SC construction under *se* ‘see’ without extraction. (5:23b) and (5:23c) exemplify extraction by topicalization of the predicative (to provide a more suitable context, a contrastive topic). However, only the case where *som* is extracted along with the predicate (5:23b) is acceptable, cf. (5:23c).¹⁷ The same holds for extraction through relativization as illustrated in (5:23d) and (5:23e): If *som* is moved along with the fronted constituent (5:23d), the extraction is a lot better than with *som* left *in situ* (5:23e). (5:23f) shows extraction through *wh*-movement, which is the only case where *som* can (in fact has to) be stranded.¹⁸

(5:23a) Jag ser honom som min räddare.
I see him as my savior

(5:23b) Inte bara som min vän, utan som min räddare ser jag honom.
not only as my friend, but as my saviour see I him

(5:23c) ?*Inte bara min vän, utan min räddare ser jag honom som.
not only my friend, but my savior see I him as

(5:23d) Det är som min räddare (som) jag ser honom.
it is as my savior (that) I see him

(5:23e) ?*Det är min räddare (som) jag ser honom som.
it is my savior (that) I see him as

(5:23f) Vad ser du honom som?
what see you him as?

These examples demonstrate that extraction out of a *som*-headed small clause is in principle possible; however, in that case the predicational operator *som* has to be moved along with the fronted predicative, cf. (5:23b) and (5:23d), supposedly because the predicational operator forms a constituent with the predicative (cf. Starke 1995: 242). An extraction with a stranded *som* is ungrammatical or highly marginal, see (5:23c) and (5:23e), the only exception being

¹⁷ It may be that some of the examples with *som* left *in situ* receive a better rating for some speakers, possibly connected to the fact that the examples require a very specific context. The presence of a contrast between fronted *som* and *som* left *in situ* though is enough to show my point, see below.

¹⁸ Only extraction of nominal predicate phrases is relevant here.

extraction by *wh*-movement (5:23f).¹⁹ (5:23e) is parallel to the example given by Kush & Lindahl (2011), see (5:22), where the version embedded under *såg* ‘saw’ is rated as marginal as well in contrast to examples like (5:23d).

Extraction from small clauses embedded under the other kinds of matrix verbs yields similar results: (5:24a)-(5:24f) illustrate extractions under a verb of consideration, here *betrakta* ‘consider’; (5:25a)-(5:25f) show examples with a causative verb denoting non-change (*bevara* ‘keep’), and (5:26) with a verb giving the object a special function (*använda* ‘use’).

(5:24a) Vi betraktar henne som en ärlig person.
we consider her as an honest person

(5:24b) Inte som en klok, men som en ärlig person betraktar vi henne.
not as a smart, but as an honest person consider we her

(5:24c) ?*Inte en klok, men en ärlig person betraktar vi henne som.
not a smart, but an honest person consider we her as

(5:24d) Det är som en ärlig person (som) vi betraktar henne.
it is as an honest person (that) we consider her

(5:24e) ?*Det är en ärlig person (som) vi betraktar henne som.
it is an honest person (that) we consider her as

(5:24f) Vad betraktar ni henne som?
what consider you her as?

(5:25a) Vi ska bevara det här området som naturreservat.
we will keep this here area as nature-reserve

(5:25b) Som naturreservat ska vi bevara det här området.
as nature-reserve will we keep this here area

(5:25c) ?*Naturreservat ska vi bevara det här området som.
nature-reserve will we keep this here area as

(5:25d) Det är som naturreservat (som) vi ska bevara det här området.
it is as nature-reserve (that) we will keep this here area

¹⁹ It is not possible to give a full account of the stranding of *som* in *wh*-questions (in contrast to other kinds of movements) here; however, Starke (1995: 20) suggests that predicational operators (such as *som*) are usually assimilated to “dummy” functional prepositions, while P-stranding is rather a property of full lexical prepositions; but a process “blurring” the distinction between the two classes (i.e. between functional and lexical prepositions) leads to the possibility to strand predicational operators like *som* as well in some contexts such as *wh*-questions in e.g. English and Swedish.

(5:25e) ?*Det är naturreservat (som) vi ska bevara det här området som.
it is nature-reserve (that) we will keep this here area as

(5:25f) Vad ska ni bevara det här området som?
what will you keep this here area as?

