

# The exceptional status of the Swedish supine: on the parametric variation of past participial (non-)identity\*

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## Abstract

While Germanic (and Romance) languages generally resort to one and the same participle for the formation of passive and perfect periphrases, Swedish is the odd man out in the Germanic paradigm. It employs a supine that is morphologically distinct from the past participle. The fact that this form allows for the formation of synthetic passives, occurs in the context of finite HAVE-omission, and is restricted to core verbal distributions suggests that the formal non-identity is mirrored by substantially distinct grammatical features. To be precise, the supine may autonomously license an external argument as well as introduce relevant temporal properties, two properties that are associated with HAVE in languages employing just a single past participle. This case of non-identity may eventually be related to the opposing poles of identity in the context of distinct auxiliaries, on the one hand, and non-identity with a single auxiliary (BE in Slavic languages like Bulgarian), on the other. The observation that there are Slavic languages (e.g. Kashubian) that lose their substantial distinction once a HAVE-perfect is grammaticalised points to a parametric correlation: whenever a given language resorts to participial periphrases to form the perfect and the passive, a distinction has to be encoded on distinct participial forms or on distinct auxiliaries, but not on both.

## 1 Introduction

A striking similarity of Germanic and Romance languages is that they employ one and the same morphological exponent for the formation of passive as well as perfect(ive) participles (consider e.g. *seen* in *John was seen by Mary* and *Mary has seen John*). This raises the question of whether this form, commonly referred to as the past participle, also bears the same syntacticosemantic properties, i.e. whether the shallow similarity is mirrored by substantial identity. While proponents of accidental homophony (see *inter alia* Drijkoningen 1989; Bierwisch 1990; Aronoff 1994) fail to account for why the forms in question are morphologically identical, the assumption of substantial past participial identity (see *inter alia* Roberts 1984; Toman 1986; Ackema 1999; Breul & Wegner 2017; Wegner 2017) finds support in a broad range of diachronic as well as synchronic considerations. Concerning the historical development of past participles, it is most striking that they stem from one and the same resultative deverbal adjective. This, of course, does not provide any conclusive evidence, as the forms in question may well have changed substantially during their grammaticalisation as proper past participles. However, the synchronic interaction of past participles with their auxiliaries as well as their bare instantiations add to the feasibility of an identity approach. This is also underpinned by divergent realisations of participial forms in specific constructions (e.g. in verbal clusters and instances of VP-preposing).

There is an interesting candidate for a family-internal deviation from the Germanic and Romance pattern of overarching identity, though. Swedish appears to be exceptional with

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respect to past participle identity: it makes a morphophonological distinction between the supine (used to form the analytic perfect; e.g. (*har*) *sjungit* ‘(has) sung’) and the past participle (used to form the periphrastic passive and adjectival instances; e.g. (*blev*) *sjunget* ‘(was) sung’). This poses the question of whether it boils down to a shallow distinction based solely on the expression of agreement (see Christensen & Taraldsen 1989) or rather marks a proper case of past participle non-identity (see Platzack 1989). The present paper makes a case for the latter view arguing that the supine has emancipated from the participial paradigm (by grammatically exploiting a phonologically-conditioned diversion, see Dammel 2012: 255ff.) and is now substantially distinct from the past participle. Following through on this assumption makes Swedish a non-identity language, although the question remains of how far it has actually waived its identity-heritage. In fact, outside of the Germanic and Romance paradigm cases of proper non-identity languages may easily be found and past participle identity thus cannot be a universal property of participial periphrases. South Slavic languages (e.g. Bulgarian and Slovenian), for instance, prominently feature past participle non-identity, as they introduce substantially distinct participial forms in configurations with a rough equivalent of the auxiliary BE in order to form passive and perfect periphrases. Eventually, then, it remains to be answered what the precise position of Swedish is in a continuum with the two extremes of (prototypical) identity and non-identity.

In order to tackle these issues, the present paper is structured as follows. Section 2 introduces some evidence in favour of the identity of past participles in passive and perfect periphrases in Germanic and Romance and outlines an approach to past participle identity. Chapter 3 focusses on the Swedish supine and investigates the claim that its morphological non-identity is mirrored by a substantial syntacticosemantic distinction. The subsequent fourth section attempts to provide an overview of the parametric variation of past participle (non-)identity by extending our perspective to Slavic. Finally, the fifth chapter offers some concluding remarks and points to a number of open questions and further areas of research.

## 2 The Identity of Past Participles

With respect to the formation of passive and perfect periphrases in Germanic and Romance languages, an interesting correlation concerns the fact that one and the same inflectional marking seems to make up the core of both constructions. Accordingly, the participial form that is instantiated in the passive constructions in (1) is morphophonologically identical to the one employed in the perfect periphrases in (2). The former uses, of course, usually feature combinations of the past participle with auxiliaries like BECOME or BE, while the latter are either formed with HAVE only or – with certain kinds of intransitive predicates – also with BE, depending on whether the language in question makes use of auxiliary alternation.

- |     |   |             |
|-----|---|-------------|
| (1) | a. John is (being) kissed by Mary.                                      | (English)   |
|     | b. Johann wird von Maria geküsst.<br><i>John becomes by Mary kissed</i> | (German)    |
|     | c. María er kysst (af Jóni).<br><i>Mary is kissed by John</i>           | (Icelandic) |

- d. Jean est embrassé par Marie. (French)  
*John is kissed by Mary*  
‘John is (being) kissed by Mary.’
- (2) a. Mary has kissed John (English)  
b. Maria hat Johann geküsst. (German)  
*Mary has John kissed*
- c. María hefur kysst Jón. (Icelandic)  
*Mary has kissed John*
- d. Jean a embrassé Marie. (French)  
*John has kissed Mary*  
‘Mary has kissed John.’

What appears to challenge generalisations in terms of assuming that the morphological identity of passive and perfect participles is a property of the Germanic and Romance family, though, is that North Germanic as well as Romance languages quite regularly feature past participial (object-)agreement (see, e.g., Kayne 1989; Belletti 2006; D’Alessandro & Roberts 2008; Åfarli 2009). At first sight, the occurrence of agreement morphology seems to be tied to passive participles, whereas it is absent in perfect periphrases, as suggested by oppositions like the one in (3) (see Thráinsson 2007: 9).

- (3) a. Maður var bitinn af hundi. (Icelandic)  
*the.man was bitten.AGR by the.dog*  
‘The man was bitten by the dog.’
- b. Hundurinn hefur bitiðmanninn.  
*the.dog has bitten the.man*  
‘The dog has bitten the man.’

However, this may be exposed to be too simplistic a view, given that Italian and Nynorsk variants of Norwegian, amongst others, readily instantiate agreement morphology in the context of a BE-perfect.

- (4) a. Cornelia è \*arrivato/ arrivata. (Italian)  
*Cornelia is arrived/ arrived.AGR*  
‘Cornelia has arrived.’
- b. Gjestene er nett \*kome/ komne. (Nynorsk)<sup>1</sup>  
*the.guests are just arrived/ arrived.AGR*  
‘The guests have just arrived.’

What lends further support to the claim that the occurrence of agreement morphology is not sensitive to the distinction between passive and perfect participles is that object-agreement

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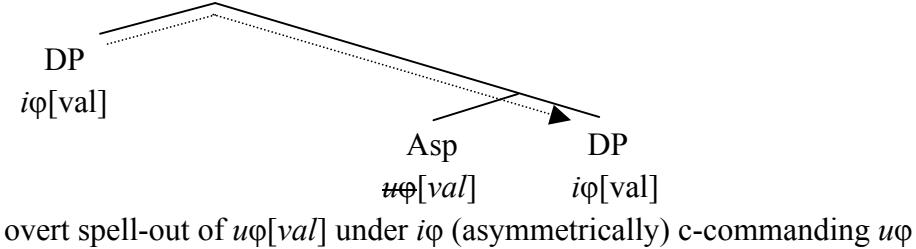
<sup>1</sup> Note that it is generally debatable whether Scandinavian languages other than Danish employ a proper BE-perfect (see Larsson 2014a). Christensen & Taraldsen (1989: 53ff.) analyse (4b) as a BE-perfect and the presence of *nett* ('just') supports this intuition by forcing an eventive interpretation rather than a stative passive reading.

occasionally even appears in the context of a HAVE-perfect in Romance.<sup>2</sup> This becomes observable on the basis of French and Italian examples like those in (5), adapted from Bjorkman (2011: 155), Rowlett (2007: 226f.), and Franco (1994: 247).

