R E V I E W   A R T I C L E

NyS 16-17,
NYDANSKE STUDIER & ALMEN KOMMUNIKATIONSTEORI,
Sætningsskemaet og dets stilling - 50 år efter,
edited by Lars Heltoft and John E. Andersen
Akademisk Forlag, København, 1986

1.
In 1985 50 years had passed since Paul Diderichsen introduced the so-called sentence scheme as a tool for description and explanation of the syntax of Danish sentences. In this double volume of the nonperiodic linguistic journal NyS the actuality and relevance of the sentence scheme are discussed by 15 authors as a kind of 50 year jubilee. The title of the volume has been inspired by the title of an article written by Paul Diderichsen himself in 1964: Sætningsleddene og deres stilling - tredive år efter[1]) in which he made some revisions in detail of the original scheme and added some extra positions.

The articles in this volume are not revisions or expansions of Diderichsens original scheme, but rather a kind of reinterpretation of the original scheme in relation to modern theories of syntax, word order, and pragmatics. And as such it is a very interesting contribution to the current discussion about the division of labour between syntax, semantics, text linguistics, and pragmatics. In this review article I will take each of the 13 articles, present and discuss them, and finally I will try to make a sort of conclusion about the sentence scheme and modern linguistics.

2.
The first article in this volume of NyS is a reprint of an article of Diderichsen, originally published in 1945 in the "Messages from the Union of Danish Teachers" in Denmark[2]). It is a scoop to print this article now, because it has not been known to many readers until now although it is the most pedagogical introduction to Diderichsen's theories I have ever seen. It is an early formulation of the theory in which many of the possibilities of explanation are still open, in contrast to Diderichsen's later formulation of the theory[3]) and in contrast to other introductions[4]) in which the wholeness and unity of the system are lost.

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1) Diderichsen, Paul 1966: Sætningsleddene og deres stilling - tredive år efter 1 Diderichsen, Paul 1966: Helhed og struktur. Udvalgte sprogvidenskabelige afhandlinger, København. Anders Bjerrum, Eli Fischer-Jørgensen, Henning Spang-Hanssen, Knud Togeby (udg.)
2) Diderichsen, Paul 1945: Dansk Sætningsanalyse. Dens Formaal og Metode, 1 Meddelelser fra Dansklærerforeningen, nr. 1 Juni 1945.
[This information is not given in the volume of Nys, but then it is given here!]
3) Diderichsen, Paul 1946 (1957, 1962): Elementær Dansk Grammatik, København Gyldendal.
4) Hansen, Erik 1966: Sproglagttagelse København.

in discussions about details. By summarizing this article I will shortly introduce the sentence scheme.

Diderichsen sees the goal of the linguistic analysis as: the description of the ideal constancy and the real variation of the structure of the sentence. In this formulation Diderichsen shows how he devides linguistic phenomena along the same lines as Saussure with his langue and parole, Hjelmslev with his sprogbygning and sprogbrug and as later Chomsky with his competence and performance. But their intentions are different. While both the Saussurian tradition and the Chomskyan tradition have focused their attention on the ideal constancy, Diderichsen is interested in both the constancy and the variation, both the ideal and the reality.

'The sentence' is defined as the constant logical and positional relation between a finite verb and its subject, complements and modifiers. 'The scheme' is constituted by the finite verb, indicated by V, and by 7 positions, each of which is filled by a special type of linguistic material, either nominal material, indicated by n or N, verbal material, indicated by V, or adverbial material, a or A:

$$N \quad P \quad P$$
$$A \quad vna.. \ VN(N)A...$$
$$P$$

This is the scheme for the main clauses; in subordinate clauses it has another left position:

$$P \quad P$$
$$(a)nav.. \ VN(N)A...$$

The 8 positions are arranged in 3 'fields' with their special functional character:1) The sentence base, B, in which any linguistic material, except the finite verb, can be found if it is taken as the base or origin of the sentence. 2) the actualization field in which all the words play a role in the coming about of the utterance, in the actualization of the propositional content, and 3) the propositional content field is where the conceptual content of the sentence is placed.

In the actualization field the verbal constituent is the finite verb, in some cases the auxiliary or the modal verb, and it indi-tes assertion (or other types of illocutionary force); the nouns are only the subject, or in special cases a 'light' pronominal object, or an object which is part of a negation; and the adverbials are sentence adverbials, negations or modal adverbials.

In the content field the verbals are all kinds of infinite verbs, i.e. the logical predicate if there is a seperate syntactic auxiliary present; the nominal constituents are indirect object, object (in this order) subject

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Hansen, Erik 1977: Dæmonernes port. Støttemateriale til undervisningen i nydansk grammatik, København, Reitzel
Nordentoft, Annelise Munck 1970: Hovedtræk af dansk grammatik. Ordklasser. Syntaks, København Gyldendal

complement or object complement, and the adverbials are valency bound adverbials, manner adverbials or modal adverbials (modal adverbials can be placed in either B, a or A). Indefinite subjects of intransitive verbs can be placed in the N position in the content field:

Main clause scheme:

B	actualisation field			content field		
B	v	/n	/a	// V	// N	/A
Petra ville			ikke	følge	børnene	hjem
Petra would			not	conduct	the children	home
så ville	Petra		ikke	følge	børnene	hjem
then would	Petra		not	conduct	the children	home
der er				faldet	en sten	ned fra taget
there is				fallen	a stone	down from the roof
han vil					ingen penge	have
be will					no money	have

Subordinate clause scheme:

C	actualisation field			content field		
C	/n	/a	//v	//V	// N	/A
når Peter	engang	har	sendt		pengene	tilbage
when Peter	once	has	sent		the money	back
hvad	han	ikke		ønskede		
what	he	not		wished		
i hvilket hus	de	engang	havde	boet		
in which house	they	once	had	lived		

In subordinate clauses there is no base position, but in front of the sentence there is a position for conjunctions or wh-words, indicated by C.

