

So-called gender markers as classifying nominalizers in Swedish

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ABSTRACT

This study examines so-called gender marking—more accurately, classifier-like marking—on grammatical nominalizations in their noun-phrase and modification uses in Swedish. It shows that the distribution of classifying grammatical nominalization markers in this language across different grammatical structures deviates from Shibatani's (2021: 524; 2023: 35) proposed implicational hierarchy 'NUM (Numerals) > DEM (Demonstratives) > GEN (Genitive noun phrases) > ADJ (Adjectives) > V-based NMNLs (Verb-based nominalizations)'. Swedish employs two strategies for marking with classifying grammatical nominalization markers: the use of distinct forms (or suffixes) and the use of different singular articles. With the former strategy, a distinction is made for demonstratives, but only to a limited extent or not at all for other types of elements. With the latter, marking occurs with demonstratives, adjectives, and verb-based nominalizations (relative clauses), but not with numerals or genitive noun phrases. This deviation observed for genitive noun phrases is hypothesized to result from the interaction between the identifiability of the possessum relative to the possessor and the redundancy of marking the possessum's category when it is likely more identifiable than the possessor.

1. INTRODUCTION

Similar to other Indo-European languages, Swedish (North Germanic; spoken in Sweden and Finland) is often described as having a gender system. However, the Swedish system is not based on biological gender but instead resembles an animacy-based classifier system. This paper treats it more generally as a classification system and refers to the so-called gender markers as 'classifying grammatical nominalization markers' (classifying nominalizers, henceforth) (Shibatani 2023, Shibatani and Ferreira this issue). We investigate which types of grammatical structures take classifying nominalizers to derive grammatical nominalizations in Swedish. We first describe definiteness markers as classifying nominalizers in Swedish, which are the primary indicators of classification in this language. We then discuss the use of the definiteness markers on cardinal numerals, ordinal numerals, demonstratives, genitive noun phrases, adjectives, and relative clauses in both their noun-phrase and modification uses. We show that the definiteness markers are used with relative clauses—the lowest on Shibatani's (2021; 2023) proposed implicational hierarchy for classifying nominalizers—but not with genitive noun phrases, which are ranked higher on the hierarchy. We argue that this deviation from the hierarchy (Shibatani 2021: 524; 2023: 35) results from the joint expression of definiteness and classification in Swedish. Specifically, we hypothesize that the redundancy of

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definiteness marking—when the referent is already uniquely specified as definite—prevents the category from being expressed.

Although Swedish is not an inflectionally rich language, its noun phrases are relatively complex. The basic word order in Swedish is SVO and the typical word order within a noun phrase is determiner–adjective–noun. Noun phrase constituents are marked for classifying nominalizer-based category, number, and definiteness, and the expression of these categories is closely intertwined.

Swedish classifying nominalizers distinguish between two grammatical categories, traditionally called common (*utrum*) and neuter (*neutrum*). The formal distinction between these two categories is made using indefinite and definite markers (free articles, suffixes, or a combination of the two), which assume different forms for common (C) and neuter (N) categories. Each noun is assigned to one of the two categories. The category of a noun is indicated by the indefinite marker, which is a free prenominal article etymologically related to numeral ‘one’: *en* for common and *ett* for neuter category (e.g., *en hund* ‘a dog’ and *ett hus* ‘a house’). In indefinite noun phrases with adjectival modification, category information is also indicated on the adjective, in agreement with the referent of the noun phrase. In the following sections, we examine the use of classifying nominalizers with different types of grammatical elements in the derivation of grammatical nominalizations in Swedish and show how classifying nominalizer-based categories are marked differently, depending on the definiteness and number of the noun phrase.

Swedish has non-classifying nominalizers, which are affixes—specifically, prefixes and suffixes—involving lexical nominalization. Noun derivation through affixation is a very productive process that can produce complex derivations (e.g., *arbet-s-lös-het-s-för-säkr-ing* ‘unemployment insurance’). One of the most common suffixes is the deverbal suffix *-ing/-ning*, which is used to derive nouns indicating actions or processes from verbs denoting actions (e.g., *utveckla* ‘develop’ > *utveckl-ing* ‘development’ and *mobba* ‘bully’ > *mobb-ning* ‘bullying’). Another common one is the deadjectival suffix *-het*, which derives nouns denoting quality or status from adjectives (e.g., *svag* ‘weak’ > *svag-het* ‘weakness’ and *sjuk* ‘sick’ > *sjuk-het* ‘illness’). A common suffix deriving nouns from other nouns is the denominal suffix *-skap* (e.g., *vän* ‘friend’ > *vän-skap* ‘friendship’ and *fader* ‘father’ > *fader-skap* ‘paternity’). Nouns can also be derived through zero suffixation, usually from verbs, whereby a zero suffix is added to the stem of a verb following deletion of the infinitive ending *-a* (e.g., *fuska* ‘cheat’ > *fusk-ø* ‘cheating’ and *flyta* ‘flow’ > *flyt-ø* ‘fluency’). In some cases, nominalization may involve a change of the stem vowel (e.g., *lång* ‘long’ > *längd* ‘length’ and *tung* ‘heavy’ > *tyngd* ‘weight’). Table 1 summarizes some of the most productive deadjectival, deverbal, and denominal noun suffixes (adapted from Holmes and Hinchliffe 2013: 622–24).

Table 1. Some common non-classifying nominalization markers in Swedish

Denotation	Suffix	Stem: verbal (V), adjectival (A), nominal (N)	Nominalization
people	-are -ande -ende -an -är	lära 'teach' (V) studera 'study' (V) gå 'walk' (V) Amerika 'America' (N) funktion 'function' (N)	lär-are 'teacher' (agent) studer-ande 'student' (agent) gå-ende 'pedestrian' (agent) Amerik-an 'American' (nationality) funktion-är 'official' (occupation)
Activity	-an -ande -ende -else -(n)ing -ition	börja 'begin' (V) skriva 'write' (V) le 'smile' (V) jämföra 'compare' (V) skriva 'write' (V) informera 'inform' (V)	börj-an 'beginning' (abstract) skriv-ande 'writing' (ongoing; result) le-ende 'smile' (result) jämför-else 'comparison' (abstract) skriv-ning 'writing' (activity) informa-tion 'information' (abstract)
Status	-het -lek -dom -skap	brottslig 'criminal' (A) kär 'dear' (A) sjuk 'sick' (A) vän 'friend' (N)	brottslig-het 'crime' (status) kär-lek 'love' (quality) sjuk-dom 'sickness' (status) vän-skap 'friendship' (condition)