(5:26a) Delfiner använder ljud som tilltalsnamn.
dolphins use sounds as names

(5:26b) Som tilltalsnamn använder delfiner ljud.
as names use dolphins sounds

(5:26c) ?*Tilltalsnamn använder delfiner ljud som.
names use dolphins sounds as

(5:26d) Det är som tilltalsnamn (som) delfiner använder sina ljud.
it is as names (that) dolphins use their sounds

(5:26e) ?*Det är tilltalsnamn (som) delfiner använder sina ljud som.
it is names (that) dolphins use their sounds as

(5:26f) Vad använder delfiner ljud som?
what use dolphins sounds as?

In all these cases, extraction of the predicative out of a small clause yields a better result with the predicational operator *som* moved along with the extracted element than with *som* stranded, sentences with *wh*-movement being exceptions. This poses a further problem for the Small Clause Hypothesis. In extractions from relative clauses, the complementizer *som* always stays *in situ* and is never fronted along with the extracted constituent, yielding a completely different surface structure for relative clauses with extractions compared to small clauses with extractions. In fact it is extremely difficult to come up with an example of a relative clause with an extraction where the extracted constituent could at the same time be interpreted as the predicative of a SC construction under the same verb. A potential example is the following:

(5:27) En populär politiker_i känner jag en tjej som har dejtat []_i.
a popular politician know I a girl who has dated

The matrix verb here is *känna* ‘know’, which may also take a small clause complement headed by *som*:²⁰

²⁰ Although some Swedish native speakers reject the construction of *känna* with a small clause headed by *som*, I still use this example here, on the one hand because it is similar to Kush et al.’s (2013) examples with *känna* and thus demonstrates the difficulties with their analysis, and on the other, because it proves very difficult to find a

(5:28) Jag känner henne som en populär politiker.
I know her as a popular politician

Hence, according to the Small Clause Hypothesis, the parser reconstructs (5:27) as a small clause of the kind in (5:28) from which the predicative [*en populär politiker*] ‘a popular politician’ has been extracted. However, extraction of this constituent from the sentence in (5:28) is more natural with *som* being fronted along with it:

(5:29a) (Inte som en ambitiös, men) som en populär politiker känner jag henne.
(not as an ambitious, but) as a popular politician know I her

(5:29b) ?*En populär politiker känner jag henne som.
a popular politician know I her as

The surface structure in a small clause with extraction (5:29a) is thus very different from the one in the relative clause with extraction (5:27), compare also below.

(5:30a) [En populär politiker]_i känner jag en tjej **som** har dejtat []_i.
a popular politician know I a girl who has dated

(5:30b) [**Som** en populär politiker] känner jag henne []_i.
as a popular politician know I her

The more general surface structures of sentences of the kind in (5:30a) and (5:30b) look like this, making the contrast even clearer:

(5:31a) NP₁ V₁ NP₂ NP₃ *som* VP

(5:31b) *Som* NP₁ V₁ NP₂ NP₃

Considering these facts, it is hard to see how the parser should be able to read (5:31a) as (5:31b) instead, given linear processing, and thus analyze (5:30a) as a small clause construction. Kush et al. (2013: 255–257) assume that the parser processes the relevant sentences by completing long distance dependencies as soon as possible using the argument structure information that the matrix verb provides. Furthermore, they argue that the dependency completion can be “attenuated by the subcategorization information by the verb”. That is, if two possible analyses for the gap location of a filler are possible and one of them is disconfirmed in the course of linear processing, only the other one will be maintained. Applied to (5:30a), the parser will – according to Kush et al.’s (2013) proposal – process the RCE structure in the following way: When encountering the filler [*en populär politiker*]

sentence with another matrix predicate that could potentially be ambiguous between a relative clause and a small clause – which just demonstrates another complicating fact for the Small Clause Hypothesis.

