Pancake inflection is agreement in non-specificity. On the extended pancake construction*

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Abstract. "Pancake sentences" in Swedish and the other Mainland Scandinavian languages are copular sentences where a predicative adjective is inflected with **-T**, regardless of the number and gender of the surface subject:

i. *Pannkakor är läcker-t*
pancake.PL be.PR delicious-**T**
'It's delicious to have pancakes.'

T-agreement, as (i), might seem unexpected; predicative adjectives canonically agree in number and gender. I argue that pancake agreement is agreement in non-specificity. The semantic interpretation, as well as restrictions on pancake sentences follow from this: The subject must not be definite or quantified, and the adjective must be of the Individual Level type. The latter is a constraint not previously noted in the literature.

I argue that similar sentences with plural agreement are also pancake sentences:

ii. *Pannkakor är läckr-a*
Pancake. PL be.PRES delicious-PL
'Pancakes are delicious.'

Basically the same restrictions as for (i) hold for (ii). I argue that the difference is that the subject in (ii) projects for number, whereas the number feature on the subject in (i) is too deeply embedded to project, hence the absence of number agreement. The proposal accounts for the fairly recent historical emergence of pancake sentences with T-agreement; I argue that they arose as a consequence of the loss of verbal agreement.

Version July 2022

* Earlier versions of this paper have been presented at various occasions: at the workshop "Ambiguity at the Interface of Discourse and Grammar", Dipartimento di Lingue, Letterature e Culture Straniere, Roma 3, Università Roma Tre, March 2019, and at the Grammar Seminar, Lund University (several occasions). I'm thankful for comments and suggestions from the participants at these occasions. Thanks also to Dianne Jonas for insightful discussions and useful comments, and for checking my English. A special thanks to Valéria Molnár for reading the manuscript and giving invaluable constructive critique and suggestions for improvement. I'm responsible for all remaining errors and inadequacies.

1 Introduction

In Swedish and the other Mainland Scandinavian languages – Danish and Norwegian – predicative adjectives agree – at least as a rule – in grammatical gender and number with their subjects:

(1) a Bilen är grön. Swedish
car.C.SG.DEF be.PRES green.C.SG.DEF
'The car is green.'
b Huset är grön-t.
house.N.SG.DEF be.PRES green-N.SG.DEF
'The house is green.'
c Bilarna/husen är grön-a.
CAR.PL/HOUSE.PL be.PRES green-PL
'The cars/houses are green.'

However, there are constructions where canonical agreement, as illustrated in (1), does not seem to apply, at least not in a straightforward way. The term used in modern research for one of these sentence types is *pancake sentences* or *the pancake construction*. According to the standard definition of pancake sentences, predicative agreement is *-t*, regardless of the gender and number of the NP in the subject position. Thus, pancake inflection is formally identical to agreement in neuter singular, as in *grön-t* in (1)b. To distinguish pancake inflection from canonical agreement in neuter sg., as in (1)b, I refer to pancake inflection as *T-inflection*, and thus it is glossed as **T**. Two examples are given below:

(2) Senap är gul-t.
mustard(C) be.PRES yellow-**T**
'Mustard is yellow.'
(3) Pannkakor (på söndagar) är läcker-t.
pancake.PL (on Sundays) be.PRES delicious-**t**
'It's delicious to have pancakes on Sundays.'

Senap 'mustard', as in (2), is a typical substance-denoting noun, and I refer to this type of pancake sentence as *the substance-denoting construction*. A subject of the kind illustrated in (3) has certain clause-like properties: it exemplifies a general situation or state of affairs, and it can often be rewritten as an infinitival clause *Att äta pannkakor* (*på söndagar*) *är läcker-t* 'To eat pancakes (on Sundays) is delicious' or as a clause with an expletive *det* + a *with*-phrase: *Det är läcker-t med pannkakor* (*på söndagar*) (EXPL be-PRES delicious-**T** with pancakes (on Sundays)) 'It's delicious to have pancakes on Sundays'. I refer to this type as the *situation-denoting construction*. The agreement patterns in (1) are referred to as *canonical agreement*.

As will be evident as we proceed, I include another type of sentence under the pancake construction umbrella, hence the *extended* in the title "On the extended pancake construction". Consider (4).

(4) Morötter är gul-a.
carrot.PL be.PRES yellow-PL
'Carrots are yellow.'

The subject NP *morötter* in (4) is a bare plural (BP), and predicative agreement is plural *-a*. I argue that such sentences pattern with the "traditional" pancake sentences in (2) and (3). When relevant, I refer to it as *A-inflection*. The subject *senap* 'mustard' in (2)a is referred to as a bare non-plural, a BnP.

Following earlier proposals (e.g., Josefsson 2010), I assume that nominal categories can be devoid of a number feature and that a number feature is introduced during the syntactic derivation. Thus, bare nouns, such as *senap* 'mustard', *smör* 'butter', *tjära* tar', and *vatten* 'water', are altogether devoid of a number feature. Crucially, they are neither singular nor plural terms. (This is elaborated in 2.2.)

With canonical agreement, we would expect a subject like *senap* 'mustard' to trigger agreement in common gender, i.e. -Ø:

(5) ?*Senap är gul-Ø.
mustard(C) be.PRES yellow-C.SG
intended reading 'Mustard is yellow.'

The ?* marking for (5) is my own judgement, but it should be pointed out that isolated examples with canonical agreement can be found in corpora and are even considered well-formed by some informants in certain contexts. This question is discussed in section 7.

As pointed out above, the pancake construction is frequent in all three Mainland Scandinavian languages, and there is no question that it is accepted by speakers generally. For the sake of simplicity, I discuss the problem mainly from a Swedish perspective. Thus, unless indicated otherwise, the examples are Swedish.

In this article I propose a partly new analysis of pancake sentences. Generalizing a suggestion made in earlier works, Josefsson 2009 and Josefsson 2014, I argue that pancake inflection, as illustrated in (2) and (3), is agreement in non-specificity. I argue that this holds also for cases with BP subjects, as in (4).

The structure is as follows: In section 2 I present some background. Section 3 develops the analysis. Section 4 addresses the strong bias against adjectival modifiers in the subject of the substance-denoting type. In section 5, I discuss a related construction, expletive *det* + *with*-phrase, which I argue is the expletive construction corresponding to pancake sentences. Section 6 contains a brief historical note on the construction, where I provide an explanation the T-form. In section 7 I discuss the fact that there is a variation regarding the use of T-inflection on the one hand, and canonical inflection on the other. Section 8, finally, contains a concluding discussion.

2 Background

In section 2.1 I present some basic facts of the gender and agreement systems in Swedish. Section 2.2 is a short presentation of the pancake construction. Section 2.3 is an introduction to specificity as a semantic category, and to how specificity is related to definiteness. In 2.4 I discuss existential vs. generic readings, in 2.5 the split between Individual level and Stage level predicates, and in 2.6 the notion of quantized vs. homogenous NPs.

2.1 Agreement patterns in Swedish

Swedish has two grammatical genders for nouns: common gender and neuter. Although certain tendencies can be discerned, the grammatical gender of a noun is not determined by semantics – grammatical gender is basically idiosyncratic. In indefinite NPs, attributive adjectives agree in grammatical gender or in number with their nouns. In definite noun phrases, agreement in grammatical gender shows up on prenominal and suffixed determiners. Attributive adjectival agreement is *-a* in definite noun phrases.[1]

(6) a en grön bil
INDEF.C.SG green.C.SG car
'a green car'
b ett grön-t hus
INDEF.N.SG green-N.SG house
'a green house'

[1] The variant *-e*, as in *den gaml-e mannen* 'the old man' is traditionally analyzed as agreement in masculine (Teleman & al. 1999, part 2, 227–228). This type of inflection is outside the scope of this paper, and I refrain from further discussion.

c två grön-a bilar/hus
two green-PL car.PL/house.PL
'two green cars/houses'

(7) a den grön-a bil-en
DEF.C.SG green-DEF car-C.SG.DEF
'the green car'
b det grön-a hus-et
DEF.N.SG green-DEF house-N.SG.DEF
'the green house'
c de grön-a bil-ar-na/hus-en
DEF.PL green-DEF car-PL-DEF/house-PL.DEF

The canonical agreement pattern for predicative adjectives is shown in (8), which is a repetition of (1)a–c above.

(8) a Bilen är grön.
car.C.SG.DEF be.PRES green.C.SG.DEF
'The car is green.'
b Huset är grön-t.
house.N.SG.DEF be.PRES green-N.SG.DEF
'The house is green.'
c Bilarna/husen är grön-a.
car.PL/house.PL be.PRES green-PL
'The cars/houses are green.'

When the subject is clausal, predicative agreement is *-t*.

(9) a Att ni aldrig städade var uppenbar-t.
that you never clean.PST be.PST obvious-**T**
'It was obvious that you never cleaned.'
b Att aldrig städa är snuskig-t.
to never clean.INF be.PRES filthy-**T**
'It's filthy never to clean.'

In section 6 argue that this is agreement in non-specificity too.

2.2 The pancake construction

The pancake construction has been discussed frequently in the literature on Scandinavian languages, particularly in a Swedish context, ever since the phenomenon was first described in the linguistic literature in 1904 by Nathanael Beckman (Beckman [1904] 1916:54). Basing her argumentation primarily on Teleman & al. (1999), Josefsson (2009) suggests that there are two types of pancake sentences, *the propositional construction* and *the nominal construction*, in this paper referred to as *the situation-denoting construction* and the *substance-denoting construction*. Consider the examples below. ((10)a is a repetition of (3).

Examples of the situation-denoting construction:

(10) a Pannkakor (på söndagar) är läcker-t.
pancake.PL (on Sundays) be.PRES delicious-**T**
'To have pancakes (on Sundays) is delicious.'
b Två älskare (varje vecka) är omoralisk-t.
two lover.PL (each week) be.PRES immoral-**T**
'To have two lovers (each week) is immoral.'

d Henne med senap och ketchup vore läcker-t.
her with mustard and ketchup would.be delicious-**T**
'To have/eat her with mustard and ketchup would be delicious.'

Examples of the substance-denoting construction are shown below:

(11) a Senap är gul-t.
mustard(C) be.PRES yellow-**T**
'Mustard is yellow.'
b Morötter är gul-t.
carrot.PL be.PRES yellow- **T**
'Carrots (viewed as an aggregated substance) are yellow.'
c Morötter är gul-a.
carrot.PL be.PRES yellow-A
'Carrots are yellow.'

In (11)a *senap* 'mustard' is presumably unmarked for number. As pointed out in the previous section, I refer to such NPs as Bare non-Plurals (BnP). The background is as follows:

I have argued elsewhere (Josefsson 2010) that nouns (and hence also noun phrases) may have or lack a number feature. Number is not inherent to nouns; it may be added in the syntactic derivation of the NP. The number feature is related to the semantic concept of countability. The reason why we think of some nouns as inherently countable or non-countable is that they, due to their meaning, are more apt or prone to combine with a number feature. Thus, the number feature is what *creates* a countable noun, and if no number feature is added, the noun is construed as an uncountable. For example, *glass* 'ice cream' in *Jag åt glass* 'I ate ice cream' lacks a number feature, whereas *en glass/glassen* 'an ice cream/the ice cream' in *Jag åt en glass/glassen* 'I ate an ice cream/the icecream' has a number feature.[2] One argument to support the idea that not all nouns have a number feature is that conjoined BnPs do not trigger plural agreement.

