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Pancakes and peas – on apparent disagreement and (null) light verbs in Swedish[*]

Abstract. Two variants of what looks like disagreement between a subject and a predicative adjective, exemplified in (1) and (2) below, are explored in this paper.

(1)   *Senap   är gul-t.*   = Construction I
      mustard_{COMMON} is yellow-neut
      'Mustard is yellow.'
(2)   *Två älskare   är   omoralisk-t.* = Construction II
      [two lovers]_{COMMON,PL} be.pres immoral-neut
      'To have two lovers is immoral.'

Firstly, I show that the two constructions have distinct properties, but that they both contain a null pronominal element specified as +neuter in their topmost projections. Hence, the neuter predicative agreement is accounted for. Semantically the null pronoun in question belongs to the fourth semantic gender in Swedish, which contains SUBSTANCES/UNBOUNDED ENTITIES, a category that also includes EVENTS. Secondly, I argue that the subject in (2) also contains a verbal projection, and that the head of this projection belongs to the set of light verbs discussed in Butt (2003). Other instances of null light verbs in Swedish are identified, all of which are assumed to be passepartout verbs (see Butt 2003), i.e. verbs, which are drawn from the most basic part of the lexicon, and which encode basic human activities, acts, and experiences, such as doing, taking, getting, holding, perceiving, going etc. Finally, the relation between Construction II and a corresponding construction with a *med*-phrase '*with*-phrase' paraphrase is explored.

1. Introduction

In Swedish predicative adjectives agree with the subject or the object in grammatical gender and number:

(1)   a *Bil-en   är grön-Ø.*
        car-def.common.sg is green-common.sg
        'The car is green.'
      b *Hus-et   är grön-t.*
        house-def.neut.sg   is green-neut.sg
        'The house is green.'
      c *Bilar-na/hus-en   är grön-a.*
        car-def.common.pl/house-def.neut.pl is green-pl
        'The cars/houses are green.'

There are, however, contexts where the predicative adjective and the subject seem to disagree. As will be shown, there are two variants of this construction, which I will refer to as Construction I and Construction II. Consider (2) for two examples:

(2) a *Senap   är gul-t.*   = Construction I
       mustard$_{COMMON}$ is yellow-neut
       'Mustard is yellow.'
   b *Två älskare   är   omoralisk-t.*   = Construction II
       [two lovers]$_{COMMON,PL}$ be.pres immoral-neut
       'To have two lovers is immoral.'

Both *senap* and *älskare* are common gender nouns – nevertheless agreement is in the neuter, i.e. *-t* on the predicative adjectives in (2a and b) – this is the same agreement, *-t,* as on the predicative adjective in (1b). In (2a) the subject *senap* has a mass reading, whereas the subject in (2b), *två älskare*, has a propositional reading 'to have two lovers'. The predicative adjectives in (2) thus seem to display disagreement in gender and/or number. Traditionally the construction in (2) is referred to as "*Ärter är gott*-konstruktionen" 'the Peas is good-construction' for Swedish, and "*Pannekaker er godt*" 'Pancakes is good' for Norwegian, hence the heading of this paper. It should be stressed that it would be somewhat unintuitive to think of the predicative adjectives in (2a) and (2b) as displaying disagreement, since "canonical agreement" is not really an option in these cases. For (2a) agreement on *-Ø* would simply be ungrammatical; for (2b) plural agreement, i.e. on *-a,* would not be ungrammatical as such, but a different reading would be triggered, 'the two lovers are immoral', implying that immorality is a property of each one of the lovers. In this article I will show that the "disagreement" in cases like (2) is only apparent – in fact agreement holds. Counter to the traditional assumption, I will also show that the agreement pattern is not default, but motivated by a feature of the head of the subject.

    Having argued that agreement holds in (2a) and (2b) I will focus on Construction II. First of all, I will demonstrate that the subject of (2b) is not a simple noun phrase, but a clause-like constituent, where the DP *två älskare* 'two lovers' is the syntactic object. Evidence showing this is case properties, the possibility of adding VP-adverbials without inducing a V2 violation, and properties of anaphors. Secondly, I will argue that there is a null verbal element responsible for the propositional reading of (2b). The null verb in question is located in the head of the vP. This element is the null equivalent of a light verb

such as *ha* 'have', as well as the preposition *med* 'with', and it assigns accusative case to the DP.

The outline of the paper is as follows: In section 2 I demonstrate the properties of Construction I and Construction II. The purpose is to show similarities and differences between the two constructions. A brief overview of earlier work on the constructions is also given. The focus of section 3 is Construction II (cf. (2b)). I will show that the subject in this type of sentences is clausal, and that there is a range of readings for the "missing" predicate, corresponding to a set of verbs that are usually referred to as light verbs. I also propose licensing and identification mechanisms for this null element. In section 4 I discuss properties of the *med*-phrase 'with-phrase', which may replace the subject in (2b), if combined with an expletive *det* 'it' as subject:

(3) *Det är omoralisk-t   med två   älskare.*
     it   is immoral-neut with two   lovers
     'It's immoral to have two lovers.'

Section 5 contains a summary and a conclusion.

2. Two "disagreement" constructions

The agreement pattern illustrated in (2a) and (2b) is not exclusive to Swedish, but found also in e.g. Norwegian.[1] It has been the subject of a vivid discussion in e.g. Wellander (1949, 1973), Heinertz (1953), Teleman (1965, 1969), Widmark (1966, 1971), Faarlund (1977), Malmgren (1990), [1984], Hellan (1986), Källström (1993), and Teleman & al (1999:3). (For an overview, see Källström (1993).) More recently Enger (2004) has discussed the construction in Norwegian, and Josefsson (2006) from the point of view of Swedish. One of Enger's main points is that there is no real difference between constructions I and II. Enger also argues that the neuter agreement in constructions of this type is due to less degree of individuation of the subject. Thus, the agreement in question is default.

One of the main points of Josefsson (2006) was that the "disagreement construction" in question should be divided in two separate ones, each with distinct properties. I have called them Construction I and Construction II. The difference boils down to the presence of an implicit argument – usually an EXPERIENCER or AGENT – in the subject of Construction II sentences; such an argument is absent in Construction I. There are basically four ways in which Construction I (cf. (2a)) and Construction II (cf. (2b)) differ: a. The subject of

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[1] Pereltsvaig (2006) discusses a similar construction in Russian.

Construction II can be paraphrased by an infinitival phrase, which is not possible for the subject of Construction I, b. Construction I cannot be paraphrased by expletive *det* 'it' + a *med*-phrase (*with*-phrase), which is possible for Construction II (cf. (3) above), c. Definite subjects are ungrammatical in Construction I, whereas they are allowed in Construction II (though marginally, a fact that will be discussed in detail below), and d. The subject of Construction I disallows attributive adjectives, whereas this is grammatical for subjects in Construction II. An overview of these differences are given in Figure 1:[2]

	Construction I	Construction II
Subject paraphrased as an infinitival phrase	a *Senap är gul-t.* mustard is yellow-neut ≠*Att ha senap är gul-t.* 'To have mustard is yellow.' (non-sense)	*Två älskare är omoralisk-t.* two lovers is immoral-neut = *Att ha två älskare är omoralisk-t.* 'To have two lovers is immoral.'
Subject paraphrased with *det* + *med*-phrase	**Det är gul-t med senap.* it is yellow-neut with mustard (non-sense)	*Det är omoralisk-t med två älskare.* it is immoral-neut with two lovers 'It's immoral to have two lovers.'
Definite subjects	**Senap-en är gul-t.* mustard-common.def is yellow-neut	*Väska-n på ryggen är modern-t i år.* bag-common.def on back.the is modern.neut this year 'Its modern to have the bag on the back this year.'
Attributive adjectives	**Fransk senap är gult.* French.common mustard is yellow.neut	*Två franska älskare är omoralisk-t.* two French lovers is immoral-neut 'It's immoral to have two French lovers.'

Figure 1. A survey over the differences between Construction I and Construction II.

In previous studies (Josefsson 1999, 2006) I have argued that Construction I contains a null pronoun in the topmost projection of the subject noun phrase. This pronoun is responsible for the neuter agreement on the predicative adjective. The structure is thus parallel to the construction illustrated in (4a), in which an overt pronoun, *hon* 'she' occupies the topmost position of a DP, preceding the definite article.[3] Josefsson (1999, 2006) refers to the pronoun *hon* in (4a) as a prenominal apposition.

From Figure 1 it should be clear that both the Swedish typical example *Ärter är gott* 'Peas is good construction' and the corresponding Norwegian one *Pannekaker er godt* 'Pancakes is good' are Construction II sentences.

[3] It should be pointed out that there is no intonation break between the pronoun and the rest of the subject in (4), which implies that *den nya professorn* does not have an apposition reading.

(4) a [SemP hon [DP den nya professorn]] b [SemPØ [NP senap]]
          she   the new professor   mustard
          'she/the new professor'   'mustard'

The prenominal apposition, *hon* in (4a), is probably in many ways similar both to the proprial article in northern Swedish and to the obligatory or near-obligatory use of personal pronouns together with proper names in Icelandic; in argument positions *hún Lísa* (she Lisa) 'she/Lísa' is preferred over the simplex *Lísa* in Icelandic.[4] A difference between the leftmost pronominal element in (4a) and (4b) is not only the distinction overt vs. null, but also the size of the noun phrase, which is *hon* + a full DP in (4a), but presumably Ø + an NP in (4b). Josefsson (1999, 2006) refers to the phrase hosting the pronoun *hon* in (4a) (and consequently also the null pronominal element in (4b)) as a Semantic phrase, a SemP.