Some deverbal nouns derived from action verbs can take arguments and form noun phrases. Although both external argument (Arg1) and internal argument (Arg2) can be expressed as part of a deverbal nominal phrase, there is a cross-linguistic tendency to express only the internal argument (Arg2), while the external argument (Arg1) remains optional (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1993). This holds for Swedish as well. The two main suffixes that derive deverbal action nominals in Swedish are *-ande/-ende* and *-(n)ing* (Table 1 above). When this type of deverbal nominal is derived from a transitive base, Arg1 appears in the genitive case, and Arg2 occurs inside a prepositional phrase introduced by the preposition *av* 'of'.³ The order of the arguments is the same as in a finite clause (e.g., FINITE: *Polis-en grep tjuven* 'The police arrested the thief', DEVERBAL NOMINAL: *Polis-en-s gripande av tjuven* 'the police's arrest of the thief/the arrest of the thief by the police'). With nominalizations derived from transitive verb bases, the external argument (Arg1) is commonly omitted (e.g., *Grip-ande av tjuven var dramatiskt* 'The arrest of the thief was dramatic').⁴

In general, however, deverbal noun phrases are much less common in Swedish than in English. Instead, compounding (or incorporating) is used. Compounding is a valency-reducing mechanism by which the internal argument (Arg2) becomes part of the compound, and the external argument (Arg1) is genitivized (or is omitted altogether) (e.g., FINITE: *barnen spelar*

³ The preposition *av* 'of' is also used to introduce the agent in passive clauses.

⁴ A far less common pattern is one in which the pre-posed genitive corresponds to the internal argument (Arg2) and the external argument (Arg1) is introduced by the preposition *av* 'of'. This pattern follows the argument order of a passive sentence and is potentially ambiguous between the two interpretations and is therefore very rare (PASSIVE: *Post-en övertogs av banken* 'The post was taken over by the bank', DEVERBAL NOMINAL PHRASE: *Bank-en-s övertagande av posten* 'the bank's taking over by the post').

boll ‘the children play ball’, COMPOUND: *barn-en-s bollspel-ande* ‘the children’s ball-playing’).

The data in this chapter are drawn primarily from the Swedish Academy Grammar Book (Teleman et al. 1999) and a comprehensive grammar of Swedish language (Holmes and Hinchliffe 2013), as well as from the first author’s consultants.

2. OVERVIEW OF THE USE OF CLASSIFYING GRAMMATICAL NOMINALIZATION MARKERS AND GRAMMATICAL NOMINALIZATIONS IN SWEDISH

The classification system in Modern Swedish developed from an older system inherited from Proto-Indo-European, which distinguished masculine, feminine, and neuter genders. During the Middle Ages, masculine and feminine genders merged, forming the present-day common category. As a result, almost two-thirds of Swedish nouns belong to the common category, while the remainder are neuter (Bohnacker 2003: 199). Although category assignment is generally considered arbitrary (e.g., Teleman 1987, Josefsson 2002, 2005, 2006, 2010, Källström 1995, 1996), recent studies emphasize the role of animacy in this process both synchronically (Kilarski and Krynicki 2005, Åkerblom 2012) and diachronically (Trosterud 2006, Van Epps et al. 2021, Skrzypek 2021). Semantic motivation for category assignment in Swedish involves a combination of animacy and individuation, following Åkerblom’s (2012: 74) Animacy Hierarchy (human > animate > inanimate > mass/abstract), with a clear tendency for more animate, individuated entities (especially humans) to be classified as common, and for inanimate, less individuated entities (especially those with mass, collective, or abstract denotations) to be classified as neuter (Åkerblom 2012, Skrzypek 2021).⁵ Thus, the classification system in Swedish is better analyzed as an animacy-based classifier system. This exemplifies the difficulty in categorizing classifying grammatical nominalization markers strictly as either classifiers or gender markers (Craig 1986, Grinevald 2000, 2002, Grinevald and Seifart 2004, Shibatani 2023, Shibatani and Ferreira this issue). Accordingly, the present paper adopts the term ‘classifying grammatical nominalization markers’ (henceforth, classifying nominalizers) rather than ‘gender markers’, contrary to the traditional terminology applied to Swedish grammar. It avoids the terms ‘gender distinction’ and ‘gender categories’ and instead uses ‘common/neuter distinction’ and ‘common/neuter categories’.

2.1 Use of classifying grammatical nominalization markers in Swedish

The common/neuter category of Swedish nouns is marked using definiteness markers as classifying nominalizers. In singular noun phrases, the indefinite marker is a free prenominal article (*en* for common and *ett* for neuter), while the definite marker is a suffix (*-en* for common and *-et* for neuter). In plural noun phrases, indefiniteness is indicated by a plural suffix with five allomorphs that signal the category of the referent. Nouns are therefore classified into five declension types based on the allomorph of the plural suffix they take. The definite marker in plural noun phrases is also a suffix, which attaches to a stem consisting of the noun root plus the plural suffix, providing an overall definite interpretation. This suffix likewise has distinct

⁵ Similar analyses of gender, based on the concepts of animacy and individuation, have been articulated by Luraghi (2011) and Van Epps et al. (2021).

allomorphs that indicate category distinctions.

The choice of the particular allomorph of the indefinite plural suffix depends primarily on the noun's category, but also on its phonological or morphological properties. Some forms of the suffix are exclusively used for common category nouns of the first and second declension type (*-or* and *-ar*, respectively), while another form is exclusively used for neuter category nouns of the fourth declension type (*-n*). There are also forms that can be used for either category with nouns of the third and fifth declension (*-er/-r* and *-ø*, respectively). Nevertheless, even in these cases, the category of the noun can easily be inferred. For example, most nouns in the third declension type belong to the common category, and those that do not are primarily loanwords with specific stress patterns and endings (e.g., *ett museum* (SG)/*muse-er* (PL) 'museum', *ett bageri* (SG)/*bageri-er* (PL) 'bakery'). Similarly, most nouns in the fifth declension type are neuter, and those that are not have a human denotation (e.g., *en lärare* (SG)/*lärare-ø* (PL) 'teacher', *en resande* (SG)/*resande-ø* (PL) 'traveler') (see Holmes and Hinchliffe 2013: 16–44 for details).

The plural definite suffix has fewer allomorphs, which likewise provide clues about the category of the noun that they attach to. The choice of a particular allomorph similarly depends on the noun's category as well as its phonological or morphological properties. The plural definite suffix form *-na* occurs almost exclusively with common category nouns, and *-a* and *-en* occur only with neuter category nouns (Holmes and Hinchliffe 2013: 56–65, 102–114).

