
TMA-DOUBLING IN SCANDINAVIAN*

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1 ◻ INTRODUCTION

Variants of spoken Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, and Faroese allow doubling of verbal morphology under a restricted class of matrix verbs, see e.g. Ljunggren (1934), Lockwood (1964), Anward (1988), Josefsson (1991), Teleman et al. (1999), Lødrup (2002), Julien (2003), and Wiklund (2001; to appear). For the purpose of the present paper, the phenomenon will be referred to as TMA-DOUBLING (Tense-/Mood-/Aspect-doubling). The Swedish sentences in (1a-d) exemplify tense-doubling (present/past), mood-doubling (imperative), and aspect-doubling (past participial), respectively.¹

- (1) a. Lars **försöker** [o **skriver** ett brev]. (Swedish)
Lars try.PRES e' write.PRES a letter
'Lars tries to write a letter.'
- b. Lars **försökte** [o **skrev** ett brev].
Lars try.PAST e' write.PAST a letter
'Lars tried to write a letter.'
- c. **Försök** [o **skriv** ett brev]!
try.IMP e' write.IMP a letter
'Try to write a letter!'
- d. Lars hade **försökt** [o **skrivit** ett brev].
Lars had try.PPC e' write.PPC a letter
'Lars had tried to write a letter.'

The phenomenon belongs to non-standard language and is therefore not found in printed text other than sparsely in texts of less formal style. Standard Swedish uses infinitival forms instead of agreeing forms:

- (2) a. Lars **försöker** [att **skriva** ett brev]. (Swedish)
Lars try.PRES to write.INF a letter
'Lars tries to write a letter.'
- b. Lars **försökte** [att **skriva** ett brev].
Lars try.PAST to write.INF a letter
'Lars tried to write a letter.'
- c. **Försök** [att **skriva** ett brev]!
try.IMP to write.INF a letter
'Try to write a letter!'
- d. Lars hade **försökt** [att **skriva** ett brev].
Lars had try.PPC to write.INF a letter
'Lars had tried to write a letter.'

Doubling of all forms (including tensed forms) is widespread in northern as well as in southern variants of Swedish, in particular with aspectual verbs such as *örja*

* I wish to thank the audience at the workshop Syntactic Doubling in European Dialects (Meertens Instituut, March 16-18, 2006) for useful comments on the present paper. Abbreviations: PRES (present), IMP (imperative), PPC (past participial), INF (infinitival).

¹ I disregard (vacuous) doubling of the infinitival form here.

‘start’, *sluta* ‘stop’, *fortsätta* ‘continue’, and the verbs *försöka* and *pröva*, both meaning ‘try’. The other Scandinavian languages, in contrast, appear more selective with regard to forms that may double. Present-day Danish restricts doubling to imperative form, (3), Faroese limits doubling to imperative and participial forms, (4), and the same holds for most doubling variants of Norwegian, (5). Icelandic does not allow doubling, (6).²

- (3) **Begynd** [og læs]! (Danish var.)
begin.IMP eʰ read.IMP
 ‘Start reading!’
- (4) a. **Byrja** [og les]! (Faroese var.)
begin.IMP eʰ read.IMP
 ‘Start reading!’
 b. Han hevði **viljað** [lisið bokina].
he had want.PPC read.PPC book.DEF
 ‘He had/would have wanted to read the book.’
- (5) a. **Prøv** [å sei frå i tie]! (Solør Norwegian)
try.IMP eʰ say.IMP from in time
 ‘Try to object in time!’
 b. Han hadde **prøvd** [å sagt frå i tie].
he had try.PPC eʰ say.PPC from in time
 ‘He had to object in time.’
- (6) * **Ég hef byrjað** [og lesið]. (Icelandic)
I have start.PPC eʰ write.PPC
 ‘I have started reading.’

TMA-doubling is syntactic and not phonological. An embedded verb with irregular or strong inflection takes on the expected form from its paradigm, and not a form that is phonologically similar to the matrix verb (PHON-AFFIX stands for phonological affix):³

- (7) a. Tycho **prövade** [o sprang].
Tycho try.PAST eʰ run.PAST
 b. *Tycho **prövade** [o springde].
Tycho try.PHON-AFFIX[eʰ run.PHON-AFFIX]
 ‘Tycho tried to run.’