    Josefsson (1999, 2006) combines the assumption of a SemP on top of the DP with an analysis of the gender system in Swedish according to which there are four semantic genders: MALE, FEMALE, THING (or BOUNDED ENTITY), and SUBSTANCE (or UNBOUNDED ENTITY), the last gender including EVENTS, which are viewed as semantically equivalent to substances. Each semantic gender corresponds to a particular pronoun: *han* 'he' – MASCULINE, *hon* 'she' – FEMININE, *den* (it.common) 'it' – THING/BOUNDED ENTITY, and *det* (it.neut) 'it' – THING/BOUNDED ENTITY. The pronoun *det*, used as a semantic pronoun, lacks a number feature; crucially it has a gender feature though – neuter. In examples like (2a) Josefsson (2006) assumes that this neuter feature is present in the head of the SemP. The noun phrase, including a SemP on top is merged as an argument of the adjective, and agreement between the adjective and this phrase is established in the same way as in more trivial examples, such as (1) above. Consequently, agreement on *-t* in (2) is semantically motivated, not default, and the neuter feature is fully accounted for. The structure of the subject in (2a) is shown in (5):

If an intonation break is supplied between *hon* and *den nya professorn* the result is that *den nya professorn* gets an appositional reading, hence presumably a different structure.
[4] See Delsing1993:134.

(5)   SemP

Sem°   NP
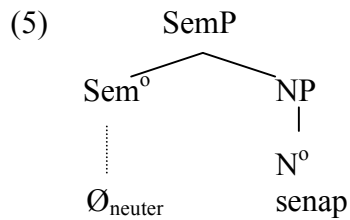
Ø_neuter   N°
              senap

What is important about (5) is that the neuter feature is not a property of the noun itself, but part of the extended projection containing the noun.[5] This explains why the subject in a Construction I sentence can take neither definiteness inflection nor an adjectival modifier (cf. Figure 1). If a definiteness feature would be present on the lexical head, yielding *senapen (mustard.def.common) 'the mustard', used in Construction I, this feature would also require the presence of a grammatical gender feature, maybe only for the sake phonology. (The definiteness feature in non-plural is always marked for grammatical gender, which means that the definiteness suffix on nouns cannot be spelled out unless a gender feature is present.) A definite noun inflected for common gender would thus cause a gender conflict within the noun phrase – the upstairs projection, the SemP, would carry the neuter feature, whereas the downstairs projection, the DP/NP, would carry a common gender feature – causing the derivation to crash. (For a more detailed account, see Josefsson 2006.[6])

Assuming that adjectival agreement, at least in the non-plural, is marked for grammatical gender, a similar gender conflict as the one described above will arise if an attributive adjective is merged. *Fransk senap är gul-t (French-common mustard is yellow-neut) is thus out, in my view because the common gender feature on the attributive adjective *fransk* clashes with a gender feature hosted in the SemP.[7]

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[5] A similar proposal has been made in Dahl (2000). Dahl uses the term referential gender, instead of semantic gender.

[6] An alternative worth considering would be to assume that the features hosted in the down-stairs projection, i.e. NP in (5), could not percolate, and thus that the features of the upstairs projection, i.e. the SemP, would override any features further down in the tree. Independent evidence indicates that this is not to case, see Josefsson (2006) for more discussion.

[7] An alternative explanation for the ungrammaticality of *Fransk senap är gul-t (French mustard is yellow-neut) could be that the adjective would block the reading of 'unbounded substance', since it would induce a kind reading where boundaries are assumed: 'the French kind of mustard', vs. 'other kinds of mustard'. According to some speakers a non-head like *eko-* 'ecological' induces a similar kind of ungrammaticality: *?Ekosenap är gul-t, which would be ungrammatical for the same reason; *eko-* would induce a kind reading, hence also presuppose boundaries.

The SemP in (4a) and (5) is located in the left periphery of the noun phrase. Within the clausal domain the left periphery of the CP is the locus of speaker-oriented adverbials, according to Cinque's functional sequence of adverbials (Cinque 1999). The pronoun *hon* 'she' in (4a) and the neuter feature in (5) are in a sense speaker-oriented too, since the pronoun/pronominal feature adds a speaker's dimension to the individual/entity denoted by the noun. In (4a) the professor is specified as a female, and (4b) mustard gets a mass reading. These readings are not predetermined by the nouns themselves; the natural gender or sexus of a professor cannot be deduced from the noun *professor*, a fact that shows that the feature FEMALE is added as an optional feature to the derivation. The adding of *han* 'he' and *hon* 'she' in this position – or nothing – is thus due to the mind and the intention of the speaker. For (4b) a bounded reading can be obtained if the definite article or a definite demonstrative is added, *den där senapen* 'that mustard'. According to this view, countability and uncountability are not inherent properties of nouns; in most cases in actual use we treat *senap* 'mustard' as a mass noun and e.g. *dog* as a count noun, but this in not predetermined in the lexicon.

So far I have discussed the fact that definite subjects and adjectival modifiers are disallowed in Construction I subjects. Figure 1 lists two more differences between Construction I and Construction II: Construction II subjects may be paraphrased by an infinitival phrase, and by a *med*-phrase (*with*-phrase) + expletive *det*, possibilities that are unavailable for Construction I sentences. These properties will be discussed further in sections 2 and 3.

It should be pointed out that not all scholars agree that Construction I and II are two different constructions, for instance not Enger (2006). Drawing on Widmark (1966), Enger (2004) argues that the agreement in (2a) is an instance of semantic agreement. What surfaces as a subject is a noun with a gender that is different from the usual one, neuter. This "gender switch" corresponds to a different reading, where the subject is understood to have "a low degree of individuation" (Enger 2004:26). However, neuter agreement can neither show up on attributive adjectives nor on simplex nouns. (6) is, in other words, ungrammatical, which is problematic for Enger's analysis. (Note that *matematik* is a common gender noun.)

(6) *rolig-t*   *matematik*
     fun-neut   mathematics

cf.   *rolig-Ø*   *matematik*
      fun.common   mathematics
      'fun mathematics'

Another drawback in Enger's analysis is that a subject denoting a SUBSTANCE as in (2a) rejects all kinds of definite inflection, in Construction II contexts as well as in other contexts:

(7) a *Senap-et/   *senap-en   är gul-t.
        mustard-def.neut/mustard-def.common   is yellow-neut.

     b *det   gul-a   senap-et
        def.neut yellow-agr mustard-def.neut

        cf. den   gul-a   senap-en
            def.common   yellow.agr mustard-def.common
            'the yellow mustard'

     c *Ge mig senap-et.
        give me   mustard-def.neut

        cf. Ge   mig senap-en.
            give me   mustard-def.common
            'Give me the mustard.'

Enger does not comment on the impossibility of adding attributive adjectives, such as *fransk/franskt* to the subject noun phrase in Construction I in (2a). However, he explains the fact that only predicative adjectives can have what he claims to be a default gender, by appealing to Corbett's Agreement hierarchy. This hierarchy basically states that languages are more apt to allow no agreement or default agreement on predicative adjectives than on attributive ones (cf. Corbett 1991). The main problem with Enger's approach is that neuter is not the default gender, neither in Swedish, nor in Norwegian, the language on which he bases his assumptions. (For a discussion on default gender assignment in Norwegian, see Trosterud 2001.) We have good reasons to assume that default agreement ("retreat to the general case", in terms of Distributed Morphology, see Halle & Marantz (1993)) is *-Ø* in Swedish. One piece of evidence pointing in this direction is that predicative agreement in the plural in the northern Swedish dialects is *-Ø*, not *-t*.[8] Secondly, Corbett's agreement

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[8] Example (1c), see (1') below, would have a Ø agreement inflection in Northern Swedish:

(1) c *Bilar-na/hus-en*   *är grön-a.*   Standard Swedish
        car-def.common.pl/house-def.neut.pl is green-pl
        'The cars/houses are green.'

(1')   *Bilar-na/hus-en*   *är grön- Ø.*   Northern Swedish
        car-def.common.pl/house-def.neut.pl is green-pl
        'The cars/houses are green.'

hierarchy does not explain agreement patterns; it merely describes cross-linguistic facts. The question why "default" agreement should be allowed on predicative adjectives but not on attributive ones remains unanswered in Enger's analysis.

3. Construction II

3.1 The subject is clausal

The DP *två älskare* 'two lovers' is the surface subject in (2b). I will claim that the DP is not really a subject, but rather an object, embedded in a clausal structure, which, in turn, is used as a subject.[9]

The first argument is that the subject can be paraphrased by an infinitival phrase, where the DP shows up as the syntactic object:

(2) b *Två   älskare   är   omoralisk-t.*
        [two lovers]COMMON,PL   be.pres   immoral-neut
        'To have two lovers is immoral.'

(8) *Att   ha   två   älskare   är omoralisk-t.*
     to   have two   lovers   is immoral-neut
     'To have two lovers is immoral.'