(12) Senap och ketchup är kladdigt-t/*kladdig-a.
mustard and ketchup be.PRES messy-**T** /*messy-PL

An NP such as *morötter* 'carrots' is marked for plural, but agreement can still be *-t*, as shown in (11)b. As the translation shows, the interpretation of such NPs is that of an aggregated substance, that is, a substance consisting of small parts. This reading contrasts with that in (11)c, where the subject is a BP, *morötter* 'carrots', too, but where the reading of the NP subject is that of what I refer to as individuated entities, a reading that is reflected in the default interpretation of the English translation 'Carrots are yellow'. From the point of view of the syntactic tree structure, the number feature in (11)b is assumed to be embedded low in the structure, thus not requiring checking in a functional projection.

Already in 1904, when pancake sentences were first described in the Swedish literature, Natanael Beckman noted that nouns with a definite article, were bad as subjects:

(13) *Senapen är gul-t.
mustard.C.DEF be.PRES yellow-**T**

Not only nouns with a definite article, but definite noun phrases in general are bad as subjects in pancake sentences. I refer to this constraint as the *definiteness restriction*. It is discussed in 3.1, along with some potential counterexamples.

[2] The discussion here relates to bare nouns. I argue below that attributive adjectives require a number feature, and that singular is a default number in such contexts.

Whether or not the overtly realized elements *senap* 'mustard' and *morötter* 'carrots', as well as *pannkakor* 'pancakes' and *två älskare* 'two lovers' are the proper subjects in their respective clauses, or if there is more, non-overt structure present, has been debated intensely in the literature.[3] This question is only touched upon in this article. For the sake of simplicity, I use the term *surface subject* for the subject that we see.

As opposed to the subjects in (11), the surface subjects in (10) can generally be rewritten as an infinitival clause. In such cases, a verb must be supplied, of course. Although there are several candidates, a generalized version of the verb *ha* 'have' is what usually fits best. Sometimes, different alternatives are possible.[4]

(14) a Att äta pannkaka är läcker-t.
to eat pancake be.PRES delicious-**T**
'It's delicious to eat pancake.'

b Att äta pannkakor är läcker-t.
to eat pancake.PL be.PRES delicious-**T**
'It's delicious to eat pancakes.'

c Att ha två älskare är omoralisk-t.
to have two lovers be.PRES immoral-**T**
'It's immoral to have to lovers.'

d Att äta henne med senap och ketchup vore läcker-t.
to eat her with mustard and ketchup would.be delicious-**T**
Contexts: One cannibal speaking to another: 'It would be delicious to eat her with mustard and ketchup.'

As we can see, one particular property of the example in (10)d is that the subject contains a pronoun in accusative case, *henne* 'her'. Nominative being the unmarked case in Swedish, this is unexpected. As argued previously (Josefsson 2009), the accusative case on *henne* 'her' in this context indicates the presence of a phonologically null case assigner, presumably a null verb or possibly a null preposition.[5]

As for the terminology, I use the term NP to refer to noun phrases of different size and with different numbers of functional projections, including DPs. When relevant, the nature of the functional projections is specified.

2.3 Specificity

Specific vs. non-specific reference is based on a semantic categorization that lacks a directly corresponding morphology or other types of grammatical expressions in many languages. In her seminal article from 1991, Enç claims that specificity relates to the anchoring of a referent, denoted by a NP, to another referent or set of referents in the discourse. Enç (1991) identifies and discusses different lexical and morphosyntactic expressions of specificity in Turkish and some other languages. In the rest of this article, I refer to entities with specific reference as +specific. One of Enç's conclusions is that definite NPs have specific reference and thus are +specific. Importantly, she argues that the definiteness effect in the expletive–associate construction is better explained as a specificity effect; +specific noun phrases are infelicitous as associates in the expletive construction. A Swedish example illustrating the definiteness/specificity effect is given in (15).

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[3] Faarlund (1977) suggests, for instance, that the subject of pancake sentences (of the situation denoting type) are pruned clause-like structures.

[4] Josefsson (2009) argues that the range of verbs possible to add belong to the class of "passepartout verbs", discussed in Butt 2003, Butt & Lahiri 2004. Such verbs denote basic human actions and relations and are presumably present in all languages. Some examples are *have*, *be*, and *get*.

[5] The use of nominative case as the default case in Swedish differs from Danish and English, where accusative case seems to be a default option in some cases, see Parrot 2009 for more discussion.

(15) a Det sitter en tiger/*tiger-n på bänk-en.
EXPL sit.PRES INDEF.C.SG tiger/tiger-C.SG.DEF on bench-THE
'There is a tiger/*the tiger on the bench.'

b Kontext: Trädgårdslandet är alldeles fullt med ängsblommor.
Context: The garden flower bed is completely full of wild meadow flowers.
#Det står en prästkrage i landet.
EXPL stand.PRES INDEF.C.SG daisy in flower bed.THE

Following Enç, the ungrammaticality of the definite form in (15)a is due to the NP *tigern* 'the tiger' being +specific (as are definite DPs in general). To use the indefinite NP *en prästkrage* 'a daisy' in the context in (15)b, where the superset *ängsblommor* 'meadow flowers' is already introduced, is infelicitous, presumably because the part–whole relationship between *ängsblommor* 'meadow flowers' and *prästkrage* 'daisy'. This relation turns the indefinite NP *en prästkrage* 'a daisy' +specific.[6]

I use Enç's generalization as a test for specificity in the analysis that is proposed in section 3.

Enç 1991 discusses specificity and scope and concludes that "in most cases [+ specific] NPs have only wide scope readings". The general conclusion is not that all +specific NPs have wide scope, but there definitely is a "wide scope tendency" (p.3), which must be accounted for.

Typically, indefinite expressions are non-specific. However, the combination indefinite and +specific is also possible, which has been in focus in studies such as Enç (1991), Farkas & Brasoveanu (2002), and von Heusinger (2002). An example of a specific indefinite is *en norska* 'a Norwegian' in *Frans ska gifta sig med en norska. Hon heter Elsa och bor i Oslo* 'Frans will marry a Norwegian. Her name is Elsa, and she lives in Oslo'. von Heusinger acknowledges a strong correlation between specificity and scope: (p. 259): "A prototypical specific indefinite is assumed to have wide scope and a referential reading" (p. 258). According to von Heusinger 2002, specificity "mirrors a more finely-grained structure of referential relations between the items used in the discourse" (von Heusinger 2002, 253). He discusses four types of specificity in his paper: scopal, epistemic, partitive, and relative specificity. Common for all types is that "specificity indicates that an expression is referentially anchored to another object in the discourse" (p. 268). The "anchor" could be the speaker, the subject of the clause or a quantified NP (p. 269).

von Heusinger argues that definiteness and specificity are two separate dimensions, and that cross categorization is possible. For the sake of this paper, his examples of definite and non-specific NP referents are not relevant here. In this paper I will assume that definite NPs are +specific; definite and non-specific NPs are not at issue in this study.[7]

Relying on Milsark 1974, Enç (1991) makes a distinction between strong determiners, for instance universal quantifiers, such as *all* and *every*, and weak determiners, such as cardinal numbers, indefinite determiners, *some* and *many*. Strong determiners are always quantificational, and they are generally ungrammatical as associates in the expletive–associate construction. The Swedish sentence below

[6] To add *till exempel* 'for example' in (15)b would make the sentence impeccable:

(i) Trädgårdslandet är alldeles fullt med ängsblommor.
The garden bed is completely full of wild meadow flowers.
Det står till exempel en prästkrage i landet.
EXPL stand.PRES for example INDEF.C.SG daisy in bed.THE
'There is, for example a daisy in the flower bed.'

Why the adding of *till exempel* 'for example' makes the sentence well-formed is interesting, but beyond the scope of this paper.

[7] An example of a definite, non-specific expression is *the man that will please them* in *They'll never find the man that will please them* (von Heusinger 2002, 253).

shows that a universal quantifier is not felicitous in this position. (For more data on Swedish, see Teleman & al. 1999, part 3, 394ff.)

(16) *Det sitter alla tigrarna på Bantorget.
EXPL sit.PRES all.PL tiger.PL.DEF on Bantorget

Weak determiners, on the other hand, are generally fine as associates in the expletive construction:

(17) Det sitter en tiger /två tigrar /några tigrar /många tigrar på Bantorget.
EXPL sit.PRES INDEF.C.SG tiger /two tiger.PL /some tiger.PL /many tiger.PL on Bantorget
'There is/are a tiger/two tigers/some tigers/many tigers on Bantorget.'

I take the observation that NPs provided with weak determiners, such as *en* etc. in (17), are fine as associates to indicate that such NPs are non-specific in this position in Swedish too.

2.4 Generic vs. existential interpretations

Genericity may be conveyed in different ways. In Swedish there are basically five ways to render an NP generic. Consider (18), which shows the patterns for *tiger* 'tiger' (a countable), and (19), *mjölk* 'milk' (an uncountable):

(18) a En tiger är ett däggdjur.
INDEF.C.SG tiger be.PRES INDEF.N.SG mammal
'A tiger is a mammal.'
b Tiger-n är ett däggdjur.
tiger-C.SG.DEF be.PRES INDEF.N.SG mammal
'The tiger is a mammal.'
c Tigrar är däggdjur.
tiger-PL be.PRES mammal.PL
'Tigers are mammals.'
d Tigrar-na är däggdjur.
tiger-PL.DEF be.PRES mammal.PL
'The tigers are mammals.'

(19) Mjölk är en mejeriprodukt.
milk(c) be.PRES INDEF.C.SG dairy.product
'Milk is a dairy product.'

Even though all four sentences in (18) and (19) are generic, they don't mean exactly the same thing. The details are not of importance here, but see Pelletier & Asher 1997 and Pelletier (undated) for an in-depth discussion on the subtle differences for the corresponding sentences in English. What will be important in the following is that the subject of a generic sentence can be +specific, as in (18)b and d, as well non-specific, as in (18)a and c, and in (19).[8] There is thus no one-to-one correspondence between genericity and non-specificity.

As pointed out above, Enç's reformulates the definiteness effect on associates in the expletive construction as a specificity effect. An example of a typical existential sentence is given in (17) above. In English, such a sentence consists of the expletive *there* as subject + the verb *be*, followed by an indefinite – and non-specific – noun phrase. For Swedish the expletive *det,* roughly corresponding to English *it*, is used, and the verb is often the copula, a position verb, or a verb of movement. An example is given below:

[8] Presumably, (18) b and d are +specific because the NP subject refers to a kind.

(20) a There is a tiger on Bantorget.
b Det står en tiger på Bantorget.
EXPL stand.PRES INDEF.C.SG tiger(C) on Bantorget
'There is a tiger on Bantorget.'

Husband (2012a) defines existential interpretation in the following way:

> Essentially, existential interpretation is an interpretation where a new individual who was not presupposed in the context or shared as part of the common ground is introduced in the discourse. As such existential interpretation may be best understood in opposition to generic, presupposed, or quantificational interpretations. (Husband 2012a, 9)

If an existential interpretation requires "a new individual who was not presupposed in the context", we may conclude that this referent must be non-specific. Furthermore, Husband states that an existential interpretation of a referent involves *stages* of an individual:

> In brief, I take existential interpretation to be the result of the predication of a particular stage of an individual; since these stages are spatio-temporal in nature, their existence is guaranteed. (Husband 2012a, 12).

Informally speaking, an existential sentence, such as *Det står en tiger på Bantorget* 'There is a tiger on Bantorget' in (20)a, asserts the existence of a time-and-space limited stage of the tiger on the location Bantorget. Furthermore, previewing the content of the next section, the existential interpretation of a referent seems to be closely linked to the SLP–ILP distinction; only SLPs are possible in existential sentences, since only SLPs provide spatio-temporal stages of an individual, over which existential predication can take place. The correlation can be captured in the following way: If a sentence with a predicative adjective is generic, not existential, then the predicate must be an ILP; in generic sentences predication scopes over whole individuals; in existential sentences predication takes scope over spatio-temporal stages of individuals.