Not all TMA-doubling is non-standard. TMA-doubling with posture and motion verbs (pseudocoordination) is part of standard Danish, Faroese, Norwegian, and Swedish.⁴ With these verbs, TMA-doubling is obligatory in the sense that infinitival counterparts do not exist in the relevant languages:⁵

² I am grateful to Line Hove Mikkelsen (Da.), Hjalmar Páll Petersen and Jógvan í Lon Jacobsen (Fa.), Marit Julien (No.), and Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson (Ic.) for data. (4b) is from (Lockwood 1964:141). The doubling sentences all have infinitival counterparts.

³ In §5.1 below we will see that doubling obeys syntactic locality constraints.

⁴ Certain variants of Icelandic are reported to allow some of these pseudocoordinations, Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson p.c.

⁵ Note that the Dutch counterpart of (8b) is fine (see Geerts et al. 1984:p.537ff):

- (i) Hij zit [te eten]. (Dutch)
he sit.PRES to eat.INF
 ‘He is eating.’

- (8) a. Tycho **sitter** [o(ch) äter]. (Swedish)
Tycho sit.PRES eʒ eat.PRES
 'Tycho is eating (in a sitting position).'
- b. *Tycho **sitter** [o/att äta].
Tycho sit.PRES eʒ/to eat.INF

For arguments that (8a) involves TMA-doubling on a par with (1a), see Wiklund (to appear). I argue that the former differs from the latter in involving a light verb use of an otherwise lexical verb. In what follows, we restrict attention to the type in (1), which has an infinitival counterpart. Discussion is limited to Swedish.⁶

In this paper, we investigate similarities and differences between TMA-doubling and the corresponding standard infinitival construction and factors restricting variation. I will show that the morphology on the embedded verb in the doubling construction is semantically vacuous, thus instantiating a kind of agreement. Nevertheless, the TMA-doubling construction will be shown to involve dependencies between the matrix and embedded clause that are not present in the corresponding standard infinitival. Variations in the set of matrix verbs that allow doubling and in the set of forms that may duplicate, I will demonstrate, are limited by factors such as locality, presence of non-overlapping tense, and amount of structure. TMA-doubling is island sensitive, obeys relativized minimality, is restricted to tenseless environments, and is proportional to number of functional projections in the embedded clause. A brief review of arguments in favour of taking TMA-doubling to be a surface reflex of restructuring will be presented.

2 ■ THE LINKING ELEMENT

The linking element *o(ch)* that may appear between the two verbs in the doubling construction is homophonous to the conjunction element *o(ch)* 'and', the short form of which is pronounced /ɔ/. Therefore, TMA-doubling has been analyzed as a special type of coordination (pseudocoordination), see e.g. Josefsson (1991) and Teleman et al. (1999:III; 902-909). Note, however, that the conjunction-like element can also appear instead of the infinitival marker *att* (pronounced /at/) in the standard infinitival construction. Thus, the infinitivals in (2) above - involving *att* (careful register) - alternate with (9) below involving *o(ch)* (casual register).⁷

- (9) a. Lars försöker [o skriva ett brev].
Lars try.PRES eʒ write.INF a letter
 'Lars tries to write a letter.'
- b. Lars försökte [o skriva ett brev].
Lars try.PAST eʒ write.INF a letter
 'Lars tried to write a letter.'
- c. Försök [o skriva ett brev]!
try.IMP eʒ write.INF a letter
 'Try to write a letter!'
- d. Lars hade försökt [o skriva ett brev].
Lars had try.PPC eʒ write.INF a letter
 'Lars had tried to write a letter.'

⁶ Judgements are my own (Jamtland Swedish) and conform to those of speakers of Västerbotten dialects.

⁷ I accept the full form *och* wherever the short form *o* is possible.