(8) shows that the subject in (2b) has a propositional reading. In earlier versions of generative theory, Construction II was analyzed in terms of pruning or deletion:

(2b') ~~*Att ha*~~ *två älskare är omoralisk-t.*

Free or unrestricted deletion/pruning of this kind is of course unappealing. Furthermore, as Enger (2004) points out, an important question remains with a deletion analysis, namely the question of what verb is deleted. In many cases different verbs could be supplied:

(2b'') *Att se/   få/   ha   arga hundar   är hemsk-t.*
        to see/ get/ have angry dogs   is awful-neut

The second argument in favor of viewing the surface subject as an object is the possibility of having reflexives. The anaphoric pronouns *sin/sina* in (9) indicate

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[9] This is also the position taken in Teleman & al., (1999), part 3:702–704.

the presence of a subject antecedent. Crucially, the antecedent is not the overt DP:[10]

(9) a *Familjebildning*   *utanför* *sin* *klan*   *är olaglig-t*
        family+establishing_COMMON outside REFL clan_COMMON is illegal-neut

        i *Yttre* *Mongoliet.*
        in Outer Mongolia
        'The establishing of a family externally to one's clan is illegal in Outer Mongolia.'

     b *Hemfärd*   *till USA* *utan*   *sin* *dotter*   *var*
        hometravel_COMMON to USA without REFL daughter_COMMON   was

        omöjlig-t,   *tyckte* *Sally Fields.*
        impossible-neut, thought Sally Fields
        'Returning to the USA without her daughter was impossible, Sally Fields thought.'

     c *En blomma*   *till sina närmaste*   *medhjälpare*   *vid julen*
        a flower_COMMON to REFL closest   coworkers_COMMON, PLUR   at Christmas

        är självklar-t.
        is natural-neut
        'To give a flower to your closest coworkers at Christmas is natural.'

     d *Två* *älskare*   *utöver*   *sin* *make*
        two lovers_COMMON, PLURAL in-addition-to REFL husband_COMMON

        är omoralisk-t.
        is immoral-neut
        'To have two lovers, in addition to one's husband, is immoral.'

The use of a reflexive within an ordinary noun phrase subject is normally ungrammatical:[11]

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[10] (9c) is inspired by Teleman & al., (1999), part 3:703.

[11] The issue of reflexives inside DPs is, however, more complex. Attributive PPs containing a *med*-phrase 'with phrase' or *utan*-phrase 'without-phrase' containing a reflexive pronoun, is fine:

(i) *Kvinnan*   *med sina barn*   *försvann*   *i* *lördags.*
    woman.the   with REFL children disappeared   in Saturday
    'The woman with her children disappeared last Saturday.'

As will be further developed in section 3 below, it seems that *med*- and *utan*-phrases (*with*- and *without*-phrases), as exemplified in (i), are clausal. In traditional grammar only phrases consisting of *med* + DP + adverbial/ predicative, such as *med sitt barn på ryggen* in (ii), are assumed to have clausal properties (cf. Teleman & al, part 3: 697).

(10) *_Blommor från sitt hemland doftar underbar-t._
　　　flowers from REFL home country smell wonderful-neut
　　　intended reading: 'Flowers from a persons home country smell wonderful.'

I will remain agnostic as to the nature of the subject in the sentences in (9), but a plausible candidate for the binder of the reflexives in (9) is a generic PRO, which we know can bind reflexives in infinitival clauses. This is illustrated in (11):

(11) _AttPRO vaxa sin bil är jobbig-t._
　　　to PRO wax REFL car is hard-neut
　　　'To wax one's car is a lot of hard work.'

Thirdly, if the surface subject is a pronoun it gets non-nominative case:

(12) One cannibal to the other:
　　　Henne med senap och ketchup vore läcker-t.
　　　her with mustard and ketchup would.be delicious-neut
　　　'To get her with mustard and ketchup would be delicious.'

It is possible to use the corresponding pronoun in nominative as subject, i.e. _hon_ 'she', as shown in (13):

(13) _Hon med senap och kethcup är läcker._
　　　she with mustard and ketchup is delicious.common
　　　'The woman/girl with mustard and ketchup is delicious.'

Notice, however, that (13) differs in meaning from (12). In (13) the PP _med senap och ketchup_ is construed as an attributive to the noun: 'the girl/woman who has/holds mustard and ketchup'. In this case, agreement between the pronoun _hon_, and the adjective _läcker_ 'delicious' is straightforward. Crucially the propositional meaning 'to have' or 'to eat' is absent in (13), which means that it is a trivial sentence consisting of the subject _hon med senap och ketchup_ 'she/the female with mustard and ketchup' + verb + agreeing predicative adjective.

　　　Fourthly, more than one phrase can precede the finite verb in Construction II sentences without inducing a V2-violation. If the same constituent is used sentence initially with an ordinary predicate like _bruka ge_ 'usually give' or _ha_ 'have', the sentence is ungrammatical:

(ii) _En kvinna med sitt barn på ryggen kom gående på gatan._
　　　a woman with REFL child on back.the came walking on street.the
　　　'A woman with her child on her back came walking down the street.'

(14) a *En blomma tillvåra närmaste medhjälpare vid julen
      a   flower to our closest   coworkers   at   Christmas

      brukar   vi   självklar-t   ge.
      usually.do we   natural-neut   ge

   b *Pengar i   madrassen   hade hon placerat.
      money in matlass.def had she placed.

   cf. Pengar i madrassen   är dum-t.
       money in matlass.common.def   is stupid-neut
       'It's stupid to have/put money in ones matlass.'

   c *Vitlök i   kylskåpet   har vi   inte.
      garlic in fridge.the have we   not

   cf. Vitlök i   kylskåpet   är dum-t.
       garlic in refrigerator. the   is silly-neut
       'It's stupid to keep/put garlic in the refrigerator.'

(14) shows that the subjects of Construction II sentences are not ordinary DPs, but larger phrases, containing the overt DP.[12]

The main point so far is that the surface DP subject of Construction II sentences is not simply a noun phrase, but a larger structure, presumably a clausal type of phrase. It contains a non-overt subject, a predicate and an object. VP-adverbials can also be present. In 2.2 we shall take a closer look at the structure of this clausal subject.

3.2 The structure of the clausal subject

The examples in (9) shows that there is a hidden subject within the subject and (12) that the structure contains a case assigner, responsible for the accusative case on the pronoun. The propositional reading of the subject indicates that the case assigner is a verbal element. As pointed out above it was proposed in earlier days of generative theory that the subject in Construction II sentences is an infinitival phrase, where the leftmost part is deleted. Enger (2004) argues that such an analysis is untenable, since we in that case would be unable to identify the deleted element; different verbs can be supplied in this position.

(15) Attha/ få/   se   /möta   arga hundar är obehaglig-t.
     to have/ get/ see/ meet   angrydogs   is unpleasant-neut

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[12] The sentences in (14) could be reinterpreted in such a way that the PPs within the subject are construed as attributives. This is expected from the analysis.

In my view we have no reason to assume that the verb is deleted; instead the verb is null, i.e. devoid of phonological realization. The idea is that the null verb is, more specifically, a light verb, corresponding to a basic concept, which we, as a first attempt, may gloss as HAVE. In order to show that a null light verb would not be a unique possibility for this construction, we shall first take a look at a different construction where the presence of a null light verb has been suggested. The construction in question consists of subject + modal + directional PP or adverbial (cf. Josefsson (1998)):

(16) a *Jag   ska   till   Rom.*
      I   shall to   Rome
      'I will go to Rome.'

    b *De   ska   absolut Ø därifrån den här veckan.*
      they shall absolutely thence   this here week
      'They definitely need to be removed from here this week.'

The only overt verb in (16a and b) is the modal *ska* 'shall, will', which is an unambiguous modal auxiliary in Swedish. Normally such a modal combines with a main verb, and is unable to take complements headed by the infinitival marker *att* 'to', a fact that provides clear evidence of its status as a modal. Thus, (16) shows that a main verb that includes a meaning that we could characterize as GO can be left out, provided a modal is present, and provided there is a directional PP or adverbial. Different actual verbs could be supplied in (16): *åka* 'go', *fara* 'go', *resa* 'travel' etc. Josefsson (1998) argues that the null main verb in (16a and b) is licit if properly licensed and identified in the sense of Rizzi (1986). The licensing requirement is fulfilled by the auxiliary and the identification requirement by the directional PP/adverbial, which identifies the content of the null verb as GO. The concept GO does not correspond straightforwardly to any particular lexical item in Swedish, but there is a cluster of verbs with this concept as a core part of their meaning, for example *gå* 'walk by foot', *åka* 'travel', *resa* 'travel', and *förflytta sig* 'move'.

The verb GO is a good candidate for a light verb. It is neither a modal nor an auxiliary, and it corresponds to a basic concept, which we may illustrate in terms of the SOURCE, GOAL, and PATH schema shown in (17):

(17)   SOURCE ——————————————▶ GOAL

The schema in (17) is unspecified for agentivity, which means that the entity that is transferred from a source to a goal, could be a human, acting volitionally, or an entity, human or non-human, which is being transported.

Drawing on a light verb analysis of examples such as (16) I propose that Construction II has a similar structure. Thus, no deletion has taken place; the null head corresponds to the basic concept HAVE, which, just like the concept GO, can be phonologically realized by different language-specific lexemes, for example *ha* 'have', *få* 'get' and *äta* 'eat', yielding sentences like (18), which, accordingly, should be compared to (2b):

(18) *Att   ha   två   älskare   är omoralisk-t.*
     to   have two   lovers   is immoral-neut

As (18) shows, the presence of an infinitival marker is obligatory if an overt verb is supplied. The reason for this will not be explored in this paper, but I assume that it is due to the relation between tense (which could have a plus and a minus value), and the non-finite complementizer.