It is essential in this description that this is a maximally filled scheme. If all the constituents are not present in the sentence the remaining constituents will not only keep their internal order, but also retain their position. That means that if you take the sentence: Der kom en mand (there came a man), from the word order it can not be seen whether the noun phrase, en mand is placed in n, in the actualization field, or in N in the content field. The problem is solved by changing the sentence and filling some of the positions between n and N; the change can be made by adding a negation, or by changing the verb to a periphrastic perfect:

B	actualisation field			content field		
B	v	/n	/a	//V	/ N	/A
der	kom	?			?	en mand
der	kom	ikke				en mand
der	er			kommet		en mand
der	kom					en mand

Then it can be seen that en mand in such cases is necessarily placed in N, and not in n. Then the generalization is made that if en mand is placed in N when some of the positions between n and N are filled, then en mand is placed in N also in the cases where there is no constituents in the positions a and V. It could be called fill-the-empty-positions-principle.

That means that the concept of 'position' is defined by the impossibility of insertion of linguistic material of another type in a string of words which belong to one type. The N position is one position although it can be filled by what is normally seen as two constituents: the indirect object and the direct object. v and V are two positions because it is possible to insert non-verb material between them. By definition the finite verb is not found in the base position, because the base is defined as the position to the left of the finite verb.

There is an exception from the word order described above, viz the principle of weight. According to this principle a light (nonemphatic) pronominal object is placed earlier in the main clause than a sentence adverbial - if the V position is empty, e.g. Nu ved Peter det jo ikke (litt: Now knows Peter it not)(but: Nu har Peter jo ikke vidst det), and a heavy constituent is placed after a light or full constituent in a heavy constituent field, indicated H, e.g. Han havde skjult for hende alle disse dages nagende smerte (the had hidden for her all those days' gnawing grief).

Notice that this right movement of a heavy constituent is optional; there is no difference in meaning between: Han havde skjult for hende alle disse dages nagende smerte and : Han havde skjult alle disse dages nagende smerte for hende. Consequently the fill-the-empty-positions-principle will not work in this case. So if the A position is empty it is not possible to make the generalization that the heavy constituent is placed in H position and not in N position.

A heavy constituent in the beginning or in the end of a sentence can be separated from the sentence by commas, and is represented in the sentence by a pronoun or adverbial; it is called extraposition, indicated as E: Da jeg kom, så opdagede jeg... (when I came, then I saw...), Peter, han ved det jo ikke længere, den idiot (Peter, he knows it apparently not longer, the idiot). The syntax of Danish main clause can then be described by an extended scheme like the following:

Extended main clause scheme:

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       F // B // actualisation field // content field //
         E // B // v // n // L // a // //V / N / A // H // E //

Peter  han  ved   det jo ikke   længe tvivlet   på    at han kom

De     har                                            den idiot
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M─ ─in clause can be defined as a clause with a base position and the word order vna in the actualization field; and a subordinate clause is defined as a sentence with no base and the word order: nav in the actualization field.

A clause with the main clause word order can be embedded in examples like: kommer han så går jeg (comes he, then go I), and a clause with the subordinating conjunction at (that) can have the word order of the main clause with a sentence base: han sagde at hende havde han aldrig set (he said that her had he never seen); this is the so called style indirecte libre, i. e. embedded and with pronouns like indirect speech, and word order like direct speech.

With this sentence scheme Paul Diderichsen has both described how the distinction between grammatical functions is expressed by fixed word order in Danish, and explained the function of the sentence base as a place for variation in the stylistic and textlinguistic meaning. He has given a tool for description and explanation of the constancy and variation of the sentence. And in Denmark the ideas of Paul Diderichsen have influenced the teaching of grammar in schools and universities for 50 years.

But the scheme is problematic in respect to the the grammatical issue which is the most discussed of all, viz the unmarked word order of the main clause. According to the scheme Danish should be a VSO language, but everybody knows that SVO is the unmarked word order in a Danish main clause. It is this central problem which most of the articles in this volume deal with.

3.

The next article, Topologisk feltanalyse, koderingssystemer og pragmatiske funktioner, John Ole Askedal has investigated the pragmatic functions of especially the sentence base, and the distinctive function of the word order - as it is described by the sentence scheme - in Norwegian, German, Japanese and Russian.

He distinguishes between 3 different functions of serialization in natural language: indication of morphosyntactic properties of the constituents, indication of the theme and the rheme in the sentence, and indication of the illocutionary force of the utterance.

In Norwegian almost the same set of rules holds, as described by Diderichsen for Danish, so I will not repeat it here. But Askedal offers an explanation of one of the unsettled problems in Diderichsen's analysis, viz. the problem of how to analyse relative clauses with som as subject in the sentence: ... piken som allerede

hadde sett ham i går. Askedal assumes that the base structure contains one som, which is an obligatory position filler when n is empty, and another som, which is an optional subordinating conjunction, and which is deleted by a morphosyntactic filter rule.

Askedal writes that the rules make the ungrammatical sequence more simple: Pigen som som allerede havde set ham => Pigen som allerede havde set ham.

I think that the first part of explanation is correct: there are two different som's in the sentence. But, as Erik Hansen has shown*5), both words, both the n position filler and the conjunction, seems to be systematic and correct, and sentences with both words are often found in colloquial Danish: Pigen som (at) der allerede havde set ham. What Askedal takes as a morphosyntactic rule deleting ungrammatical sentences is nothing but the mistake the teachers made, who thought that both som's were something identical to the relative pronoun in latin and consequently corrected the pupils when they used them both.

In German Askedal finds a sentence scheme too, with fields as well as positions:

base // frame //	central field //	verbal frame field
n // v // N	N //	v
a // conj // A	A //	v + v
dann hatte der Junge	dem Mädchen einen Ball	schenken wollen
well der Junge es ihr		beigebracht hatte
well es ihr der Junge		beigebracht hatte

The difference is that in German the nouns need not be separated by the verb because their syntactic function is indicated by case markers.

As in Norwegian and Danish it is in German possible from the word order to decide the pragmatic function of the utterance, i. e. whether the clause is an asserted main clause (with filled base position), an interrogative (yes/no) main clause (with empty base position), or a subordinate clause (without base position, or to put it differently: with a conjunction in the base position).

In Japanese, a language without case and prepositions, but with postpositions, he finds a similar scheme with no internal order of the nouns.

For Russian, which has six cases, there is free word order, and the scheme looks like the following: $c^1 c^2 c^3 c^4 \ldots c^n$, where c can be a constituent of any kind.