‘a popular politician’, the parser will start to search for the gap location in order to complete the long distance dependency. Since the following verb *känner* ‘know’ allows both for a mere direct object and an OP small clause as complement, the gap could be both in the direct object position (i.e. in the position of the internal argument of the verb *känner*) or inside the embedded small clause. However, the first analysis is disconfirmed upon seeing [*en tjej*] ‘a girl’, since this NP already occupies the direct object position of *känner* ‘know’, leaving only the small clause analysis open. This is an exact application of Kush et al.’s (2013: 255–257) model of sentence processing to a Swedish relative clause extraction, however, considering the data in (5:30), it appears unlikely that a Swedish parser would consider a small clause analysis of this sentence at all, because a small clause with the relevant extraction can basically be excluded from the very beginning of a linear processing of this sentence. This is so because the first word here is not *som*, which it would have to be for a small clause extraction. If one wants to maintain the general model that Kush et al. (2013) employ for sentence processing, one has to assume that a Swedish parser will search for the gap location of the filler [*en populär politiker*] either in the internal argument position of *känner* (which will however be disconfirmed by [*en tjej*] occupying this position), or inside the embedded relative clause. Kush et al. (2013: 256) exclude the latter option because the parser’s dependency completion is said to be constrained by island constraints which is why gap filling does not take place inside an RC. The only possible way to account for the grammaticality of *En populär politiker känner jag en tjej som har dejtat* is simply to assume that Swedish parsers will search for the gap connected to the extracted element [*en populär politiker*] inside the relative clause as well, suggesting that Swedish relative clauses simply are not islands, after all.

5.4. Summary

In this chapter, the three main predictions that the Small Clause Hypothesis generates have been scrutinized against data from Swedish and in part also against data from other Scandinavian languages. The strongest prediction of the SCH concerns the predicate restriction: RC extraction is said to be restricted to RCs that are embedded under SC-selecting matrix verbs. However, I have shown by means of numerous examples from the literature that this prediction is not borne out for Swedish, as many of the examples of RCEs involve non-SC-selecting predicates and thus constitute counterexamples to the SCH.

The second prediction concerns the supposed correlation between RC extraction in a language and the relative complementizer being lexically identical to a predicational operator

used in small clauses, as is the case for Swedish *som*, because only in that case the relevant construction can actually be ambiguous between being a relative clause and a small clause. But in fact, only a restricted set of SC-selecting verbs in Swedish can actually take SC complements in which the small clause predicative is preceded by *som*. Furthermore, I have shown that Danish disproves this correlation by allowing RCE even if the relative clause introducer is *der*, which is not syncretic with any predicational operator used in small clauses. The case of Icelandic, where the relevant syncretism applies just as in Swedish, but where RCE is not licit, arguably further weakens the second prediction of the SCH. Given this, the account proposed by Kush et al. (2013) to explain the clear contrast in acceptability between Swedish and English extractions has to be rejected.

Finally, the Small Clause Hypothesis predicts (implicitly) that it is grammatical to extract from small clauses in those languages where RCEs occur, because only in that case speakers can be expected to judge extractions from a reanalyzed small clause structure as acceptable. I have shown that although it is licit to extract and topic-front the predicative noun from small clauses in Swedish, the predicational operator *som* is preferably moved along with the extracted constituent to the matrix clause in these cases, thus cannot be stranded. This is in clear contrast to extractions from RCs, where the complementizer *som* has to stay in its original position in the embedded clause, yielding different surface structures for relative clauses with extractions and small clauses with extractions. This makes it highly unlikely that the parser can reconstruct a sentence containing a relative clause extraction as a small clause instead, given the linear processing of the structure that Kush et al. (2013) presume.

In sum, the findings presented in this chapter reveal serious problems for the Small Clause Hypothesis on the basis of data from Swedish and other Scandinavian languages as all the three main predictions that the hypothesis generates are not borne out (or, as in case of the third prediction, are connected to further complicating factors).

In order to find out whether subtle differences, not identifiable in informal judgements, can still be detected between SC-selecting and non-SC-selecting verbs, I ran a controlled acceptability judgement experiment on Swedish RCEs. The results of this study are presented in Chapter 6 below.

6. Further testing of the predicate restriction

6.1. Test design

Admittedly, the predicate restriction in itself has already been largely disproved by examples from the literature. However, since an additional acceptability judgement experiment can provide more reliable data and detect subtle differences that perhaps are not detectable in informal judgements, I decided to run a controlled acceptability judgement experiment on Swedish RCEs. This method also rules out performance errors (as could be present in corpus studies) and allows registration of more fine-grained differences in acceptability, as could be the case for relative clause extractions, while at the same time controlling for (possibly influencing) conditions such as sentence length, complexity and information structure.

The experiment conducted for that purpose had the form of an online-based questionnaire, containing sentences with relative clause extractions under matrix predicates varied for three conditions:

- Condition a) SC pred. + *som* (the predicate can select for a small clause containing *som*)
- Condition b) SC pred. – *som* (the predicate can select for a small clause, but not with *som*)
- Condition c) Non-SC pred. (the predicate cannot have a small clause complement)²¹

The informants (monolingual Swedish native speakers only) were asked to judge sentences varied for the above conditions for their acceptability in Swedish.