- (5) a. Jean l' a peint/ peinte. (French)  
*John it.CL has painted/ painted.AGR*  
‘John has painted it.’
- b. La maison que les filles on peint/ peinte.  
*the house that the girls have painted/ painted.AGR*  
‘The house that the girls have painted.’
- c. Quelles maisons avez-vous repeintes?  
*which houses have-you repainted.AGR*  
‘Which houses did you repaint?’
- (6) Gianni l' ha \*mangiato/ mangiata. (Italian)  
*Gianni it has eaten/ eaten.AGR*  
‘Gianni has eaten it.’

On a more abstract level, it is striking that these configurations share with their passive counterparts that the internal argument is displaced out of the participial domain (see Belletti 2006: 495; Bjorkman 2011: 155f.). Accordingly, it is not far-fetched to tie the overt expression of agreement to syntactic configurations like the one sketched in (7).

- (7) Past participle (object-)agreement:



The displacement of the internal argument may, of course, only be a necessary condition, where the question of whether or not agreement morphology eventually manifests hinges on further (parameterised) criteria. While we may hypothesise that this is merely a PF-issue rather than a substantial distinction in whether or not φ-features are syntactically valued, most important for the purposes of the present paper is that the expression of agreement is clearly not the manifestation of a distinction between perfect and passive forms. Since there is thus at least no immediate morphological evidence that sheds doubt on the identity of passive and perfect participles, let us briefly outline what an identity approach may look like (see Wegner 2017: 120ff. for a discussion of the problems and merits of a range of previous approaches).

The major issue that approaches to past participle identity have to cope with is that past participles exhibit quite distinct properties in passive and perfect uses. In fact, while passive

<sup>2</sup> The present paper is primarily concerned with Germanic, but it is precisely the discussion of past participle (object-)agreement that renders an extension to Romance languages worthwhile.

properties appear to be neutralised in perfect uses, perfect properties are absent in passive constructions. With respect to diathesis, past participles convey a passive interpretation in periphrases with BE/WERDEN as well as in auxiliaryless (or bare) cases,<sup>3</sup> as opposed to their active behaviour with HAVE. Although past participles in languages employing auxiliary alternation appear to exhibit active properties in the context of BE as well, these are formed on the basis of unaccusative predicates. The fact that these inherently lack an external argument marks the salient correlation with passive elements. A simple way to account for the diathetic properties of passive periphrases is by assuming that past participles inherently bear passive characteristics to the effect that the semantic role of the designated external argument is lexically marked for existential binding (see Rothstein 2001: 142). The introduction of an external argument that effectively renders the construction active after all, on the other hand, may be traced back to the contribution of HAVE in perfect periphrases (see, *inter alia*, Toman 1986; Cowper 1989; Ackema 1999; Ackema & Marelj 2012). Accordingly, the diathetic contributions of the past participial morpheme and HAVE may be found in (8) and (9) (cf. Wegner 2017: 166, 171, 200).

- (8) Past participial morphology: The verb's external semantic role (if present) is marked for existential binding, which renders it inactive for syntactic purposes.
- (9) HAVE: The perfect auxiliary retrieves the marked role (iff it locally governs the past participle) and assigns it to arguments that move through its specifier position.

While there are, of course, further semantic and syntactic restrictions on passivisation, this simple picture sufficiently grasps how past participles may transcend between passive and active interpretations by tracing the relevant distinction back to the perfect auxiliary.

This leaves the second side of the coin, namely the question of how one and the same form may denote perfect meaning in perfect periphrases, whereas it is interpreted as ongoing in periphrastic passives. This poses serious problems for many previous approaches to past participial identity and is usually held to substantially support the assumption of non-identity.<sup>4</sup> However, there are some more flexible alternatives based on a contribution that leaves open whether the event in question has come to an end (see Savova 1989: 68, 73f. for an approach based on ‘precedence’; and Breul & Wegner 2017: 44f. for one based on the denotation of a ‘post-time state’). While these are promising, they arguably are not explicit enough in the sense that they shift off central distinctions to implication. This may be avoided in an approach that attributes the perfect auxiliary HAVE relevant perfect properties (see Iatridou et al. 2001: 220f.; Klein 1999: 73). Evidence for this assumption may be derived from contexts featuring the divergent morphological realisations of past participles. One such phenomenon is *Infinitivus pro Participio* (henceforth IPP), which crops up in verbal clusters of West

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<sup>3</sup> Bare instances come in various kinds: pre- (*the evacuated house*) and postnominal (*the house evacuated by the fire brigade*) modifiers as well as adverbial phrases (*Carried by his mother, the boy felt safe.*). They additionally occur in predicative use, e.g. in the copular constructions commonly referred to as stative passives (*The article is well-written*). Note that (at least some of) these bare cases supposedly are supplemented by adjectival properties, which renders them somewhat obscure in spite of the absence of an auxiliary.

<sup>4</sup> Approaches based on the aspectual contribution of perfectivity (see Zaguna 1991; Grewendorf 1995; Giorgi & Pianesi 1997; Weber 2002; and Remberger 2006) as well as those based on (past) tense (see Zeller 1994; Ballweg 1988; Musan 1998; and Belitschenko 1980) fail to account for the imperfectivity of passive periphrases.

Germanic languages employing (a rough equivalent of) the participial prefix GE (see, e.g., Vanden Wyngaerd 1996; Hinterhölzl 1998; Schmid 2002; Wurmbrand 2005/to appear).

- (10) a. dass sie ihm einen Brief hat schreiben \*gewollt/ wollen.  
*that she him a letter has write want.PTCP/ want.INF*  
‘that she (has) wanted to write him a letter’
- b. dass er sie hat singen \*gehört/ hören  
*that he her has sing hear.PTCP/ hear.INF*  
‘that he has heard her sing’

These cases show the unexpected instantiation of an infinitival instead of a properly inflected past participle form. This also holds for the English phenomenon commonly referred to as Perfect(ive) Participle Paradox (henceforth PPP) (see Oku 1996; Urushibara 1997; Breul 2014). Examples of this (optional) phenomenon, which is triggered by VP-preposing rather than verb cluster formation, may be found in (11) (see also Emonds 1976: 31).

- (11) a. We thought someone would fail the exam, and *fail it plenty of people have*.  
b. Mary was not sure how he managed to persuade her, *but manage he has*.

The PPP may be analysed as an instance of ‘impoverishment’ (cf. Breul 2014: 462f.) and this analysis could also be transposed to the IPP.<sup>5</sup> Both of these phenomena lack semantic effects, but crucially only occur in the context of HAVE, whereas they are strictly barred with BE and BECOME. Thus, impoverished passive and BE-perfect cases like those in (12) and (13) are ungrammatical.

- (12) a. dass sie schlafen gelassen/\*lassen wurde (German)  
*that she sleep let.PTCP/ let.INF became*  
‘that she was allowed to remain sleeping’
- b. dass sie stehen geblieben/ \*bleiben ist  
*that she stand remain.PTCP / remain.INF is*  
‘that she remained standing’
- (13) a. \*They could not be sure whether anyone would see her, but see she was.  
b. \*dass sie schlafen lassen wurde (German)  
*that she sleep let.INF became*  
c. \*dass er stehen bleiben ist  
*that he stand remain.INF is*

Accordingly, there is no passive counterpart to the PPP (cf. Breul 2014: 453) and the same holds true for the IPP, which is additionally not available in the context of perfect BE.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Note that the PPP is strictly speaking also an instance of IPP, where there is just a different trigger.

<sup>6</sup> Dutch provides exceptions like the following: *is gaan zwemmen* (‘has started to swim’), *is komen werken* (‘has started to work’), *is blijven staan* (‘has continued to stand’) (cf. Haider 2010: 291). However, these are restricted to the BE-perfect and only possible with aspectual verbs. These arguably are conventionally associated with perfective properties, which is why semantic recoverability (see below) is not endangered.