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5) Erik Hansen: Det Pleonastiske At i Danske Studier 78, 1983, Akademisk, København.
Erik Hansen: Der-konstruktioner, i Festskrift til Kr. Hald (1974), Akademisk, København.

More interesting is Askedal's discussion of the textlinguistic function of the word order phenomena. He starts with the hypothesis about diagrammatical iconicity, i. e. a relation of isomorphism between the principle of isomorphism between the order of the words and the pieces of information are processed. That means that the theme of the sentence (i. e. the referential or relational given information) precedes the rheme of the sentence (i. e. the referential or relational new information). For Russian and Japanese he finds that it is the rule that the front position is filled by the theme, and that the negation and the finite verb are demarcation elements which separate given and new elements, a seperation which is necessary in a language like Russian without any other marker of referential givenness, viz the determi- nation inflection system.

In Norwegian (and German and Danish) this isomorphism is not clearcut as in the free word order languages. As a general rule the base position indicate the theme, but an emphatic element in the base position indicate the rheme. But in the simple main clause the thematic definite subject precedes the rhematic finite verb.

According to Askedal the word order of actualization field of the subordinate clause, nav, has the diagrammatical iconicity: both n and a are given information, and v is the first new information in the clause. It is hard to see what he could mean by that. In my opinion nothing can be topicalized in a subordinate clause, and as a constituent in the matrix sentence the subordinate clause as a whole is either given or new.

In the main clause with auxiliary the iconicity holds with the actualization adverbial, called the pheme, as a demarcation element between given and new.

The above-mentioned indefinite subjects in the content field are an example of postponement of the subject when it is rhematic. And the order of the normally given indirect object before the normally new direct object is another example of the diagrammatical iconicity.

4.
In the next article, Diderichsen vs Dik eller Feltanalyse vs Funk- tionel grammatik, Hans Basbøll finds a striking similarity between Diderichsen's sentence scheme and the functional pattern in Simon S. Dik's functional Grammar*6). Dik sees the word order as determined by 1) the syntactic function (subject before indirect object before object), 2) the 'pragmatic' function ('Theme' (= extraposition) before 'Topic' (= base) before 'focus' (= a part of the rest of the sentence) before 'Tail' (= heavy constituent field); there is a terminological mess in this field where each author has his terminology: I have here shown how Diks terms are 'translated' into Diderichsen's concepts), and 3) the 'language independent preferred order of constituents' principle which says that the constituents in

6) Dik, Simon C. 1978: Functional Grammar, Amsterdam.

the focus are ordered from left to right according to increasing categorial complexity, a concept which is the same as Diderichsen's principle of weight. Dik's principle predicts that the object precedes the prepositional object which predicts the subordinate that-clause, as does Diderichsen's principle of weight.

In a way Diks system is more consistent than Diderichsen's. The base position in the main clause and the conjunction position in the subordinate clause are seen as the same position, the super base. Main clauses are filled by a topicalized constituent belonging to one of the other fields, and in subordinate clauses, which have no topicalized constituent, the super base is filled by a conjunction which is the necessary indicator of the subordination. Both types of clauses have the (V)SA(V)OA(V) word order described as universal by Dik.

Basbøll offers the following explanation of the light constituent position, L: a personal pronoun is enclitically attached to the main verb, so if the main verb is the finite verb too, placed in the v position, the personal pronouns which are subject, indirect object and object will be placed immediately after this verb, and keep their internal order: Derfor gav jeg ham den ikke (therefore gave I him it not). It is probably correct, but what does it explain, with what? It only changes the question,: why are light pronominal content field nominal constituents enclitically attached to the main verb when non light constituents are not ?

In another case Diderichsen's analysis is more consistent than Dik's. Dik thinks that indefinite subjects are placed in N, and not in n, because it is the only type of subjects which are left, when all the definite subjects have been 'moved' to the left because they are topics. Diderichsen argues that it is the indefinite subjects that have been moved to the right because they have focus value. Only Diderichsen's theory is valid for Danish material, so perhaps Dik should revise his universal principle.

To sum up: both Diderichsen and Dik gain by the comparison because it shows that they agree upon many issues, and how could two wise men be wrong when we believe that neither of them are?

5.
In Kurt Braunmüllers article: Hvor moderne er P. Diderichsen's sætningsanalyse? the same problems of the methological basis of the sentence scheme is discussed. And now it becomes interesting. He asserts that the positions in the scheme cannot be filled me- chanically, and conclude that the sentence scheme is a nonexplicated mixture of syntactic, semantic, and word order analysis. In case Diderichsen can not determine the position of a constituent he uses syntactic and semantic information in the topological procedure of analysis.

I do not find it a fair criticism. Braunmüller does not accept or does not know (?) the fill-the-empty-positions-principle, and conse- quently he does not accept the light constituent position as result of a word order analysis. What Diderichsen, in my opinion, has

done, is that he has found some word order regularities, taken them as means of expression, and then tried to explain their syntactic and semantic meaning. In this example he has found the special positions of light pronominal objects and indirect objects, and his explanation is that they are moved to the actualization field because they are not part of the content of the sentence, but the actualization of it.

I think that this is the best explanation, more methodologically consistent than Braunmüller thinks, and more substantial than Basbøll thinks, but perhaps a bit vague. The fact is that when a sentence with light pronominal np's is negated, all the np's will fall outside the scope of the negation (and it is only in case of negation that their position in the actualization field can be seen). If the meaning of the sentence is that the pronominal object is negated, it will have emphasis and consequently not be moved from the content field to the L position: Jeg kender ham ikke means 'my relation to him is not one of knowing', while Jeg kender ikke HAM (capitals in italics indicate emphatic stress) means 'the one I know is not him'. This explanation is supported by the fact that objects that are part of the negation is placed in the actualization field too, Jeg har ingen direktører kendt.

When Diderichsen placed the pronominal objects in a special position, L, and not in nominal position of the actualization field, n, he is following the principle that Basbøll mentions, viz that the subject always precedes the indirect object, which always precedes the object. Otherwise it would not be possible in languages without cases to distinguish between the three syntactic functions.