I follow Holmberg (1986), Platzack (1986), and Holmberg (1990) in taking the infinitival marker *att* to be a complementizer, just like the homophonous element *att* introducing finite clauses in Swedish. Arguments include the fact that finite *att* and infinitival *att* behave similarly with respect to deletion (Holmberg 1990) and the fact that material (sentential adverbs and floating quantifiers) can be inserted between *att* and the infinitive (Wiklund to appear). Given that these facts carry over to the element *o(ch)* in (9) (Wiklund to appear), I take *o(ch)* to be capable of functioning as a complementizer. Turning to *o(ch)* in (1) (doubling context), there is ample evidence that it is the same element.

O(ch) may appear in a doubling context only in combination with verbs that select an infinitival marker (*och* or *att*) in the corresponding infinitival construction. Illustrative examples can be construed with the aspectual verb *fortsätta* ‘continue’ and the modal verb *kunna* ‘can’/‘beable’. *Fortsätta* selects an infinitival marker (*och* or *att*), which can be dropped in contexts like (10a) in my variant. In the corresponding doubling construction, *o(ch)* has the same property. It may but need not be overt, cf. (10b).⁸

- (10) a. Hans fortsatte (o/att) skriva.
 Hans continue.PAST *o*/to write.INF
 b. Hans **fortsatte** (o) **skrev**.
 Hans continue.PAST *o* write.PAST
 ‘Hans continued writing.’

Kunna, in contrast, selects a bare infinitival where no infinitival marker is possible, see (11a). Likewise, no linking element is possible in the corresponding doubling construction, cf. (11b).

- (11) a. Han hade kunnat (*o/*att) skriva.
 he had can.PPC *o*/to write.INF
 b. Han hade kunnat (*o) skrivit.
 he had can.PPC *o* write.PPC
 ‘He had been able to write.’

Conforming to our expectations, wherever *att* (or *o*) is required in the infinitival construction, *o* is also required in the corresponding doubling construction, such as e.g. under the verb *undvika* ‘avoid’:

- (12) a. Han hade undvikit *(o/att) skriva.
 he had avoid.PPC *o*/to write.INF
 b. Han hade **undvikit** *(o) **skrivit**.
 he had avoid.PPC *o* write.PPC
 ‘He had avoided to write.’

The linking element in the doubling construction is thus a subordinating rather than a coordinating conjunction. I have proposed that it is a complementizer, cf. Aboh (2004) and Faraci (1970) for the same proposal concerning English and in similar construction types. A more well-known argument in favour of a complementation analysis is the fact that the construction is not subject to the Coordinate Structure Constraint (Ross 1967). Argument and adjunct extraction is

⁸ *Att* can not replace *o(ch)* in doubling context (see Wiklund to appear for more details):

- (i) Hans **fortsatte** (*att) **skrev**.
 Hans continue.PAST to write.PAST
 ‘Hans continued writing.’

possible out of the doubling clause, (13a), just as these extractions are possible out of the corresponding standard infinitival, (13b).

- (13) a. Vad/hur **prövade** han [o **sjöng** _]?
what/how try.PAST he o sing.PAST _
 b. Vad/hur **prövade** han [att **sjunga** _]?
what/how try.PAST he to sing.INF _
 ‘What/how did he try to sing _?’

Likewise, fronting of the doubling clause is possible, (14a), to the extent that the corresponding infinitival clause can be fronted, (14b).

- (14) a. [**Skrev** brev]**började** han o gjorde i lördags.
write.PAST letter start.PAST he o did last Saturday
 b. [**Skriva** brev]**började** han att göra i lördags.
write.INF letter start.PAST he to do last Saturday

We may conclude that TMA-doubling does not involve a special type of coordination with a permission to violate the Coordinate Structure Constraint. Rather it involves a special type of complementation where the inflectional form of the matrix verb is replicated in the embedded clause. The semantic vacuity of this doubling is discussed next.

3 □ INFINITIVAL IN DISGUISE

A literal translation of (15a) below - involving tense doubling - may lead one to suppose that there was a ‘writing’ event in the past. However, the tense inflection on the embedded verb does not affect the interpretation of the complement. (15a) and its non-doubling (infinitival) counterpart in (15b) have identical truth conditions. Both sentences imply that the subject referent did not write the letter, because he forgot to do so.

- (15) a. Han **glömde** [o **skrev** brevet].
he forget.PAST e³ write.PAST letter.DEF
 ‘He forgot to write the letter.’
 b. Han **glömde** [att **skriva** brevet]
he forget.PAST to write.INF letter.DEF
 ‘He forgot to write the letter.’