An impoverishment-based analysis accounts for the absence of semantic effects<sup>7</sup> in a straightforward fashion by entailing that the PPP and IPP are PF-phenomena. However, we may arguably still derive important insights from these phenomena based on whether or not semantic recoverability is granted. In this light, let us take seriously the intuition that an impoverished form may only substitute a properly inflected one if this does not endanger the recovery of the meaning that is associated with it (cf. Breul 2014: 465f.). This condition is arguably met whenever HAVE heads a participial periphrasis, as the perfect auxiliary suffices as a cue for the parser to retrieve a proper perfect interpretation (cf. Wegner 2017: 250, 254f.). Hence, the application of impoverishment is granted in the IPP case in (14a), where the role of HAVE as a conveyor of perfect properties is additionally emphasised by the exceptional placement of the auxiliary (cf. Wegner submitted: 2).

- (14) a. dass Malin den Jungen hat sehen können (German)  
*that Malin the boy has see can.IPP*  
‘that Malin has been able to see the boy’
- b. dass Malin den Jungen wird sehen können  
*that Malin the boy will see can*  
‘that Malin will be able to see the boy’

While German embedded clauses are usually bound to place the finite element in the final position (arguably head-final T), there are two contexts in which the finite auxiliary may be preposed: verbal IPP-clusters embedded under perfect *haben* ('have'), as in (14a), and verbal clusters embedded under future *werden* ('will'), as in (14b). This, it is argued in Wegner (submitted), may be traced back to extraposition of the verb cluster in an attempt to provide relevant temporal information as soon as possible in the absence of other morphological cues.

While participial morphology is thus dispensable in the context of HAVE, this is not the case in periphrases with BE and WERDEN. With these semantically vacuous auxiliaries, the parser is not able to retrieve a proper passive or perfect interpretation without the help of participial morphology. Analogous evidence in favour of these claims may be drawn from the closely related but morphologically opposed phenomenon *Participium pro Infinitivo* (henceforth PPI) (see e.g. den Dikken & Hoekstra 1997; Wiklund 2001; Wurmbrand 2012). As Wiklund's (2001: 201) Faroese example in (15) makes clear, the PPI crops up in verbal clusters and induces their morphological harmony by inserting a superfluous piece of participial morphology.

- (15) Han hevði viljað lisið/ lesa bókina. (Faroese)  
*He had want.PTCP read.PTCP/ read. INF the.book*  
‘He had wanted to read the book.’

Given that this is once again only permitted with HAVE, the argument brought forth in the context of the IPP and PPP may be transferred to the PPI in a straightforward fashion: the

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<sup>7</sup> This is most clearly observable in cases that allow for optionality, e.g. properly inflected variants of (11) and verbal clusters with continuative *lassen* ('let') (cf. Wegner submitted: 8).

superfluous participle does not autonomously denote a perfect(ive) interpretation. Rather, HAVE provides relevant perfect information and thus grants the perfect interpretation of the situation that the predicate it selects introduces. As the participial form is exclusively responsible for the passive or perfect interpretation in periphrases with BE/BECOME, though, these contexts do not give rise to the PPI.

Eventually, these considerations concerning divergent realisations are in line with the observation that bare instantiations may remain imperfective: consider *das (gerade) von Peter gelesene Buch* (lit. the currently by Peter read book) or *the book currently read by Peter*.<sup>8</sup> We may thus conclude that perfect information is not or at least not solely stored in the participial form in HAVE-perfect cases (cf. Breul 2014: 465). Past participles occurring in periphrastic passives (with BE or BECOME), on the other hand, express passive voice without the help of their auxiliaries (cf. Breul 2014: 465). A similar degree of autonomy may be attributed to past participles of verbs appearing in the BE-perfect, i.e. unaccusatives. These convey a perfect(ive) interpretation without the help of a relevant contribution by the auxiliary BE (cf. Wegner 2017: 166ff.). Whether or not a given participle may autonomously denote a perfective interpretation eventually hinges on the properties of their verbal host. It is only those predicates that denote a simple change of state (e.g. unaccusatives like *ankommen* ‘arrive’ and *verschwinden* ‘disappear’ or anticausatives like *zerbrechen* ‘break’ and *schmelzen* ‘melt’) that convey a perfective reading without the help of HAVE.<sup>9</sup> Predicates with event-structural properties that exceed simple changes of state (e.g. atelic cases like *sing*, *cough*, *burn*, *love* as well as those that feature an atelic causative phase like *build*, *read*, *find*, *lose*) by contrast are not rendered perfective (cf. Wegner 2017: 219ff.). Given that passives are always bound to be more complex than just denoting simple changes of state by virtue of the presence of an existentially-bound cause, these may never give rise to BE-perfects. In other words, ‘perfective’ participles are in complementary distribution with ‘imperfective’ ones in passive periphrases (hence the impossibility of passives derived from unaccusatives).

These assumptions are underlined by the historical development of past participles, which diachronically originate in resultative deverbal adjectives (cf. Ackema 1999: 145f., 150f.; Migdalski 2006: 142; Larsson 2009: 1; Łęcki 2010: 149f.). These could either directly modify a given sentential subject with the help of a copula like BE or modify the internal argument of a main verb like BECOME (ingressive) or HAVE (possessive). Such configurations often persist after the grammaticalisation of periphrases, e.g. in the form of the stative passive and stative perfect (cf. Migdalski 2006: 157).

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<sup>8</sup> This, of course, leaves the question of why such cases may also denote a perfective reading, which may arguably be derived from the contextual embedding of such modifiers (cf. Rapp & von Stechow 2015).

<sup>9</sup> A well-known ‘exception’ is the class of (manner of) motion verbs. These are, however, (more or less strongly) associated with a sense of completion and thus denote a simple change of location (consider *rennen* ‘run’, which always takes BE as its auxiliary, and *tanzen* ‘dance’, which only does so with an explicit directional PP).

- (16) a. Der Fisch ist gebraten. (German)  
*the fish is fried*  
‘The meal is (in the resultative state of being) cooked.’
- b. Das Mädchen hat die Augen verbunden.  
*the girl has the eyes tied*  
‘The girl has eyes that are (in the resultative state of being) tied.’

What is striking about these stative occurrences is that they force an anti-causative and resultative interpretation. Accordingly, it is usually not possible to introduce an adjunct BY-phrase (or any event-related modifier) and the participial event is bound to be perfective. However, the grammaticalisation of the historical predecessors of these stative constructions as periphrases featured the (re-)introduction of a CAUSE for verbal instantiations (cf. Abraham 2000: 152f.). Therefore, an imperfective interpretation comes about in passive cases, whereas the perfect denotation may only be saved by attributing the perfect auxiliary HAVE relevant perfect information.

This leaves the question of what the precise semantic contribution of HAVE, which is supposed to allow an ‘imperfective’ past participle to give rise to a perfect interpretation, boils down to. While we will largely leave this pending for the purposes of the present paper (see Wegner 2017: 219ff. for discussion), let us assume that HAVE merely conveys the posteriority of R(eference time) with respect to E(vent time). Although this implies that E has ceased, this is not a necessity as cases of ‘imperfective perfects’ as triggered by adverbial modification, i.e. universal perfects like *He has loved her ever since he first saw her laugh*, show. Past participles that autonomously give rise to a perfective reading (e.g. the unaccusatives *arrived*, *disappeared*, *broken*, and *melted*), on the other hand, enforce boundedness and thus need not take recourse to the overt expression of posteriority, but rather automatically imply that E precedes R in its entirety (cf. Grewendorf 1995: 83). This accounts for why languages making use of auxiliary alternation may resort to a semantically vacuous auxiliary. HAVE-only languages, on the other hand, do not redundantly instantiate the same properties twice in unaccusative perfects like *She has disappeared*, but rather make the posteriority of R explicit in addition to the completion of E (cf. Abraham 2000: 152). Accordingly, the two contributions are not in complementary distribution.

Eventually, the contributions of the past participle and the auxiliary HAVE with respect to the denotation of perfect meaning may be summarised as in (17) and (18), in analogy to (8) and (9).

- (17) Past participial morphology: An event is rendered perfective in case the participial morpheme attaches to a simple change of state. (Otherwise, only a homogeneous sub-event is brought to an end, which may or may not be the last of its kind, cf. Lübbe & Rapp 2011.)
- (18) HAVE: The perfect auxiliary denotes the posteriority of R with respect to E, which implies (but cannot enforce) that the event affected by (17) is brought to an end.