The important point so far is that what appears to be the subject of Construction II sentences is an object DP embedded in a clausal constituent. The verb is null, and in the cases discussed so far it corresponds to the basic concept HAVE:
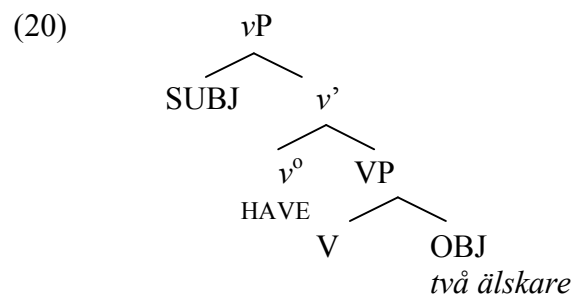
(19) HAVE *två   älskare   är   omoralisk-t.*
     have [two   lovers]$_{\text{COMMON,,PL}}$ be.pres   immoral-NEUT

The next question is the more precise nature of the null verb, in (19) glossed as HAVE.

The notion of light verb has been in the focus of attention in recent literature. The concept was introduced already by Jespersen, who pointed at examples consisting of *have*, *take* and *give* + NP, for example *have a rest/a read/a cry, take a sneak/a drive/a walk/ a plunge, give a sigh/a shout/a shiver/a pull/a ring* (Jespersen 1965, vil VI:117). The term light verb was coined by Grimshaw & Mester (1988), who examined the Japanese verb *suru* 'do'. Butt (1995) provides an extensive overview of "the light verb jungle" in a variety of languages, and she shows that in a language like Urdu verbs like *take*, *give*, *let*, *fall*, *go* and *hit* seem to be light verbs. Lundin (2002) suggests that *låta* 'let' and *få* 'get' are light verbs in Swedish, and Thurén (2008) analyses *komma* 'come' in conjunction with participles, for instance in the construction *komma gående* (come walk.present partciple) as a light verb. Butt (2003) argues that light verbs are in a sense the same verbs as the corresponding main verbs. Diachronically,

the light verb and the corresponding main verb have coexisted, which means that light verbs, as opposed to auxiliaries and modals, are not the result of grammaticalization processes. Light verbs are, finally, according to Butt, *passepartouts*: "their lexical semantic specifications are so general that they can be used in a multitude of contexts, that is, they 'fit' many constellations" (Butt 2003:18). Butt & Lahiri (2004) posit "that a handful of verbs universally act as *passespartouts*. /---/ These verbs are always drawn from the lexically 'simplest' part of the lexicon /…/ i.e. they mainly encompass motion verbs and basic relations such as 'give', 'take', 'put', 'make' and 'do'" (Butt & Lahiri 2004, 36). Also *have* is mentioned as a light verb.[13]

I will adopt the idea that light verbs are passespartout verbs, as suggested in Butt (2003) and Butt & Lahiri (2004), as well as Adger's assumption that light verbs are instances of little *v* (Adger 2003: 134). If this is correct, a subject in a Construction II sentence is at least as large as a *v*P. (20) shows the structure of the subject in (2b), first attempt.

(20)

```
            vP
           /  \
        SUBJ   v'
              /  \
            v°    VP
           HAVE  /  \
                V    OBJ
                   två älskare
```

(20) provides an antecedent for the presence of reflexives (given the assumption that VP-adverbials are adjoined to the VP, a reasonable assumption).[14] The propositional meaning of the subject, the absence of a violation of the V2-constraint when a VP-adverbial is added also follow straightforwardly from the proposed analysis.

The difference between the subject in (2a), *två älskare* 'two lovers' and corresponding infinitival paraphrase in (18) is not only the presence vs. the absence of the infinitival marker. The verb in (18) is in the infinitival form. Following Chomsky (1999) I assume that infinitive is in fact a tensed form, more specifically a form marked -tense, which means that tense is defective or
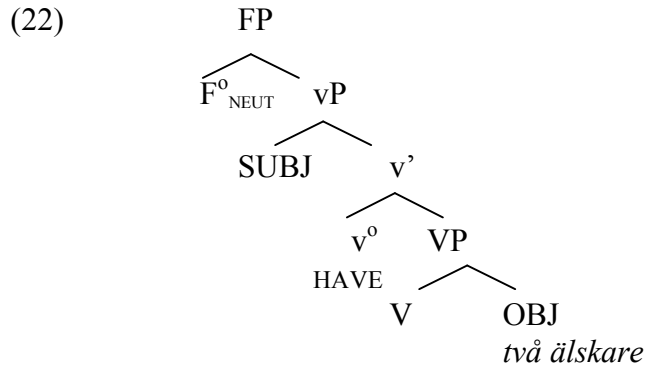
---

[13] Teleman & al (1999, part 3: 344) point out that a paraphrase of the subject in constructions of the type discussed here may involve a verb with little meaning, for example *ha* 'have', *få* 'get', and *ge* 'give'. Although the term 'light verb' is not mentioned in this work, the concept seems to be similar.

[14] As pointed out above I will not discuss the more precise nature of the subject in (20), although arbitrary PRO is a suitable candidate.

unspecified. This implies that the subject *att ha två älskare* in (8) is at least as large as a TP, i.e. it contains a checking head, maybe even a CP layer. In Construction II sentences, such as (2b), we have no reason to assume that the subject is a TP. The main reason is that there is no place for lower adverbs, such as the negation. This indicates that the structure is in fact no larger than a vP:[15]

(21) *Inte två   älskare är moralisk-t.*
      not   two   lovers   is moral-neut
      Intended reading: 'Not to have two lovers is moral.'

As pointed out above, we have no reason to assume that the neuter agreement in Construction II sentences is default. Hence, we need to give a proper account for this agreement. Since gender is a nominal feature, and the head of a vP is verbal, we need to assume the presence of a head, F^o, hosting the feature that triggers predicative agreement in the neuter.

(22)

```
              FP
            /    \
        F°NEUT    vP
                /    \
            SUBJ      v'
                    /    \
                  v°      VP
                 HAVE   /    \
                      V      OBJ
                          två älskare
```

Given the structure in (4a), it is fully reasonable to assume that the FP in (22) is identical to the SemP in [[hon]den nya professorn], and that F^o presumably triggers agreement in neuter in Construction I sentences. This would also allow us to account for the similarities and difference between Construction I and Construction II sentences in a more precise way: The subject of Construction I sentences is a SemP taking a NP complement, whereas the subject of a Construction II sentence is a SemP taking a vP complement. In both cases the neuter feature is hosted in Sem^o. This feature triggers agreement on the predicative adjective. The meaning associated with this feature is that of the fourth gender, i.e. SUBSTANCE or UNBOUNDED ENTITY.

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[15] Note that (18) can be negated without any problem:

(i) *Att   inte   ha   två   älskare är omoralisk-t.*
     to   not   have two   lovers   is immoral-neut

I will remain agnostic as to the more precise relation between the head F in (22), the head C⁰ in embedded clauses and the C⁰ heading infinitival clauses. We may conclude, however, that the feature content of F and that of C⁰ in infinitival clauses are not identical, since F cannot be lexicalized with *att*:

(23) **Att två älskare är omoralisk-t.*

So far I have discussed Construction II sentences with the null light verb HAVE 'have', which alternatively may have the flavor 'get', which is a dynamic version of stative HAVE. In addition there seems to be cases with a null GIVE:[16]

(24) *Den där   buketten   till   svärmor   i lördags*
     that there bunch-of-flowers   to   mother-in-law in Saturday

     var slug-t.
     was cunning-neut
     'To give those flowers to your mother-in-law last Saturday was cunning.'

The reason why the null verb is identified as GIVE is the presence of the PP *till svärmor* 'to mother-in-law', which carries the theta-role GOAL. The GOAL theta-role normally requires the presence of a DP carrying a THEME role – this is the very essence of the notion ditransitive. Both the GOAL and the THEME role can identified in (24), hence the null verb is presumably a ditransitive, typically is lexicalized as *ge* 'give'. In a way similar to null HAVE, different lexemes can be supplied, for example *ge* 'give', *överlämna* 'give', and *överräcka* 'reach'.
    (25) shows that PERCEIVE may be used as a null verb:

(25) *Våldsfilmer   är   skadlig-t.*
     violence-films   is   harmful-neut
     'It's harmful to see films with violence.'

Examples like (24) and (25) raise the question of the identification of the null verb. It seems as though not only adverbials play a role. Our world knowledge (films are normally watched, not eaten, for instance) helps us to retrieve the meaning of the null light verb as PERCEIVE or possibly even the more specified SEE. It might even be the case that the identity of the null light verb may remain undetermined, thus "oscillating" between different readings:

(26) *Arga   kunder   är otrevlig-t.*
     angry   customers   is unpleasant-neut

---

[16] This example is provided by Valeria Molnár.

(26) could mean that it is unpleasant to listen to angry costumers on the phone, to see them in the store, or to just have them around. One possibility is to assume that HAVE has a very broad meaning, including, 'eat', 'see',' listen to', 'smell', 'hold in the hand', 'control' etc. The other option is that there is a range of concepts with which the null element may be associated, and that a sentence can be underdetermine as to exactly which one.

It is possibly the case that there is as null light verb corresponding to TAKE too:

(27) *Bilen   till   Stockholm blir   för   dyr-t.*
     car.common.def to   Stockholm will.be too   expensive-neut
     'It would be too expensive to drive the car to work.'