In addition to nouns, category distinctions are also marked on pronouns, which take different forms depending on the category of the referent of the noun phrase (e.g., *någon bil* (indefinite), *ingen bil* (negative), *vilken bil* (interrogative; relative), *min bil* 'my car' (possessive) with nouns that belong to the common category, and *något hus* (indefinite); *inget hus* (negative), *vilket hus* (interrogative; relative) *mitt hus* 'my house' (possessive) with nouns that belong to the neuter category). The plural forms of all these pronouns do not mark category and invariably end in *-a* (e.g., *någr-a bilar/någr-a hus* (indefinite), *ing-a bilar/ing-a hus* (negative), *vilk-a bilar/vilk-a hus* (interrogative; relative), *min-a bilar/min-a hus-ø* (possessive)).

Demonstrative pronouns in singular noun phrases also have two different category forms, *den här/den där* 'this/that' for common and *det här/det där* for neuter (e.g., *den här bil-en* 'this car'/*den där bil-en* 'that car' (common) and *det här hus-et* 'this house'/*det där hus-et* 'that house' (neuter)). In plural noun phrases, demonstrative pronouns do not distinguish categories and use the same form regardless of the referent of the noun phrase, *de här/de där* 'these'/'those' (e.g., *de här bil-ar-na/de där bil-ar-na* 'these cars'/'those cars' and *de här hus-ø-en/de där hus-ø-en* 'these houses'/'those houses').

In noun phrases with adjectival modification, adjectives take different endings, depending on the definiteness and number of the noun phrase. In indefinite singular noun phrases, adjectives are marked following the so-called 'strong' inflectional pattern, which indicates category distinctions (*-ø* for common and *-t* for neuter). In all other cases, adjectives are marked following the so-called 'weak' inflectional pattern, which makes no category distinction and uses the suffix *-a* (Table 2).

Table 2. Definiteness, number, and common/neuter distinction in Swedish noun phrases with adjectival modification

Category	Singular		Plural	
	Indefinite	Definite	Indefinite	Definite
Common	en stor-ø bil 'a big car'	den stor-a bil-en 'the big car'	två stor-a bil-ar 'two big cars'	de stor-a bil-ar-na 'the two big cars'
Neuter	ett stor-t hus 'a big house'	det stor-a hus-et 'the big house'	två stor-a hus-ø 'two big houses'	de stor-a hus-ø-en 'the two big houses'

Notice that in definite noun phrases with adjectival modification, definiteness is marked twice, following the so-called 'double-definiteness' marking pattern, which involves a preposed definite article—an independent word homophonous with the distal demonstrative 'that'—in addition to the nominal definite suffix discussed above. The common/neuter category distinction on the preposed definite article is made only in singular noun phrases (*den* for common vs. *det* for neuter), while the plural form remains the same (e.g., *de*) regardless of the category of the referent (Table 3).⁶

Table 3. Definiteness and common/neuter distinction in double-definiteness marking pattern in Swedish

SG	common	den	+	noun-DEF
	neuter	det		
PL		de		

Summing up, the common/neuter distinction in Swedish noun phrases is indicated by definiteness markers as classifying nominalizers, which are free articles, suffixes, and a combination of the two. In singular noun phrases, the indefinite marker is a free prenominal article, and the definite marker is a suffix. In plural noun phrases, both the plural/indefinite and definite markers are suffixes, each with multiple allomorphs indicating the common/neuter category of the noun. In definite noun phrases with adjectival modification, definiteness is marked with a combination of the free prenominal definite article and the definite suffix. This pattern is commonly referred to as double-definiteness marking. The common/neuter distinctions made by indefinite and definite markers in Swedish are summarized in Table 4.

⁶ The double-definiteness marking also occurs in noun phrases with demonstrative pronouns, as illustrated in the previous paragraph (e.g., SG.C: *den här bil-en*; SG.N: *det här hus-et*; PL.C: *de här bil-ar-na*; PL.N: *de här hus-ø-en*).

Table 4. Common/neuter distinctions made by indefinite and definite markers in Swedish

Noun phrases without adjectival modification				Noun phrases with adjectival modification			
Free article	Suffix			Suffix	Free article + suffix	Suffix	Free article + suffix
Indefinite (SG)	Definite (SG)	Indefinite (PL)	Definite (PL)	Indefinite (SG)	Definite (SG)	Indefinite (PL)	Definite (PL)
C: en, N: ett	C: -en, N: -et	C: -or/-ar/ -er/-ø, N: -er/-n/ -ø	C: -na, N: -en/ -na/-a	C: en, N: et	C: den -e, N: det -et	C: -or/-ar/ -er/-ø, N: -er/-n/ -ø	C: de -na, N: de -en/-na/-a

2.2 Grammatical nominalizations in Swedish

[1] Numerals

[1a] Cardinal numerals

Cardinal numerals make no common/neuter distinction (e.g., *två* ‘two’ in *två fågl-ar* ‘two birds’ (C)/*två hus-ø* ‘two houses’ (N); *tre* ‘three’ in *tre fågl-ar* ‘three birds’ (C) and *tre hus-ø* ‘three houses’), except for the numeral ‘one’, which has two category forms, one for common (*en*) and one for neuter (*ett*). These forms are homophonous with the two forms of the indefinite article in singular noun phrases (e.g., *en* ‘one’ in *en fågel* ‘one/a bird’ (C) and *ett* ‘one’ in *ett barn-ø* ‘one/a child’ (N)).

Higher numerals containing ‘one’ (e.g., *tjugoen* (C)/*tjuget* (N) ‘21’) make a limited use of the common/neuter distinction. Typically, the common form (*tjugoen*) is used regardless of the category of the noun that it modifies (e.g., *tjugoen fågl-ar* ‘twenty-one birds’ (C)/*tjugoen barn-ø* ‘twenty-one children’ (N), except with years, certain measure and monetary nominals, in which case the neuter form (*tjuget*) is used (e.g., *tjuget år-ø* ‘twenty-one years’ (N)). The list of cardinal numerals in Swedish is provided in Table 5.

Table 5. Cardinal numerals in Swedish

1	en/ett	11	elva	21	tjugoen/ett
2	två	12	tolv	22	tjugotvå
3	tre	13	tretton	23	tjugotre
4	fyra	14	fjorton	24	tjugofyra
5	fem	15	femton	25	tjugofem
6	sex	16	sexton	26	tjugosex
7	sju	17	sjutton	27	tjugosju
8	åtta	18	arton	28	tjugootta
9	nio	19	nitton	29	tjugonio
10	tio	20	tjugo	30	trettio

[1b] Ordinal numerals

Ordinal numerals are derived from cardinal numerals using the suffix *-de/-te* or *-nde*, occasionally involving sound changes in the stem or the suffix (e.g., *tre* ‘three’ → *tre-dje* ‘third’, *fyra* ‘four’ → *fjär-de* ‘fourth’, *fem* ‘five’ → *fem-te* ‘fifth’), as shown in Table 6. Ordinal numerals for the multiples of ten are formed using the suffix *-nde* (e.g., *tjugo-nde* ‘twentieth’, *trettio-nde* ‘thirtieth’). The first two ordinal numerals are exceptions, having special forms (e.g., *första* ‘first’ and *andra* ‘second’).