As we have seen, there is a solid foundation for the assumption that past participles are substantially identical in Germanic and Romance languages. In fact, ‘amalgamation’

approaches highlighting the two-fold contribution of the past participle and ascribing distinctions in behaviour to the underlying verb and the functional embedding under an auxiliary appear to be particularly worthwhile. These allow us to derive the purportedly contrasting properties of passive and perfect participles from a single form. While this is the predominant picture in Germanic and Romance, there seems to be an odd man out, namely the morphologically distinct participial form of the supine in Swedish.

### 3 An odd man out? The supine in Swedish

Swedish features an interesting exception with respect to the overarching similarities discussed so far. While this North Germanic exponent of course also makes use of participial periphrases for the denotation of perfect and passive meaning, it apparently resorts to a perfect participle that is morphologically distinct from the past (passive) participle (see Platzack 1989; Askedal 1995: 103). This is observable in (19).

- (19) a. Boken blev skriven av Pelle. (Swedish)  
*the.book became written by Pelle*  
 ‘The book was written by Pelle.’
- b. Pelle har skrivit en bok.  
*Pelle has write.SUP a book*  
 ‘Pelle has written a book.’

Christensen & Taraldsen (1989: 71) argue that this is merely a shallow distinction based on whether or not the participle carries agreement morphology, analogous to what we have seen above, e.g. with respect to Icelandic. However, as Platzack (1989: 309) points out, this is rendered highly unlikely by the occurrence of impersonal passives like the one in (20).

- (20) Det blev drucket/ \*druckit hela natten.  
*it was drink.PTCP.AGR / drink.SUP all night*  
 ‘There was drinking all night.’ (or ‘People were drinking all night.’)

Although there is *per definitionem* no syntactic object around with which the participial form could agree, inserting the supine form leads to ungrammaticality. Instead, a default singular neuter variant of the past participle has to be instantiated.<sup>10</sup> Accordingly, the supine is not simply identical to one of the participial forms employed in the passive, i.e. it is not just an invariant exponent of the past participle (cf. Larsson 2009: 26). Without going into detail regarding the properties of impersonal configurations here, let us just maintain that the past participle undergoes default valuation of *uφ*, instantiating a third person singular value (cf. Schäfer 2013: 354). This possibility is parameterised (and thus barred in English, for instance, as opposed to German) (cf. Ruys 2010).

The morphological distinction between the supine and the default past participle form most regularly comes forth with strong verbs like those in (21) (cf. Klingvall 2011: 57f.).

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<sup>10</sup> Note that there might be room for agreement with the expletive here, but Platzack (1989: 309ff.) additionally provides an example in which the expletive is absent, which is why this is not a licit counter-argument.

- (21) a. sjungit      vs.    sjunget  
*sing.*SUP                 *sing.*PTCP  
‘sung’
- c. bjudit      vs.    bjudet  
*bid.*SUP                 *bid.*PTCP  
‘bid’
- e. bundit      vs.    bundet  
*tie.*SUP                 *tie.*PTCP  
‘tied’
- b. vunnit      vs.    vunnet  
*win.*SUP                 *win.*PTCP  
‘won’
- d. försunnit      vs.    försunnet  
*disappear.*SUP             *disappear.*PTCP  
‘disappeared’

Additionally, distinct supine morphemes also crop up for weak verbs ending in unstressed *-a* as well as – in some dialects at least – those ending in a consonant (cf. Larsson 2009: 418f.; Klingvall 2011: 58), as the examples in (22) make clear.

- (22) a. laga      vs.    lagad  
*prepare.*SUP             *prepare.*PTCP  
‘prepare’                 ‘painted’
- c. byggi      vs.    byggt  
*build.*SUP             *build.*PTCP  
‘built’                 ‘painted’
- b. måla      vs.    målat  
*paint.*SUP             *paint.*PTCP
- d. glömmi      vs.    glömt  
*forget.*SUP             *forget.*PTCP

The occurrence of a proper morphological distinction raises the question of whether this is mirrored by a substantial syntacticosemantic difference in the properties of supines in contrast to past participles.<sup>11</sup> Platzack (1989: 305), as a proponent of this view, argues “that the Swedish supine is a specific non-finite active form of the verb”. This assumption is substantially supported by the availability of synthetic passive variants of these forms. In fact, as the examples in (23) and (24) show, supines readily allow for the formation of synthetic passives, whereas past participles never inflect for passive morphology.

- (23) a. har skrivits  
*has write.*SUP.PASS  
‘has been written’
- c. har vunnits  
*has win.*SUP.PASS  
‘has been won’
- b. har sjungits  
*has sing.*SUP.PASS  
‘has been sung’
- d. har bundits  
*has tie.*SUP.PASS  
‘has been tied’
- (24) a. \*skrivets  
*write.*PTCP.PASS
- c. \*vunnets  
*win.*PTCP.PASS
- b. \*sjungets  
*sing.*PTCP.PASS
- d. \*bundets  
*tie.*PTCP.PASS

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<sup>11</sup> The alternative – which might be instantiated in some Norwegian dialects, as will briefly be hinted at below – is that a formal differentiation has developed for the participle embedded under HAVE, which nonetheless does not signal distinct grammatical properties.

The fact that past participles in Swedish – just like in any other Germanic (or Romance) language – may not combine with a passive morpheme is, of course, anything but surprising given the inherent passive characteristics of these forms discussed in chapter 2.

Additionally, supines may only take on a verbal function. Accordingly, they crucially do not share the categorial flexibility of their past participial counterparts, which may appear in (more or less prototypical) adjectival positions. This is observable in (25), where the past participle occurs as an adnominal (in fact prenominal) modifier, and (26), where it shows up in a copular construction, in analogy to past participles in other Germanic languages, e.g. in German.

- (25) den försvunne mannen  
*the disappear.PTCP man*  
‘the man who has disappeared’
- (26) Linnea är försvunnen.  
*Linnea is disappear.PTCP*  
‘Linnea is in the resultative state of having disappeared.’

There is one context that appears to challenge this conclusion, namely the occurrence of not just past participles but also supines in the context of *få* ('get'), which is restricted to Swedish dialects (or ‘colloquial Swedish’) and not a functional part of Standard Swedish (cf. Klingvall 2011: 55fn4; Larsson 2009, 407f.; see also Ljunggren 1934: 47ff.). Accordingly, oppositions like the ones in (27), adapted from Larsson (2009: 407) and Platzack (1989: 311), occasionally come to the fore.

- (27) a. De fick taget/ tagit från honom belöningen.  
*they got take.PTCP/ take.SUP from him the.reward*  
‘They got the reward taken from him.’
- b. Jag fick inte skrivet/ skrivit brevet än.  
*I got not write.PTCP/write.SUP the.letter yet*  
‘I have not got the letter written yet.’

While those configurations that involve a past participle range between a causative, benefactive/maleficative and an active reading (cf. Larsson 2012), only the latter is available with supines. In fact, speakers who allow for both past participles and supines to occur in the context of *få* ('get') apparently only allow for an active reading with supine forms. Accordingly, Platzack (1989: 311) points out that there is a subtle difference in meaning: the supine forces an agentive interpretation, whereas the past participial variant suggests that somebody else is responsible. Thus, causative and benefactive/maleficative readings entail that “the subject of GET is not (necessarily) interpreted as the agent of the participial event” (Larsson 2014b: 165). This follows naturally from the observation that rather than a proper participial periphrasis, such instances may be traced back to complex predicates (cf. Lødrup

1996), i.e. combinations of a lexical verb and an adjectival past participle.<sup>12</sup> Hence, it is not surprising that this construction is interpretively quite similar to the stative perfect (i.e. the combination of the lexical verb HAVE and an adjectival participle) (cf. Larsson 2014b: 167). Active formations with GET, on the other hand, are proper periphrases (cf. Lødrup 1996). This auxiliary appears to behave like HAVE (see (9)) with respect to the licensing of an external argument in the context of a past participle. Allowing it to combine with supines, on the other hand, presupposes that GET may also just raise a properly licensed external argument. Given that GET in this case is sensitive to the presence of a properly licensed external argument, it is not surprising that the supine is not allowed to take on passive morphology in these cases (cf. Larsson 2009: 409). In conclusion, then, occurrences of the supine in the complement of *få* ('get') do not challenge the assumption that the distribution of this item is restricted to verbal uses.