(27) should be compared to (28) below:

(28) *Att ta   bilen   tillStockholm blir   för dyr-t.*
     to take car.common.def to Stockholm will.be   too expensive-neut
     'It would be too expensive to drive take car to Stockholm.'

The light verb discussed in Grimshaw & Mester (1988) is the Japanese verb *suru* 'do'. DO and MAKE seem to be the lightest of all light verbs, i.e. the prototypical light verb. A null DO seems to be an option in Swedish as well:

(29) a *Delbetalning   av   lånet   är klok-t.*
       partial.payment$_{COMMON}$ of   loan.the is wise-neut

     b *Vattentvättning   är riskabel-t.*
       water.washing$_{COMMON}$ is risky-neut

     c *Avrättningar   är omoralisk-t.*
       executions$_{COMMON.PLURAL}$ is immoral-neut

All the initial DPs in (29), *delbetalning*, *vattentvättning* and *avrättning,* are typical event nouns. However, only for (29a), is a paraphrase with the verb *göra* 'do' impeccable:

(30) *Att   göra delbetalning   av lånet   är klok-t.*
     to   do   partial.payment of loan.the is wise-neut
     'It is wise to do partial payment of the loan.'

However, as pointed out above, the null light verbs discussed in this paper do not necessarily correspond to actual language-specific verbs. They are, to borrow the term used by Butt & Lahiri *passepartouts*, a group that encompass "motion verbs and basic relations such as 'give', 'take', 'put', 'make' and 'do'"

(Butt & Lahiri 2004, 36). The range of actual verbs in a language that fit into the light verb position is language-specific.

In addition to the null light verbs discussed so far at least two more options seem to be available: *hålla* 'hold' and *sätta* 'put':

(31) a *Äktenskapslöften   är   viktig-t.*
      marriage.promise.pl is   important-neut
      'To keep promises of marriage is important.'

    b *Målrelaterade   betyg   på en liten grupp   är svårt.*
      outcome.related grades   on a small group   is difficult
   'To set grades related to learning outcomes on a small group is difficult.'

(31a and b) should be compared to (32):

(32) a *Att hålla äktenskapslöften är viktig-t.*
      to hold marriage.promise.pl is important-neut
      "To keep promises of marriage is important.'

    b *Att sätta målrelaterade betyg på en liten grupp är svårt.*
      to put learning.outcome.related grades on a small group is difficult
      'To set grades related to learning outcomes on a small group is difficult.'

So far I have proposed a number of null light verbs in Swedish: HAVE, PERCEIVE, GIVE, TAKE, DO, HOLD and PUT. To this list the verb GO should be added, as proposed in Josefsson (1998), even though the term light verb is not mentioned in that article. I will leave the question open as to whether there are more null light verbs in Swedish. The proposed analysis addresses directly Enger's (2004) objection to a deletion analysis of the "peas and pancakes construction". The "missing" verb is a light verb, which means that the number of verbs that could fit in is restricted. According to a strong version of a general theory of light verbs, this class of verbs is the same cross linguistically, probably because they encode basic human activities, acts, and experiences, such as doing, taking, getting, holding, perceiving, going etc.[17]

The light verb in constructions like *take a bath*, *take a rest*, *give a shout* etc. seems to have very little concrete meaning associated with *take* and *give* in examples such as *take a pencil* and *give flowers to someone*. However, Ekberg (1993) shows clearly that there is a very close link between the "concrete" main verb *ta* 'take' and the more abstract *ta*, used as 'function verb' (which I take to

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[17] The idea that light verbs encode basic human activities, acts, and experiences motivates grouping them together and is what makes them different cognitively/ semantically from tense, modal, and aspectual auxiliaries.

refer to the same group of verbs as light verbs). Thus, it should pose no problem that the null light verbs proposed in this paper retain a "concrete" lexical meaning component. A similar objection could be raised for another class of verbs, namely those used in pseudocoordinations, exemplified in (33) below. Wiklund (2005) proposes that verb 1 in pseudocoordinations, such as (33), are light verbs.

(33)   a *Peter sitter och   fiskar.*
           Peter sits   and   fishes
           'Peter is fishing.'

       b *Maria   körde   och   handlade   jordgubbar.*
           Maria   drove   and   bought   strawberries.
       ≈ 'Maria drove away to buy strawberries.'

Verb 1 in pseudocoordinations is often a motion or a posture verb, for instance *sitta* 'sit' or *köra* 'drive', as in (33). Josefsson (1991) showed that even though the pseudocoordination affects the aspect/aktionsart of the sentence, yielding something that looks like a progressive form in (33a) or an instigation of an event in (33b), the concrete denotation of the verb is retained. This means that Peter actually sits in (33a) and that Maria drives in (33b). Thus, in my view, light verbs can indeed have a light lexical meaning, that is, they encode basic human activities, acts, and experiences, such as doing, taking, getting, holding, perceiving, going, but they can also take the step over and become ultra light, as in the case of Japanese *suru* do (Grimshaw & Mester 1988).

3.3 Definite DPs in the subject of Construction II sentences

It has been noted in the literature that definite DPs are heavily constrained as subjects (or rather as DP objects within the clausal subject) in Construction II sentences (see e.g. Wellander 1949, Faarlund 1977, Källström 1993:1996). Faarlund (1977) even states that definite DPs are ungrammatical in Norwegian. (34) shows an ungrammatical example of this type:

(34)   **Älskarna   är omoralisk-t.*
          lover.plur.def is immoral-neut

The restriction against definite DPs is not absolute, however, as witnessed by examples like (12) and (24), repeated below, as well as (35), and (36)–(37) (the latter two are authentic examples, found on the Internet):

(12) One cannibal to the other:
      Henne   med senap   och   ketchup vore   läcker-t.
      her   with mustard and   ketchup would.be   delicious-neut
      'To get/have/eat her with mustard and ketchup would be delicious.'

(24) *Den där   buketten   till   svärmor   i lördags*
      that there bunch-of-flowers   to   mother-in-law in Saturday

      var   slug-t.
      was   cunning-neut
      'To give those flowers to your mother-in-law last Saturday was cunning.'

(35) *Väskan   på ryggen är modern-t   i   år.*
      bag.def.common on back.the is modern.neut   in year
      'Its modern to have the bag on the back this year.'

(36) *Kvalitet-en   är viktig-t.*
      quality-common.def.sing is important-neut
      'The quality is important.'

(37) *Den kommunala   sponsring-en   till bandyklubbar är vanlig-t.*
      the   public   sponsorship-common.def to bandy+clubs   is common-neut
      'Public sponsorship of bandy clubs is common.'

Regarding the ungrammatical example in (34) I will argue that it is not definiteness *per se* that is problematic, but specificity. (35)–(37) are grammatical because *väskan, kvaliteten* and *den kommunala sponsringen* are unspecific. It is normally the case that definite DPs in Swedish have a specific interpretation; unspecific DPs are normally indefinite or bare. This is the reason why it might be difficult to construct examples such as the ones in (36) and (37). Evidence that it is specificity and not definiteness that restricts definite DPs is that an indefinite DP, such as *en chokladbit* 'a piece of chocolate' in the subject of Construction II sentences can only receive an unpecific interpretation; consider (38).

(38) *En   chokladbit   är trevlig-t.*
      a   chocolate+piece is nice-neut
      'It's nice with a piece of chocolate.'

The restriction against specific DPs in the clausal subject of Construction II sentences remains to be explained, however. In my view this restriction is due to the more general role of DP objects in the syntax. Arad (1996) shows that DP objects – more specifically specific DPs – typically play the role of delimiting an Event. They are, in other words, Event measurers. For example, a sentence like *Peter eats the apple*, is construed in such a way that the specific DP object,

the apple, is successively consumed until it is all gone. In order for a specific DP object to be licit the predicate must be dynamic. Since stative HAVE – the typical predicate in the construction under discussion – per definition is not dynamic, it cannot combine with a specific, definite DP.[18]

Specific, definite DPs are found in (12) and (24). The predicates in those examples are dynamic, GIVE and HAVE/GET, and, consequently, specific (and definite) DPs, playing the role of Event measurers, are grammatical. The conclusion we can draw is that there are two cases where a definite DP is licit in Construction II sentences. The first case is stative HAVE + unspecific, but definite DP object. The second case is a null dynamic predicate + a specific, definite DP.[19] Both cases are peripheral in the Swedish grammar.

The proposed analysis explains another property of Construction II sentences, namely that definite DPs are more likely to combine with irrealis *vore* 'were' or past *var* 'was', than present tense *är* 'is'. Compare (12), (39) and (40):

(12) One cannibal to the other:
 Henne med senap och ketchup vore läcker-t.
 her with mustard and ketchup would.be delicious-neut
 'To get/have/eat her with mustard and ketchup would be delicious.'

---

[18] Experiencer DPs seem to have a different syntactic role; in examples like *Ida betraktade bilden* 'Ida watched the picture' the DP object *bilden* 'the picture' does not play the role of Event measurer. Hence we would expect that a null SEE/PERCEIVE could combine with a definite, specific DP. However, it seems as though a null SEE, PERCEIVE requires heavier licensing than a stative HAVE (see 2.4 for more discussion on the licensing and identification of the null elements in Construction II sentences). Thus (i) is not straightforwardly ungrammatical, but marginal:

(i) ??*Henne ensam på lastbilsflaket   var förfärlig-t.*
  her alone on truck+platform.the was terrible-neut.