Table 6. Ordinal numerals in Swedish

1	första	11	elfte	21	tjugoförsta
2	andra	12	tolfte	22	tjugoandra
3	tredje	13	trettonde	23	tjugotredje
4	fjärde	14	fjortonde	24	tjugofjärde
5	femte	15	femtonde	25	tjugofemte
6	sexte	16	sextonde	26	tjugosexte
7	sjätte	17	sjuttonde	27	tjugosjätte
8	åttonde	18	artonde	28	tjugoåttonde
9	nionde	19	nittonde	29	tjugonionde
10	tionde	20	tjugonde	30	trettionde

[2] Demonstratives

There are two basic types of demonstratives in Swedish: single-word demonstratives—including the formal pronoun *denna/detta/dessa* (proximal) and the short pronoun *den/det/de* (distal)—and two-word demonstratives, which come in two forms, *den här/det här/de här* for proximal referents and *den där/det där/de där* for distal ones. The common/neuter distinction is made only on demonstratives used with singular referents, while demonstratives used with plural referents do not distinguish common and neuter, regardless of the pronoun type (Table 7).

Table 7. Demonstrative pronouns in Swedish

Number	Singular (C)		Singular (N)		Plural	
Pronoun type	single word	two words	single word	two words	single word	two words
Proximal	denna	den här	detta	det här	dessa	de här
Distal	den	den där	det	det där	de	de där

All demonstratives in Table 7 are inherently definite. The informal demonstratives *denna* and *detta* can be analyzed as containing the definite suffix *-en* (C)/*-et* (N). The two-word demonstratives (*den här*, *det här*, *de här*, etc.) contain the definite article *den* (C)/*det* (N)/*de* (PL). The short demonstratives *den/det/de* are homophonous with the personal pronouns *den/det* ‘it’ (3SG) and *de* ‘they’ (3PL), but differ from them by carrying an obligatory emphatic stress.

Because demonstratives are used for definite referents, they occur in definite noun phrases and cannot appear in indefinite noun phrases. In noun phrases with singular referents,

the common/neuter distinction is marked on the demonstrative itself as well as on the noun (following the double-definiteness marking pattern) (e.g., *den här bil-en* ‘this car’ (C) and *det här hus-et* ‘this house’ (N); *den bil-en* ‘that car’ (C) and *det hus-et* ‘that house’ (N)). An exception to this pattern is the formal demonstrative *denna/detta/dessa*, which occurs with bare nouns even though the noun phrase as a whole is definite (e.g., *denna bil* ‘this car’ (C) and *detta hus* ‘this house’ (N)).

[3] Genitive noun phrases

Genitive noun phrases with pronominal possessors are marked for definiteness and the common/neuter distinction. Although the third-person genitive pronouns are invariant in form regardless of the category, the first-person and second-person genitive pronouns have distinct common and neuter forms, which indicate the category of the whole noun phrase. Like the demonstratives, these pronouns, at least the first-person and second-person singular ones, can be analyzed as containing the definite suffix. A similar analysis can be extended to the first-person and second-person plural pronouns *våran* (C)/*vårat* (N) and *eran* (C)/*erat* (N), which are used in colloquial Swedish (Holmes and Hinchliffe 2013: 163). Table 8 shows the forms of the genitive pronouns used for different person-number and common/neuter combinations.

Table 8. Pronominal possessors in Swedish

possessor \ possessum	SG.C	SG.N	PL
1SG	min	mitt	mina
2SG	din	ditt	dina
3SG (F)	hennes		
3SG (M)	hans		
3SG (inanimate)	dess		
1PL	vår/våran	vårt/vårat	våra
2PL	er/eran	ert/erat	era
3PL	deras		

[4] Adjectives

Adjectives cannot stand alone to form a noun phrase.

Adjectives carry different suffixes for common and neuter only with indefinite singular referents (e.g., INDEF.SG.C: *en stor-ø bil* ‘a big car’, INDEF.SG.N: *ett stor-t hus-ø* ‘a big house’, INDEF.PL: *stor-a bil-ar/stor-a hus-ø*). Adjectives derived from the perfect participle forms of verbs also decline with singular indefinite referents according to the number and the common/neuter category of the noun they modify (e.g., INDEF.SG.C: *en stängd-ø dörr* ‘a closed door’, INDEF.SG.N: *ett stäng-t fönster* ‘a closed window’, INDEF.PL: *stängd-a dörrar/stängd-a fönster-ø*). However, adjectives derived from present participle forms do not decline for common/neuter or number (e.g., INDEF.SG.C: *en leende kvinna* ‘a smiling woman’, INDEF.SG.N: *ett leende barn* ‘a smiling child’, INDEF.PL: *leende kvinn-or/leende barn-ø*).

[5] Relative clauses

Swedish relative clauses are formed with the relative pronouns *som* (informal) and *vilken* (formal), employing the gap strategy. The relative pronoun *som* is used in spoken language, as well as in informal written language. It does not decline for common/neuter or number and can be used with both animate and inanimate referents. *Som* can function as a subject (e.g., *den pojke som går därborta* ‘the boy who is walking over there’), an object (e.g., *den pojke som vi såg igår* ‘the boy who we saw yesterday’), or a prepositional complement (e.g., *en soffa som är bekväm att sitta i* ‘a couch that is comfortable to sit on’), in which case the preposition is placed at the end of the clause.

In contrast to the informal relative pronoun *som*, which makes no common/neuter distinction, the formal relative pronoun *vilken* makes a common/neuter distinction in singular noun phrases (SG.C: *vilken*, SG.N: *vilke-t*), while its plural form always takes the suffix *-a* regardless the common/neuter category of the referent (PL: *vilk-a*) (e.g., *den rapport (C) vilken (C) nu inlämnats* ‘the report that has now been submitted’, *det underlag (N) vilke-t (N) nu inlämnats* ‘the document that has now been submitted’, *de report-er (PL.C) vilk-a (PL) nu inlämnats* ‘the reports that have now been submitted’). Both *som* and *vilken* can freely be omitted unless they function as the subject of the relative clause, in which case their use is obligatory.