Braunmüller then writes that it is wrong to draw an evaluating conclusion, as Diderichsen does, from the fact that either the modifier precedes the head (OV-word order) or the head precedes the modifier (VO-word order), at least from the point of view of language typology. True enough. But that is not what Diderichsen does. What Diderichsen says is that in a VO-language like Danish the modifier-head word order gives a more firm impression when used as a stylistic alternative to the normal head-modifier order. Diderichsen here shows his interest in the realistic variation instead of, as Braunmüller thinks, in the ideal constancy.

Braunmüller finishes his article with a comparison between Diderichsen's description of Danish syntax and the descriptions of other grammarians, especially that of Høysgaard*7). Without disdain of Høysgaard's work it can be said that it does not have the advantages of Diderichsen's as Braunmüller claims, because Diderichsen does not mix things up the way Braunmüller thinks.

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7) Høysgaard, Jens Pedersen 1747: Accentuered og raisonnered Grammatica, København
Høysgaard, Jens Pedersen 1752: Methodisk Forsøg til en Fuldstændig Dansk Syntax. both København
Bertelsen, Henrik (red) 1915-29 (1979): Danske Grammatikere fra Midten af det syttende Aarhundrede I-VI, København Gyldendal

The sentence scheme makes it possible for Diderichsen to make new observations about the constancy of word order, and after the observation he gives the phenomena syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic interpretations.

6.
In a short article Imperativens fundamentfelt. Et råmateriale Erik Hansen gives an example of the first step in this procedure. He makes the word order observation that imperatives either have an empty base, or the base position is filled by an anaphoric så or da, which refers to a conditional clause in extra prosition: Er porten låst, så kald på vagten. In this way the word order observation is given a semantic interpretation;'condition' is a semantic category independently of its grammatical realization of it: Ved brand, tryk ruden ind. Hvad der end sker, tab ikke modet.

But is is not the whole story. There are other observations to be made: If the base is filled to the left of an imperative, there will be no subject to the right of it, and if the subject of the imperative is mentioned to the right of it, there can be no constituents in the base to the left:

Hvis I opdager noget, sig det da straks til mig!
*Hvis I opdager noget, sig du det da straks til mig!
Gå du kun hjem !
*Er mødt aflyst, da gå du kun hjem !
Hvis jeg ikke er her, begynd I da bare at gå
*Hvis jeg ikke er her, da begynd I bare at gå

The positions have complementary distribution, and perhaps this interrelation between anaphoric situational adverb and the subject should be interpreted as having the same function. More about that later.

There is a clas of adverbials that can not be attached to a sentence with finite verb in imperative, viz the clas of sentence adverbials which do not modify the verb, but which indicate the illocutionary force of the whole utterence: vist, jo, åbenbart, heldigt nok. The same class of adverbials has only one possible position, viz in the a position. It can not be found in the base of any sentence.

Both observations could be explained in the same way, viz that the imperative is placed not in the v position but in the base. More about that below.

7.
A. The most ambitious article in the volume is written by one of the editors, Lars Heltoft, who in Topologi og syntax. En revision af Paul Diderichsens sætningsskema tries to give the ultimate solution of the problem of the unmarked SVO word order in Danish.

lle follows Diderichsen by distinguishing between the predicate function of the infinite verb (in the content field), and the function of the finite verb, the auxiliary (in the actualization field).

And then he makes a new destinction between three patterns of word order: 1) nva word order is unmarked with respect to textuality (the diagrammatical iconicity of subject before predicate), but marked with respect to "modality" (the position of the finite verb to the left of the sentence adverbial indicates what Lars Heltoft calls modality, i.e. the illocutionary force, viz indicative or assertion).

2) The vna word order is marked with respect to textuality (because something else but the subject is topic of the sentence - or receive contrastive emphasis), and marked with respect to modality. 3) And the nav word order is unmarked with respect to both textuality and modality, i.e. the clause does not indicate any illocutionary force, and consequently it has no information structure.

To make the description as simple as possible Lars Heltoft has proposed a revised sentence scheme which describes both main clauses and subordinate clauses:

General scheme:

C //	modality field//			nexus field				content field		
C //	B /m	//m	//n	/a	/v	//v	/ N	/n^b	/ A^{ub}	
Petra		ville		ikke	følge		børnene			hjem
Så		har	hun	også	glemt		paraplyen			her
at			hun	også	har	glemt	paraplyen			her
Rådet vedtog							forslaget			
om			hun				ville danse			
som	(at)		(der)	ikke	kan	spille	skak			

The only constituent with fixed position is the sentence adverbial, a. All other constituents, even the finite verb, can be 'moved' around this point according to two principles: 1) if the finite verb is moved to the m position (m for modality, NB there is both a modality position and a modality field), it indicates assertion, and 2) if the material from any field or position is moved to the other part of the modality field, viz the base, it indicates textual markedness. The C position (for conjunction) is filled by other types of material indicating modality such as subordinating conjunctions: hvis, om, fordi, som om. The word at is proclitic attached to the subject if it is placed in n, that means at is not placed in the C position because it - according to Lars Heltoft - does not indicate modality. at is a filler of the m position when it is empty.

The base is interpreted as a position for either 1) the 'given' theme, 2) the 'given' but emphatic object, or 3) the contrastive new information, but this point is not very much elaborated.

At last Lars Heltoft propose the theory the base position: the subject + the finite verb) is one constituent, which can be

moved to the modality field from the nexus field, and which from a semantical point of view as one unit is subject of the preposition of the prepositional phrase if there is one:

hvis, (de tror (på ham)) ⌐ (Moskva)
    (de dansede) ⌐ (haven)
    S   v   O

In this case the word order is still SVO.

B.
This is the main points in Lars Heltoft's theory, and it has many advantages compared to Diderichsen's: There is one scheme for both main clauses and subordinate clauses. The different pragmatic and textual meanings are expressed by different patterns of movement from one position or field to another. The problem of the pleonastic at is solved.