Remember that the Small Clause Hypothesis predicts that RCEs are judged differently under the three conditions, as follows:

- (6:1) RCE under condition (a) > under condition (b) > under condition (c)
(‘>’ = is rated higher than)

That is, extractions under SC-selecting predicates +*som* (condition a) should receive the best ratings, since these constructions are according to Kush et al.’s (2013) proposal ambiguous between relative clauses and small clauses. Extractions under SC-selecting predicates –*som* (condition b) should be judged worse than the a)-sentences, because here a small clause analysis can only be temporarily maintained – exactly as in the English extractions under SC-predicates. Extractions under non-SC-selecting predicates (condition c), finally, should receive the worst ratings, since the relative clauses in that case cannot be reanalyzed as small clauses and thus remain unextractable islands, according to the Small Clause Hypothesis.

²¹ Only argumental small clauses were considered as a criterion to differentiate between the verbs in the a)-/b)-condition and in the c)-condition, for the above mentioned reason that a predicate restriction does not exist, if adjunct small clauses are considered as well.

For the stimuli, 24 sentence sets of the type shown in (6:2) were constructed, each consisting of three sentences corresponding to the three conditions (1a = SC pred. + *som*; 1b = SC pred. – *som*; 1c = Non-SC pred.).

(6:2) 1a) Sådana blommor **såg** jag en man som sålde.
such flowers saw I a man who sold

1b) Sådana sånger **hörde** jag en man som sjöng.
such songs heard I a man who sang

1c) Sådana blommor **talade** jag med en man som sålde.
such flowers talked I with a man who sold

The head noun phrase was indefinite in all sentences, and the matrix predicate used was in past tense in most of the items. If possible, only the matrix verb was varied in the three sentences, but in some cases like (6:2) above, the extracted lexeme had to be varied as well in order to create felicitous sentences. The sentences from each of the 24 sets were finally distributed over three lists, with only one of the a-, b- and c-sentences respectively appearing on each list. E.g. list 1 contained sentences 1a, 2b, 3c, 4a, etc., list 2 contained sentences 1b, 2c, 3a, 4b, etc. Each of the three lists thus contained eight instances of each condition, yielding 24 test items in total on each list. Furthermore, each list was complemented with twice as many fillers as test sentences (thus, 48 filler sentences), both good and bad ones, in order to disguise the actual purpose of the study. The order of sentences on each list was randomized in order to counterbalance for potential order or learning effects.

Each of the three lists was tested in the form of an online questionnaire on 15 informants respectively. Prior to answering the questionnaire, the participants received detailed instructions about the criteria according to which they should judge the sentences, based on Kush et al.'s (2013) experiment instructions, with the aim to minimize any influence from extragrammatical factors (such as prescriptive rules or semantic / pragmatic factors) on the ratings. The exact instructions as well as the test items are given in Appendices A and B (p. 54–57) Judgements were given on a 7-point Likert-scale (as in the experiment in Kush et al. 2013) to permit the registration of fine-grained differences regarding acceptability.

6.2. Results

The average ratings that the test sentences of each condition as well as the good and bad filler sentences received are given below in Table 2 and 3. The average ratings for the three test

conditions are moreover illustrated visually in Figure 1. Overall, the responses for all test sentences are rather low.