When a relative clause is preceded by the definite article *den/det/de* and followed by a bare modified noun (i.e., a noun without the definite suffix), it is restrictive (e.g., *Den kusin som han hade mest kontakt med bodde i västra Nyland* ‘The cousin who he had the most contact with lived in western Nyland’). Non-restrictive relative clauses commonly occur without the prenominal definite article and with the modified noun bearing the definite suffix (e.g., *Kusin-en, som han ofta träffade, bodde i västra Nyland*. ‘The cousin, who he often met, lived in western Nyland’).⁷

3. DATA

The data discussed in this section reveal the following pattern of common/neuter marking on grammatical nominalizations with classifying nominalizers (Figure 1).

⁷ It is also possible for a non-restrictive relative clause to follow the double-definiteness marking pattern, i.e., with the prenominal definite article and with a modified noun bearing the definite suffix, though this is less typical (e.g., *Den där bil-en, som du nog inte har sett förut, tillhör sågverket* ‘That car, which you have not seen before, I guess, belongs to the mill’). Relative clauses in indefinite noun phrases can be either restrictive or non-restrictive, depending on whether the noun phrase is interpreted as specific or not (e.g., *Jag vill ha en bil som jag kan lita på* ‘I want to have a car that I can trust’). The form of the modified noun phrase does not change regardless of whether the relative clause is interpreted as restrictive or not; the only difference is the use of the comma separating the non-restrictive relative clause (e.g., *Igår pratade jag med en student, som läser musik på Universitetet*).

Figure 1. Overview of the pattern of common/neuter marking with classifying grammatical nominalization markers in Swedish

NP use:	LMT('one')CARD.NUM >	DEM >	(*)GEN >	ADJ >	REL.CL
	LMT(INDEF)ORD.NUM				
Mod use:	LMT('one')CARD.NUM >	DEM >	(*)GEN >	ADJ >	REL.CL
	LMT(INDEF)ORD.NUM				
*: no marking or impossible					
(*): limited (marking applies only to first- and second-person possessor pronouns with singular possessum referents)					
LMT('one'): limited (marking applies only to 'one' and cardinal numerals containing 'one')					
LMT(INDEF): limited (marking applies only to indefinite noun phrases)					
unmarked: obligatory marking					

However, Figure 1 oversimplifies the ways in which the common/neuter distinction is marked. This distinction can be indicated through different common/neuter forms of grammatical nominalizations or different common/neuter suffix forms (Figure 2) or through different common/neuter forms of the singular articles (Figure 3). An asterisk in parentheses (*) in Figures 1 and 2 indicates that the first- and second-person pronouns show a common/neuter distinction based on the category of the possessed noun. The use of demonstratives is restricted to definite referents. In contrast, common/neuter marking on ordinal numerals via different forms of the singular article (in Figure 3) is limited to indefinites, whereas common/neuter marking on adjectives and relative clauses using different common/neuter forms of the singular articles is possible with both indefinite and definite referents.

Figure 2. Pattern of marking with different common/neuter forms or suffixes in Swedish

NP use:	LMT('one')CARD.NUM >	DEM >	(*)GEN >	*ADJ >	*REL.CL
	*ORD.NUM				
Mod use:	LMT('one')CARD.NUM >	DEM >	(*)GEN >	*ADJ >	*REL.CL
	*ORD.NUM				
*: no marking or impossible					
(*): limited (marking applies only to first- and second-person possessor pronouns with singular possessum referents)					
LMT('one'): limited (marking applies only to 'one' and cardinal numerals containing 'one')					
unmarked: obligatory marking					

Figure 3. Pattern of marking with different common/neuter forms of singular articles in Swedish

NP use: *CARD.NUM > DEM > *GEN > ADJ > REL.CL
 LMT(INDEF)ORD.NUM

Mod use: *CARD.NUM > DEM > *GEN > ADJ > REL.CL
 LMT(INDEF)ORD.NUM

*: no marking or impossible

LMT(INDEF): limited (marking applies only to indefinite noun phrases)

unmarked: obligatory marking

The major findings are as follows. First, the common/neuter distinction in cardinal and ordinal numerals is marked only in indefinite noun phrases. For cardinal numerals, this distinction appears only on the numeral ‘one’ and on numerals containing it. For ordinal numerals, the distinction is expressed through different forms of the indefinite article in the singular. Second, the common/neuter distinction in singular demonstratives, which invariably form definite noun phrases, appears only in definite contexts. Third, the common/neuter distinction is not made in genitive noun phrases with full-noun possessors, although it is indicated by the first- and second-person possessive pronouns for singular possessum referents. Finally, the common/neuter distinction is marked with different forms of the definite and indefinite articles for singular referents on adjectives and relative clauses both in their noun-phrase use (henceforth, NP use) and modification use.

[1] Numerals

Numerals have both NP use and modification use.

[1a] Cardinal numerals

In both their NP and modification uses, cardinal numerals make a common/neuter distinction only with the numeral ‘one’ or numerals containing it and only in noun phrases with indefinite referents.

[1a-1] Cardinal numerals: Indefinites

The numeral ‘one’ has two forms, *en* for common and *ett* for neuter, which are homophonous with the two forms of the indefinite article in singular noun phrases (e.g., (1), (2), (4), (5)). Noun phrases involving numerals higher than ‘one’ therefore occur without the indefinite article, and the common/neuter distinction is marked on the noun they modify (e.g., (6), (7)). However, in NP use, such numerals do not mark the common/neuter distinction (e.g., (3)).

NP use

- (1) En kom på besök.
 one.C come.PST on visit
 ‘One (C) came to visit.’

- (2) Ett kom på besök.
 one.N come.PST on visit
 ‘One (N) came to visit.’

- (3) Tre kom på besök.
 three come.PST on visit
 ‘Three came to visit.’

Mod use

- (4) En fågel kom på besök.
 One.C bird come.PST on visit
 ‘One (C) bird came to visit.’

- (5) Ett barn kom på besök.
 one.N child come.PST on visit
 ‘One (N) child came to visit.’

- (6) Tre fågl-ar kom på besök.
 three bird-PL.C come.PST on visit
 ‘Three birds (C) came to visit.’

- (7) Tre barn-ø kom på besök.
 three child-PL.N come.PST on visit
 ‘Three children (N) came to visit.’