But there are disadvantages of the theory too. a) How can the subject and the finite verb together be one constituent which can be moved (viz from the nexus field to the modality field if the utterance is a statement) when the sentence adverbial, which is placed in between, is not moved? A theory in which such movements operate, is not a topological theory.

b) In Lars Heltoft's scheme the analysis of the position of some given material is not made in accordance with the fill-the-empty-positions-principle. In normal main clauses the v position will be empty, and in subordinate clauses the B position will be empty. And the empty positions cannot be filled by anything. In other words: the positions have complementary distribution with some other positions, and consequently one of them could be eliminated.

c) It is not possible to build a theory which explains the function of the base position without a consistent theory of information structure of the sentence. Lars Heltoft says that he is sceptical as regards Halliday's theory of information structure (given and new), but that is not the same as having another theory. So it is very hard to understand how the negation could be new information in a sentence like: (Dette er en arbejdsplads) - det er ikke en svinesti, as Lars Heltoft says. Negations and other sentence adverbials are neither given or new information, they are operators which take the new information as their scope.

d) Finally Lars Heltoft's theory of prepositions as hierarchically higher semantic predicates, is not formulated in a consistent way, although it is a good idea. First of all it is necessary to distinguish between two types of (surface) prepositions in the sentence: the bound prepositions which can be seen as part of the predicate, and the unbound prepositions forming prepositional phrases which are circumstantial modifiers of the verb or the whole sentence.

The first type, the bound preposition, e.g. de troede på ham can have its complement moved to the base position: ham troede de på, and the predicate as a whole can be passivized: ham troes der på.

på. The best topological analysis of this phenomenon will be to take the mediated object, e.g. ham in N, and consequently the preposition to the left of N and to the right of V. So the position for the bound prepositions is not, as Lars Heltofts suggests, between N and A, but between V and N. In Lars Heltofts scheme the mediated object will always end up in the heavy field although it it not heavy at all.

The second type of preposition, the unbound type, e.g. de arbeidede i Danmark, can not be seperated from its complement: *Danmark arbejdede de i, and the predicate as a whole can not be passivized: *Danmark arbejdes der i. In the sentence scheme the prepositional phrase is placed in the A position.

It is true that i from a semantical point of view is a predicate, but it is hard to se how it from a semantical point of view could be hierarchically higher than the finite verb when it is assumed that semantic structure is a network without serialization and hierarchy of the predicates and the arguments which select each other (serialization and hierarchy are syntactical arrangements).

From a semantical point of view it is not a question of hierarchy, but of selection restrictions: does the preposition select special types of verb phrases, or does the verb select special types of prepositional phrases? Take the example of an unbound preposition: hun sov i fire timer. In this case it can be shown that it is the preposition which selects a verb phrase with imperfective aktionsart, and not the verb which selects a duration adverbial with the preposition i (in contrast to duration an adverbial with the preposition på). Aktionsart is a property of the whole verb phrase, not of the verb. Although hun vågnede is combined with duration adverbials with på: hun vågnede på 3 minutter, the same verb is combined with i if it is part of a negated verb phrase: hun vågnede ikke i 4 timer. The aktionsart of the sentence is also dependent on the definiteness of the object in the verb phrase: han skrev breve på 10 minutter, han skrev breve i timevis.

So the simpliest formulation of the rule is the following: the predicate i (meaning duration) selects as its first argument a verb phrase in imperfective aktionsart, while the predicate på selects as its first argument a verb phrase in perfective aktionsart. It is not possible to formulate the rule the other way round: a certain verb, sove or vågne does not select a certain type of duration adverbial because it depends on other things in the clause then the verb. So Lars Heltoft's idea about the (unbound) preposition as a hierarchically higher predicate then the finite verb, is good, but he has not formulated the generalization in a consistent way. The problem is: can the sentence scheme be made so that it can be shown that the preposition is higher in the syntactical hierarchy than the finite verb? More about that below.

C.
a. I can summarise my criticism of Lars Heltoft's scheme by asking why he has not adopted the proposals of Askedal and Platzack (in

the same volume of NyS). They have, as far as I can see independently of each other, proposed something which can be shown in a scheme like the following:

General scheme:

E	// B	// (compl)	// n	/ a	/ v	// N	/ A	/ N	/ A	// H
Petra ville		ikke	følge							bermene	hjem
Så	har	hun også	glemt		paraplyen her					
at		hun også har	glemt		paraplyen her					
Rådet vedtog										forslaget
som		(at)	hun			ville danse				
			(der)ikke kan	spille	stak					
at			de ikke troede	på	ham					

Det	forslag,det har	Rådet derpå	vedtaget	uden afstemning.
nye				

This scheme gives the canonical order of the syntactic constituents of the sentence: subject + sentence adverbial + auxiliary + predicate + bound adverbial + indirect object + direct object + unbound adverbial + heavy constituent.

b. In the front end of the actualization field there is a complementizer position, and to the left of the actualization field there are the base field and the extra position. The compl position is meant for either the finite verb (if the sentence has it own illocutionary force, viz indicative, interrogative or imperative), or a subordinating conjunction: hvis om, for, at (if the clause has no illocutionary force of its own).

In the base position is placed either the constituent which is topic of the utterance, or the information which receives contrastive focus, but in this case it will be indicated by emphatic stress too.

Topicalization presupposes that the utterance is an indicative sentence, in questions the base is either empty (yes-no-questions) or filled by the focussed wh-word, and in imperatives there is only the reduced base with anaphoric da or så.

The Extra position to the left of the base is as described by Diderichsen.

c. Now two filler mechanisms will work here. If both the B and the n are empty (because the nondefinite subject is focussed and moved to the content field) a der is inserted in the n position. If the compl is filled by a conjunction (because the clause has no illocutionary force) a at is inserted (in colloqual language) between the compl and the n indicating that the clause has no topic (although the subject precedes the verb).

This scheme is simpler and more exhaustive than Lars Heltoft's. It explains that the unmarked word order SVO is only realised if the subject is the topic of the sentence. In English the word order

is SVO independently of the topic, but in other germanic languages there is a relationship between the position of the subject and the topic.

My criticism of Lars Heltoft's revision of the sentence scheme should not be taken as a rejection of the ideas suggested in it. The article is very inspiring, and it has shown that the idea of a scheme to explain syntax is still relevant and actual. My comments only concern the details of the model he proposes.

8.

In a sober article, Paul Diderichsens sætningsskema og den nordiske syntaksforskning. Nogle centrale problemstillinger Erik Vive Larsen discuss many of the problems already mentioned: the interpretation of the fields, the unmarked SVO word order, the syntactic, textlinguistic and pragmatic function of the base, the position of the light and negated objects, and bound adverbials.