One way of showing this is to add the tag *Det skickades omedelbart* ‘It (the letter) was mailed immediately’ to the sentences. Whenever the tense inflection of *skrev brevet* ‘wrote the letter’ is interpreted, the tag yields a good result, as in (16).

- (16) Han **skrev** brevet. Det skickades omedelbart.
he write.PAST letter.DEF it mail.PAST.PASS immediately
 ‘He wrote the letter. It was mailed immediately.’

When added to the sentences in (15), however, the tag yields a pragmatically odd result in both cases:

- (17) a. Han **glömde** [o **skrev** brevet]. #Det skickades
he forget.PAST e³ write.PAST letter.DEF #it mail.PAST.PASS
omedelbart
immediately
 ‘He forgot to write the letter. #It was mailed immediately.’

- b. Han glömde [att skriva brevet]. #Det skickades
he forget.PAST to write.INF letter.DEF #it mail.PAST.PASS
 omedelbart.
immediately
 'He forgot to write the letter. #It was mailed immediately.'

From examples of this kind, we may conclude that the inflectional morphology on the embedded verb does not make a semantic contribution. It is merely a phonological reflex of an agreement relation between the matrix and embedded clause (cf. Anward 1988). The embedded verb in (17a) is an *infinitive in disguise* (en förklädt infinitiv), to use the words of Jespersen (1895:170).

4 □ DIFFERENCE BETWEEN DOUBLING AND NON-DOUBLING STRUCTURES

So far, the difference between the standard infinitival construction, (18a), and the TMA doubling infinitival, (18b), seems rather superficial.

- (18) a. De försökte [o skriva ett brev].
they try.PAST e' write.INF a letter
 'They tried to write a letter.'
- b. De **försökte** [o **skrev** ett brev].
they try.PAST e' write.PAST a letter
 'They tried to write a letter.'

A closer look at the possibility of splitting the infinitival marker/complementizer and the verb, however, reveals that the two sentences are associated with subtly different structures and therefore differ also underlyingly. Whereas floating quantifiers and sentential adverbs may be inserted between *o* and the verb in the standard infinitival, see (19a), such a splitting is not possible in the corresponding TMA-doubling infinitival, cf. (19b).

- (19) a. De försökte [o alla alltid skriva ett brev].
they try.PAST e' all always write.INF a letter
- b. De **försökte** [o (*alla) (*alltid) **skrev** ett brev].
they try.PAST e' all always write.PAST a letter

Anticipating a proposal to be made below, TMA-doubling infinitivals involve dependencies between the matrix and embedded clause, disabling insertion of the relevant elements. These dependencies are absent in the standard infinitival construction. In the next section, the limits of variation in doubling is discussed.

5 □ LIMITS OF VARIATION

Whereas many speakers allow doubling under aspectual verbs such as *fortsätta* 'continue', as in (10b), not all of these speakers allow doubling under implicatives such as *glömma* 'forget', exemplified in (15a). Similarly, whereas many speakers allow doubling of the participial form with *försöka* 'try', as in (1d), not all of these speakers allow doubling of the past tense with the same verb, as in (1b). Thus, there is variation with regard to the set of matrix verbs that may select a TMA-doubling infinitival, as well as with regard to the set of verb forms that may duplicate under the relevant verbs. In this section, the limits of this microvariation is discussed. As we will see, TMA-doubling is:

- Locality sensitive
- Tense sensitive
- Proportional to structure

5.1 □ LOCALITY

Speakers generally agree that doubling is dispreferred or impossible into islands. Thus, doubling into the complement position of a noun, as in (20a), yields an unacceptable result, even though TMA-doubling with *glömma* ‘forget’ is possible in other contexts, cf. (15a).⁹

- (20) a. *Han hade **glömt** rådet [o **åkt** hem].
he had forget.PCC advice e' go.PCC home
 b. Han hade **glömt** rådet [att/oåka hem].
he had forget.PCC advice to/e' go.INF home
 ‘He had forgotten the advice to go home.’