In the following I propose that there is a link between specificity/non-specificity and an existential/generic interpretation of sentences. A +specific NP is anchored to another referent (or a set of referents) in the context. It then follows then that this NP cannot have an existential interpretation; an existential interpretation of an NP requires that an NP is NOT anchored to another referent/set of referents, but new. In other words, an existential reading of a subject precludes a +specific reading of this subject. This is not biconditional, however. A generic reading is fine both with specific subjects and non-specific subjects.

2.5 Stage vs. individual level predicates

2.5.1 The general ideas

The observation that a distinction can be made between two kinds of predicates – those roughly expressing temporary properties, stage-level predicates (SLP), and those expressing more permanent properties of individuals, individual-level predicates (ILP), – was first described in the 70s (see Milsark 1974, Carlson 1977, and discussed later in Diesing 1992, Kratzer 1995, and Krifka & al. 1995). The examples below are from Carlson (1977; see also Kratzer (1995, 125).

(21) a Firemen are altruistic. individual-level (ILP)
b Firemen are available. stage-level (SLP)

The SLP–ILP distinction is important in what follows because I suggest link between ILPs and non-specificity. More specifically, in pancake sentences, non-specific subjects seem to combine felicitously only with ILPs.

As Kratzer (1995) herself points out, a useful way to think about the ILP vs. SLP distinction is in terms of transitory vs. permanent properties; individual-level predicate properties, such as being

altruistic or tall, are permanent, whereas stage-level predicate properties, such as being available or hungry, are transitory. However, if the distinction is to be usable, a more solid test is needed. Such tests are readily available in the literature. One of them is the possibility of using the so-called *in* vs. *for*-test (Dowty 1979, see also Husband 2012b, 105). This test, adapted for Swedish, is applied below, and it shows that *modig* 'brave' is an ILP, whereas *klar* 'ready' is an SLP:

(22) a Brandmän är modiga (*på en timme). –> *modig* 'brave' is an ILP
'Firemen are brave (*in an hour).
b Brandmän är klara (på en timme). –> *klar* 'ready' is a SLP
'Firemen are ready (in an hour).

Modig 'brave' refers to a permanent or stable property. However, more importantly it is an atelic predicate. *Klar* 'ready', on the other hand, is telic; it refers to a process with a goal, the state of being ready. Husband's interpretation of ILP vs. SLP in terms of telicity, including the notion of a goal or end state, is important for my analysis.

The topic of Husband's thesis is stative predicates, but Husband makes use of transitive verbal predicates to illustrate some of his points, one of which is that the state vs. individual level classification is not just a property inherent to the verbs themselves; internal arguments and adverbials may play a role for the interpretation. Consider the examples below:

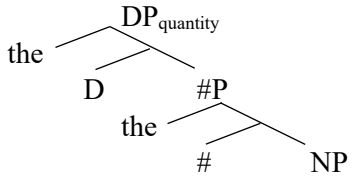
(23) a Getter åt äpple.
goats eat.PAST apple
'Goats ate apple.'
b Getter åt äpplet.
goats eat.PAST apple.THE
'Goats ate the apple.'

The verb *äta* 'eat' is potentially telic. The event denoted by (23)a, where the direct object is *äpple* 'apple', is atelic, whereas (23)b is telic. What makes the difference is that the direct object in (23)b *äpplet* 'the apple' is definite. Husband (2012a) concludes that a telic interpretation of a sentences requires that the predicate is a SLP; thus, *äta äpplet* 'eat the apple' is a telic sentence. The source of the telic interpretation in (23)b is the definite DP object, which "measures out" the progression of the event of eating. As the event described in (23)b proceeds, there is less and less left of the apple. The event has reached its end point when the apple is all consumed. (23)a, on the other hand, denotes a process where the object consists of an unspecified amount of apple; the direct object does not point out any designated end point. Thus, the NP *äpplet* 'the apple' in (23)b has a temporal structure corresponding to different stages of the event:

> We can think of stages of individuals as representing the internal temporal structure of individuals, so while we often take aktionsart to be about the internal temporal structure of eventualities, a real case can and should be made for the same kind of characterization of individuals. (Husband 2012a, 12)

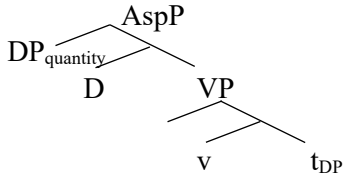
According to Husband, the spatio-temporal stages of individuals, such as the referent of *äpplet* 'the apple' in (23)b, are aspectual in nature. An NP of this kind is quantized, that is representing stages of the NP object. Basing his argumentation on Borer 2005, Husband 2006 assumes that quantization in a syntactic tree structure is represented by a Number Phrase, an #P. The tree below is an adaption of the corresponding tree in Husband 2006, 6:

(24)



A quantized noun phrase, such as the one in (24), is checked in an AspP:

(25)



The opposite of quantized is *homogenous*. The NP *äpple* 'apple' in (23)a is homogenous. Such NPs lack the #P layer in its functional sequence, and, consequently, no checking in an AspP takes place.

Husband (2012a, 74) provides a table of which NPs are quantized and which are homogenous; this classification depends on the structure of the NP, more specifically on the presence vs. absence of quantifiers/quantizing elements. Homogeneity is the default alternative – if no quantizing element is present, the NP is interpreted as homogenous by default:

Homogenous		Quantized				
Mass noun	Bare plural	Bare numeral	Weak determiner	Weak quantifier	Strong determiner	Strong quantifier
land	Trees	three trees	a tree	many trees	the tree	every tree
silverware	Houses	two houses	a house	some houses	the house	each house

Table 1. Homogenous and quantized NPs in Husband (2012a, 74)

We may note that BPs and mass nouns – in this paper BnPs – are the only homogenous categories.

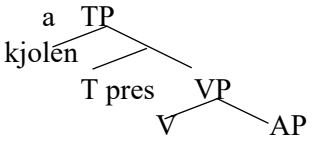
2.5.2 Adjectives and scales

According to Husband (2012a), sentences with adjectival predicates are parallel to verbal ones. Although adjectives are not straightforwardly telic/atelic in the same sense as verbal predicates, there is a corresponding element, the notion of a scale: There are scales with and scales without designated end points. If we compare the adjectives *tall* and *ripe*, we may conclude that there is a difference in meaning like that between a telic predicate, such as *eat the apple,* and an atelic one, such as *eat apples*. Inherent in the adjective *ripe* there is a notion of a scale with a fixed end point: As time passes, a peach becomes softer and juicer, until it has reached a point where the process of ripening has come to its culmination, the peach is ripe. This does not hold for *tall*; even though there is a gradual process underlying growing and becoming tall, telicity is not part of the meaning of the adjective itself. In Swedish, some examples of adjectives with an inherent telic end point (corresponding to *ripe*) are *klar* 'ready', *färdig* 'ready', *full* 'full', *tom* 'empty', and *mogen* 'ripe'. Some examples of the other type are *lång* 'tall', *läcker* 'delicious', *gul* 'yellow' and *tung* 'heavy'.[9] Following Husband 2012a, I assume that the telic-like nature of predicates of the former type (*klar* 'ready', *färdig* 'ready', *full* 'full', *tom* 'empty', *mogen* 'ripe') is coded in a functional category, a DegP. No such DegP is present in adjectives of the other type. Also following Husband, I assume that NPs containing DegPs are checked

[9] The distinction between telic and atelic adjectives may not be so clear-cut if we consider more examples. For example, some adjectives seem to be more or less prone to be atelic, for instance color terms, but they can be used as telic in certain contexts. Non-gradual or binary adjectives, such as *gravid* 'pregnant' are presumably more telic-like. In the rest of the discussion, I will leave the question of such adjectives aside. My analysis does not hinge on how this type of ambiguity is solved.

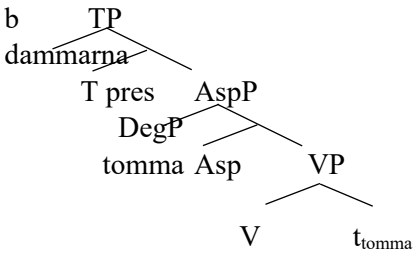
in an AspP in a way like telic verbs (see above). Thus, the DegP corresponds to the #P in (24). (Note that the subject is generated in Spec TP in Husband's model.) (26)a shows the basic syntactic structure of *Kjolen är gul* 'The skirt is yellow', and (26)b *Dammarna är tomma* 'The ponds are empty'.

(26) a



Kjolen är gul. 'The skirt is yellow.'

b



Dammarna är tomma. 'The ponds are empty.'

With a different syntactic model, checking would proceed in a different configuration. For instance, the argument of a "telic" adjective, such as *tom* 'empty', would be checked in Spec AspP. Which version of tree structure we use is not of importance here.

Adjectives like *tom* 'empty' are SLPs, and adjectives like *gul* 'yellow' are (typically) ILPs. As predicted, this is confirmed by the "in x time"-test:[10]

(27) a Dammen var tom (på två timmar).
dam.THE be.PAST empty on two hours
'The dam was empty in two hours.'
b Kjolen var gul (*på två timmar).
skirt.THE be.PAST yellow (*on two hours)

Only sentences with SLPs have an existential interpretation, provided the subject is "compatible", i.e., provides spatio-temporal stages of the individual. This is the case for (27)a. As pointed out above, Husband assumes "an existential interpretation to be the result of the predication of a particular stage of an individual" (Husband 2012a, 12). Informally speaking, only if the subject is provided with spatio-temporal stages, in practice has quantifiers or determiners, is predication over one of these stages possible. The flipside is that an existential interpretation of a sentence is an indication of the presence of an internal temporal/aspectual structure of the argument: "As such, evidence from the availability of an existential interpretation is related to the temporal structure of an individual" (p. 12).

To conclude: An ILP does not presuppose or impose any internal temporal/aspectual structure on its argument. The internal temporal/aspectual structure of an SLP requires a subject that allows for this reading, namely that it is quantized. Thus, homogenous subjects do not combine with SLPs – such subjects cannot provide the spatio-temporal stages over which predication takes place.[11] Consequently,

[10] For the sake of simplicity, coercion is disregarded. We may find contexts where (27)b is felicitous, for instance in cases where it is assumed that a dying process of a skirt takes a certain time.
[11] Sentences such as (28) are fine in some contexts, which I will refer to as *expansion contexts*. The requirement is that there a state of affairs or situation is presented, and that the sentence that follows expands and/or explicates the situation. An example is given below:

BPs, such as *dammar* ‘dams’ or *ölflaskor* ‘beer bottles’ in (28), are not suitable subjects for an SLP like *fulla* ‘full’.

(28) a #Dammar är full-a.
dam.PL be.PRES full-PL
b #Ölflaskor är full-a.
beer can.PL be.PRES full-PL

A definite NP, on the other hand, is quantized (see table 1), and fits together with an SLP:

(29) a Dammarna är full-a.
dam.PL.DEF be.PRES full-PL
’The dams are full.’
b Dessa flaskor är full-a.
these bottle.PL be.PRES full-PL
’These bottles are full.’

ILPs combine with both types of NPs, giving rise to generic sentences:

(30) a Dammar är farlig-a.
dam.PL be.PRES dangerous-PL
‘Dams are dangerous.’
b Ölflaskor är brun-a.
beer bottle.PL be.PRES brown-PL
‘Beer bottles are brown.’
(31) a Dammarna är farlig-a.
dam.PL.DEF be.PRES dangerous-PL
‘The dams are dangerous.’
b Dessa ölflaskor är brun-a.
these beerbottle.PL be.PRES brown-PL
‘These beer bottles are brown.’