Erik Vive Larsen finds Diderichsen's original names and interpretations of the fields (actualization field and conception field) more modern and pragmatically relevant than the later names (nexus field or central field and content field or end field).

The constituents in the actualization field create a relation between the concepts of the sentence and the speech situation (they assert, deny or question the reality of the expressed content), while the constituents of the conception field indicate the relation between the concepts mentioned in the sentence. This difference has not any-thing to do with the grammatical relation of nexus (mutual depen-dency) which can be seen from the fact that there is a relation of nexus between the constituents of a noun phrase: arvingens over-tagelse af gården but not a pragmatic relation of reality or truth.

Vive Larsen rejects the scheme proposed by Niels Aage Nielsen*8) as a solution of the SVO problem:

B // n₁ v n₂ a // v N A

According to this theory only constituents with emphatic stress will be placed in B, and only if B is filled, the subject will move from n₁ to n₂. Then the basic word order in Dansk is SVO or S --> np vp. But Vive Larsen has observed that with this scheme it is not possible to analyse a sentence with fronted nonemphatic adverbial of the type: så: og så lavede vi mad. In stead of new named positions he suggests that the material in B position can be interpreted as either fronted to make cohesion or focused to indicate contrast.

Vive Larsen gives the best solution og the problem of the bound adverbials (or prepositional objects). Following Eskil Hansen *9)he

8) Nielsen, Niels Aage, 1975: Om anvendelsen af to forskellige modeller på dansk sætningsbygning i
Af færdes i Sproget, Dansk sprognævns skrifter 9, 1975, p. 139-150.
9) Hanssen, Eskil 1968: Leddstillingsanalyse og verbalgrupper i
Den høgre Skolen, 1968 nr. 4 p 144-150.

describes the V position as a verb phrase containing three subpositions, viz vna:

General scheme:

E //	B //	actualization field//		content field		
E //	B /v	/n	/a //	v /N /A //	N	/A
de	har		troet	på	ham	uden tøven
han	tiger		søgen	op	vagt	
derfor	lagde	de	vægt	på fredag		resultatet

Vive Larsen mentions some other arguments than I did: the verb phrase can have object common with other verbs: Du skal holde rede på og ordne materialet, and if passivized the verb phrase can have subject commen with other verbs: Han blev drillet og gjort nar af. So I will take this solution as better that Lars Heltoft's and Erik Hansen's A¹ A² positions.

9.

The interesting problem of the historical development of the word order patterns is discussed by Hans-Peter Naumann in his article: Paul Diderichsen fältmodell och historisk germansk syntax.

Diderichsen assumes in Sætningsbygningen i Skaanske Lov 1941, and in Logische und topische Gliederung des germanischen Satzes, 1943, following the French linguist Jean Fourquet, that the ancient scheme (in Beowulf) had four fields: the base, a field for pronominal constituents, a nominal field and the finite verb, and that it developed into a scheme found in the nordic languages:
B//vna//VNA.

Naumann investigates whether this theory can be confirmed by the runic inscriptions, and he wonders why Diderichsen only sees the development as a result of the law of light elements to the left and heavy elements drift to the right, and not as a result of pragmatic factors. I think that Diderichsen did right in rejecting the pragmatic factors, because it will never be possible to be sure of the textlinguistic and pragmatic interpretation of texts containing only one laconic sentence, as most of the runic inscriptions.

But then Naumann shows that the 13 old runic inscriptions can not be analysed as having a field for pronominal constituents to the left of the verb, but only as having a SOV word order. As an alternative he proposes the scheme: B₁ B₂ B₃//v. I do not think it gives any sense to talk of a scheme with many bases, because the whole idea of the concept base, is that it is unique for the actualized sentence. So what he means must be something like N₁ N₂ N₃ //v, which is the same as Askedals scheme for Japanese.

Naumann's conclusion is that the heavy material moves to the right of the verb, lopment is that the heavy material moves to the right of the verb, and he does not se the light constituent position as an achaic relic in modern languages.

10.

In *Diderichsens positionsschema och generativ transformationsgrammatik* Christer Platzack shows how the second generation of generative grammar, the Government & Binding theory, with improvements made by Hans Basbøll, Eric Andersson, Jan Koster and Hans den Besten*10) provide an analysis common for both main clauses and subordinate clauses very much like but better that Diderichsen's sentence scheme.

base	compl	np	adv	vf	aux	vmain	np	vp	adv	advp
β	har	hun	også			glemt	paraplyen		her	
så	har	hun	også			glemt	paraplyen		her	
Rådet	vedtog						forslaget			
Det	vedtog	Rådet	ikke				forslaget			
forslag	vedtog	Rådet	ikke				forslaget			
vem	som	hun	inte		havde	glemt			uden afstemning	
(det var)	som				hade	kommit			hjemme	
paraplyen	som	hun			havde	glemt			hjemme	

Now some general tranformations move the constituents around: 1) either hav- or the main verb is attached to the tense marker, 2) this *finite* verb is moved to the compl position, but only if it is empty, i.e. in cases where the clause has no subjunction, 3) the S(np) or some other constituent can be moved to the base. Platzack adds to this description that the base will be filled even in subordinate clauses, viz by the *wh*-word or by the focussed element in cleft sentences. As discussed earlier I do not find the *wh*-word analysis adequate because *vem* is the complementizer and *som* is a filler of the empty S(np) position.

11.
It is really refreshing at this time in the reading this volume to get to the article *Fra fordon til norm. Nogle kritiske kommentarer til*

10) Andersson, Erik 1977: Verbfrasens struktur i svenskan, Åbo.
Basbøll, Hans 1976: Is an integration of Diderichsen's Positional analysis of Danish sentences in a transformational-generative framework feasible? In Karlsson, F. (utg.) 1976: Papers from the third Scandinavian conference of Linguistics, Åbo
den Besten, H. 1983: On the interaction of root transformations and lexical deletive rules
Abraham, W. 1983: On the formal nature of Westgermania, Amsterdam, p. 47-131.
Koster, Jan 1975: Dutch as an SOV-language in Linguistic Analysis 1, p. 111-136.

Paul Diderichsen og Elementær Dansk Grammatik, by Jørgen Chr. Bang and Jørgen Døør - to read, not about technicalities of the sentence scheme, but about the ideology of Diderichsen, and the grammar teaching in Denmark.