(ii) is, in my view, much better, maybe because the null SEE, PERCEIVE is identified by the noun *syn* 'sight'.

(ii) *Henne ensam på lastbilsflaket   var en förfärlig syn.*
  her alone on truck+platform.the was a terrible sight
  'To see her alone on the truck platform was a terrible sight.'

However, since the predicative in (ii) is a noun phrase, *en förfärlig syn*, I do not have conclusive evidence that the subject in (ii) is headed by a SemP with a null +neuter head.
[19] Enger (2004) mentions the restriction against definite DPs in Construction I and II, but does not seem to separate the definiteness from specificity: "One may wonder why […] it is the case that the more specified the subject is, the more likely ordinary agreement is. [---] The more specified the controller is, the more individualized it is, and the more likely it is that the controller refers to an entity that is high on the continuum [of individuation]" (p. 24).

(39) *Henne med senap och ketchup var läcker-t.*
    her   with mustard and ketchup was delicious-neut
    'To get/have/eat her with mustard and ketchup was be delicious.'

(40) ??*Henne med senap och ketchup är läcker-t.*
      her   with mustard and ketchup is delicious-neut
      'To get/have/eat her with mustard and ketchup is be delicious.'

The fact that (40) is odd has to do with the temporal interpretation of the null predicate within the clausal subject. This interpretation is in a way similar to the interpretation of a verb in infinitive. Infinitive is not a tense form *per se*, but according to Chomsky (1999) it should be viewed as defective tense. In my view this implies that the temporal interpretation of a verb in infinitive depends on the temporal and modal interpretation of the matrix verb.[20] Consider (41), which illustrates this; Note that $\rightarrow$ should be read as 'is interpreted as'.

(41) a Att segla är$_{PRES}$ nödvändigt $\rightarrow$ Att segla$_{PRES}$ är$_{PRES}$ nödvändig-t.
     to sail is$_{PRES}$ necessary$\rightarrow$ to sail$_{PRES}$ is$_{PRES}$ necessary-neut

   b Att segla var$_{PAST}$ nödvändigt $\rightarrow$ Att segla$_{PAST}$ var$_{PAST}$ nödvändig-t.
     to sail was$_{past}$ necessary $\rightarrow$ to sail$_{PAST}$ was$_{PAST}$ necessary

   c Att segla vore$_{IRREALIS}$ necessary $\rightarrow$ Att segla$_{IRREALIS}$ vore$_{IRREALIS}$ nödvändig-t.
     to sail vore$_{IRREALIS}$ necessary $\rightarrow$ to sail$_{IRREALIS}$ was$_{IRREALIS}$ nessary-neut

Informally we may say that (41) shows that the temporal/modal interpretation of the matrix verb spreads to the embedded infinitival predicate. If this analysis is on the right track the difference in acceptability between (12) and (39), on the one hand, and (40) on the other, is due to the temporal interpretation of the embedded null predicate. Consider (42)–(44):

(42) One cannibal to the other:
    FÅ   *Henne med senap och ketchup vore*
    GET$_{IRREALIS}$ her   with mustard and ketchup would.be$_{IRREALIS}$ *läcker-t.*
    delicious-neut
    'To get/have/eat her with mustard and ketchup would be delicious.'
    cf. (12)

(43) FÅ *Henne med senap och ketchup var läcker-t.*
    GET$_{PAST}$ her   with mustard and ketchup was.$_{PAST}$ delicious-neut
    'To get/have/eat her with mustard and ketchup was be delicious.'
    cf. (39)

---

[20] The idea that infinitival tense *depends on* the matrix tense does not imply that infinitival tense is always *identical to* that of the matrix, even though this seems to be the case here.

(44) ??FÅ   *Henne med senap   och   ketchup är*
    GET$_{PRESENT}$ her   with mustard and   ketchup is.$_{PRESENT}$

    läcker-t.
    delicious-neut
    'To get/have/eat her with mustard and ketchup is be delicious.'
    cf. (40)

The reason why (44) is odd is that the present tense interpretation of the null dynamic predicate within the clausal subject + a DP with specific reference, 'her', makes it necessary to interpret the utterance as a comment on an ongoing event. The oddity of the utterance is thus due to pragmatics. The event referred to by the clausal subject in (43) is interpreted as having taken place in the past, whereas the event described by the clausal subject in (42) is irreal. From a pragmatic point of view, the last two interpretations are more likely from a pragmatic point of view.[21]

We may conclude that restrictions regarding the definiteness of the DP within the subject and tense/mode on the matrix verb are interrelated. A definite, unspecific DP is OK, if the null predicate is stative, or, rather, if it can be construed as stative. Definite specific objects are licit only if the null predicate is dynamic, or, rather, can be construed as dynamic. The tense/mood of the matrix clause is restricted by pragmatics, since matrix tense/mode interpretation "spreads" to the null predicate in the clausal subject. The idea that the possibility of construing a null predicate as stative or dynamic has to do with the identification of the predicate, which will be discussed in more detail in 2.4.

2.4 The licensing and identification of null verbs in Construction II

We shall now turn to the licensing and identification of the null verbal predicates, assumed in Construction II sentences. Josefsson (1998) suggests that sentences like (16) above, repeated below, contains a null GO, and that this null verbal predicate has to be properly licensed and identified in the sense of Rizzi (1986).

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21 It is reasonable to assume that the temporal interpretation of infinitives takes place by way of the checking of tense features in To. I have argued that the clausal subject is a vP, and not a TP, which means that checking in a T^o node cannot take place. However, it is commonly assumed that v^o too carries tense features. I assume that a temporal interpretation can take place via those features too.

(16) a *Jag   ska   Ø   till   Rom.*
     I   shall   to   Rome
     'I will go to Rome.'

   b *De   ska   absolut   Ø   därifrån den här veckan.*
     they   shall   absolutely   thence   this here week
     'They definitely need to be removed from this place this week.'

According to Josefsson (1998), the licensing requirement in cases such as (16) are fulfilled by the auxiliary, and the identification requirement by the PP/adverb. The same kind of constraint seems to hold for the null verbal predicates in Construction II. The intuition behind the proposed licensing requirement is that some element has to indicate that the structure is larger than shown by the phonological properties of the clause or phrase, i.e. that there is a slot in the structure for a null element. As pointed out above, the modal auxiliary is what indicates a position for a null main verb GO in (16a and b). In Construction II sentences different types of licensers seems to be operating. First of all, the neuter agreement on the predicative adjective indicates the presence of a functional projection hosting the neuter feature. The idea is that gender is a nominal feature, and the functional projection hosting this feature has to be nominal. In this case the neuter feature carries a meaning, namely the semantics related to the fourth semantic gender, SUBSTANCE/UNBOUNDED ENTITY. The *-t* agreement on the predicative adjective in examples such as (2b) – and in fact also (2a) – thus both license and identify the null head of the SemP. The solid arrow in (43) indicates this relation. (Intermediate projections, as well as the CP level are omitted.)

(45)
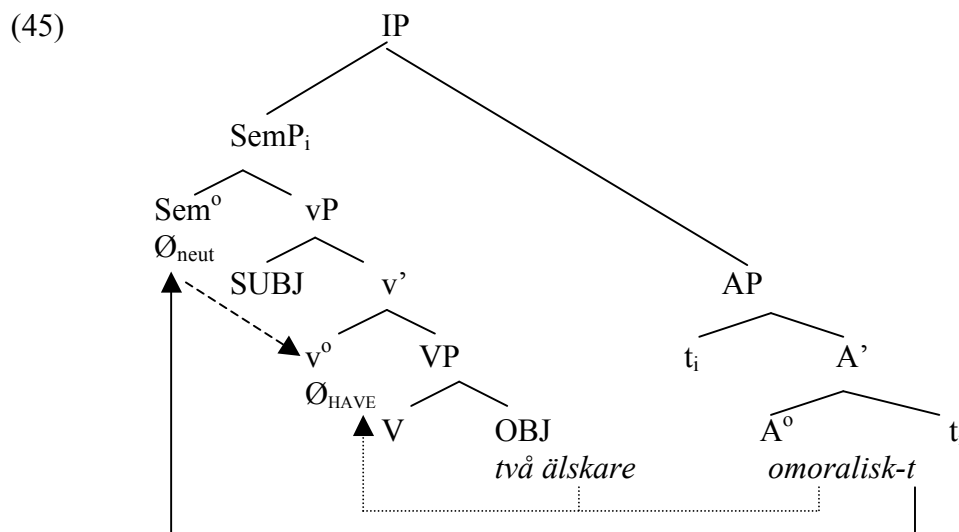
I have suggested that the fourth semantic gender encompasses events and substances. Events are expressed in vPs and substances by NPs, hence the adjective *omoralisk* 'immoral' disambiguates the xP selected by the null head of the SemP as being a vP, not an NP. (An adjective like 'immoral' does not normally characterize a substance, but describes naturally a stative event.) We could thus assume that the Sem^o licenses the null verb (a relation indicated by the striped arrow in (34)), whereas the adjective *omoralisk* identifies it as a particular light verb, presumably in conjunction with the fact that the DP (*två älskare* 'two lovers' in (2b)) carry a thetarole, assigned by this null light verb. The identification of the null light verb is indicated by the dotted arrow in (45).