What is crucial for my analysis of pancake sentences in 3 is that only BPs/BnPs and clause-like phrases are homogenous entities, and as such they are compatible with ILPs only. Hence, the pancake predicate must be an ILP.

3 The proposed analysis: Pancake inflection is agreement in non-specificity

The idea that I propose in this section is that pancake inflection is agreement in non-specificity. In other words, the subject of pancake sentences is non-specific. This, in fact, is why +specific NPs are disallowed as subjects in pancake sentences. As a consequence, the definiteness restriction on such subjects (see section 2.2) is reformulated as a specificity restriction. Having shown in 3.1 that +specific subjects are banned from the subject position in pancake sentences, in 3.2 I show that the only type of possible non-specific subjects in pancake sentences are BPs, BnPs and clauses/clause-like

(i) Det har regnat alldeles förskräckligt den här veckan. Dammar är fulla. Gator är översvämmade. Källare är vattenfyllda.
‘It has rained terribly much this week. Dams are full. Streets are flooded. Basements are filled with water.’

The last three sentences exemplify or specify consequences of the first sentence. These sentences are existential, not generic. Furthermore, it seems reasonable to conclude that the subjects, *dammar* ‘dams’, *gator* ‘streets’, and *källare* ‘basements’, due to the fact that they are already introduced in the discourse by the first sentence.

elements. Semantically, these three types of constituents are all *homogenous* – as opposed to *quantized*. Finally, a consequence of the homogeneity criterion is that only ILPs, not SLPs, are allowed as predicates in pancake sentences, a proposal that is elaborated in 3.3. In section 3.1–3.3 I discuss T-inflection. A-inflection, i.e., sentences with BP subjects, which I assume is a type of "pancake inflection" too, is discussed in 3.4.

3.1 The definiteness restriction and restrictions on quantifiers

Let us begin with pancake sentences of the substance-denoting type. As pointed out above, the restriction against definite NPs as (surface) subjects in pancake sentences was noted already by Beckman (1904). Thus, sentences, such as (32), are not well-formed (though see some discussion below):

(32) *Senapen är gul-t.
mustard.C.DEF be.PRES yellow-T

Assuming with Enç (1991) that referents denoted by definite NPs are +specific, the definiteness restriction is straightforwardly explained by the proposed analysis: T-inflection is triggered by non-specific subjects. Thus, definite subjects are disallowed because they are +specific.

Let us now turn to slightly more complicated cases, involving quantifiers, some of which at first glance seem to be potential counterexamples to the proposed analysis.

Also following Enç 1991 (see 2.2), I take the idea that associates in the expletive construction are non-specific as my point of departure. As (33) shows, BPs and BnPs work well as associates:

(33) a Det står senap i kylen.
EXPL stand.PRES mustard in fridge.THE
'There is mustard in the fridge.'
b Det ligger morötter i kylen.
EXPL lie.PRES carrot.PL in fridge.THE
'There are carrots in the fridge.'

In (33) the BnP *senap* 'mustard' and the BP *morötter* 'carrots' are associates in the expletive construction; hence they are non-specific. As shown in (11)a and b, repeated below as (34), BnPs and BPs are fine as subjects of pancake sentences:

(34) a Senap är gul-t.
mustard(C) be.PRES yellow-**T**
'Mustard is yellow.'
b Morötter är gul-t.
carrot.PL be.PRES yellow-**T**
'Carrots (viewed as an aggregated substance) are yellow.'

However, also indefinite NPs and NPs with quantificational modifiers, such as cardinal numbers, *några* 'some', *många* 'many' *mycket* 'much', and *lite* 'a little', what Enç (1991) refers to as weak determiners, are fine as associates:

(35) a Det sitter en tiger på Bantorget.
EXPL sit.PRES INDEF.C.SG tiger(C) on Bantorget
'There is a tiger on Bantorget.'
b Det sitter två tigrar på Bantorget.
EXPL sit.PRES two tiger.PL on Bantorget
'There are two tigers on Bantorget.'
c Det sitter några tigrar på Bantorget.
EXPL sit.PRES some tiger.PL on Bantorget

’There are some tigers on Bantorget.’

d Det står många människor på Bantorget.
EXPL sit.PRES many people.PL on Bantorget
’There are many people on Bantorget.’

e Det ligger mycket tvätt i badrummet.
EXPL lie.PRES much laundry in bathroom.THE
’There is a lot of laundry in the bathroom.’

f Det ligger lite tvätt i badrummet.
EXPL lie.PRES little laundry in bathroom.THE
’There is some laundry in the bathroom.’

At first sight, we may conjecture that the data in (35) predicts that the NPs *en tiger* ‘a tiger’, *två tigrar* ‘two tigers’, *några tigrar* ‘some tigers’, *många människor* ‘many people’, *mycket tvätt* ‘much laundry’*,* and *lite tvätt* ‘a little laundry’ should be possible as subjects in pancake sentences, since they are fine as associates. However, this is not the case:

(36) a *En tiger är randig-t.
INDEF.C.SG tiger(C) be.PRES striped-**T**

b *Två tigrar är randig-t.
two tiger.PL be.PRES striped-**T**

c *Några tigrar är randig-t.
some.PL tiger.PL be.PRES striped-**T**

d *Många tigrar är randig-t.
many.PL tiger.PL be.PRES striped-**T**

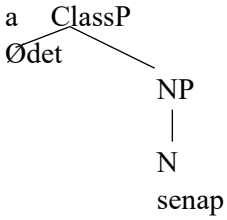
e *Mycket tvätt är smutsig-t.
much laundry(C) be.PRES dirty-**T**

f *Lite tvätt är smutsig-t.
a.little laundry(C) be.PRES dirty-**T**

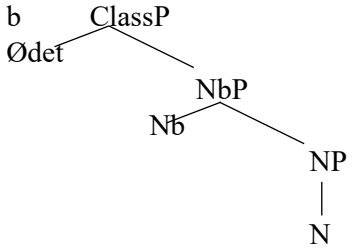
All the examples in (36) require canonical agreement to be well-formed. (With canonical agreement (36)a would have a generic interpretation with a specific subject. The rest of the sentences would have existential readings, ‘There are two tigers that are striped’, for a (36)b, for instance.) However, if we take a closer look at the sentences in (36), we may conclude that they don’t contradict the proposal. The reason why these sentences are not well-formed is, presumably, that these quantifiers are not inherently +specific or non-specific, but +specific or non-specific depending on their position in the clause and/or their syntactic function. More precisely, NPs with weak determiners, such as those in (36), are interpreted as weak in the VP, when surfacing as associates in the expletive construction, but strong in the subject position. Strong quantifiers, on the other hand, always render the NPs +specific (Enç 1991); this is the reason why the sentences in (36) are ruled out; the feature +specific of the subjects clashes with the non-specific agreement on the predicative adjective.

The intended reading of the pancake sentences in (34) is that they are of the substance-denoting type. We may consider the possibility that such noun phrase subjects have more structure than what we see, in other words that phonologically null elements are present. Josefsson (2009; 2010; 2014) suggests that the NP subjects *senap* ‘mustard’ in (34)a and *morötter* ’carrots’ in (34)b, are headed by a phonologically null classifier-like element, similar to the pronoun *det* ‘it’, crucially devoid of number, hence the mass reading of the subjects. (The number phrase in is (37)b is embedded below the classifier phrase, which means that it has a certain interpretation related to number, namely ‘aggregated’, ‘consisting of small parts’, whereas the referent, taken as a whole is interpreted as a ‘mass’.)

(37) a



b



According to the analysis proposed in Josefsson 2009; 2010; 2014, pancake subjects of the situation-denoting type are headed by a Classifier phrase too, but the projections below the Classifier phrase are verbal. Josefsson furthermore proposes a criterion for testing what structure is at hand, the possibility of paraphrasing the subjects of the situation-denoting type as infinitival clauses; if this is possible, the sentence is of the situation-denoting type, and contains a vP. It this is not possible it is of the substance-denoting type and has the structure in (37). To paraphrase the sentences in (34) as infinitival clauses would result in gibberish. The basic ideas of this analysis are maintained in this paper, but in 3.4 I suggest that the possibility of paraphrasing the subject as an infinitival clause is a criterion for distinguishing two semantic types, but that this does not necessarily carry over to syntactic structures.

So far, we have concluded that BnPs and BPs are (at least generally) non-specific and fine as subjects of pancake sentences with T-agreement.

Before turning to the definiteness/specificity constraint on pancake sentences of the situation-denoting type, let us first discuss the specificity status of subjects of this type of pancake sentences and compare to overtly clausal subjects. Whether clausal arguments are +specific or non-specific has not been extensively discussed in the literature. Below I argue, however, that subject clauses and clause-like constituents are non-specific. I assume that specificity is a default option. In addition, the absence of a quantifying element, required to make an NP +specific, should make the conclusion that such subjects are non-specific rather uncontroversial.[12]

If subjects that consist of clauses and clause-like structures are non-specific, we do not expect any definiteness restriction, since the NP would be embedded in a larger, clause-like structure.

(38) [… [DP]]$_{\text{clauselike structure}}$ vore läcker-t.
would.be delicious-**T**

It is certainly true that such a restriction does not hold for some of the cases:

(39) a En pannkaka vore läcker-t.
INDEF.SG.C pancake(C) would.be delicious-**T**
'To have a pancake would be delicious.'

[12] As for clausal subjects (finite and non-finite ones), it seems promising to explore the possibility that clausal subjects, selected by the neuter determiner *det,* are definite and +specific:

(i) Det att röka är dum-t.
EXPL/3SG.N to smoke.INF be.PRES stupid-**T**
'It's stupid to smoke.'

b Två pannkakor vore läcker-t.
two pancake.PL would.be delicious-**T**
'To have two pancakes would be delicious.'
c Många pannkakor vore läcker-t.
many pancake.PL would.be delicious-**T**
'To have many pancakes would be delicious.'
d Mycket pannkaka vore läcker-t.
much pancake would.be delicious-**T**
'To have much pancake would be delicious.'
e Lite pannkaka vore läcker-t.
a.little pancake would.be delicious-**T**
'To have a pancake would be delicious.'

However, a run-of-the-mill definite DP is not well-formed as a surface subject:

(40) ?*[… [Pannkakan]]$_{\text{clauselike structure}}$ vore läcker-t.
pancake.C.SG.DEF would.be delicious-**T**

The lack of wellformedness for (40) is puzzling. Under the assumption that the surface subject is embedded in a larger, clause-like structure, where it corresponds to a direct object, we wouldn't expect the definiteness status on the NP to be of importance for the interpretation of the subject as non-specific. As the grammaticality marking shows, however, the status of examples such as (40) is not entirely clear. Informants tend to dislike them, when confronted, but they are nevertheless found in language use. Källström (1993, 196) reports authentic examples such as the following ones:

(41) a Taxi-n blev dyr-t.
taxi-C.SG.DEF become.PAST expensive-**T**
'To take the taxi was expensive.'
b Ros-orna är vacker-t.
rose-PL.DEF be.PRES beautiful-**T**
'The roses were beautiful.'

Discussing the same problem, Josefsson (2009, 53; 2014, 67) suggests that the problem with examples, such as those in (40), is that a +specific (and definite) NP, such as *pannkakan* 'the pancake', is dependent on the presence of a TP within the same clause. The underlying intuition is that a +specific NP must be within the scope of a tense operator, since a +specific entity is claimed to exist in time and space. A timeline is provided by tense in T. The subjects in examples with just an NP subject, such as in (40), would presumably lack a T-projection.[13] Josefsson (2014, 66) shows that a small clause subject, where the NP is definite, fares better:

(42) a [[De där buketten] [till svärmor]] i lördags var slug-t.
DEF.PL there bunch to mother-in-law in Saturday be.PAST clever-**T**
'To give that bunch of flowers to your mother-in-law last Saturday was clever.'