[1a-2] Cardinal numerals: Definites

Definite noun phrases with numerals cannot take the definite suffix *-en/-et*, which is a nominal suffix (e.g., **en-en*, **två-en*).⁸ Numerals occurring in definite noun phrases are therefore not marked for the common/neuter category (e.g., (8), (9), (10)). When the referent is definite, noun phrases involving numerals require the double-definiteness marking pattern—with the preposed definite article (SG.C: *den*, SG.N: *det*, PL: *de*) and with the definite suffix attached to the noun. Because the numeral ‘one’ is identical in form to the indefinite article *en/ett* and therefore cannot occur after the definite article *den/det* (e.g., **den en fågel-en/bil-en* to mean, ‘the one bird/car’ (C) and **det ett barn-et/bi-et* to mean, ‘the one child/bee’ (N)), the double-definiteness marking pattern is only possible in noun phrases with plural referents (e.g.,

⁸ Only numerals that have been nominalized through *-a* suffixation can take the definite suffix (e.g., *en tre-a/trea-n*, meaning ‘the number three’).

de tre barn-ø-en (N)), where the common/neuter distinction is marked only on the noun (e.g., (9), (10)).

NP use

- (8) De tre kom på besök.
 DEF.PL three come.PST on visit
 'The three came to visit.'

Mod use

- (9) De tre fågl-ar-na kom på besök.
 DEF.PL three bird-PL.C-PL.DEF.C come.PST on visit
 'The (C) three birds (C) came to visit.'

- (10) De tre barn-ø-en kom på besök.
 DEF.PL three child-PL.N-PL.DEF.N come.PST on visit
 'The (N) three children (N) came to visit.'

[1b] Ordinal numerals

Ordinal numerals have both NP use and modification use.

[1b-1] Ordinal numerals: Indefinites

Ordinal numerals can occur in indefinite noun phrases, in which case the indefinite article makes the common/neuter distinction in both their NP and modification uses, as shown in (11), (12), and (13).

- | | | | | |
|------|------------|-------------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| (11) | NP use | | Mod use | |
| | en tredje | 'a (C) third one' | en tredje bil | 'a (C) third car' |
| | ett tredje | 'a (N) third one' | ett tredje barn | 'a (N) third child' |

NP use

- (12) Jag vill ha ett tredje.
 1SG.NOM want have INDEF.N third.
 'I want to have a (N) third (one).'

Mod use

- (13) Jag vill ha ett tredje barn.
 1SG.NOM want have INDEF.N third child.SG
 'I want to have a (N) third child.'

Ordinal numerals can occur in indefinite plural noun phrases, as in (14) and (15), although this is rare.

NP use

- (14) Hon har under året belagt en
 3SG.F.NOM have.PRS over year.DEF take.SUP INDEF.C
 andra plats och tre hedrande fjärde.
 second place and three honorary fourth
 ‘Over the year, she has won a (C) second place and three honorary fourth.’

Mod use

- (15) Hon har under året belagt en
 3SG.F.NOM have.PRS over year.DEF take.SUP INDEF.C
 andra plats och tre hedrande fjärde platser.
 second place and three honorary fourth place.PL.C
 ‘Over the year, she has won a (C) second place and three honorary fourth places.’
 (Adapted from Teleman et al. 1999 SAG2: 495)

[1b-2] Ordinal numerals: Definites

Because ordinal numerals typically have a uniquely identifiable reference, they are predominantly used in definite noun phrases. They can occur in the definite-suffix marking pattern, but in both their NP use (e.g., (16) and (17)) and modification use (e.g., (18) and (19)), they are not marked for the common/neuter category. In modification use, the definite suffix occurs not on the ordinal numerals but on the noun.

NP use

- (16) första ‘the first’ tredje ‘the third’
- (17) Bor han i (det) tredje hus-et härifrån?
 live.PRS 3SG.M.NOM in (DEF.N) third house-DEF.N from.here?
 Eller femte?
 or fifth?
 ‘Does he live in the (N) third house (N) from here? Or in the fifth (one)?’

Mod use

- (18) första fågel-n ‘the first bird (C)’ tredje fågel-n ‘the third bird (C)’
 första hus-et ‘the first house (N)’ tredje hus-et ‘the third house (N)’
- (19) Han bor i (det) tredje hus-et härifrån.
 3SG.M.NOM live.PRS in (DEF.N) third house-DEF.N from.here
 ‘He lives in the (N) third house (N) from here.’

In the double-definiteness marking pattern, the common/neuter distinction is indicated on the definite article, both when the ordinal numeral is in NP use (e.g., (20) and (21)) and in modification use (e.g., (22) and (23); in addition to the definite suffix on the noun).

NP use

- (20) den (C) första ‘the (C) first’
 det (N) tredje ‘the (N) third’

- (21) Bor han i det tredje hus-et härifrån?
 live.PRS 3SG.M.NOM in DEF.N third house-DEF.N from.here?
 Eller det femte?
 or DEF.N fifth?
 ‘Does he live in the (N) third house (N) from here? Or in the (N) fifth (one)?’

Mod use

- (22) den första fågel-n ‘the (C) first bird (C)’
 det tredje hus-et ‘the (N) third house (N)’

- (23) Han bor i det tredje hus-et härifrån.
 3SG.M.NOM live.PRS in DEF.N third house-DEF.N from.here
 ‘He lives in the (N) third house (N) from here.’

[2] Demonstratives

Demonstratives have both NP use and modification use.

Singular demonstratives both in their NP use (demonstrative pronouns) and in their modification use (adnominal demonstratives) are marked for the common/neuter category. For example, the items in (24) can each serve as an independent noun phrase (e.g., the object of *Jag såg* ‘I saw’). When used with plural referents, demonstratives are not marked for the common/neuter category in either their NP or modification use.

- | | | |
|------|----------------------|----------------------------------|
| (24) | NP use | Mod use |
| | denna ‘this (C) one’ | denna fågel ‘this (C) bird’ |
| | detta ‘this (N) one’ | detta hus ‘this (N) house’ |
| | dessas ‘these ones’ | dessas fågl-ar ‘these birds (C)’ |

[3] Genitive noun phrases

Genitive noun phrases with pronominal possessors in Swedish behave differently from those with full-noun possessors with respect to common/neuter marking and are therefore discussed separately. Genitive noun phrases with full-noun possessors are not marked for the common/neuter category or definiteness in either their NP or modification use. In contrast, genitive noun phrases with pronominal possessors are marked for the common/neuter category and definiteness in both their NP and modification uses. This applies only to singular possessums; with plural possessums, the common/neuter distinction is marked not on the pronominal genitive noun phrase but on the possessed noun.

Furthermore, there is a crosslinguistic tendency for a possessed noun to denote a definite entity and the referent of the noun phrase made up of the possessed noun and a possessor noun is usually definite (Haspelmath 1999). This holds true for Swedish as well.