Table 2. Average ratings in the experimental conditions

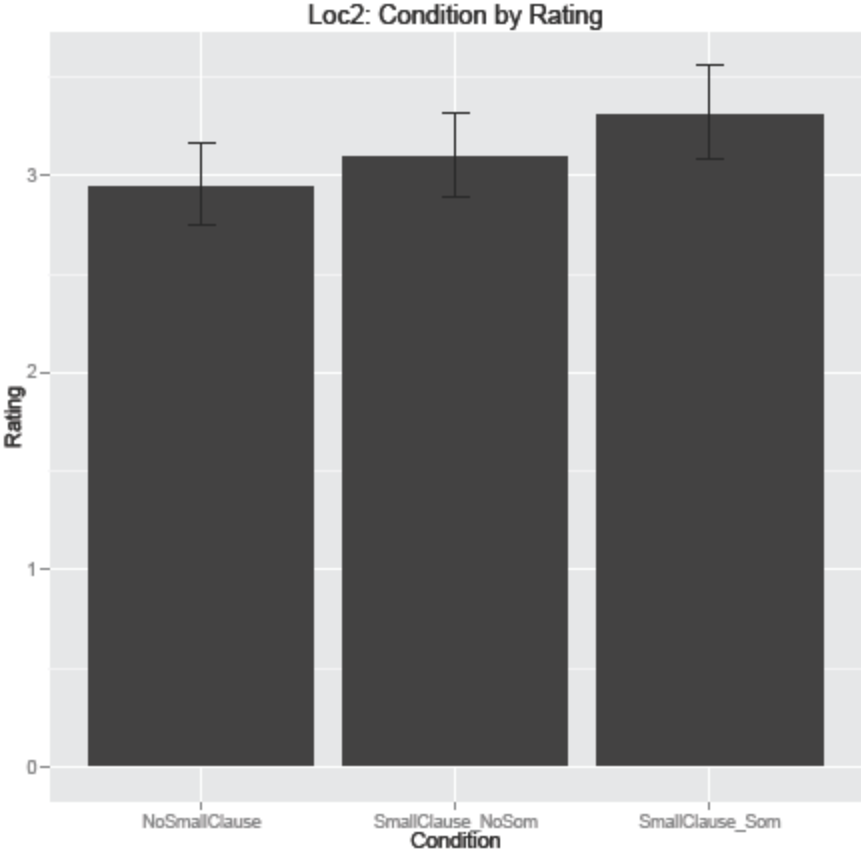
<i>Experimental condition</i>	<i>Average of rating</i>	<i>Normalized ratings</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>CI</i>
SC pred. + som (condition a)	3.32	3.32	2.26	0.12	0.23
SC pred. – som (condition b)	3.11	3.11	2.04	0.11	0.21
Non-SC pred. (condition c)	2.96	2.96	1.97	0.10	0.20

(SD = Standard Deviation, SE = Standard Error, CI = confidence interval)

Table 3. Average ratings for filler sentences

<i>Filler condition</i>	<i>Average of rating</i>
Bad Filler	2.53
Good Filler	6.34

Figure 1. The three experimental conditions by average rating



The visual trend indicates a slight difference in the ratings between the three conditions, in line with the prediction of the Small Clause hypothesis stated in (6:1), repeated below.

(6:3) RCE under condition (a) > under condition (b) > under condition (c)
 (^>' = is rated higher than)

In other terms, extractions under predicates that can select for a small clause containing *som* are on average rated slightly better than under predicates that can select for a small clause, but without *som*, which in turn receive slightly better ratings than extractions under non-SC-predicates. To test whether any of these differences turns out statistically significant, a statistical analysis was carried out by performing a linear mixed models analysis using R and lmer4. As a fixed factor, the matrix predicate condition was entered into the model with the three levels “SmallClause_Som” (condition a), “SmallClause_NoSom” (condition b), and “NoSmallClause” (condition c). *Subject* and *item* were used as random factors, including intercepts for subject and item as well as random slopes for item. This model fit was significant ($p < 0.001$); adding random sloped for subject did not significantly improve the model fit.

The fixed effects are given in Table 4, with model a) and model b) being the same maximal model, however once with the intercept for condition c) and once for condition a) as reference point (in order to compare all three conditions to each other).

Table 4. Fixed effects of the linear mixed models analysis

Model a)

Fixed effects:

	Estimate	Std. Error	<i>t</i> -value
(Intercept) NoSmallClause	2.958	0.258	11.483
ConditionSmallClause_NoSom	0.147	0.188	0.784
ConditionSmallClause_Som	0.364	0.216	1.684

Model b)

Fixed effects:

	Estimate	Std. Error	<i>t</i> -value
(Intercept)SmallClause_Som	3.322	0.320	10.381
ConditionNoSmallClause	-0.364	0.216	-1.684
ConditionSmallClause_NoSom	-0.217	0.224	-0.968

The relevant *t*-scores ($t < 2$) indicate that none of the above described contrasts between the matrix verb conditions are statistically significant, though the contrast (SC pred. + *som* > Non-SC pred.) (a > c) can be said to be trending towards significance ($t = 1.684$).