The phenomenon is also subject to relativized minimality (Rizzi 1990). In multiple embeddings, either all verbs agree, (21a), or all but the most embedded verb agree, (21b). Long-distance doubling across a verb that does not itself participate in the doubling leads to ungrammaticality, cf. (21c).

- (21) a. Han **prövade** o **fortsatte** o **gick** längs stigen.
he try.PAST e' continue.PAST e' go.PAST along path.DEF
 b. Han **prövade** o **fortsatte** o gå längs stigen.
he try.PAST e' continue.PAST e' go.INF along path.DEF
 c. *Han **prövade** o **fortsatte** o **gick** längs stigen.
he try.PAST e' continue.INF e' go.PAST along path.DEF
 d. Han **prövade** o **fortsatte** o gå längs stigen.
he try.PAST e' continue.INF e' go.INF along path.DEF
 ‘He tried to continue walking along the path.’

Not only is TMA-doubling restricted to infinitivals that are selected by the verb from which the inflection is duplicated, these infinitivals have to be tenseless, as will be shown next.

5.2 □ TENSELESSNESS

Consider (22) below.

- (22) a. *Han **började** [att läsa boken imorgon].
he start.PAST to read.INF book.DEF tomorrow
 b. *Han **börjar** [att ha läst boken igår].
he start.PRES to have.INF read.PCC book.DEF yesterday

The event referred to by an infinitival embedded under *börja* ‘start’ cannot be located in the future with respect to the time of the event referred to by the matrix predicate, (22a), nor in the past, (22b). In this sense, *börja* differs from *besluta* ‘decide’, which selects a future-oriented infinitival, cf. (23), and *tro* ‘think’/‘believe’, which may select a past-oriented infinitival, see (24).

⁹ (20a) is fine on the irrelevant coordination reading He had forgotten the advice and gone home. Counterfactual environments are exceptional in that some speakers allow participle doubling into islands in contexts of that kind, see Julien (2003) and Wiklund (to appear) for discussion.

- (23) Han beslutade [att resa hem imorgon].
he decide.PAST to travel.INF home tomorrow
 'He decided to go home tomorrow.'
- (24) Han trodde sig [ha läst dokumentet ifjol].
he think.PAST REFL have.INF read.PCC document.DEF last-year
 'He thought that he read the document last year.'

In the above sense *börja* selects a TENSELESS infinitival, whereas *besluta* and *tro* select TENSED infinitivals. Only the former is compatible with tmaTMA-doubling:¹⁰

- (25) Han **började** [o läste boken].
he start.PAST e³ read.PAST book.DEF
 'He started reading the book.'
- (26) *Han **beslutade** [o reste hem].
he decide.PAST e³ travel.PAST home
 Intended meaning: 'He decided to go home.'
- (27) *Han **trodde** sig [läste dokumentet].
he think.PAST REFL read.PAST document.DEF
 Intended meaning: 'He thought that he was reading the document.'

An overlapping tense orientation between the matrix and embedded clause is thus a prerequisite for (full) TMA-doubling and variation in the set of verbs that allow selection of TMA-doubling infinitivals is therefore limited to verbs selecting tenseless infinitivals. See Wiklund (to appear) for a detailed description of the relevant classes of infinitive selecting verbs.

5.3 □ THE MORE STRUCTURE – THE MORE DOUBLING

Whereas doubling of the participial form is fine in the complement of a modal verb like *kunna* 'can', see (28a), tense doubling under the same verb is impossible, cf. (29a).

- (28) a. Han hade **kunnat** **skrivet**.
he had can.PPC write.PCC
 b. Han hade **kunnat** skriva.
he had can.PPC write.INF
 'He had been able to write.'
- (29) a. *Han **kunde** **skrev**.
he can.PAST write.PAST
 b. Han kunde skriva.
he can.PAST write.INF
 'He was able to write.'

The relevant generalization is that verbs that select bare infinitivals (infinitivals that can not be introduced by an infinitival marker/complementizer), see (30), restrict doubling to participial form, whereas verbs that select non-bare infinitivals (infinitivals that can be introduced by an infinitival marker/complementizer) allow doubling of all forms in liberal variants, provided the infinitival is tenseless in the above sense, cf. (1) above.