Swedish genitive noun phrases have definite referents and therefore cannot be marked for indefiniteness, regardless of whether they have full-noun possessors or pronominal possessors.

[3a] Full-noun possessors

The full-noun possessor noun phrase precedes the possessed noun and takes the genitive suffix *-s*, while the possessed noun remains unmarked. Any definiteness markers that occur in the genitive noun phrase, such as preposed indefinite and definite articles, indicate the common/neuter category of the possessor noun, rather than that of the possessed noun. A full-noun possessor noun phrase has both NP and modification uses. However, it does not indicate the common/neuter category (or the (in)definiteness) of the entire noun phrase in either use, as in (25), where the common/neuter markings, both indefinite and definite, reflect the common/neuter category of the possessor noun.

(25) NP use

ett (INDEF.N) barn-s (-POSS)	‘a child’s’
barn-et-s (-DEF.SG.N-POSS)	‘the child’s’
barn-ø-s (-PL.N-POSS)	‘children’s’
barn-ø-en-s (-PL.N-DEF.PL.N-POSS)	‘the children’s’

Mod use

ett (INDEF.N) barn-s (-POSS) skola (C)	‘a child’s school’
barn-et-s (-DEF.N-POSS) hus (C)	‘the child’s house’
barn-ø-s (-PL.N-POSS) skola (SG.C)	‘children’s school’
barn-ø-en-s (-PL.N-DEF.PL.N-POSS) skola (SG.C)	‘the children’s school’

A full-noun possessor noun phrase may take the definite article (*den/det/de*), but again, the article does not mark the definiteness of the whole noun phrase; rather, it indicates the definiteness of the possessor noun, as in (26).

(26) NP use

det (DEF.N) lilla
barn-et-s (-DEF.SG.N-POSS)
‘the (N) little child’s (N)’

Mod use

det (DEF.N.) lilla
barn-et-s (-DEF.SG.N-POSS) skola (C)
‘the (N) little child’s (N) school (C)’

In genitive noun phrases with plural referents in modification use, the common/neuter category of the possessed noun is marked by the plural suffix, but not by the possessor noun, as in (27).

(27) NP use

barn-et-s (-DEF.SG.N-POSS)
‘the child’s (N)’

Mod use

barn-et-s (-DEF.SG.N) leksak-er (-PL.C)
‘the child’s (N) toys (C)’

[3b] Pronominal possessors

In contrast to genitive noun phrases with full-noun possessors, genitive noun phrases with pronominal possessors are marked for both definiteness and the common/neuter category. The first- and second-person genitive pronouns (Table 8) in both their NP and modification uses make the common/neuter distinction for singular possessum referents. With plural referents, the common/neuter category is marked on the noun when it is modified by these pronouns, as in (28).

(28)	NP use	Mod use	
	min 'mine (C)'	min fågel	'my (C) bird'
	mitt 'mine (N)'	mitt hus	'my (N) house'
	mina 'mine (PL)'	mina fågl-ar (-PL.C)	'my (PL) birds (PL.C)'

Because pronominal possessors cannot co-occur with the definite article, they cannot appear in the double-definiteness marking pattern (e.g., **det min fågel*).

[4] Adjectives

Adjectives are marked for the common/neuter category in both their NP and modification uses when the referent is an indefinite singular. In the plural, the common/neuter distinction is marked on the noun when it is modified by an adjective. When the referent is definite, adjectives indicate the common/neuter category only in their NP use.

[4a] Adjectives: Indefinites

When an indefinite noun phrase formed with an adjective is singular, the adjective in either its NP or modification use follows the indefinite article *en* (common)/*ett* (neuter) and takes the suffix *-ø* (common)/*-t* (neuter) (following the strong marking pattern). The indefinite article is repeated after the adjective in NP use, and the noun does not receive common/neuter marking.

When the resulting noun phrase is plural, a free article *ena* occurs before the adjective in NP use and is also repeated after it, whereas this article never occurs when the adjective is used in modification. The adjective in both NP and modification use receives the plural suffix *-a* and does not indicate the common/neuter category, although a plural noun modified by an adjective does. Examples are given in (29).

(29)	NP use	Mod use	
	en stor-ø en 'a (C) big (C) one'	en stor-ø fågel	'a (C) big (C) bird'
	ett stor-t ett 'a (N) big (N) one'	ett stor-t hus	'a (N) big (N) house'
	ena stor-a ena 'big ones'	ø stor-a fågl-ar	'big birds (C)'

[4b] Adjectives: Definites

As shown in (30), for definite referents, adjectives modifying a noun take the definite adjectival suffix *-a*, which does not indicate the common/neuter category. (This is the same as the suffix *-a* used to mark plural in indefinite phrases, as in (29).) In definite phrases, adjectives

are almost always preceded by the definite article, which makes the common/neuter distinction in the singular (*den* for common and *det* for neuter), but not in the plural (*de*). The noun carries the definite suffix, resulting in the double-definiteness marking pattern.

Mod use

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|
| (30) | den stor-a fågel-n/*fågel | ‘the (C) big bird (C)’ |
| | det stor-a hus-et/*hus | ‘the (N) big house (N)’ |
| | de stor-a fågl-ar-na/*fågl-ar | ‘the big birds (C)’ |

In NP use, the common/neuter distinction is made only on the definite article in the singular, as in (31). In modification use, due to the double-definiteness marking, the common/neuter category is marked both on the preposed singular definite article (*den/det*) and on the definite suffix of the noun. With plural referents, the category distinction is indicated only on the noun, as the plural definite article *de* does not distinguish between the common and neuter categories.

- | | | |
|------|--------------------------------------|--|
| (31) | NP use | Mod use |
| | den stor-a/*stor-ø ‘the (C) big one’ | den stor-a/*stor-ø ‘the (C) big bird (C)’ |
| | | fågel-n |
| | det stor-a/*stor-t ‘the (N) big one’ | det stor-a/*stor-t ‘the (N) big house (N)’ |
| | | hus-et |
| | de stor-a ‘big ones’ | de stor-a fågl-ar-na ‘the big birds (C)’ |

However, the definite article and the adjective in modification use do not seem to form a single constituent in the way that they do in NP use. For example, in cases when the referent is uniquely identifiable, definite noun phrases with adjectival modification occur without the definite article (e.g., *Vit-a hus-et* ‘the White house’, *Röd-a hav-et* ‘the Red Sea’, *svensk-a språk-et* ‘the Swedish language’, *högr-a hand-en* ‘the right hand’, *förra år-et* ‘last year’, *först-a gång-en* ‘the first time’, etc.). The definite article therefore seems to mark the whole structure comprising the adjective and the modified noun (e.g., [*det* [*vit-a hus-et*], rather than [[*det vit-a*] *hus-et*]). Hence, we conclude that the adjectives in definite noun phrases do not indicate the common/neuter category in their modification use.