6.3. Discussion

The relatively low scores of the bad fillers (average 2.53) and the high scores that the good fillers received (average 6.34) indicate that the participants in general understood the task and followed the experiment instructions. Given that, the rather low responses that the sentences with relative clause extractions received (average scores between 2.96 for condition c and 3.32 for condition a) seem to stand in contrast with the generally assumed acceptability of Swedish RC extractions. However, these results can be due to extragrammatical factors such as processing difficulties or meaning and content of the sentences, which in turn might be related to restrictions regarding the construction of test items: Since many SC-verbs listed in Chapter 4 could not be used in the experiment (because they are usually intransitive, or they can only take SC-complements with a reflexive, or because they are ambiguous between taking a SC-complement with or without *som*), the actual set of SC-verbs being testable with relative clauses was in fact very restricted. For some of those verbs in turn (e.g. *skriva* ‘write’, *göra* ‘make’), it proved difficult to build felicitous sentences involving relative clause extractions, because these verbs can only take inanimate objects, which are hard to construe as the subject of a transitive relative clause.

With regard to the predicate restriction predicted by the SC hypothesis, the results show no significant contrast between extractions under different matrix predicates, merely a visual trend of extractions under SC-with-*som* predicates towards receiving better ratings than non-SC predicates (that would have to be investigated further). Hence, the experiment conducted here does not provide any statistical support for the Small Clause Hypothesis put forward by Kush et al. (2013). A null result like this does not disprove the hypothesis; however, considering in addition the various theoretical and empirical problems that the proposal encountered in the investigations of the previous chapters, the SC hypothesis remains highly questionable as an explanation for the possibility to extract from relative clauses in Swedish.

7. Conclusion

In this thesis I have investigated the Small Clause Hypothesis proposed by Kush et al. (2013) to account for relative clause extractions in Mainland Scandinavian on the basis of empirical data from Swedish. After having established a typology of the relevant small clause types (primarily ECM- and OP-constructions) in Swedish, the predictions generated by the SC

hypothesis were tested on the basis of a data sample from the literature and constructed examples (subject to informal judgements). The following conclusions were drawn. First, the main prediction of a predicate restriction on relative clause extractions was not borne out in my study of extraction examples found in the literature, since many of the RC extractions (found in corpus studies or conversations) involve non-SC-selecting predicates. These constitute counterexamples to a predicate restriction for Swedish RCE. Second, I have shown that the syncretism between the Swedish relative complementizer *som* and a predicational operator used in small clauses cannot account for variation with respect to RCE, because data from Danish and Icelandic appear inconsistent with a connection between this kind of syncretism and extraction possibilities. Third, a parsing procedure by which the relevant RCEs are reanalyzed as small clauses with extractions appears very unlikely considering that extractions from small clauses in Swedish require fronting of the predicational operator *som* along with the extracted element. These yield a surface structure that is rather different from relative clause extractions. Finally, the acceptability judgement experiment conducted in order to further investigate the alleged predicate restriction does not contribute any statistical support for the Small Clause Hypothesis, since none of the acceptability contrasts between extractions under different matrix predicate types turned out to be statistically significant.

Considering these findings altogether, the Small Clause Hypothesis can hardly be maintained as a potential explanation for the phenomenon of relative clause extractions in Swedish (or, supposedly, in any Mainland Scandinavian language). I therefore reject the Small Clause Hypothesis as a potential solution for the puzzle that Swedish relative clause extractions pose for syntactic theories.

For the study of relative clause extractions in general, these results imply that more research is needed to determine the exact mechanisms behind strong island constraints and the exceptions to these attested in Mainland Scandinavian. Future research in this area should thus approach the phenomenon by investigating factors beyond the type of matrix predicate involved. The extraction data from Swedish, Danish and Norwegian – and the fact that e.g. Swedish shows exceptions to various other island constraints as well (Engdahl 1982; Ejerhed 1982; Andersson 1994) – seem to suggest that the traditional view of strong islands as inevitably opaque domains must be reconsidered. Approaches along these lines include Boeckx (2007: 137–138, 144), who conjectures that in fact no domain is an absolute island since, upon scrutiny, all islands appear to be selective. Adger & Ramchand (2005), in turn, argue against an equalization of locality effects with movement constraints, because locality constraints might as well be imposed on the operation *Agree* (as a precursor to movement),

rather than on movement itself. Thus, to get a proper understanding of so-called island constraints, islandhood should also be relativized to the sub-operations of movement such as *Agree*, *Copy* and *Merge* (Boeckx 2003; 2007: 138; Adger & Ramchand 2005: 162). In this context, Boeckx (2007: 135–136) also argues against the traditional view to derive opacity of certain domains strictly from “the computational dynamics and resources of narrow syntax”. – Attested extraction possibilities from canonical strong islands, such as relative clause extractions in Swedish, suggest that “the system must have enough computational resources to allow at least these [extractions]” (Boeckx 2007: 137). With that said, research in the field of extractions should clearly not only take syntactic explanations into account, but should also consider factors related to sentence processing and a possible interaction between syntax and processing factors.