[13] Examples with infinitival clauses containing an indefinite NP object, as in (i), are more well-formed than a simple definite noun phrase: in the same position.

(i) Att få en pannkaka/två pannkakor vore läcker-t.
to have INDEF.C.SG pancake/two pancake.PL would.be delicious-**T**
'To have a pancake/two pancakes would be delicious.'
(ii) ??Att få pannkaka-n vore läcker-t.
to have pancake.C.SG.DEF would.be delicious-**T**

I have no explanation for this difference.

b [[Henne] [i en sportbil]] vore läcker-t.
her in a sportscar would.be delicious-**T**
'To have her in a sportscar would be gorgeous.'

Josefsson's idea is that that a small clause subject contains a TP. Furthermore, a small clause normally requires two overtly realized constituents. The reason why a small clause can be assumed to contain a TP of its own is that small clause subjects with two constituents may have a temporal reference that is disjoint from the temporal reference of the clause. This is how Josefsson explains why the definiteness constraint seems to be stricter when the surface subject has only one constituent. A small clause reading is marginally available also in examples, such as (43) below, where no adverbial is present, but processing seems to be facilitated by the deictic element *den där* 'that'.

(43) ?[[Den där buketten] var slug-t.
DEF.PL there bunch be.PAST clever-**T**
'To give that bunch of flowers was clever.'

The corresponding example with a personal pronoun, *henne* 'her, in (44) is clearly worse:

(44) *?Henne vore läcker-t.
her would.be delicious-**T**
Intended reading: 'To have her would be gorgeous.'

It appears that NPs with deictic modifiers, such as *de där* 'those' are more readily accepted as surface subjects of pancake sentences of the situation-denoting type than definite pronouns, such as *henne* 'her', or simplex, definite NPs.

Leaving the exact explanation of the puzzling restriction on definite DPs to future research, we may conclude that the so-called definiteness restriction on pancake sentences is better understood as a specificity restriction. Definite NPs are ungrammatical in pancake sentences of the substance-denoting type, but more readily accepted in pancake sentences of the situation-denoting type if the subject is a small clause.[14]

3.2 The homogeneity restriction on subjects of pancake clauses

So far, the prediction that subjects of pancake sentences must be non-specific seems to hold. Let us now look at the semantics of the subject of such sentences, more specifically the distinction between homogenous and quantized entities.

Based on work by for instance McNally (1998) and de Hoop (1996), Husband categorizes NPs of different kinds as homogenous or quantized, see Table 1, repeated below:

Homogenous		Quantized				
Mass noun	Bare plural	Bare numeral	Weak determiner	Weak quantifier	Strong determiner	Strong quantifier
land	trees	three trees	a tree	many trees	the tree	every tree
silverware	houses	two houses	a house	some houses	the house	each house

Table 1. Homogenous and quantized NPs in Husband (2012a, 74)

We notice that the only two categories that are *homogenous* are BnPs (which Husband refers to as mass nouns) and BPs. These are the same categories as those that have a non-specific interpretation in the subject position, when used in the substance-denoting type of pancake sentences. (Recall that

[14] Examples with definite subjects, as in (41), have a somewhat indirect or what we could call a circumstantial reading. *Taxin* 'the taxi' is better paraphrased as *det där med taxin* 'the stuff related to the taxi'. A possibility is that the semantics indicate that the DP in such cases is embedded in a larger structure, but I refrain from further speculations along those lines.

quantized NPs are generally ruled out in pancake sentences of this type since they have a +specific interpretation in the subject position). The restriction that the subject of substance-denoting subjects of pancake sentences are either BPs or BnPs also means that subjects of this kind of sentence must be homogenous.

The proposed analysis predicts that subjects of the situation-denoting type must be homogenous as well. To the best of my knowledge clausal subjects have not been discussed in terms of homogeneity or quantization. We shall return to the question of substance-denoting pancake sentence. Even though it is hard to get empirical evidence that clausal subjects are homogeneous, I will show that they behave like substance-denoting pancakes when it comes to the restrictions on the adjectival predicate. So far, I will assume that clauses are homogenous by default, presumably because they are not selected by a quantifier.

3.3 The ILP restriction on predicates

In this section, I discuss restrictions on predicates used in pancake sentences; I argue that only ILPs are compatible with BPs, BnPs and clause-like subjects, and, hence, that the predicate of a pancake sentence must be an ILP.

Attempts have been made in previous work to characterize the type of adjectives that can be used in pancake sentences. Beckman 1904:49, who was the first to mention the construction in the Swedish literature, makes the remark that the subjects often denote dishes and that the predicate could be interpreted as a comment on how these dishes taste. Later work has taken a somewhat more theoretical approach. Faarlund (1977:246) claims that possible adjectives in pancake sentences are ”those that can take a dative or another constituent that denotes some kind of involvement in the content of the adjective, such as impression, sensory perception, etc.’, and furthermore that “‘adjectives expressing such notions as color, size, etc., always show agreement’ (p. 240). Enger (2004) does not attempt to propose a new description of the restriction but concludes that “it seems quite clear that there are cases where the neuter is used even though the adjectives denote objective properties” (P. 14). Referring to Teleman & al. 1999, part 2, 344, Enger concludes that “a weaker and more appropriate formulation of the relevant constraint on adjectives might be that ordinary agreement is more common if the adjective denotes physical properties of the referent”. In my view, a proper characterization of the adjective must specify what kind of adjectives work in pancake sentences in contrast to those that do not work.

One of the conclusions in section 3.2 was that subjects of pancake sentences must be homogenous. This was explained as a consequence of the restriction that only BPs and BnPs can be non-specific in the subject position. (Situation-denoting pancake sentences will be further discussed below in this section.)

As discussed in the introduction, the difference between homogenous and quantized NPs is that the latter have an internal aspectual structure. Within a checking framework, quantized DPs are checked in an AspP. Homogenous NPs, on the other hand, lack a Number Phrase (#P); hence these NPs are not checked in an AspP.

The underlying idea is that a quantized NP provides stages over which the adjective predicates. A homogenous NP, lacks an internal aspectual structure, which means that a derivation consisting of an SLP with a homogenous NP as its argument will crash.[15] If the proposal is correct, it reveals what kind of predicates can be used in pancake sentences: Only Individual Level predicates, ILPs, are allowed in

[15] I disregard the question of coercion, for instance in a sentence, such as *Kjolen var gul på en timme* ‘The skirt was yellow in an hour’, where the predicate *gul* ‘yellow’ is treated as though it implied a previous process of the subject gradually becoming yellow, and finally reaching this point.

pancake sentences since the subject is restricted to BPs, BnPs or clause-like arguments. Let us see if this prediction holds.

Recall that the definition of adjectival SLPs, applied in this paper, includes the notion of a scale with a fixed end point. An ILP lacks such telic end points (even though the predicate in question may be scalar in a more general or loose sense.) The adjectives that have been discussed in the literature on pancake sentences all seem to be of the type that lack such fixed end points. For example, the list below consists of all the pancake predicates used in Enger 2004:

(45)

gott 'delicious'	*fint* 'nice'	*tungt* 'heavy'
sunt 'healthy'	*gult* 'yellow'	*förnybart* 'renewable'
roligt 'funny'	*tjockt* 'thick'	*resirkulerbart* 'recyclable'
lärorikt 'wise'	*grönt* 'green'	*förskräckligt* 'terrible'
dumt 'stupid'	*bra* 'good'	

Accordingly, a prediction is that SLPs are be banned from the pancake construction. As (46) shows, this prediction is borne out. (I take the adjectives *färdig* 'ready', *mogen* 'ripe', *bränd* 'burned' and *tom* 'empty' to be typical SLPs.)

(46) a *Senap är färdig-t.
mustard(C) be.PRES ready-**T**
b *Persika är moge-t.
peach(C) be.PRES ripe-**T**
c *Pannkaka är bränt.
pancake(C) be.PRES burned-**T**
d *Låda är tom-t.
box(C) be.PRES empty-**T**

It is important to point out that the restriction in question – that BnP and BP subjects can only combine with ILPs does not relate to the pancake construction specifically, that is, predicative sentences with T-agreement; it holds generally. BnP and BP subjects are homogenous in nature and cannot combine with SLPs at all. Hence, we predict that the corresponding sentences with canonical agreement should be equally bad.

(47) a *Senap är färdig-Ø.
mustard(C) be.PRES ready-C
b *Persika är mogen-Ø.
peach(C) be.PRES ripe-C
c *Pannkaka är bränd-Ø.
pancake(C) be.PRES burned-C
g *Låda är tom-Ø.
box(C) be.PRES empty-C
e *Persikor är mogn-a.
peach.PL be.PRES ripe-PL

As the examples in (47) show, the prediction is borne out. A BnP or a BP subject seem not to combine felicitously with an SLP.

Assuming the same analysis for situation-denoting pancake sentences, T-inflection on the predicates in these sentences encodes non-specificity; in other words, the subjects are non-specific. Furthermore, the predicates of situation-denoting pancake sentences would have to be ILPs not SLPs. Consider the examples below, which shows two examples of situation-denoting pancake sentences with SLPs.

(48) a *Pannkakor på söndagar är färdig-t.
pancake.PL on Sundays be.PRES finished-**T**
Intended reading: ”The habit of having pancakes on Sundays has finished.’
b *Två älskare i veckan är klar-t.
two lover.PL in week is ready-**T**
Intended reading: “The habit of having two lovers per week has reached its end.’

The restriction that the predicate of pancake sentences must be an ILP seems to hold, also for the situation-denoting type, where the subject appears to have certain clausal properties. It would have been desirable to find more and clearer examples, but there are fairly few adjectives to be found that would make sense in the context in question.

3.4 BP subjects – pancake subjects too

With BP subjects, predicative inflection is *-a*, which is identical to the canonical plural agreement (see (1)c):

(49) a Morötter är gul-a.
carrot.PL be.PRES yellow-PL
‘Carrots are yellow.’
b Citroner är sur-a.
lemon.PL be.PRES sour-PL
‘Lemons are yellow.’
c Grönsaker är vitaminrik-a.
vegetable.PL be.PRES vitamin.rich-PL
’Vegetables are rich in vitamins.
d Tigrar är randig-a.
tiger.PL be.PRES striped-PL
’Tigers are striped.’

The reason why we should include examples, such as those in (49), with bare BP subjects, under the ‘pancake sentence’ umbrella is that the same restriction holds as for the corresponding sentences with BnP subjects: the predicate must be an ILP. If the predicate above is exchanged for an SLP adjective, the sentences degrade just as much as for the corresponding BnP subject sentences:[16]

(50) a *Morötter är möglig-a.
carrot.PL be.PRES mouldy-PL
b *Citroner är mogn-a.
lemon.PL be.PRES ripe-PL
c *Grönsaker är hackade.
vegetable-PL be.PRES chopped-PL
d *Tigrar är tämjd-a.
tiger.PL be.PRES domesticated-PL

Thus, the term “extended pancake construction”, used in this paper, refers to the idea that sentences, such as those in (50) share the restriction on the nature of the predicate – it must be an ILP when the subject is a BP or an BnP. As we have seen, this is a characteristic property of “classical” pancake sentences, such as those in (2), where the adjective is inflected with *-t*.

It is possible, at least to some speakers, to exchange the A-inflection in (49)a–c to T-inflection:

[16] Just like pointed out in footnote 6, sentences like those in (50) would be fine in an “expansion/exemplifying” context.