[5] Relative clauses

Relative clauses occur in both NP and modification uses in indefinite noun phrases. The common/neuter distinction is made only in the singular.

[5a] Relative clauses: Indefinites

Relative clauses accompanied by the indefinite article, which indicates the indefiniteness of the noun phrase, occur in both NP use (e.g., (32)) and modification use (e.g., (33)), in both singular and plural. The common/neuter distinction is made only with singular referents; in the plural, the common/neuter category is indicated on the noun modified by the relative clause in modification use.

NP use

- | | | |
|------|--------------------|----------------------|
| (32) | en som jag känner | ‘one (C) who I know’ |
| | ett som jag känner | ‘one (N) who I know’ |
| | två som jag känner | ‘two who I know’ |

Mod use

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| (33) | en flicka som jag känner | ‘a (C) girl who I know’ |
| | ett barn som jag känner | ‘a (N) child who I know’ |
| | två flick-or som jag känner | ‘two girls (C) who I know’ |

[5b] Relative clauses: Definites

Relative clauses in noun phrases with definite referents are commonly preceded by the definite article, both in their NP and modification use. The common/neuter distinction is indicated on the definite article in singular noun phrases, and additionally on the noun modified by the relative clause in modification use. Examples are given in (34), (35), and (36).

NP use

- | | | |
|------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| (34) | den som jag känner | ‘the (C) one who I know’ |
| | det som jag känner | ‘the (N) one who I know’ |
| | de som jag känner | ‘the ones who I know’ |

Mod use (restrictive meaning)⁹

- | | | |
|------|--|--------------------------------|
| (35) | den flicka/flicka-n som jag känner | ‘the (C) girl (C) who I know’ |
| | det barn/barn-et som jag känner | ‘the (N) child (N) who I know’ |
| | de flick-or/flick-or-na som jag känner | ‘the girls (C) who I know’ |

Mod use (non-restrictive meaning)

- | | | |
|------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (36) | flicka-n/*flicka som jag känner | ‘the girl (C), who I know’ |
| | barn-et/*barn som jag känner | ‘the child (N), who I know’ |
| | flick-or-na som jag känner | ‘the girls (C), who I know’ |

4. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The data discussed in this paper show that common/neuter marking in grammatical nominalizations in Swedish closely interacts with the definiteness of the noun phrase referent. The effects of this interaction are evident in the patterns of common/neuter marking on cardinal numerals, demonstratives, and genitive noun phrases. In the case of cardinal numerals, it seems straightforward to assume that the restriction of common/neuter marking to noun phrases with indefinite referents stems from the fact that the numeral ‘one’, which is the only numeral marked for the common/neuter category, is also the diachronic source of the indefinite article and is formally identical to it. As a result, ‘one’ can only occur in noun phrases with indefinite

⁹ In the modification use, the noun usually does not take the definite suffix, but it can carry it in casual speech.

referents, and the common/neuter distinction in cardinal numerals with definite referents is consequently not marked.

With respect to the restriction of common/neuter marking to demonstratives in definite noun phrases, it is important to note, first, that the primary function of demonstrative pronouns is to point out specific entities, and second, that Swedish demonstratives can be analyzed as containing definite markers in their singular forms (e.g., *denna/detta*, etc.). They can therefore be viewed as inherently definite, and thus incompatible with indefinite referents.

Moreover, Swedish cannot use either definiteness marker to indicate the common/neuter category of the possessed noun (only that of the possessor noun) in genitive noun phrases with full-noun possessors. This inability to mark the common/neuter distinction on genitive noun phrases constitutes a gap in the common/neuter marking of grammatical nominalizations in Swedish, which otherwise aligns with the implicational hierarchy of gender and classifier marking on grammatical nominalizations proposed in Shibatani (2021: 524; 2023: 35). We interpret this gap in light of a crosslinguistic tendency for possessed nouns to denote definite entities and for genitive noun phrases to have overall definite reference (Haspelmath 1999). Specifically, we argue that this gap results from a redundancy in definiteness marking: since possessed nouns are already uniquely specified as definite by the genitive possessor, marking them again as definite—and thus for common/neuter—would be redundant.

Nevertheless, the common/neuter distinction is made by first- and second-person genitive pronouns, but not by third-person genitive pronouns, in Swedish. This suggests that the identifiability of the possessum is relative to that of the possessor. When the possessor is first or second person, it is always identifiable to the discourse participants, and the possessum may be less so, making the marking of its category informative. In contrast, when the possessor is third person, it can be unidentifiable relative to the possessum. Therefore, the interaction between the identifiability of the possessor and that of the possessum appears to be a factor in the common/neuter marking of genitive noun phrases.

Finally, the common/neuter distinction is obligatorily made by one of the definite markers when adjectives are used to form noun phrases in Swedish, but not in their modification use. As discussed in the previous section, the data suggest that the definite article and the adjective in modification use do not form a single constituent in the way they do in NP use. We concluded that adjectives in definite noun phrases indicate common/neuter in their NP use, but not in their modification use, supporting Shibatani and Shigeno's (2013) hypothesis regarding the development of nominalizations from their NP to modification use.

5. CONCLUSION

In this paper, we discussed the effects of the joint expression of the common/neuter classification and definiteness on the use of classifying grammatical nominalization markers (classifying nominalizers) on grammatical nominalizations in Swedish. We demonstrated that common/neuter marking on grammatical nominalizations in Swedish deviates from the proposed hierarchy of marking with classifying nominalizers (Shibatani 2021, 2023) and attributed this deviation to the influence of definiteness marking. Further research into the diachronic development of marking on grammatical nominalizations with classifying

nominalizers could provide additional insights into the proposed directionality of nominalization development from their NP to modification use (Shibatani and Shigeno 2013). A comparative analysis of data from other Scandinavian languages could also help identify the pattern of marking with classifying nominalizers that emerge due to language-specific factors. Further investigation into the relationship between classification and definiteness is needed, both in languages like Swedish, where the two categories are expressed jointly, and in languages where they are expressed independently.

ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ADJ	adjective
C	common category
CARD.NUM	cardinal numeral
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
GEN	genitive noun phrase
GEN.NP	genitive noun phrase
INDEF	indefinite
N	neuter category
NMNL	nominalization
NUM	numeral
ORD.NUM	ordinal numeral
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PRS	present
REL, REL.CL	relative clause
SG	singular
SUP	supine

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