A further effect of the lack of passive properties on the participial form is that the semantic restrictions on passivisation that were hinted at in chapter 2 do not carry over to supines. Accordingly, a past participle may not be formed on the basis of the Swedish verb *innehålla* ('contain'), as we can see in Platzack's (1989: 308) example in (28), whereas its occurrence as a supine is flawless in perfect periphrases.

- (28) \*Radioaktivt avfall var innehållt i tunnan  
*radioactive waste was contain.PTCP in the.barrel*  
 'Radioactive waste was contained in the barrel.'

Just like *innehålla* ('contain') in (28), passive occurrences of the English and German cognates *contain* and *beinhalten* are ruled out. This may be taken to stem from the fact that the suppressed external argument of the predicates in question is not associated with a sufficient amount of agentive properties. Thus, these may not occur as past participles, unless their external argument is taken care of by HAVE, cancelling the existential binding for which the argument in question is lexically marked by the past participial morpheme (see (8)). Eventually, then, these considerations support Platzack's (1989: 308) conclusion that supines and past (passive) participles in Swedish differ not only superficially, but rather the shallow difference is mirrored by substantially distinct features in terms of verbality and θ-grids.

Additional evidence in favour of a substantial difference may be drawn from the regular occurrence of bare supines in finite embedded clauses, as those in (29), partly based on Christensen & Taraldsen (1989: 82en20) and retrieved from the Swedish corpus *Språkbanken* (the Swedish Language Bank).

- (29) a. eftersom Pelle redan skrivit en bok  
*since Peter already write.SUP a book*  
 'since Peter had already written a book'

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<sup>12</sup> This is supported by word order variation. In fact, in analogy with the stative perfect, the object usually occurs preverbally unlike its postverbal distribution in proper periphrases (cf. Larsson 2014b: 166f.).

- b. att Sverige vunnit med 2-0 i fotbollen mot Spanien  
*that Sweden win.SUP with 2-0 in football against Spain*  
‘that Sweden has won 2-0 against Spain in football’
- c. men om man sjungit duet med Lasse Holm i melodifestivalen  
*but if one sing.SUP duet with Lasse Holm at the.melody-festival*  
‘but if one has sung a duet with Lasse Holm at the melody-festival’

As these cases show, supines may readily occur without accompanying perfect auxiliaries in Swedish finite subordinate clauses, whereas this is ruled out not only in the other Scandinavian languages (cf. Larsson 2009: 375f.) but also in Germanic and Romance in general. In Swedish, by contrast, this is quite a common capacity, i.e. HAVE may optionally be omitted without any semantic effect.<sup>13</sup> Accordingly, instances featuring HAVE-omission exhibit the full range of perfect readings (cf. Larsson 2009: 377). As a matter of fact, the non-occurrence of HAVE generally shows a high degree of flexibility: “[i]t is not restricted to certain tenses, or to e.g. certain modal contexts [and] not directly dependent on the matrix tense, or even on the presence of a matrix clause” (Larsson 2009: 376f.). The latter observation shows in the fact that even exclamatives regularly allow for HAVE-omission (cf. Larsson 2009: 377), as the example in (30), taken from Andréasson et al. (2002: 70) makes clear.<sup>14</sup>

- (30) Vilken snögubbe du (har/hade) byggt.  
*what snowman you have/had build.SUP*  
‘What a snowman you have/had built!’

The specific interpretation of the omitted perfect auxiliary in terms of its finite tense value (present vs. past) is determined with the help of contextual information (cf. Larsson 2009: 377), which might render the omission of HAVE marked in cases in which relevant inferences cannot be drawn from the context (cf. Malmgren 1985). In fact, proper main clauses like the ones in (31) do not allow for HAVE-omission (cf. Julien 2002: 68).

- (31) a. Pelle \*(har) skrivit en bok.  
*Pelle has write.SUP a book*  
‘Pelle has written a book.’
- b. Han \*(hade) sett henne.  
*He had see.SUP her*  
‘He had seen her.’

The requirement for the overt presence of HAVE in these contexts may be traced back to the V2-property of Swedish main clauses. In other words, HAVE-omission is only licit in case the perfect auxiliary does not move to C (cf. Platzack 1986; Larsson 2009: 377). V2 (i.e. V-to-C

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<sup>13</sup> While it is readily available in both the written and the spoken language, omission is more frequent in the former (cf. Kjellmer 2003: 16; Andréasson et al. 2002: 68f.).

<sup>14</sup> Further instances may be found in main clauses with *kanske* (‘maybe’) in which the finite auxiliary does not undergo movement to C (cf. Larsson 2009: 377; see also Bentzen 2014, Andréasson 2002 and Egerland 1998).

movement) affects the target position of finite elements and thus, amongst other things, serves the function of specifying the tense of a main clause in a fixed position. We may therefore conclude that the proper spell-out of HAVE is required whenever it is primarily responsible for realising the finite tense specification of the independent clause in question. Given that this specification may contextually be derived from the temporal properties of a main clause in the case of an embedded clause, it follows naturally that HAVE-omission is regularly possible and that the tense specification of a bare supine clause is taken to be the same as the matrix clause (cf. Julien 2002: 76). Accordingly, the examples in (29) may be embedded under a present tense main clause, in which case a present perfect comes about (*har* ‘has’), or a past tense main verb, in which case we get a past perfect reading (*hade* ‘had’) (cf. Julien 2002: 75f.). With respect to exclamatives like the one in (30), it is the specific force specification of the clause that takes the focus off of the temporal specification, which is why the potential absence of a main clause does not pose any problems.

Returning to implications for the assumed non-identity in Swedish, whether the possibility of HAVE-omission in embedded clauses hinges on the occurrence of substantially distinct supine forms is a highly controversial matter. In fact, Larsson (2009: 378) argues that “HAVE-omission should not be tied to the specific morphology of the supine form in Present-Day Swedish”, although she acknowledges that the ‘participial’ form may generally be vital for the identification of the omitted item. The main motivation for dissociating the special behaviour from the special form is an apparent mismatch in the diachronic development of the two: while finite auxiliaries could already be omitted in the 15<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>15</sup> “the morphological distinction between supine and past participle was not fully established even in the 17<sup>th</sup> century” (Larsson 2009: 378). Dwelling on the diachronic dimension for a second, it is striking that Swedish shares with the identity languages in Germanic and Romance that there originally was only a single past participial form (cf. Haspelmath 2000: 663). However, upon the grammaticalisation of passive and perfect periphrases, only past participles in the former elicit the syntactic configuration in (7), thus exhibiting object-agreement. In contrast, due to the argument structural contribution of HAVE, past participles in HAVE-perfect contexts remain invariant (cf. Dammel 2012: 254f.). Accordingly, a shallow distinction arose in Swedish as well as in some other Scandinavian and Romance languages (e.g. Icelandic and French). In addition, Swedish was independently subject to a phonological alternation that was rooted in vowel balance, i.e. the use of *-i-* after short syllables and the use of *-e-* after long ones (cf. Larsson 2009: 423). Since short syllables were soon lost in favour of long ones rendering vowel balance obsolete, this phonological alternation was transposed into a morphologically conditioned one, which gave rise to the *-et* vs. *-it* distinction at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (cf. Dammel 2012: 256; Platzack 1989: 316). This morphological distinction was then exploited grammatically in natural language’s strive for making optimal use of its means, which led to the substantial emancipation of the supine element from the participial paradigm.

Given the timing of the historical development of the supine, it indeed appears to be unlikely that the possibility for HAVE-omission is directly related to (or an immediate consequence of) the availability of an independent form. However, if we extend our view to

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<sup>15</sup> Note that Kjellmer (2003: 16) claims that HAVE-omission did not establish until the latter half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and had become regular by the 18<sup>th</sup> century, which would take the edge off the present discussion, but demands the thorough scrutiny of historical corpora, something that is left to future research.

other Germanic languages, (finite) HAVE-omission seems to be a common phenomenon that increasingly disappears upon the proper grammaticalisation of a HAVE-perfect. In German, for instance, auxiliary omission of HAVE (as well as BE) was common between the 15<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century (cf. Curme 1935; Kjellmer 2003: 15), but it is questionable whether the grammaticalisation of the periphrastic perfect was complete by that stage. The participial form might still have been autonomously associated with a large(r) set of resultative properties, which supposedly facilitated the omission of temporal auxiliaries in subordinate clauses. With respect to Swedish, HAVE-omission could already have been around upon the development of the supine, but – rather than the latter directly causing the former – the availability of a distinct supine simply kept HAVE-omission functional. This certainly demands further attention in future research, but for the time being what we may conclude is that there may well be some relation between the two phenomena, although it is not one along the lines of causation.