¹⁰ Doubling is exemplified with past tense. All forms may double with *börja* in my variant. No form may double with *besluta*, nor with *tro*.

- (30) Hans kunde (*att) skriva.
Hans can.PAST to write.INF
 ‘Hans was able to write.’

In Wiklund (to appear) I argue that the relevant non-bare infinitivals are full CPs, whereas the relevant bare infinitivals are AspectPs, lacking the C- and T-domains of the clause.

- Non-bare infinitivals: [CP [TP [AspP [vP]]]]
- Bare infinitivals: [AspP [vP]]

The former may or must involve a complementizer (+CP), may contain adverbs quantifying over times, sentential negation (+TP), and the perfect (+AspP). The latter may not contain a complementizer (-CP), nor adverbs quantifying over times or sentential negation (-TP), but may contain the perfect (+AspP).

Given that a TMA-doubling infinitival retains the non-bare/bare status of the corresponding standard infinitival in the sense that *försöka* ‘try’ selects a non-bare infinitival regardless of whether or not doubling is present, whereas *kunna* ‘can’/‘be-able’ selects a bare infinitival regardless of whether or not doubling is present, we may formulate the intuitive hypothesis that the category selected by the matrix verb remains constant between non-doubling and doubling constructions. An infinitival selected by *försöka* is a CP, regardless of presence/absence of doubling, and an infinitival selected by *kunna* is an AspP, regardless of presence/absence of doubling.

On the proposal that doubling of a given form is contingent on the presence of the corresponding functional projection in the embedded clause, the difference between *börja* and *kunna* with regard to number of forms that may double is captured, (1) vs. (28)-(29).

- The category selected by the matrix verb remains constant between non-doubling and doubling constructions.
- Doubling of a given form is contingent on the presence of the corresponding functional projection in the embedded clause.

More specifically, doubling of the imperative form requires an embedded C-domain (on the imperative and CForce, see Rizzi 1997). In turn, doubling of tensed verb forms (present and past) requires an embedded T-domain. Finally, doubling of the participial form is contingent on an embedded Asp-domain. It follows that all forms may double under verbs that select non-bare infinitivals (CPs), whereas doubling is restricted to participial form under verbs that select bare infinitivals (AspPs).

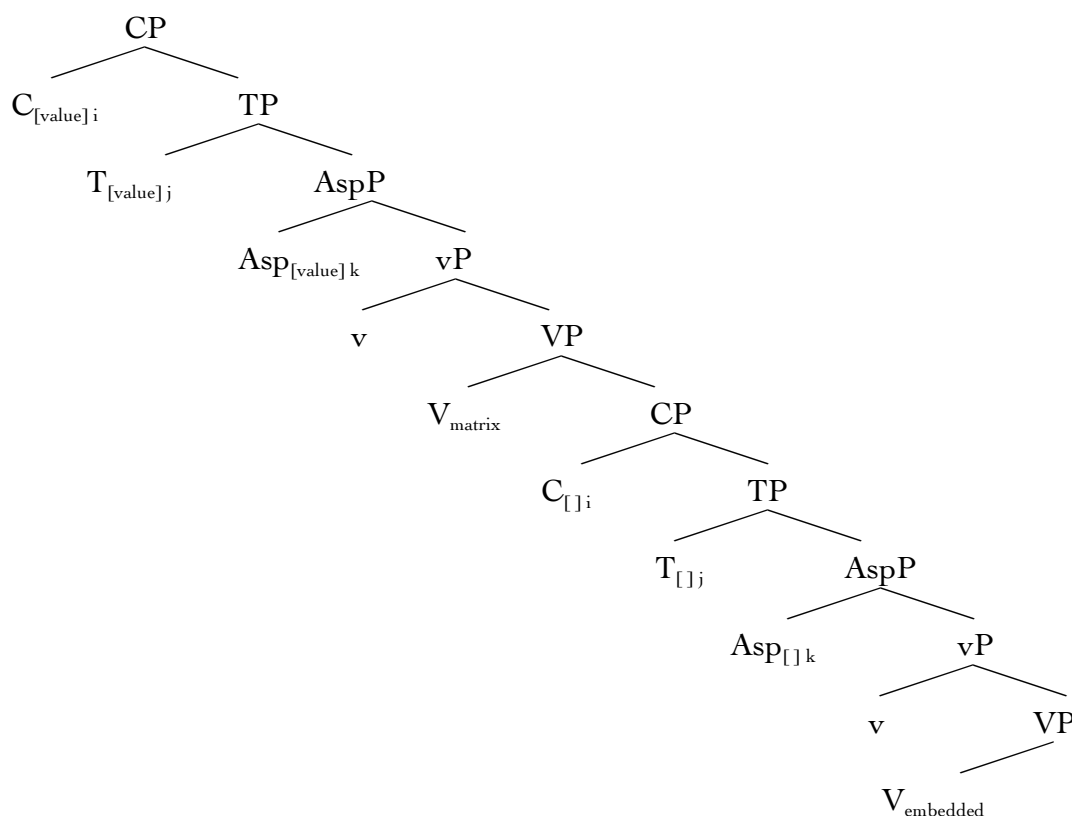
Variation in the set of forms that may double is in the above sense structurally restricted. The more structure there is in the TMA-doubling infinitival, the larger the set of forms that may duplicate. For a brief discussion of variation within these limits, see Wiklund (to appear).