The authors make three points about Diderichsen and the tradition: 1) it is a self-contradiction and pure nonsense from the premisses a) and b) to conclude c):

a) Social relations are established and maintained by language.
b) The national language norm and the orthography play an important role in creation and maintenance of social classes and groups.
c) Everyone who wants to get education and culture need to learn the correct language use and orthography.

2) A pair of Diderichsen's pregnant examples, viz *præsten gik hen til en meget fattigt klædt lille pige med store forgrædte øjne,* and *hvem Gud giver embede giver han forstand,* are not only misunderstood by Diderichsen, but they reveal the whole feudal world view behind the grammatical theory.

3) Diderichsen treats sentences as objects, and miss the dialectics of language system (langue) and language use (parole). He only deals with selfmade artefact examples taken out of their context, and the whole tradition of grammar teaching in Denmark is a sort of deductive logic in which the pupils produce meaningless sentences deduced from the system, without ever getting in contact with the real texts and the real language.

What Bang & Døør here criticize are really blameworthy things. Only a pity that they accuse the wrong man. First of all, Diderichsen cannot be accused of committing the naturalistic fallacy - as I take their first point to be. Many other linguists and grammarians claim that because things are as they are they ought to be so. Especially in normative grammar books, it is said that the norm is the only logical, natural, or possible way to use the language.

But that is not what Diderichsen is saying. On the contrary he makes the advice to those who might wish to be members of the establishment: If you are ambitious follow the norm ! He does so not because it is the best language, but because it is a way to be accepted in society. Bang and Døør might mean that it is not ethical to wish to be members of the establishment, but that is not linguistics, and Diderichsen does not make the naturalistic fallacy.

I think that Bang & Døør are partly right in their second point. It is remarkable that Diderichsen does not see that there are two readings of the sentence: *Præsten gik hen til den meget fattigt klædte lille pige med store forgrædte øjne* (the parson approached the very poorly dressed little girl with big crying eyes). Diderichsen only gives one analysis, which in his own words is 'easily seen': *Præsten gik hen til (den meget fattigt klædte lille pige med store forgrædte øjne),* while Bang & Døør find another 'natural' interpretation: *Præsten gik hen til (den meget fattigt klædte lille pige) med store forgrædte øjne.* Now Bang & Døør make

the comment that, in Diderichsen's world view, only small girls cry, not grown up parsons.

I do not think that the reason for Diderichsen's mistake is his ideology. The reason is that this reading would contradict the principle he is claiming in this paragraph, viz the principle that words which make a semantic cluster will be next to each other and not seperated by another constituent. But if med store forgrædte øjne is seen as a modifier of the verb gik it is not in contact with the constituent it modifies. It is true that it is better to express the second reading by: Præsten gik med store forgrædte øjne hen til den meget fattigt klædte lille pige . But the type of constructions with a remote modifier is not uncommon in texts, and the sentence scheme does predict the problem by saying that some adverbials can be placed either on a or on A.

I think that it is a cheap trick to take the examples in a grammar as expressing the world view of the author. What the choice of examples reveal is not the ideology of the author, but his picture of the adressee of the grammar book.

And then I come the the third claim of Bang & Døør: Diderichsen's lack of dialectics between system and use, between description and teaching. Again he is decidedly the wrong man to accuse. Half of Diderichsen's project of life was to make a description of of the history of Danish prose, seen as a result of the real, cultural, social, geografical variation of the ideal grammatical constancy. The variation can only be analysed and described with the grammatical constancy as background, and the constancy can only be found as a result of a process of abstraction from the real variation. Apparently Bang and Døør have not read Diderichsen's works about the history of Danish prose.*11)

In contrast to many other international historical linguists he does not treat the word order (SOV, VSO) as a question of language system, but as a problem with both systematic, historical, social and cultural (literary) aspects.

I find Bang and Døørs accusations of Diderichsen a sort of reflexive ideology criticism triggered by the fact that Diderichsen was one of the most influential persons in Danish linguistics. They should go home and read what the man actually wrote, and they will not find either the naturalistic fallacy, feudal ideology or competence chauvinism.

12.
Paul Diderichsen og Louis Hjelmslev, by Frans Gregersen is not about the sentence scheme at all, and it deals more with Hjelmslev than with Diderichsen. Gregersen tries to find the truth about why

11) Diderichsen, Paul, 1941: Sætningsbygningen i Skaanske Lov. Fremstillet som Grundlag for en rationel Dansk Syntax. København, Munksgaard.
Diderichsen, Paul 1962: "Dansk prosahistorie", stencilerede hæfter. Københavns Universitet.

Diderichsen for ten years, from the midle of the forties to the midle of the fifties, left the work with the sentence scheme and tried to acquire understanding of the principles of 'glossematics', the linguistic theory of Hjelmslev, and why he then gave it up witout any important works from his hand within this paradigm.

Gregersen has read the correspondence between Diderichsen and Hjelmslev, the minutes from the meetings in the Linguistic Circle in Copenhagen, and the programmatic formulations in Diderichsen's publications from the thirties and fourties. He finds that Viggo Brøndal's linguistic theory was much more fit for syntax, which was Diderichsen's main interest, than Hjelmslev's 'glossematic' theory in which especially case and congruence was investigated as the proper object of linguistics, while syntax was neglected. Gregersen further shows that Diderichsen's whole project was to make a description of 'the national grammar' and 'the history of the Danish prose' with balance between systematic, historical and stylistic aspects of language.

Frans Gegersen shows that his reason for giving up this plan was that he was caught in Hjelmslev's intrigues and his own psychological inclination to have someone to admire. And Hjelmslev was ready to be admired. Then Gregersen explains that Diderichsen's work within Hjelmslev's theoretical paradigm had to stop after ten years, not because he proved it to be false (it is not possible to prove a metatheory to be false), but because it was not fruitful as a scientific program because it was extremely oriented towards language system and did not care about history and language use.

13.
Sætningsleddene og deres stilling – nogle år for og flere år efter is the cunning title of the next article by Carol Henriksen. In this article she comes close to showing how the sentence scheme was invented, and at the same time close to a solution of some of the great problems already mentioned. Diderichsen himself describes in his Prolegomena til en metodisk dansk syntax *12) his inspiration from the Danish linguist H.G. Wiwel, from F. de Saussure, Hjelmslev, Aage Hansen and John Ries. John Ries' definition of the sentence, which is very modern and pragmatic, was one of Diderichsen's greatest inspirations: it take the sentence as as the grammatically structured smallest unit of speech, which express its content as regards its relation to reality.