The typical verb used in Construction II sentences is stative HAVE. In non-prototypical Construction II sentences, i.e. with other types of null predicate verbs, the identification requirements seem to be stricter. In (12), for instance, a PP like *med senap och ketchup* 'with mustard and ketchup' is obligatory, probably since the DP *henne* 'her' is not typical food, hence the null light verb is not normally identifiable as HAVE, with the special meaning 'eat, consume'. The PP could be exchanged for a location adverbial, for instance *i en sportbil* 'in a sports car':

(46) *Henne   i en sportbil   vore   läcker-t.*
    her   in a sports.car would.be   gorgeous-neut
   'To have her/see her in a sports car would be gorgeous.'

The null light verb in the subject clause in (46) would presumably be identified as HAVE/PERCEIVE/SEE.

In (24) the Goal PP *till svärmor* 'to mother-in-law' identifies the null verb as GIVE, and in (35) the DP *väskan* 'the bag' in conjunction with the PP *på ryggen* 'on the back' identifies the null verb as HAVE. In this case the definite form requires a location PP in order for the non-specific reading of the definite DP *väskan* 'the bag' to be available.[22]

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[22] I have restricted the discussion of Construction I sentences to cases where the predicative is an AP. As pointed out in footnote 15, also predicative NPs can be used in this construction:

(i) *Honom   i en sportbil   vore   en läcker   syn.*
   him   in a sports car would.be   a tasty   sight
   'To see him in a sports car would be a tasty sight.'

4. Construction II and *med*-phrase paraphrase

As noted above, Construction II sentences can be paraphrased by *det* 'it' + a *med*-phrase, i.e. a PP with the preposition *med* 'with'.

(3)   *Det är omoralisk-t   med två   älskare.*
      it   is immoral-neut with two lovers
      'It's immoral to have two lovers.'

As we shall see, we have reasons to believe that the *med*-phrase has a structure that is parallel to the vP assumed for Construction II sentences.

It is well known that the verb *ha* 'have' and the preposition *med* 'with' are closely related (cf. Benviniste (1966), Kayne (1993)). In traditional grammar a construction with *med* + DP + location adverbial/predicative is analyzed as a non-finite clause, (in Swedish "satsförkortning" or "satsekvivalent"), see for example Teleman & al. (1999). The verb substituting for the preposition *med* is *ha* 'have'. (47a) shows an example where *med* takes two phrases in its complement, a DP, *handen* 'the hand', and a PP-adverbial, *i bandage* 'in a bandage'. (47b) paraphrases (47a), but the *med*-phrase is exchanged for a full clause with the verb *ha* 'have':

(47) a *Hon steg   ur bussen med handen i bandage.*
          she   stepped off bus.the with hand.the in bandage
          'She stepped out of the bus with her hand in a bandage.'

     b *Hon steg   ur bussen, och hon hade handen i bandage.*
          she   stepped off bus.the, and she   had   hand.the in bandage
          'She stepped out of the bus and she had her hand in a bandage.'

From this we can gather that *med* + DP + PP/adverbial – has some kind of clausal properties. The fact that *två älskare* 'two lovers' in (2b) and *med två älskare* 'with two lovers' in (3) have the same basic reading suggests that also simple *med*-phrases '*with*-phrases", i.e. *med*-phrases with only a single phrase as its complement, have or may have clausal properties. Another indication is that such phrases may contain a reflexive pronoun, as shown in (48).

In (i) the noun *syn* 'sight' seems to identify the null verb in the clausal subject as SEE/PERCEIVE. However, not even this type of "heavy" licensing seem to be enough to identify a single pronominal DP in the subject:

(ii)   **Honom vore   en läcker syn.*
       him   would.be a tasty sight

(48) *Det är omoralisk-t   med två   älskare utöver   sin   make.*
     it   is immoral-neut with two   lovers   in.addition.to refl husband
     'It's immoral to have two lovers in addition to one's husband.'

The reflexive pronoun *sin* in (48) indicates that there is a subject inside the *med*-phrase, binding the reflexive. In view of this it would have seemed quite natural to analyze Swedish *ha* 'have' as the spell-out of BE + preposition, as argued for English by Kayne (1993); null HA would in a sense be BE + the preposition *med* 'with'. (The reading would in that case be 'be two lovers at/with SUBJ'.) However, not only *ha* 'have' seems to alternate with the preposition *med*; this holds true for the other assumed null light verbs too, a fact that calls for a slightly different analysis than the kaynian one. Consider (49):

(49) a GIVE cf. (24)
     Det   var   slug-t   med den där buketten   till
     it   was   cunning-neut with it there bunch-of-flowers   to

     svärmor   i   lördags.
     mother-in-law in Saturday
     'It was cunning to give those flowers to your mother-in-law last Saturday.'

  b PERCEIVE   cf. (25)
     Det är skadlig-t   med våldsfilmer.
     it   is harmful-neut with violence-films
     'It's harmful to see films with violence.'

  c HAVE   cf. (26)
     Det är otrevlig-t   med arga   kunder.
     it   is unpleasant-neut with angry   customers
     'It is unpleasant to have angry customers.'

  d TAKE cf. (27)
     Det blir   för   dyr-t   med bilen   till.
     it   will.be too   expensive-neut with car.common.def to
     Stockholm.
     Stockholm
     'It would be too expensive to take the car to Stockholm.'

  e DO   cf. (29)
     Det är klok-t   med delbetalning   av   lånet.
     it   is wise-neut   with partial.payment   of   loan.the
     'It is wise to do partial payment of the loan.'

  f HOLD cf. (31a)
     Det är viktig-t   med äktenskapslöften.
     it   is imporant-neut with marriage.promise.pl
     "To keep promises of marriage is important.'

g HAVE/GET cf. (12)
One cannibal to the other:

Det vore läcker-t med henne med senap och
it would be delicious-neut with her with mustard and

ketchup.
ketchup
'To get/have/eat her with mustard and ketchup would be delicious.'

All the examples in (49) could be paraphrased by sentences where *med* is exchanged for *att* (to) + a VP with the verb in the infinitival form:[23]

(50) a GIVE cf. (24)
Det var slug-t att ge den där buketten till
it was cunning-neut to give it there bunch-of-flowers to

svärmor i lördags.
mother-in-law in Saturday
'It was cunning to give those flowers to your mother-in-law last Saturday.'

b PERCEIVE cf.(25)
Det är skadlig-t att se våldsfilmer.
it is harmful-neut to watch violence-films
'It's harmful to watch films with violence.'

c HAVE cf. (26)
De är otrevlig-t att ha arga kunder.
it is unpleasant-neut to have angry customers
'It is unpleasant to have angry customers.'

d TAKE cf. (27)
Det blir för dyr-t att ta bilen .
it will.be too expensive-neut to take car.common.def

till Stockholm.
to Stockholm
'It would be too expensive to take the car to Stockholm.'

e DO cf. (29)
Det är klok-t att göra delbetalning av lånet.
it is wise-neut to do partial.payment of loan.the
'It is wise to do partial payment of the loan.'

f HOLD cf. (31a)
Det är viktig-t att hålla äktenskapslöften.
it is important-neut to hold marriage.promise.pl
"To keep promises of marriage is important.'

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[23] Note that the second *med* in (50g) could be exchanged for *tillsammans* med 'together with', which indicates that it is a different preposition, possibly with a simpler structure.

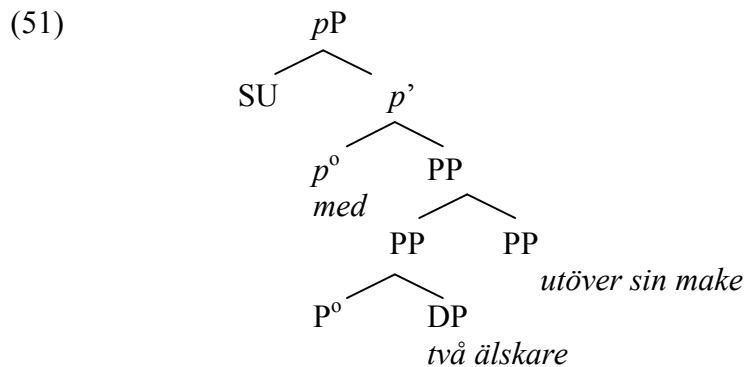g HAVE/GET cf. (12)
One cannibal to the other:

Det	*vore*	*läcker-t*	*att*	*få/äta*	*henne*	*med*
it	would.be	delicious-neut	to	get/eat	her	with

senap	*och*	*ketchup.*
mustard	and	ketchup

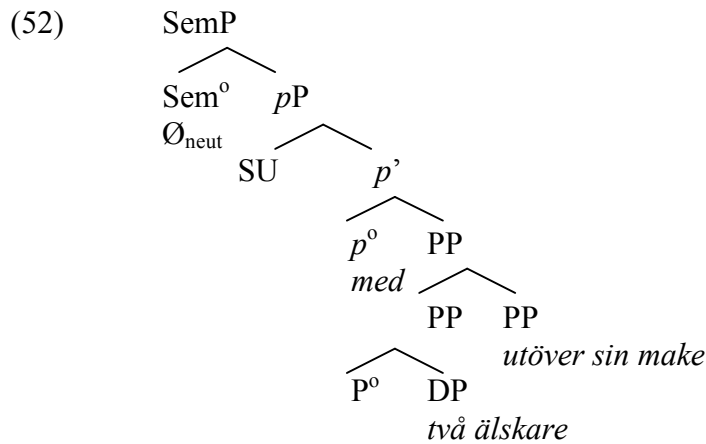'To get/have/eat her with mustard and ketchup would be delicious.'