6 ■ A SURFACE REFLEX OF RESTRUCTURING

Since the structure involved is constituted by functional projections, doubling of a given form is possible when the corresponding functional projection is present. This is captured in the hypothesis that:

- Doubling is a reflex of dependencies between functional heads of the same label.

Since the form of the embedded verb is determined by the form of the matrix, the downstairs head must be underdetermined, doubling the value of the head upstairs.



On the intuitive assumption that an unvalued functional head does not license modifiers, the contrast between (19a) and (19b) above, repeated below, is captured.¹¹

- (31) a. De försökte [o alla alltid skriva ett brev].
they try.PAST e³ all always write.INF a letter
 b. De **försökte** [o (*alla) (*alltid) **skrev** ett brev].
they try.PAST e³ all always write.PAST a letter

I propose that the relevant dependency is Agree (Chomsky 2000; 2001) and refer the reader to Wiklund (to appear) for a discussion of the theoretical implications of this proposal. An unvalued functional head in the embedded clause triggers Agree with a higher head of the same label, yielding doubling.¹²

The present analysis bears similarities to tense (or Infl) raising approaches to restructuring infinitivals, see e.g. Kayne (1989), Terzi (1996), Roberts (1997), and references cited in Wurmbrand (2001). In Wiklund (to appear; 2006) two principal arguments are presented in favour of taking TMA-doubling to be a surface reflex of restructuring. One concerns the distribution of TMA-doubling. The other concerns evidence of deficiency in the relevant infinitivals.

- TMA-doubling and restructuring phenomena involve identical sets of matrix verbs, are both restricted to tenseless infinitivals, and co-occur in some languages.

¹¹ Another way to put this is to say that Merge of a specifier results in valuation.

¹² On a more careful formulation, the relevant Agree dependency may be phonologically reflected by doubling.

- TMA-doubling and restructuring configurations both display restrictions on adverbs and other modifiers.

If restructuring effects derive from the same basic underlying structural configurations cross-linguistically, studies of TMA-doubling should provide new insight into the phenomenon of restructuring in natural language. In particular, we have seen that the category selected by the matrix verb may remain constant between doubling (restructuring) and non-doubling (non-restructuring) infinitival constructions. I refer the reader to Wiklund (to appear; 2006) for a detailed discussion.

7 ■ CONCLUSION

I have presented evidence in favour of taking TMA-doubling constructions to be infinitivals in disguise. I have argued that TMA-doubling infinitivals differ from the corresponding non-doubling (standard) infinitivals in involving dependencies between the matrix and embedded clause, more specifically between heads of the same label. The analysis captures the fact that doubling appears proportional to the number of functional projections in the embedded clause. I have shown that variation is limited by factors such as locality, presence of non-overlapping tense, and number of functional projections in the embedded clause. On the basis of the distribution of the phenomenon and indications of deficiency, I have proposed that TMA-doubling is a surface reflex of restructuring.

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