Thus taking the role of the supine for the availability of HAVE-less finite clauses seriously allows us to derive a clearer picture of their morphosyntactic properties, which in turn potentially bears implications for the nature of past participles as well. In fact, what is virtually undeniable based on its combinability with passive morphemes is that the Swedish supine is exempt from the passivising operation that was associated with the past participle morpheme in (8) above. Rather than inducing changes to a predicate's argument structure, supines may apparently autonomously license all of their arguments to the effect that a passive configuration may only be derived with the help of an independent passiviser. In other words, nothing challenges Platzack's (1989: 308) conclusion that supines are inherently active. From a theoretical point of view, this also bears consequences for the properties of the perfect auxiliary HAVE, which – according to (9) – may retrieve a semantic role marked for lexical binding by virtue of associating it with an argument that moves through its local domain. This contribution is superfluous in Swedish due to the fact that HAVE may only ever combine with an *active* supine in order to form the periphrastic perfect.<sup>16</sup> This automatically bars the competing derivation featuring HAVE and a past participle on the basis of economy considerations: introducing a past participle that elicits a semantic role marked for existential binding and to be retrieved by HAVE is undesirable in the wake of the more economical alternative of directly introducing an active participial form, the supine. Accordingly, the syntactic contribution of HAVE in Swedish may be reduced to its raising characteristics, which have to be attributed to perfect auxiliaries on independent grounds (e.g. based on unaccusative periphrases like *He has arrived*).

This leaves the question of whether the supine also contains a larger set of relevant properties for the denotation of a perfect interpretation. If we take the autonomous expression of the whole range of perfect readings in HAVE-less embedded clauses and the fact that there are generally no occurrences that do not denote a perfect seriously, this appears to hold true. In fact, Julien (2001, 2003), Larsson (2009: 69) and Klingvall (2011: 56) suggest that the supine differs from the past participle in terms of its contribution of ‘non-finite past tense’ semantics.<sup>17</sup> An analysis along these lines does not only account for HAVE-omission in a

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<sup>16</sup> Note that, as we could briefly see above, things might be a bit different with (active) GET in this respect.

<sup>17</sup> See also Eide (2009a, 2009b) for justifications of dissociating tense from inflection.

straightforward fashion, but arguably also provides what is necessary to model HAVE-selection. Actually, we may simply assume that the semantically vacuous HAVE (let us call this HAVE<sub>Ø</sub>) is always sensitive to the presence of this past tense specification in Swedish. The supine, on the other hand, features a temporal property that all other past participles lack. These participles may only compute an (im)perfective value based on their aspectual information, but are devoid of any ‘past tense’ properties. While the presence of a perfective value suffices to derive via implication that the participial event lies in the past (and thus allows for BE-selection in languages resorting to auxiliary alternation), this is bound to be made explicit for imperfective participles with the help of HAVE (which could then be referred to as HAVE<sub>post</sub>). In a nutshell, then, HAVE<sub>Ø</sub> is sensitive to the presence of non-finite tense (which prevents HAVE<sub>Ø</sub> from selecting a past participle instead of a supine), whereas HAVE<sub>post</sub> is sensitive to some aspectual value contributed by the past participle.

This account properly grasps that the overt presence of HAVE is a vital necessity (recall the IPP and PPP) in identity languages, as it does not only realise the external argument but also contributes relevant properties for the manifestation of a perfect interpretation. In the exceptional case of Swedish, on the other hand, HAVE may be dispensed with, as the supine bears active properties as well as a ‘non-finite past tense’ specification in addition to the past participial aspectual properties. This, in turn, suggests that HAVE is devoid of any relevant contribution apart from taking up finiteness (cf. Heinat 2012: 106f.), a specification that may be dispensed with in cases of HAVE-omission, as discussed above. This crucially sets the perfect auxiliary in Swedish apart from its Germanic (and Romance) relatives and makes it highly similar to the semantically vacuous auxiliaries BE and WERDEN. There are two complicating factors, though, that should briefly be addressed in the remainder of the present section: the shallow similarity of many supines to past participles and the fact that it is almost impossible to adduce data in favour of the temporal contribution of the supine.

With respect to the observable morphological distinctions between supines and past participles, it should be pointed out that there is no difference in behaviour with respect to whether or not a given supine is shallowly different. Accordingly, even supines whose morphological exponent is identical to a past participle like *packat* (‘packed’), *besökt* (‘visited’), and *tappat* (‘lost’) readily form bare embedded clauses. In other words, the parser may not always unambiguously identify the form in question as a supine on the basis of its morphology, as shown in (32).

- (32) a. *eftersom han köpt bilen*  
*after he buy.SUP the.car*  
‘after he had bought the car’
- b. *lång tid efter att isen smält smultit*  
*long time after that the.ice melt.SUP.WEAK/ melt.SUP.STRONG*  
‘a long time after the ice has melted’

While the fact that an active supine rather than a passive (past) participle is involved may straightforwardly be derived from the presence of the external argument in (32a), this is not a sufficient cue in (32b). Depending on whether it is employed in its weak or strong variant, *smälta* (‘melt’) may give rise to a supine that is homophonous to the past participle (*smält*) or

a specific supine form (*smultit*), both of which may readily occur in HAVE-less embedded clauses – quite unlike the strong participial form *smulten*. The appearance of homophony does not pose any problems, though. This may generally have to do with the fact that a past participle simply cannot occur as the core of a proper embedded clauses without the presence of an overt auxiliary like *bliva* (WERDEN) or – in the case of an adjectival past participle – the copula *vara* (BE). Additionally, most occurrences are clearly disambiguated by the obligatory presence of agreement morphology on the past participial counterpart. Furthermore, grammatical distinctions do, of course, not always have to be mirrored in a distinct spell-out. This is not much of a surprise once we consider that past participles in English, for instance, only show morphological marking distinct from past tense forms with a subset of verbs (consider *loved* in participial as well as past tense uses, as opposed to the morphological distinction between *saw* and *seen*).

Another complicating factor that has repercussions for the assumption that the supine carries (non-finite) tense is that we cannot tell whether the perfect auxiliary is syntactically absent in the case of HAVE-omission. In other words, it is not clear, whether this poses a case of substantial omission or should rather just be analysed as a case of phonological deletion. While the principled permissibility of bare supines in Swedish embedded clauses suggests that there really is a fully-fledged grammatical basis to these and its correlation with substantially distinct perfect forms is striking, the pervasive optionality suggests that we are primarily dealing with a PF-phenomenon.<sup>18</sup> Nevertheless, it is doubtlessly clear that at least the argument structural contribution of HAVE is fully dispensable. This seems to support the assumption of the substantial absence of HAVE. This finds further support in the observation that the perfect auxiliary's temporal contribution is supposedly also superfluous. This would entail that HAVE may be dispensed with as *all* the relevant properties are signalled by its supine complement in case the perfect auxiliary does not overtly have to mark finiteness. However, it is quite difficult to adduce reliable data for the supine's temporal contribution. Klingvall (2011: 60) presents the data in (33) in an attempt to support the 'non-finite past tense' contribution of the supine as opposed to its absence on a past participle.

- (33) a. På måndag kommer jag att ha skrivit boken.  
*on Monday will I to have write.SUP the.book.*  
 ‘On Monday I will have written the book.’
- b. På måndag kommer boken att bli skriven.  
*on Monday will the.book to become write.PTCP*  
 ‘The book will be written on Monday.’