(51) a Morötter är gul-t.
carrot.PL be.PRES yellow-**T**
'Carrots are yellow.'
b Citroner är sur-t.
lemon.PL be.PRES sour-**T**
'Lemons are sour.'
c Grönsaker är vitaminrik-t.
vegetable.PL be.PRES vitaminrich-**T**
'Vegetables are rich in vitamins.'

Following the argumentation in Josefsson 2009, I assume that the difference between the examples in (49)a–c and (51) is that adjectival predicative inflection on *-a* encodes plural and non-specificity, whereas inflection on *-t* encodes non-specificity only.

By including sentences with bare plural subjects, such as *Morötter är gula* (carrot.PL be.PRES yellow-PL) 'Carrots are yellow' in the pancake construction, we may arrive at a better understanding of T-inflection. Consider (52)–(54) to, where both A- and T-inflection are fine:

(52) a Kattungar är gullig-a.
kitten.PL be.PRES cute-PL
'Kittens are cute.'
b Kattungar är gullig-t.
kitten.PL be.PRES cute-**T**
'Kittens are cute.'
(53) a Grönsaker är vitaminrik-a.
vegetable.PL be.PRES vitamin.rich-PL
'Vegetables are rich in vitamin.'
b Grönsaker är vitaminrik-t.
vegetable.PL be.PRES vitamin.rich-**T**
'Vegetables are rich in vitamin.'
(54) a Morötter är gul-a.
carrot.pl be.PRES yellow-PL
'Carrots are yellow.'
b Morötter är gul-t.
carrot.pl be.pres yellow-**T**

Now, compare these examples to (55)–(57), where A-inflection is fine, but not T-inflection:

(55) a Dinosaurier är stor-a.
dinosaur.PL be.PRES big-PL
'Dinosaurs are big.'
b #Dinosaurier är stor-t.
dinosaur.PL be.PRES big-**T**
(56) a Tigrar är randig-a.
tiger.PL be.PRES striped-PL
'Tigers are striped.'
b *Tigrar är randig-t
tiger.PL be.PRES striped-**T**
(57) a Schackspelsplaner är rutig-a.
chess board.PL be.PRES checked.PL
'Chess boards are checked.'

b *Schackspelplaner är rutig-t.
chess board.PL be.PRES checked-**T**

All the examples in (52)–(57) have BP subjects and accept A-inflection.[17] The predicates in the sentences are all ILPs, so the difference in acceptability is not due to an ILP–SLP distinction. My answer as to why T-inflection is fine in (52)–(54), but not in (55)–(57), is as follows:

Recall the assumption that T-inflection reflects – or gives rise to – a mass or aggregated mass interpretation of the subject. From the point of view of the semantics, the adjectives in (52)–(54), *gullig* 'cute', *vitaminrik* 'rich in vitamin' and *gul* 'yellow', can be viewed as a property of individuals; the sentences take what we may call "the individuated perspective", but also as a property of a mass/aggregated mass; the b-examples take what we might call a "holistic perspective". The latter holds too for pancake sentences with BnP subjects, such as *Morot är gul-t* (carrot(C) be.PRES yellow-**T**). The color of an individual carrot, carrot viewed as a substance, and carrots viewed as an aggregated mass consisting of chopped carrots is the same. Basically, the same would apply to examples, such as *Citron är sur-t*/*Citroner är sur-t*/*Citroner är sur-a* (lemon(C) be.PRES sour-T/lemon.PL be.PRES sour-**T** /lemon be.PRES sour-PL), in essence also for the cuteness of kittens and the vitamin content of vegetables. However, it doesn't hold for size when it comes to dinosaurs, as in (55), the striped pattern of tigers, as in (56) and the checked pattern of chess boards, as in (57). In those cases, the objective material properties of the referents block a mass/aggregated mass interpretation; individual tigers are striped but not the set of tigers. My suggestion is thus that T-inflection on predicates with BP subjects requires that the property denoted by the adjective "translates" or is identical to that of the individual and the mass/aggregated mass.

In those cases when it is possible, a shift in predicative agreement from plural -A to -**T** induces a change in perspective: from that of an individual ("the individuated perspective") to that of a mass ("the holistic perspective"). It is possible too to change the perspective on the cuteness of kittens from the individual kitten to a "mass" of kittens. An abstract concept, such as 'the impression that kittens make' is clearly an uncountable: we could even talk about *an abstract mass* in such cases. The difference in meaning between (52)a and (52)b is thus subtle, but nevertheless real.

Furthermore, I claim that a holistic perspective, as in *Kattungar är gulligt* (kitten.PL be.PRES cute-**T**), involves an "observer's eye". Along the same line, the taste of pancakes requires an abstract "evaluators taste". *Kattungar* 'kittens' interpreted as 'the impression of kittens' and *pannkakor* 'the taste of pancakes' are abstract correspondents to the masses, such as *senap* 'mustard' and *mjölk* 'milk'. Faarlund 1977:246 claims that possible adjectives in pancake sentences are "those that can take a dative or another constituent that denotes some kind of involvement in the content of the adjective, such as impression, sensory perception, etc.". If the proposed analysis is correct, Faarlund's insight could be reformulated in the following way: the meaning of the subject of pancake sentences, such as *Pannkakor är läcker-t*, is or could be the sensory perception of pancakes. However, the fact that we may also say *Pannkakor är läckr-a* is intimately related to the idea that the property of being delicious can also be predicated of the pancakes themselves. The difference between *Pannkakor är läckr-a* and *Pannkakor är läcker-t* is a question of perspective: the holistic perspective, depending on the idea of an evaluator's taste, or the individuated perspective.

Mass nouns, concrete as well as abstract ones, could be defined as nouns where a subpart of the entity in question is identical in nature to the whole or to any part. Mass noun subjects combined with predicatives denoting colors, as in *Senap är gult* and *Mjölk är vitt* are unproblematic in this sense; the parts and the wholes have the same property. If the subject is in the plural, for example *morötter*, in *Morötter är gul-t* (carrot.PL be.PRES yellow-**T**) 'Carrots are yellow', I assume that coercion may take

[17] The reason why I have used the word *schackspelplan* 'chess board', instead of the conventionalized word *schackbräde* 'chess board' is that *schackbräde* is neuter.

place, such that a typical countable (*morot* 'carrot') is interpreted as an aggregated substance. Another example is *Hare är sällsynt*. *Hare* 'hare' could here refer to a kind of meat, or to an unspecified number of animals, with examples, such as 'Hare is rare on the plate' and 'There are few hares in the forest this spring'. When it comes to a sentence with a subject in the plural combined with a predicate like *stor* 'big', coercion or reinterpretation is required too, if the sentence is to be construed as well-formed. Accordingly, for *Dinosaurier är stor-t* (Dinosaur.PL be.PRES big-**T**) to be considered well formed, the adjective *stor* 'big', has to be interpreted as related to something other than the physical size of the animals in question, for example an abstract concept 'the topic of dinosaurs is big = fashionable'. A sentence, such as *Ormar är grön-t* (snake.PL be.PRES green-**T**) is well formed only if *grön* 'green' is understood in a metaphoric sense, for example as in 'Snakes are OK in apartments or as pets'. If no metaphorical or other interpretation is available, the sentences are ruled out. This is presumably the case for examples. such as *#Rävar är röt-t* (fox.PL be.PRES red-**T**), where it is quite difficult to find a suitable interpretation.

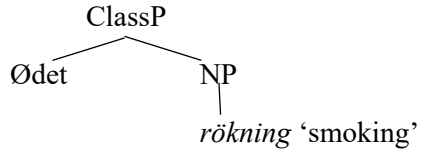
It would probably be possible to construe a scale of nouns requiring none to a large degree of coercion to be well formed, for example *senap* 'mustard', – *morötter* 'carrots' – *dinosaurier* 'dinosaurs'. The objective/material properties of *senap* are such that a holistic perspective is natural; the objective/material properties of dinosaurs is such that it is quite unnatural to take a holistic perspective. Hence, coercion, as in *Dinosaurier är stort* (Dinosaur.PL be.pres big-**T**) 'Dinosaurs are big' requires a change of perspective from the physical size to some other dimension. *Morötter* 'carrots' are between since such referents are more easily construed as a mass.

To conclude, common for well-formed examples with BP subjects, where bot T- and A-inflection is possible on the predicative is that the subject can either be interpreted as a mass/aggregated mass, where the whole has the same properties as a part, or may have an abstract or metaphorical interpretation which in crucial ways is akin to a mass interpretation.

The proposed analysis has bearing on the question of the structure of the subject of pancake sentences. An example, such as *Ormar är grön-t* (snake.PL be.PRES green-**T**) could be paraphrased by an infinitival clause: 'To have snakes is fine'. In Josefsson 2009; 2010; 2014, I propose that the structure of the subject in such cases contains a vP. The analysis, proposed in this paper suggests that we don't need to force a clause-like structure on the subject of sentences of this type, in particular not when a verb is not easily added. The situational meaning may be a result of the subject being interpreted as an abstract entity (akin to a substance). This also means that sentences with nominalizations as subjects, for example *Rökning är farligt*, may perhaps be analyzed as NPs (with a phonological null classifier in the topmost projection, see (58) below).

As for the syntactic structure of the subject, I have argued previously that the subject of the substance-denoting kind is an NP, headed by a ClassP, hosting a null, pronominal element, crucially without number features (akin to the pronoun *det* 'it'), whereas the situation-denoting type contains a vP, with the same kind of classifier head in the highest projection. The exact structure of the subjects is not crucial in this paper. However, there is nothing in this paper that prevents a situational reading without the presence of an embedded vP. For instance, we may assume that a nominalization as subject, for instance in examples like *Rökning är förbjudet* (smoking be.PRES forbidden-**T**) 'Smoking is forbidden' contains no vP:

(58)



The reading would be obtained by the presence of a null classifier, which blocks the individuated reading, i.e., the reading of the subject as a count noun, and forces a substance reading – concrete or abstract.

To the best of my knowledge, to group generic sentences with BP-subjects, such as those in (51), with more classical pancake sentences is new. What might blur the picture is that plural agreement on the predicative adjective is *-a* also with +specific subjects, including subjects with quantifiers:

(59) a Många morötter är gul-a/möglig-a.
many carrot.PL be.PRES yellow-PL/mould-PL
'Many carrots are yellow/moldy.'
b Några citroner är sur-a/mogn-a.
some lemon.PL be.PRES sour-PL/ripe-PL
'Some lemons are sour/ripe.'
c Alla grönsaker är vitaminrik-a/hackad-e.
all vegetable.PL be.PRES vitamin.rich-PL/chopped-PL
'All vegetables are rich in vitamins/chopped.

Crucially, the reading of the subjects in (59) is +specific. Furthermore, the reading of the subjects in (59)a and b is that of a covert partitive: 'many of the carrots' and 'some of the lemons'. It is true that the superset differs – with *gul* 'yellow' and *sur* 'sour', the superset could even be all carrots/lemons in the universe (of discourse), whereas it is more likely to be a smaller superset with *mögliga* 'moldy' and *mogna* 'ripe'. The subject in (59)c contains the universal quantifier *alla* 'every'. Following Enç (1991) I assume that noun phrases with universal quantifiers are +specific.

To conclude: to analyze generics like *Citroner är gul-a* (lemon.PL be.PRES yellow-PL) 'Lemons are yellow' as pancake sentence makes this construction less exotic. Pancake sentences are simply generic copular sentences, where the subject is non-specific. Depending on the number specification on the subject, agreement is either *-t* (no number) or *-a* (plural).