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Appendices

A. Experiment stimuli

- (1a) Den här frekvensen uppfattar bara vissa djur signaler som har.
- (1b) Den här frekvensen hör bara vissa djur signaler som har.
- (1c) Den här frekvensen reagerar bara vissa djur på signaler som har.

- (2a) Sådana blommor såg jag en man som sålde
- (2b) Sådana sånger hörde jag en man som sjöng.
- (2c) Sådana blommor talade jag med en man som sålde.

- (3a) En sådan folkdräkt såg jag en tjej som hade på sig.
- (3b) En sådan folkdräkt målade jag av en tjej som hade på sig.
- (3c) En sådan folkdräkt träffade jag en tjej som hade på sig.

- (4a) 10 000 kronor registrerade han en tavla som kostade.
- (4b) 10 000 kronor målade han en tavla som kostade.
- (4c) 10 000 kronor auktionerade han en tavla som kostade.

- (5a) Sådana sorgliga motiv betraktade han gärna tavlor som föreställde.
- (5b) Sådana sorgliga motiv visade han gärna tavlor som föreställde.
- (5c) Sådana sorgliga motiv tittade han gärna på tavlor som föreställde.

- (6a) Fridlysta blommor bevarade vi alla våtmarker som hade.
- (6b) Fridlysta blommor visade vi alla våtmarker som hade.
- (6c) Fridlysta blommor kartlade vi alla våtmarker som hade.

- (7a) Foton stämplade de alla pass som innehöll.
- (7b) Foton visade de alla pass som innehöll.
- (7c) Foton kontrollerade de alla pass som innehöll.

- (8a) Dessa kriterier föreslog de bara en kandidat som uppfyllde.
- (8b) Dessa kriterier fann de bara en kandidat som uppfyllde.
- (8c) Dessa kriterier hittade de bara en kandidat som uppfyllde.

- (9a) Sådana tröjor hade jag en kollega som kunde sticka.
- (9b) Sådana tröjor fann jag en kollega som kunde sticka.
- (9c) Sådana tröjor mötte jag en kollega som kunde sticka.

- (10a) Jasmin hade jag blommor som luktade.
- (10b) Jasmin plockade jag blommor som luktade.
- (10c) Jasmin köpte jag blommor som luktade.

- (11a) Barn hade han många böcker som passar.
- (11b) Barn skrev han många böcker som passar.
- (11c) Barn författade han många böcker som passar.

- (12a) Förfalskade räknade vi inga sedlar som var.
- (12b) Förfalskade förväntade vi oss inga sedlar som var.

- (12c) Förfalskade mottog vi inga sedlar som var.
- (13a) En svart Volvo rapporterade de en man som körde.
(13b) En svart Volvo misstänkte de en man som körde.
(13c) En svart Volvo förföljde de en man som körde.
- (14a) Svartjobbare anmälde de ett företag som hade anställt.
(14b) Svartjobbare misstänkte de ett företag som hade anställt.
(14c) Svartjobbare granskade de ett företag som hade anställt.
- (15a) Minestrone föreslog hon en soppa som liknade.
(15b) Minestrone kokade hon en soppa som liknade.
(15c) Minestrone åt hon en soppa som liknade.
- (16a) Den staden tog de ett tåg som gick till.
(16b) Kaffe bakade hon en kaka som passar till.
(16c) Den staden lagade de ett tåg som gick till.
- (17a) En konstig fransk titel nominerade de en skiva som hade.
(17b) En konstig fransk titel släppte de en skiva som hade.
(17c) En konstig fransk titel sålde de en skiva som hade.
- (18a) Bokföringen anställde vi personer som kunde sköta.
(18b) Bokföringen befordrade vi personer som kunde sköta.
(18c) Bokföringen sökte vi personer som kunde sköta.
- (19a) Så lite erfarenhet anställde vi aldrig någon som hade.
(19b) Så lite erfarenhet befordrade vi aldrig någon som hade.
(19c) Så lite erfarenhet betalade vi aldrig någon som hade.
- (20a) Kubakrisen valde hon en film som handlar om.
(20b) Kubakrisen gjorde hon en film som handlar om.
(20c) Kubakrisen regisserade hon en film som handlar om.
- (21a) Hemförsäkringar använde de en hemsida som kunde jämföra.
(21b) Hemförsäkringar gjorde de en hemsida som kunde jämföra.
(21c) Hemförsäkringar skapade de en hemsida som kunde jämföra.
- (22a) Bensinförbrukning använde jag ett datorprogram som räknar ut.
(22b) Bensinförbrukning skrev jag ett datorprogram som räknar ut.
(22c) Bensinförbrukning skaffade jag ett datorprogram som räknar ut.
- (23a) En sådan kamera använde jag en mobil som hade.
(23b) En sådan kamera fick jag en mobil som hade.
(23c) En sådan kamera köpte jag en mobil som hade.
- (24a) Det här ämnet tog jag aldrig någon medicin som innehöll.
(24b) Det här ämnet fick jag aldrig någon medicin som innehöll.
(24c) Det här ämnet ordinerade jag aldrig någon medicin som innehöll.