According to Klingvall (2011: 60), these examples differ in terms of whether a complex or a simple tense is involved, which she traces back to the supine's contribution of non-finite tense. This is supposed to lead to the perfect interpretation in (33a), whereas (33b) marks a simple case and lacks anteriority. This is anything but conclusive evidence, though, given that past participles transcend between an imperfective and a perfective interpretation based on the

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<sup>18</sup> Note, though, that there is room for proper syntactic optionality in the context of multiple grammar theory (see, e.g., Amaral & Roeper 2014).

properties of the embedded predicate. Additionally, the examples are anything but telling, since the supine is accompanied by HAVE and there is thus no way to tell whether it is HAVE or the supine that contributes the perfect properties. Unfortunately, there apparently are no proper bare counterparts to the periphrastic occurrences of supines (recall that occurrences in the context of GET are also periphrases) – apart from contexts with HAVE-omission that is. Hence, we will have to do with what we have and may thus only hypothesise that the supine indeed has taken over ‘non-finite past tense’ or posteriority (of R with respect to E) properties,<sup>19</sup> which are associated with HAVE in the identity languages.

Let us briefly dwell on the categorial issues that just came to the fore. As we have seen, the supine may apparently only be found in core clausal distribution, i.e. as the main predicate of a fully-fledged clause. This provides a sharp contrast to the rich distributional flexibility of past participles. This stems from the verbal properties of supines and the associated lack of adjectival variability, which in turn allows their past participle counterparts to appear in various kinds of bare instantiations (adnominal, adverbial, predicational). In other words, apart from its inability to inflect for finite morphology, the supine does not show any categorial ambivalence whatsoever.<sup>20</sup> Thus, we may follow Dammel (2012: 255ff.) in concluding that the supine has properly emancipated out of the adjectival system, whereas the past participle may only be supplemented with verbal properties in the context of HAVE (EA-realisation, finiteness). These observations bear some interesting implications for the amount of functional structure that we may attribute to supines as opposed to participles. Based on their ability to take up passive morphology and their inability to occur in adjectival positions, we might want to conclude that supines syntactically introduce v and thus autonomously license an external argument. The only participial leftover demanding them to be accompanied by an auxiliary is their inability to inflect for finiteness. This may well have to do with the supposed presence of non-finite past tense morphology (i.e. the correspondent to the posteriority attributed to HAVE in identity languages). As the supine already comprises a tense value, it may not value any further uT properties, hence its inability to inflect (unlike a bare verbal form that may take up a value like [past] due to its inherent lack of a tense value). The characteristic properties of autonomously licensing v and bearing a non-finite tense value, then, suffice to clearly set the supine apart from the past participle in terms of its categorial properties. The past participle by contrast lacks the possibility to autonomously realise an EA (hence license v) and only bears a set of aspectual information (defective perfectivity), but crucially lacks a value for its non-finiteness. This reasoning provides support for the traditional assumption that the past participle’s argument structural restrictions follow from its adjectival properties, although its verbal use may at least reintroduce an (implicit) cause (see, e.g., Abraham 2000).

Let us now take a broader perspective by considering how the observed non-identity of passive and perfect participles in Swedish fits into a general classification with the opposing poles of past participial identity and non-identity.

<sup>19</sup> As Larsson (2009: 69fn55) puts it: “past participles differ from perfect participles precisely by not asserting anteriority”. Note, though, that this is claimed to hold not just for supines, but for ‘perfect participles’ in general.

<sup>20</sup> In addition to the verbal characteristic of forming synthetic passives and the incompatibility with adjectival distributions, the verbal nature of supines is supported by their reluctance to incorporate particles: *är hemkommen* (lit. is come.home.PTCP) vs. *har kommit hem* (lit. has come.SUP home) (cf. Larsson 2014a: 382).

## 4 The parameterisation of past participle (non-)identity

So far we have seen that the prototypical pattern in Germanic and Romance languages is the use of one and the same past participle form in passive as well as perfect constructions. Swedish forms an exceptional case in terms of developing a substantial distinction from an initial identity by having it piggyback on an independent phonological distinction. Nevertheless, Swedish does not entirely waive its identity heritage, as may be seen on the basis of the supine's selectional requirement to be introduced in the context of HAVE, i.e. it is still the case that distinct auxiliaries are employed in passive and perfect periphrases. There are, however, clear exponents of fully-fledged participial non-identity outside of the Germanic and Romance language families. To be precise, non-identity is the universal pattern with respect to languages that form the passive and/or perfect synthetically (cf. Ackema 1999: 87f.). Additionally, though, there are also prototypical cases of languages that express both functions peripherastically but still resort to distinct participles. This may for instance be seen in (South) Slavic languages like Bulgarian and Slovenian.

Bulgarian morphologically distinguishes the so-called *l*-participle used to form the analytic perfect from a designated passive participles formed with *-en/-t* (cf. Pancheva 2003: 296; Marvin 2003: 141fn1), as observable in Broekhuis & Migdalski's (2003: 2f.) examples in (34).

- (34) a. Paulina e pročela knigata  
*Paulina be read.PRF.PTCP.AGR.F.SG the.book*  
 ‘Pauline has read the book.’
- b. Knigata e pročetana ot Ivan.  
*the.book be read.PASS.PTCP.AGR by Ivan*  
 ‘The book is read by Ivan.’

Given that Bulgarian is an aspectual language and hence overtly marks (im)perfectivity, it follows naturally that it resorts to distinct aspectual specifications in order to distinguish the major perfect uses. In fact, the perfect-forming *l*-participle may carry perfective (*obiknala*, lit. love.PFV.PTCP), imperfective (*običala*, lit. love.IPFV.PTCP) or neutral (*pila*, lit. drink.NEUT.PTCP) morphology (cf. Iatridou et al. 2001: 208ff.). The passive participle (*-en/-t*), on the other hand, only combines with imperfective morphology.<sup>21</sup> In contrast to employing such aspectual markers overtly indicating whether or not the situation has ceased, Germanic and Romance – as non-aspectual languages – arguably only bear covert aspectual information as part of the participial morpheme. The precise value that is elicited crucially is dependent on the event structure of the underlying predicate, as discussed in section 2.

Reminiscent of the situation in Swedish, the substantial non-identity of participial forms in Bulgarian leads to a large degree of flexibility with respect to bare instantiations. As pointed out by Iatridou et al. (2001: 218f.), bare uses of the *l*-participle are able to express a fully-fledged active perfect. This marks a crucial contrast to English (and other identity

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<sup>21</sup> Additionally, what is striking is that these cases overtly mark participial subject-agreement regardless of whether the argument that fulfils this function is an internal or an external argument (cf. Spencer 2001: 291).

languages), where bare occurrences are bound to be object-oriented. Thus the contrast in the examples in (35), taken from Iatridou et al. (2001: 218), emerges.

- (35) a. Zapoznah se sūs ženata pročela knigata.  
*met REFL with the.woman read.PRF.PTCP.F.SG the.book*  
‘I met the woman who has read the book.’
- b. I saw the boy \*(who has) eaten the fish.

Apart from the subject-orientation in Bulgarian, what is striking is that these bare cases may denote all of the perfect variants that full clauses do (cf. Marvin 2003: 146f.), just like instances of HAVE-omission in Swedish. In identity languages, on the other hand, whether a resultative reading comes about in bare cases is dependent on the contextual embedding and the presence of adverbial modification (consider the imperfectivity of *the fish currently eaten by Bill*).

Intricately related to the substantial non-identity of passive and perfect participles in Slavic languages (apart from Bulgarian and Slovenian, these are Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian) is that they resort to one and the same auxiliary, namely the counterpart to semantically vacuous BE. This fits in neatly with the observation that all of the identity languages are bound to incorporate a substantial distinction on the basis of the auxiliary, as it cannot be made on the basis of the participle. In the non-identity languages, this picture is reversed, i.e. only a single auxiliary, namely one that is semantically vacuous, may be introduced. Thus, based on the small set of languages considered so far, a prediction with respect to parametric variation may be formulated, as in (36).

(36) The parameterisation of past participial (non-)identity

In languages resorting to participial periphrases for the perfect and the passive, a distinction has to be encoded on distinct participial forms or on distinct auxiliaries, but not both.

If we extend our attention to some further Slavic languages, this prediction indeed appears to be borne out. As a matter of fact, some exponents in the Slavic paradigm show the grammaticalisation of a HAVE-perfect. According to (36), the prediction now is that these cases should lose their morphological distinction once substantially different auxiliaries serve to convey the difference between a passive and a perfect interpretation. This holds true in Macedonian and Kashubian, where the morphological distinction between passive and perfect participles increasingly – yet to different degrees – collapses (cf. Migdalski 2006: 132). This may be seen in the Kashubian examples in (37) and the Macedonian ones in (38), adapted from Stone (2002: 777) and Migdalski (2006: 130f.).