Before closing this section, it is important to remember that there are other kinds of generic sentences with +specific subjects. Some examples are given in (60):

(60) a Citronen är gul.
lemon.C.SG.DEF be.PRES yellow.C.SG
'The lemon is yellow.'
b Citronerna är gul-a.
lemon.PL.DEF be.PRES yellow-PL
'The lemons are yellow.'

Following Enç 1991, I assume that the subjects in (60) are all +specific, since they are definite; hence canonical agreement is the only option.

4 The modifier restriction

So far, the substance-denoting type has been exemplified with BPs and BnPs – crucially without adjectival modifiers. A remaining problem is that there is a strong bias against adjectival modifiers in the subject of substance-denoting pancake sentences. This is confirmed by an empirical investigation presented in Åkerblom (2020, 95ff). The general pattern is shown in (61).

(61) a Senap är gul-t.
mustard(c) be.PRES yellow-**T**
'Mustard is yellow.'
b Skånsk senap är gul-Ø.
Scanian.C mustard(C) be.PRES yellow.C
'Scanian mustard is yellow.'

c ?*Skånsk senap är gul-t.
Scanian.c mustard(C) be.PRES yellow-**T**

At first glance the patterns above appear to be strange. Why would the presence of an adjective influence the basic interpretation of a noun phrase? The solution I suggest is that the restriction against attributive adjectives relates to an attributive – predicative asymmetry; attributive adjective always display agreement in number, but they never display "pancake inflection". Let us start out by looking at non-plural cases. Consider (62).

(62) a en skånsk bil
INDEF.SG.C Scanian.SG.C car(C)
'a Scanian car'
b ett skånsk-t hus
INDEF.SG.N Scanian-SG.N house(N)
'a Scanian house'
c *ett skånsk-t whiskey
INDEF.SG.N Scanian-SG.N whiskey(C)
d *en skånsk vin
INDEF.SG.C Scanian.SG.C wine(N)

As we see, agreement in number is not expressed directly on attributive adjectives, but "by way of" grammatical gender. With typical substance-denoting nouns, an indefinite article is optional, but the adjective still displays agreement to the same degree:

(63) a (en) skånsk whiskey
INDEF.SG.C Scanian.SG.C whiskey(C)
'a Scanian whiskey'
b (ett) skånsk-t vin
INDEF.SG.N Scanian-SG.N wine(N)
'a Scanian wine'

Since grammatical agreement holds even with no (overt) article present, my conclusion is that such structures contain a number feature. If this is correct, examples, such as *skånsk senap* 'Scanian mustard, and *skånsk-t vin* 'Scanian wine' do have a number feature, specified as singular – by default. A consequence is that the mere presence of an attributive adjective carries with it an NbP. This would be the crucial difference between an attributive and a predicative adjective. Recall the proposal that T-inflection, which is homophonous to agreement in neuter singular, lacks a number feature. The proposal is thus that the subject of a pancake sentence, where the predicative is inflected with **-T**, must be devoid of a number feature. If the NP subject contains a number feature, because of the presence of an attributive adjective, T-inflection is not an option.

Admittedly, the strong bias against adjectival modifiers in the subject of substance-denoting pancake sentences probably does have a semantic source in addition. To add a left-hand segment, such as *eko-* 'eco-' to a head , such as *senap,* renders T-inflection much more natural:

(64) Ekosenap är gul/??gul-t.
eco.mustard be.PRES yellow.C/yellow-**T**
'Ecological mustard is yellow.'

A feasible explanation is that modifying elements of all kinds promote a kind reading of the noun. Kinds being countables means that canonical agreement is the natural choice.

In predicative constructions with plural head nouns, modified by an attributive adjective, agreement can (sometimes) be *-a* (plural) or **-T** (no number):

(65) a Randig-a kattungar är gullig-a.
striped-PL kitten.PL be.PRES cute-PL
'Striped kittens are cute.'
b Randig-a kattung-ar är gullig-t.
striped-PL kitten.PL be.PRES cute-**T**
'Striped kittens are cute.'

(65)a is unproblematic. The sentence is generic, and the derivation is basically the same as that for unmodified nouns in the plural. For (65)b, I follow Josefsson (2014) in assuming that the NP subject has a classifier-like element corresponding to the neuter pronoun/determiner *det* in its topmost functional projection. As pointed out above, this null *det* lacks a number feature, hence T-inflection is the only option. As also pointed out above, the semantics of such subjects, conveyed by the classifier-like element, is that of a substance, aggregated substance or, as in this case, what would be best characterized as a holistic or non-individuated interpretation. To give a proper English translation of (65)b is not so easy; the meaning is that the cuteness is a property that characterizes the whole set or setting, or a propositional interpretation, 'to see/watch striped kittens' is cute. The difference between (65)a and b is that the subject of (65)a is a straightforward plural NP, whereas the subject of (65)b has a null classifier *det* in its topmost projection:

(66) a = (65)a [randiga kattungar]$_{DP}$
b = (65)b [Ødet [randiga kattungar]$_{DP}$] $_{ClassP}$

The question why certain plural expressions, such as (65)a, allow T-inflection, whereas others don't, would presumably have the same answer as proposed for unmodified subjects namely the possibility of viewing the predicating as a property of the mass, not only as predicating over individuals.[18]

5 Pancakes of the situational type and *with*-phrases

Pancakes of the situational type can usually be rewritten as an expletive *det* + NP, expressed in a *with*-phrase. In addition, adverbials, for instance adverbials of time, are possible.

(67) a Pannkakor på söndagar är trevlig-t.
pancake.PL on Sundays be.PRES nice-**T**
'It's nice with pancakes on Sundays.'

b Det är trevlig-t med pannkakor (på söndagar).
EXPL be.PRES nice-**T** with pancake.PL (on Sundays).
'It's nice with pancakes (on Sundays).

[18] We would perhaps expect a strict ungrammaticality for examples where a subject in the singular and the predicative adjective disagree. However, this is not the case, as shown in examples, such as below:

(i) Regeringen är beslutsamma i frågan.
government.C.SG.DEF be.PRES determined.PL in question.THE
'The government is determined in the question.'
(ii) Fotbollslaget är bedrövade över förlusten.
soccer.team.N.SG.DEF be.PRES sad.PL over defeat.THE
'The soccer team is sad over the defeat.'

Not all speakers would accept these examples, in particular not in writing, but they are not uncommon especially in spoken language. An option worth exploring is that "semantic plurals", such as *regering* 'government' and *lag* 'team' can be headed by a classifier too, yielding such a reading.

There is no corresponding possibility for substance-denoting pancake sentences:

(68) a Senap är gul-t.
mustard(C) be.PRES yellow-**T**
'Mustard is yellow.'
b *Det är gul-t med senap.
EXPL be.PRES yellow-**T** with mustard(C)

Josefsson (2009) explains this asymmetry by assuming that the preposition *med* 'with' is a non-tensed generalized version of the verb *ha* 'have', and that a covert representation of this predicate is present in situation-denoting pancake sentences, such as in (67)b.

It is evident that the *with*-phrase in (67)b is not an adjunct. For one thing it cannot be topicalized:

(69) #Med pannkakor är det trevlig-t på söndagar.
with pancake.PL be.PRES EXPL nice-**T** on Sundays

(69) is not straightforwardly ungrammatical, but the meaning would not the same as that of (67). If (69) would be grammatical it would need a referential reading of *det*. This lends some support to the suggestion that the subject of situation-denoting pancake sentences has certain clausal properties. The reason is that a similar phenomenon arises for truly clausal associates. (70)b below can only be given a reasonable meaning if the infinitival clause is interpreted as left-dislocated, *det* thus being referential.

(70) a Det är trevlig-t att äta pannkakor.
EXPL be.PRES nice-**T** to eat pancakes
'It's nice to eat pancakes.'
b #Att äta pannkakor är det trevligt.
to eat pancake.PL be.PRES DET nice-**T**

The core of my suggestion is that the constructions in (67)a and b have the same basic relation to each other as (71)a to (71)b below:

(71) a Att äta pannkakor (på söndagar) är trevlig-t.
to eat pancakes (on Sundays) be.PRES nice-**T**
'To eat pancakes (on Sundays) is nice.'
b Det är trevlig-t att äta pannkakor (på söndagar)
EXPL be.PRES nice-**T** to eat pancakes (on Sundays)
'It is nice to eat pancakes (on Sundays).

The difference between the clause-like structure, assumed for the subject in (67)a, *pannkakor på söndagar* 'pancakes on Sundays' and a finite or infinite clause subject, as in (71)a, is that clause and clause-like structures presumably do not need case, whereas a reduced clause-like subject of situation-denoting pancake sentences does. This is also why the preposition *med* 'with' is needed in the example below:[19]

[19] The idea that both the expletive and the associate need case in this construction does not carry over to the expletive – associate construction exemplified in (i):

(i) Det sitter en katt på trappan.
EXPL sit.PRES a cat on staircase.THE
'There is a cat sitting on the staircase.'

The instance of *det* in (i) is presumably of the *there*-type, and it can be exchanged for *där* 'there' in certain dialects:

(i) Där sitter en katt på trappan.

(72) Det är trevlig-t *(med) pannkakor (på söndagar).
EXPL be.PRES nice-**T** with pancake.PL (on Sundays).
'It's nice with pancakes (on Sundays).

If sentences such as (67)b are the expletive correspondents to pancake sentences of the situational type, we expect definite NPs to be as bad in the *with*-construction as in pancake sentences more generally. This seems to be the case, as shown below.

(73) *Det är läckert med pannkakan.
EXPL be.PRES delicious-**T** with pancake.THE

Just as with pancake sentences of the situational type, the use of definite NPs improves if an adverbial is added, as well as when past tense is used:

(74) Det var läcker-t med den där pannkakan i lördags.
EXPL be.PAST delicious-**T** with that there pancake.THE in Saturday
'It was delicious to have that pancake last Saturday.'

The reason that (74) is better than (73) is presumably that the adverbial gives rise to a small clause reading of the subject.

In general, it seems like pancake sentences of the situational type and the corresponding sentences with *med*-phrases share central properties and restrictions. This supports the proposed analysis where the latter construction is the expletive – associate corresponding to "classical" pancake sentences.

6 T-inflection and the history of the pancake construction in Swedish

This section contains a brief note of the history of the pancake sentence in Swedish. It seems that the way the construction arose in Swedish provides clues that support the proposed analysis.

Pancake sentences are fairly new in Swedish. The oldest example dates from 1844 (Åkerblom 2020, 106):

(75) Wiisky är förbjudet. (*Aftonbladet* 1844.09.30)
whisky be.PRES forbidden-**T**
'Whisky is forbidden.'

Researchers seem to agree that the pancake construction first appeared in the spoken language. There have also been suggestions in the literature of a connection between the loss of verb agreement and the appearance of pancake sentences, more specifically that the loss of verb agreement would make speakers less attentive to agreement more generally (see e.g., Gullberg 1952, Wellander 1965 och Åkermalm 1966). There is no doubt that loss of verb agreement and the emergence of the pancake construction are intimately related, but to appeal to speakers losing attention doesn't to seem plausible. There are no signs of a general loss of adjectival agreement in Swedish.

Number agreement on the verb began to erode in Central Swedish in the 17th century. Plural agreement was retained in some dialects, and in some cases even to the latter part of the 20th century. With plural agreement, a verb such as *springa* 'run', *springer* agrees in the singular, and *springa* in the plural: *Jag springer* 'I run' vs. *Vi springa* 'We run'. When plural inflection was lost, giving rise to *Jag springer*/*Vi springer* the singular form "won", and was generalized. However, this does not mean that

EXPL/THERE sit.PRES a cat on staircase.THE
'There is a cat sitting on the staircase.'