It should be pointed out that all the sentences in (50) are not equally well formed, not as natural as those in (49) – which are all unproblematic – but in my view all the sentence types exemplified occur frequently in spoken language.

Given the semantic and structural similarity between the assumed null light verbs and the preposition *med* we may hypothesize that *med* 'with' and the null light verbs are located in the "same" position, i.e. in the head of small lexico-functional projection that corresponds to the vP, with the important difference that the head is not v^o but p^o ("little p"). I will assume that this projection is a pP. If this is correct we arrive at the structure in (51).[24]

(51)

```
                  pP
                 /  \
               SU    p'
                    /  \
                  p^o    PP
                  med   /  \
                      PP    PP
                     /  \   utöver sin make
                   P^o   DP
                        två älskare
```

I have proposed that a SemP can be added on top of a vP, hosting the neuter feature that triggers agreement in the neuter on the predicative adjective, as shown in (2b). This agreement is thus not default, but semantically motivated, since the feature neuter carries a meaning that corresponds to the fourth gender, SUBSTANCE, or UNBOUNDED ENTITY. In a parallel fashion it is reasonable to assume that we should be able to add a SemP on top of the pP, yielding (52):

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[24] The PP in (51) could probably be analyzed as a small clause as well. The exact nature of the XP complement of *med* is not crucial for my analysis.

(52)　　　　SemP

Sem° *p*P
Ø~neut~
　　SU　　　*p*'

　　　　p°　　PP
　　　　med

　　　　　　PP　PP
　　　　　　　utöver sin make

　　　P°　DP
　　　två älskare

A question brought about by the proposed analysis is why an overt *det* 'it' cannot be spelled out in the SemP, yielding (53). As shown in (54), which is a simplification of (4a), the pronoun *hon* can be spelled out in the corresponding position:

(53)　*Det　med　två　älskare　är omoraliskt.*
　　　it　　with two　lovers　is immoral-neut

(54)　[~SemP~ Hon [~DP~ den　nya　professorn]]　är glad.
　　　　　she　　the　new　professor　　　is happy
　　　'She/the new professor is happy.'

It should be pointed out that (53) is not ungrammatical *per se*, but *det* 'it' gets a referential reading in this context, meaning 'that' or 'that thing', hence *det* is presumably not spelled out in Sem°. I do not have a full answer as to why *det* cannot be spelled out in Sem°, whereas *hon* 'she' can, but it is reasonable to assume that it is due to the spell-out convention for pronouns. Since *det* in (53) can be exchanged for demonstrative *det där* 'that', we may hypothesize that it is spelled out in the head of the DemP (or whatever functional projection that hosts demonstratives). Generalizing this idea we may assume that all instances of *det* combined with a PP as a modifier (presumably generated in the complement of N°, are instances of demonstrative *det* + PP. This analysis is supported by the fact that the topicalization of the *med*-phrase across an expletive *det* makes the weak pronoun referential:

(55)　*Med　två　älskare　är det　omoralisk-t.*
　　　with two　lovers　is that　immoral-neut

The reading of (55) is 'With two lovers that/that thing becomes immoral'. (55) shows in fact that the PP *med två älskare* cannot be raised across an expletive

subject *det*. The *med*-phrase in (55) is thus adverbial, i.e. does not stand in a chain relation to the subject *det*.

The idea that *det* in (55) has a different structure than (3) is also shown by the fact that *det* could be exchanged for the demonstrative *det där* 'that'. This is the same reading that would be obtained for (3) as well, if *det* is exchanged for *det där*:

(56) *Det där är omoralisk-t   med två   älskare.*
      it there is immoral-neut with two   lovers
      'That/that thing is immoral with two lovers.'

An analysis that captures the cross-over effect shown in (55) is that the neuter feature hosted in the head of the SemP is a nominal feature that could be probed by a matrix T^o. The subject position, Spec TP, is an EPP position, which spells out this feature, probably in conjunction with other features related to this position, such as topic. The PPs *med två älskare* in (55) and (56) are consequently bare PPs, i.e. PPs with no SemP on top. Consequently, the t-agreement on *omoralisk-t* in (55) is motivated by *det/det där* in the subject position in a canonical way.

A final question that needs to be addressed is why a SemP taking a vP complement with a null head is fine as a subject, but not a SemP + a PP, as witnessed by (53). (The background assumption is that a PP can indeed have a SemP on top, with a nominal head.)

(57) **Med två   älskare är omoralisk-t.*
      with two   lovers   is immoral-neut

It is a well-known fact that PPs can not be subjects in Swedish.[25] The ungrammaticality of (57), as well as the ungrammaticality of PPs more generally

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[25] Falk (1987) shows shat PPs are, marginally OK in sentence initial position:

(i) *I gräset   kan finnas   ormar.*
    in grass.the   can be   snakes
    'There might be snakes in the grass.'

PPs like *i gräset* 'in the grass' are ungrammatical in the canonical subject position:

(ii) **?Säkerligen kan i gräset   finnas   ormar.*
      surely   can in grass.the   be   snakes

Sentences like (ii), combined with the fact that the DP, *ormar* in (i) is subject to the definiteness constraint indicates that there is a null expletive in the subject position in (i), corresponding to overt *det* 'it':

in the subject position, is probably due to the nature of EPP on SpecIP/SpecTP. As pointed out above, EPP is a visibility criterion, which means that the structure is sensitive to the category of the phonological head of the phrase in this position; the visible head must be nominal. Hence even though a pP may have a null nominal projection on its top, it cannot function as subject. The reason is that this neuter feature lacks overt realization.

5. Conclusion and discussion

I have proposed that the apparent disagreement in the two types of construction, above called Construction I and Construction II, is not disagreement – instead agreement holds. Both in Construction I, where the subject has a substance reading, and Construction II, where the subject has a propositional reading, the topmost projection within the subject is a SemP, hosting the neuter feature. This feature triggers agreement in the neuter on the predicative adjective. When located in a SemP the neuter feature corresponds to the meaning of the fourth semantic category, i.e. substance/mass/event, all of which have the feature unboundedness (in space) in common. (In earlier work, e.g. Josefsson (2006) I have argued that the subject in Construction I and Construction II sentences lacks a number feature, which means that t-agreement on the predicative adjective is agreement in gender only, number features being absent on the subject and consequently also on the predicative adjective.)

A grammatical gender feature may be generated low in the NP, maybe even below the zero level in N^o (which is probably the unmarked case), but it may also be merged high in the noun phrase, presumably in the SemP. When the neuter gender feature is merged low, for instance in the noun *hu-set* in *Hus-et är grön-t* (house.def.neut.sg is green.neut.sg) 'The house is green' (cf. (1b) above) it carries no meaning. When the neuter feature is generated high, on Sem^o, as in *Senap är gul-t* (mustard_COMMON is yellow-NEUT) 'Mustard is yellow' and *Två älskare är omoralisk-t* [two lovers]_COMMON,,PL be.pres immoral-NEUT 'To have two lovers is immoral', as in (2), it carries the meaning of the fourth semantic gender – SUBSTANCE, UNBOUNDED ENTITY. The proposed analysis thus suggests that one

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(iii) I gräset   kan det   finnas   ormar.
      in grass.the can it   be   snakes
      'There might be snakes in the grass.'

Thus, sentences such as (i) and (ii) do not show that Swedish can have PP subjects, but that null expletive subjects are (marginally) OK in Swedish.

and the same feature may be located in different positions, and that they have different meanings – or no meaning at all – depending on the location of this feature. This conclusion should come as no surprise; the same system is at work in the context of numerals. There are ten different digits, but the value of a digit in a calculation depends on where it is located hierarchically and linearly. Thus the digit 1 corresponds to the value 'one' in isolation, but to the value 'ten' if it appears in the second position to the right etc.

The second conclusion concerns the nature of the subject in Construction II. I have argued that the subject of this type of clauses is a SemP, taking a vP as its complement. The subject is phonologically null, thus PRO, *pro,* or an operator of some kind. The main reason for assuming that the subject is clausal, in turn containing an embedded null subject, is the fact that reflexives are fine. This means that the overt DP is in fact an embedded object. The head position, *v* is filled by a null verb, which I have identified as a light verb. In the typical case this light verb is HAVE, but it could also be construed as GET, GIVE, PERCEIVE, TAKE, HOLD, and PUT. The verbs in question are almost exactly identical to the set of light verbs, from point of meaning analysed as *passepartout verbs*, listed in Butt & Lahiri (2004, 36). My proposal is that light verbs can be null in Swedish, provided they are properly licensed and identified. Whether this suggestion holds for other languages and other types of constructions remains to be investigated.

I have argued that the assumed restriction against definite DPs is in fact a restriction against specific DP objects. This restriction holds for cases where the predicate is a stative HAVE, which cannot combine with specific DP objects. Specific DP objects can combine only with dynamic null predicates. I have proposed a system where the null elements are licensed and identified in the sense of Rizzi (1986).

In the last section I proposed that the preposition *med* 'with' typically corresponds to the light verb HAVE, though devoid of the verbal features hosted in *v*. By being prepositional it cannot head the projection occupying the subject position. This is the reason why an expletive *det* is present to satisfy the EPP feature of the subject position. The "expletive" *det* is chain-related to the SemP, which explains why the *with*-phrase cannot move across it.

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