- (37) a. To dziecko je bité.  
*this child is beat.PTCP.AGR*  
‘This child is (being) beaten.’

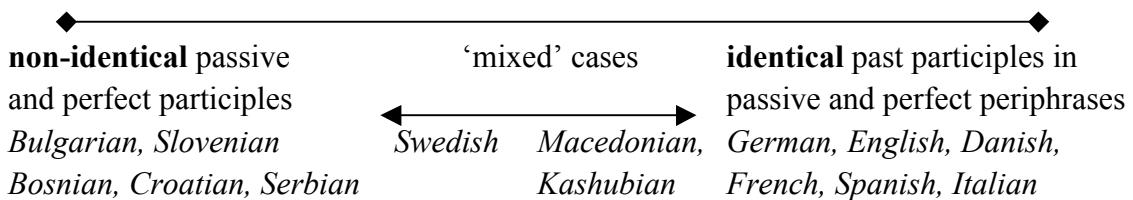
- b. Jô mórm tą białkā bité.  
*I have this woman beat.PTCP*  
‘I have beaten this woman.’

- (38) a. Novata košula mu e skinata.  
*new shirt him be tear.PTCP.AGR*  
‘His/her new shirt is torn.’
- b. Ja imam skinato mojata nova košula.  
*Her have tear.PTCP my.the new shirt*  
‘I have torn my new shirt.’

Kashubian employs a properly grammaticalised HAVE-perfect and even exhibits auxiliary alteration with the auxiliaries *bēc* ('be'), which is used to form the perfect with unaccusatives, and *miec* ('have'), which occurs with unergative and transitive predicates (cf. Migdalski 2006: 130). While the cases in (37) both employ the past participle (formed with *-en/-t*), it is additionally possible – without any semantic effect – to resort to the *l*-participle in passive and perfect periphrases (cf. Migdalski 2006: 131f.). Macedonian, on the other hand, is still in the process of grammaticalising its HAVE-perfect (cf. Graves 2000: 481ff.) and does not appear to develop an auxiliary alternation but rather becomes a HAVE-only language (cf. Migdalski 2006: 134). With respect to past participial identity, one and the same past participle may be employed in the context of *ima* ('have') and *sum* ('be') (cf. Migdalski 2006: 133ff.). This is observable in (38), adapted from Migdalski (2006: 136), which also shows that agreement distinctions similar to those of North Germanic and Romance arise. Somewhat reminiscent of the full interchangeability of Kashubian, it is however still possible to form a BE-perfect, in which case the interchangeability of the participial form is considerably restricted (cf. Graves 2000: 480ff., 493).

Eventually, this brief extension to cases of proper cases of distinct passive and perfect participles allows us to sketch a typological overview of the parameterisation of past participial (non-)identity. While the two opposing poles are formed by substantial identity (in Germanic and Romance) and proper non-identity (in Slavic), there are some more or less ‘mixed’ cases in-between.

(39) The parameterisation of past participial (non-)identity



While the constituency of the two opposing poles is quite straightforward, the situation is more diverse with respect to the exponents categorised here as ‘mixed’. Although this term is somewhat problematic given that (non-)identity is a binary (rather than a gradual) opposition, we could see that the identity as opposed to non-identity has certain effects on the overall grammatical system. This renders the properties of a given language opaque and displaces it from the prototypical nature of one or the other extreme. In the case of Macedonian and

Kashubian, this is the case as the morphological distinction has not fully been dropped, although it is already in a stage in which it typically does not have any grammatical consequences anymore. In Swedish, on the other hand, a proper distinction has evolved, but the distinct auxiliary HAVE is still functional, although it has arguably been deprived of its substantial grammatical contribution.

## 5 Conclusion

The present paper has shown that there is parametric variation in the compositional distribution of passive and perfect properties in participial periphrases. In fact, while the Slavic language family exhibits substantially distinct passive and perfect participles in the context of a single auxiliary (BE), Germanic and Romance employ a single past participle but encode distinctions on the basis of resorting to distinct auxiliaries (HAVE and BE for the perfect, WERDEN and BE for the passive). Rather than bearing only one or the other properties, the past participle amalgamates argument structural (passive) and aspectual (event-structure dependent perfectivity) properties, which are crucially affected by the contribution of HAVE (EA-licensing and posteriority).

The cross-linguistic picture is more diverse than merely consisting of two opposed poles, though. Upon grammaticalising a proper HAVE-perfect, the Slavic languages Macedonian and Kashubian have increasingly lost their substantial distinction to the effect that the different participles are more or less interchangeable. While the Slavic cases certainly deserve more attention in future research, we have focussed on the odd man out in Germanic. Swedish differs from other Germanic and Romance languages by virtue of employing a morphologically distinct perfect participle, whose properties substantially differ from those of past participles. This shows in two respects. First, the supine clearly does not affect the argument structure of the predicate it is based on and hence remains active, as observable on the basis of its combinability with passive morphology. Second, the supine supposedly also features a non-finite temporal contribution, supposedly roughly corresponding to the posteriority that is conveyed by HAVE in identity languages. While it is difficult to gather data for the latter assumption, which renders the latter contribution somewhat shaky, the fact that only Swedish may regularly omit (finite) HAVE in cases in which a finiteness specification may be derived from the clausal context could be telling. HAVE-omission may well be out in other Germanic and Romance languages in these cases due to the relevant contribution of the perfect auxiliary, which is redundant in Swedish. What is clear, then, is that Swedish has effectively become a non-identity language, although HAVE remains as a (semantically vacuous) remnant of the former identity of passive and perfect participial forms.

While this already provides an interesting picture, many questions remain to be answered with respect to past participial non-identity in Germanic. Most pressing here is whether there are additional instances of substantially distinct perfect participles. Certain dialects of Norwegian, for instance, apparently also exhibit morphologically distinct perfect participles (cf. Larsson 2014a: 382). What immediately suggests that these are not substantially distinct, though, is that they are quite unlike their Swedish counterparts in terms of barring the formation of synthetic passives and do not allow for HAVE-omission in finite embedded clauses. Apart from these special cases, there are further instances of the principled

omission of HAVE in Germanic that have not been discussed in the present paper, namely counterfactual configurations in which the auxiliary is expected to occur as the complement of a past tense modal, contrary to fact (see Taraldsen 1984; Julien 2002; Larsson 2014c). This possibility might have to do with the fact that counterfactual cases convey a situation that does not apply and did not do so anytime in the past (cf. Julien 2002: 68; see also Iatridou 2000), i.e. a proper perfect interpretation may supposedly be neglected. Additionally, the PPI-configurations briefly mentioned in chapter 2 deserve closer scrutiny in the light of past participial non-identity in Swedish, which exhibits the so-called *dubbelsupinum* ‘double supine’ (or ‘Supinum pro Infinitivo’, SPI) (cf. Larsson 2014d; Julien 2003).<sup>22</sup>

Apart from these future ventures, the parameterisation of past participial (non-)identity that came forth in the present paper clearly underlines that economy plays an important role in the organisation of grammar. In fact, there appears to be universal tendency to either reduce redundant morphological marking or associate proper grammatical distinctions with it. Hence, those languages that do encode a grammatical distinction on the auxiliate do not superfluously encode distinctions by means of resorting to different auxiliaries, whereas those that do not are bound to use different auxiliaries. In case the grammatical system is altered in such a way that a distinction is incorporated into an ingredient that did not encode one before (on the auxiliary in Macedonian and Kashubian, on the one hand, and on the participle in Swedish, on the other), the system makes up for this by increasingly dropping the other distinction. This, however, may be a time-consuming process, as documented by the possibility to use both participial forms without any semantic effects in Macedonian and Kashubian and the survival of a semantically reduced version of HAVE in Swedish.

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<sup>22</sup> A potential way to account for these without faultily claiming that perfect meaning is expressed twice might be found in the claim that the presence of HAVE indicates a proper perfect interpretation only for the topmost supine, as it only governs this one and the second instance is just a result of imposing verb cluster harmony. Particularly interesting, then, is whether there are dialects in which HAVE-omission intersects with the formation of an SPI.

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