Det in (74) cannot be exchanged for *där* 'expletive/there', which is presumably why it needs case.

springer in *Vi springer* 'we run' agrees in the singular. Instead, the loss of number agreement on verbs seems to have given rise to a reorganization of the whole system; tensed verbs in the new system don't agree at all in number. The verb form *springer* thus lacks agreement in number altogether.

I argue that the new status of verbs as being devoid of number agreement had effects on the adjectival system too. Throughout Swedish language history, adjectives have agreed in gender and number with their argument. The pattern for predicative adjectives is shown in (1)a–c, repeated below as (76).

(76) a Bilen är grön.
car.C.SG.DEF be.PRES green.C.SG.DEF
'The car is green.'
b Huset är grön-t.
house.N.SG.DEF be.PRES green-N.SG.DEF
'The house is green.'
c Bilarna/husen är grön-a.
CAR.PL/HOUSE.PL be.PRES green-PL
'The cars/houses are green.'

Following standard assumptions, I assume that number agreement is established in a Spec-head relation in the AP. In the old system, when verb agreement still was in place, the subject of a predicative sentence, such as *kjolarna* 'the skirts' in *Kjolarna är-o gul-a* (skirt.PL.DEF be-PRES.PL yellow-PL) 'The skirts are yellow', started out as an argument of the adjective, checking adjectival agreement *gul-a* on the adjective. In the next step of the derivation the argument NP moves to Spec TP, giving rise to the verb form *är-o* (be.PRES-PL) 'are'. In the old system, verbal agreement thus depended on adjectival agreement (which in turn depended on the number features of the argument). Conflicting number agreement on verb and adjective would result in a crash, and, crucially, since the verb required number agreement, a lack of number agreement on the adjective would also cause the derivation to crash. Putting it differently, the nature of verb agreement necessitated a choice between singular and plural agreement on the adjective.

The loss of plural agreement on verbs changed the game. Verb forms in the new system, being devoid of number agreement, would no longer need to pick up number agreement from the argument of the adjective. Consequently, the requirement that adjectives carry number agreement would no longer hold. My proposal is that this paved the way for pancake sentences with T-agreement (under the assumption that T-agreement is agreement devoid of number).[20]

Since number agreement was generally lost in spoken language earlier than in written language, it is expected that pancake sentences with T-inflection would first appear in the spoken language. The question is of course: why is inflection *-t* in pancake sentences? My suggestion is as follows:

With clausal subjects, a predicative adjective was inflected with *-t* in the old system too. Two examples below, from the 13th and 19th centuries, illustrate this:

(77) a ok vardhar vppenbaar-t … ät han firikom liue hänna
and be obvious-**T**… that he took life her
'and it is obvious that he took her life'[21]
b Att du (Gud) är mild, skall blifva spord-t. Psalms. 1819, 269: 4.
that you (God) is mild, shall be announced-**T**

[20] According to the proposed analysis the second type of pancake sentence has BP subjects, such as *Citroner är gula*' Lemons be.PRES yellow) 'Lemons are yellow'. This type of pancake sentence existed already.
[21] Östgötalagen, see Wessen 1965, part 3, 276.

'It shall be announced that you (God) are mild.' (Psalms)

Since the verb agreed in the singular in the examples above, I assume that singular was a default value for verbal agreement for clauses in the old system. As for the semantics of clausal subjects, I have argued above that clauses are non-specific.[22] Therefore I assume that T-inflection in the examples in (77) is singular, but by default. At the point in the language history when number agreement on verbs was lost, singular ceased to be a default value (default values are only needed for the sake of agreement). Recall the assumption above, that clauses are non-specific. This means that clausal arguments had two features in the old system: singular (by default) and non-specificity. My suggestion is that T-agreement on predicative adjectives was reanalysed as agreement in specificity when verb agreement was lost; T-inflection as agreement in non-specificity then spread to other clausal subject types, by way of analogy. This, in fact, would be how the pancake construction became possible in the Mainland Scandinavian languages. A different question is of course why the construction gained ground. My suggestion is that T-inflection makes it possible to express a semantic distinction by means of special morphology. The semantics of pancake sentences have been there all along, but formal restrictions (the verb's need to be assigned a number value) blocked its expression. Once this restriction was gone, the semantics could be expressed.

The term "pancake sentences" is a bit misleading since it has been restricted to refer to cases with T-inflection. If the proposed analysis is on the right track, generic sentences with BP subjects and plural agreement, such as *Morötter är gul-a* (carrot.PL be.PRES yellow.PL) 'Carrots are yellow' are also pancake sentences. And if we define pancake sentences as generic sentences with non-specific subjects + copula, we may in fact also include sentences of the following type:

(78) Pannkaka är en trevlig maträtt.
pancake.C.SG be.PRES INDEF.C.SG nice.C.SG dish(C)
'Pancake is a nice dish.'

With this wider definition of pancake, sentences as "Generic sentences with a non-specific subject and copula" are no longer so odd. What is special is the use of T-inflection which encodes non-specificity and lacks a number feature.

7 Variation

In his dissertation, Åkerblom (2020) points at a variation between T-agreement and canonical agreement. Åkerblom presents two examples, shown below (p. 96):

(79) Anknytning är viktig överallt och hela tiden. (Bloggmix 2016)
connection.(C) be.PRES important.C everywhere and whole time.THE
'Connection is important everywhere and always.'

(80) Honung är jättenyttig för hälsan så länge den är helt RÅ
honey.(C) be.PRES very.healthy.C for health.THE as long it is completely raw.C
och inte processad. (Bloggmix 2016)

[22] The conclusion that clausal subjects are non-specific seems to hold for bare clausal subjects. We have reasons to believe that clauses introduced by *det* 'it/that/the' turns a clause specific. For one thing it makes the clause possible in the canonical subject position:

(i) ??Därför är att sluta röka en vettig åtgärd.
therefore be.PRES to stop smoke a sensible action

(ii) Därför är det att sluta röka en vettig åtgärd.
therefore be.PRES it to stop smoke a sensible action
'Therefore it's a sensible thing to stop smoking.'

The suggestion will not be pursued here.

and not processed.C
'Honey is very good for one's health as long as it is completely raw and not processed.'

With bare nouns as a subject, it is clear, that T-agreement is more common (87 %) than canonical agreement. However, examples such as those in (79) and (80) with canonical agreement, are found in the investigated corpora. The question is why this kind of variation is possible.

Admittedly, canonical agreement in the examples in (79) and (80) is unexpected. From a general point of view, there are three sources for a canonical agreement pattern in cases like these. First, there is the possibility that languages users have an idea that normative grammar prescribes canonical agreement. Questions to Språkrådet 'The official language council' bear witness that speakers notice the deviant nature of pancake inflection and react to it (Åkerblom 2020, 124). The second source to canonical agreement in cases like those above is the marginal possibility for BPs and BnPs to be used as +specific subjects in in predicative sentences. As can be gathered from footnote 11, there is no sharp rule against BP and BnP subjects, in particular in what I have referred to as an expansion/exemplifying context. Another example of such a context is given in (81) below:

(81) Det var förfärligt efter stormen. Stolar var omkullvält-a, dörrar var
It was terrible after the storm. chair.PL be.PAST overturned-PL, door.PL be.PAST
sönderbrut-na och fönster sönderslag-na.
broken-PL and window.PL broken-PL
'(It was terrible after the storm.) Chairs were turned over, doors were broken and windows were broken.'

The predicates *omkullvälta* 'overturned', *sönderbrutna* 'broken', and *sönderslagna* 'broken' are all predicates with an inherent delimitation, hence SLPs, according to framework used in this paper. The sentences are not generic, but existential. I have no answer as to why BPs (and BnPs) are fine in this context. There are no overt quantifiers in the subjects, but one possibility is that the context introduces "quantifier readings":

(82) ALL anknytning …
All.C connection.C …
(83) EN DEL honung är jättenyttig …
a part honey.C is very.healthy.C
'Some honey is very healthy …'

To what extent a quantified interpretation coincides with canonical agreement remains to be investigated.

Åkerblom also points to a variation between canonical agreement and T-agreement for subjects consisting of an attributive adjective + noun, where T-agreement sometimes show up in the corpora, counter to many people's intuitions. Two examples from Åkerblom 2020, 97) are given below:

(84) …måttlig alkoholkonsumtion är nyttig-t för hjärtat. (Bloggmix 2014)
moderate.C alcohol.consumption.(C) be.PRES good-**T** for heart.THE
'… moderate consumption of alcohol is good for the heart'
(85) Färsk sparris är sjukt got-t. (Bloggmix 2015)
fresh.C asparagus.(C) be.PRES terribly good-**T**
'Fresh asparagus is terribly good.'

According to Åkerblom's corpus investigation, a substantial number of examples of this type are found. However, it is not evident that (84) and (85) (which are the only ones of this type that Åkerblom provides in his dissertation) really are of the substance-denoting type. (Åkerblom's criteria was that the subject should be bare and provided with an attributive adjective.) The subject in (84) *alkoholkonsumtion* 'consumption of alcohol' is a nominalization and *färsk sparris* 'fresh asparagus' in

(85) can be rewritten as an infinitival clause, as well as with expletive + a *with*-phrase; hence, in this study the examples belong to the situation-denoting kind, where there is no ban on attributive adjectives.

8 Conclusion

The main claim in my paper is that T-inflection, characteristic of pancake sentences, is inflection in non-specificity – without any encoding of number. The rest of the rules, restrictions, and observations that are discussed here follow from this claim. The only type of subject that is available, given the specificity constraint, are BnP and BP subjects (for the substance-denoting type) and a clause-like structure (for the situation-denoting type). With these kinds of subject, only ILP predicates are possible.

I have proposed that sentences with BP subjects, where the predicate adjective agrees in plural are pancake sentences too:

(86) Morötter är gul-a.
carrot.PL be.PRES yellow-PL
'Carrots are yellow.'

The same restrictions on the subject and the predicative seems to hold for these sentences: the subject must be non-specific and the predicate an ILP.

The strong bias against adjectival modifiers on the subject of pancake sentences of the substance denoting type, ?**Skånsk senap är gul-t* (Scanian.C mustard(C) be.PRES yellow-**T**), is explained as due to T-inflection being devoid of number. An attributive adjective provides the NP subject with a number feature; T-inflection on the predicative will induce a clash: An NP subject provided with number cannot trigger T-inflection. The exception is if a Number phrase is embedded under a classifier which itself lacks a number feature. The reading of such a subject is that of an aggregated substance. With plural subjects provided with an attributive adjective, no problem will arise. In sentences such as *Gul-a citroner är sur-a* (Yellow-PL lemon-PL be.PRES sour.PL) 'Yellow lemons are sour' no clash arises.

I have argued that expletive *det* + *with*-phrase, as illustrated below, is the expletive corresponding to "ordinary" pancake sentences (of the situation-denoting type). The preposition *med* 'with' assigns case to the NP within the associate, in (87) *pannkakor*.

(87) Det är trevlig-t med pannkakor.
EXPL be.PRES nice-**T** with pancake.PL
'It's nice with pancakes.'

A consequence of the proposed analysis is that pancake sentences are not exotic. They are generic copula sentences with a non-specific subject. With this definition we will also have to label the sentence below, where the predicative is an NP, a "pancake sentence" too:

(88) Morötter är grönsaker.
carrot.PL be.PRES vegetable.PL
'Carrots are vegetables.'

To the best of my knowledge, examples such as (88) have not thought of as a "pancake sentence", but given the conclusion that this sentence is generic, with a BP subject and a copula, this should be the case. More generally, it is true that T-inflection might seem exotic, but if we accept the idea that NPs such as clauses and nominalizations may lack a number feature, not even this type of sentence is very exotic.

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