B. Instructions

Tack för att du vill delta i den här undersökningen! Genom att svara på denna enkät bidrar du till en studie som jag genomför för min masteruppsats i nordiska språk. Det kan ta lite tid att svara på alla frågor (dock inte längre än en halv timme), så se gärna till att du är tillräckligt pigg och att du inte blir störd under tiden du fyller i enkäten. Innan du börjar med testet får du några instruktioner om vad du ska göra.

I testet kommer du få se ett antal svenska meningar. Du ska bedöma för varje mening om den låter som en acceptabel mening i svenska, dvs. om en modersmålstalare av svenska skulle kunna säga en sådan mening.

- Om du tycker att meningen låter som acceptabel i svenska ger du ett högt värde (6 eller 7).
- Om du tycker att meningen inte låter som en möjlig mening i svenska ger du ett lågt värde (1 eller 2).
- Om en mening inte låter fullständigt omöjlig, men inte heller fullständigt acceptabel, ger du ett värde mellan 3 och 5.

Du ska INTE bedöma meningarnas betydelse eller innehåll, utan bara om meningen låter som möjlig i svenska eller inte. Till exempel beskriver mening b) nere en mycket sannolik situation, men de flesta svensktalande tycker att den är oacceptabel (i motsats till mening a)) och skulle inte kunna använda den. Exempel c) däremot beskriver en osannolik och konstig situation, men om man skulle behöva beskriva en sådan märklig situation (t.ex. i en science fiction-roman), skulle man kunna använda c) utan problem.

- a) Barnen dekorerade julgranen med små flaggor.
(dålig) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 (bra)
(Svaret skulle vara 7)
- b) Barnen dekorerade små flaggor på julgranen.
(dålig) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 (bra)
(Svaret skulle vara 2)
- c) Den rosa elefanten spelade schack med den arga flodhästen.
(dålig) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 (bra)
(Svaret skulle vara 7)

Du ska inte heller bedöma om meningarna är rätta enligt "skolgrammatiken", alltså enligt reglerna som du kanske har lärt dig på gymnasiet. Du ska bara bedöma om meningen låter som naturlig svenska som du eller andra svensktalande skulle kunna använda (även om det är kanske mer sannolikt att höra en sådan mening i talat språk än att se den i skriftspråket). Till exempel har du kanske lärt dig att ordet efter "gillar" i mening d) borde vara "honom". Ändå är det ganska vanligt att säga "han" istället och de flesta svensktalande tycker att d) är en naturlig mening.

- d) Lisa sa att hon inte gillar han.
(dålig) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 (bra)
(Svaret skulle vara 6)

Slutligen: Vissa meningar i svenska är fullständigt acceptabla, även om de är ganska långa och komplexa. Mening e) nere verkar kanske lite komplicerad först, men du kommer

förmodligen resonera att det är en möjlig mening i svenska (även om den är ganska lång) och bedöma den med 6 eller 7 (i motsats till b) ovan som är rätt kort, men helt klart dålig i svenska).

- e) Presidenten förväntades att förklara vem säkerhetstjänsten trodde att nationen är hotad när han anlände på en presskonferens i Mellanöster.

Innan du börjar med testet får du tre övningsmeningar.