Carol Henriksen now quotes how the (at that time) young student Eli Fischer-Jørgensen criticized Diderichsen for mixing up the theory of the sentence as a unit of language system (langue) with a theory of the sentence as a unit of language use (parole). Fischer Jørgensen calls it an unstable compromise. In Carol Henriksens

12) Diderichsen, Paul 1936: "Prolegomena til en metodisk dansk Syntax" Forhandlinger paa det ottende nordiske Filologmøde i København den 12-14 August 1935. København, Schulz, P 41-46.

opinion - and in mine - it is the best solution of the mutual de-pendency between system and use from the real variation to ab-stract the ideal constancy, and on the background of the ideal constancy to reconstruct the real variation. In 1934 it was Dide-richsen's plan to do exactly that, and to a certain degree he suc-ceeded in carrying the plan out.

Carol Henriksen then describes why the verb was taken as the central constituent of the sentence, and how Diderichsen found that there is one and only one constituent to the left of the finite verb, the base to which all constituents but the verb can be moved. She quotes a little article from 1934 *13), in which he makes a much more precise and exhaustive description of the possibilities of the base, than he does in Elementær Dansk Grammatik. He says that the base is filled by either anaphoric situation-describing adverbials, or (often) by the subject, or (with heavy stress) the object or other constituents in the base position have two functions: to establish (anaphoric or contrastive) relations to the preceding sentence, and to prepare or be the base of the sentence. What he could mean by that I will discuss later.

Carol Henriksen then shows the similarity between the description of Diderichsen and that of Høysgaard, and she finishes by mentioning Diderichsen's dissertation*14)and his History of Da-nish prose*15) as the essential other part of Diderichsen's project of a description of the ideal constancy and the real variation of the Danish syntax.

14.
In his article Ordo Naturalis Niels Haastrup discuss the problem of the unmarked SVO word order. He distinguishes between the logical or psychological approach in which the sentence is constituted by the relation subject + predicate, which establish the reference to the extra linguistic world, and the dependency or valency grammar in which the sentence is constituted by the bindings and selection restrictions between the predicate and its arguments: predicate(arg1, arg2...), bindings which establish the internal linguistic relations.

Niels Haastrup rejects Niels Åge Nielsen's insertion of an extra n position in front of the finite verb, and insists that the VSO word order is a reversed word order in Danish main clauses. He concludes that Diderichsen's two schemes, one for the main clause: B(vna(VNA)), and one for the subordinate clause C(nav(VNA)), are and always have been an unsatifying compromise between the

13) Diderichsen, Paul 1934: Om brugen af det sammenfattende på i østnordisk 1. Studier tilegnet Verner Dahlerup. (Sprog og Kultur Tillægsbind til 3. årgang) Århus, Universitetsforlaget, p. 92-101.
14) Diderichsen, Paul, 1941: Sætningsbygningen i Skaanske Lov. Fremstillet som Grundlag for en rationel Dansk Syntax. København, Munksgaard.
15) Diderichsen, Paul 1962: Dansk prosahistorie, stencilerede hæfter. Københavns Universitet.

two ways of grammatical descriptions, not a synthesis of them. Furthermore Haastrup concludes that, although Diderichsen must have felt that it is not satisfying from a theoretical point of view to mix the things up in this way, he decided the make his theory so because the schemes have great pedagogical and aesthetic qualities: they are easy to learn, simple and symmetrical.

15.
The last article in the volume: Om tid og tempus, by Otto Glismann has nothing to do with the sentence scheme, at least not as far as the author describes his topic.

It deals with the phenomonological meaning of the tense forms in Danish. The main idea is the following: the differences in meaning between the present form, the past form and the (present) perfect form are not differences in the time of the event or state to which the reference is made (in the following event time), but differences in the time of the consciousness of the event time, the observation of it, or the reference to it, seen in relation to the speech time. Glismann calls it the observation time because it is not exactly the same as Reichenbach's reference time.

In general present tense indicates observation time simultaneous with the time of speech. Past tense indicates observation time anterior to speech time, about delimited event time (i.e. the event or state is described only in a limited interval in the past). Modal use of perfect indicate inferential belief, in simultaneous observation time, about delimited event time. Primary perfect indicates knowledge in simultaneous observation time of something in unlimited event time (i.e. the strech of time in which the event or state is observed is not delimited). Examples:

tense form	example	knowledge type	observation time in relation to speech time	scope of observation
present:	Nu sover de (now sleep they)	certain	simultaneous	unlimited
past:	Nu sov de (now slept they)	certain	anterior	delimited
modal per-fect	Her har de sovet (here have they slept)	inferential	simultaneous	delimited
primary per-fect	De har sovet (they have slept)	certain	simultaneous	unlimited

It is interesting that the difference between past and modal perfect is a question, not of limitation of the observation time, but of type of knowledge. It is also interesting what Otto Glismann says about the emotive use of past tense in examples like: Det var nu kedeligt at du ikke kommer med refering to a simultaneous emotion and consciousness about some future event. The past tense form does not mean distance (as many authors have claimed), but spontaneous, immediately experienced emotion.

Otto Glismann now describes the meaning of the tense forms of verb phrases of different aktionsart, viz changes (e.g. _rejse sig_, _blive syg_, _miste_ comprising an initial state, a change, and a terminal state) and accomplishments (e.g. _skrive en artikel_, _male køkkenet_, _sy en skjorte_, comprising an act and _its result_) on one hand, and durative processes (_sove_, _være syg_, _stå_) on the other.

Past tense and modal perfect of changes and accomplishments indicate that the change or the act took place in a delimited period in the past, while past tense and modal perfect of processes indicate that the process was actual in a delimited periode of time in the past.

Primary perfect of changes indicate that the terminal state was and is actual (i.e. of relevance for the speech time); adverbials denoting frequency and deictic time adverbials are not accepted in the base position, and absolute time adverbials not at all (e.g. _for to minutter siden er han stået op_, and _Han er stået op kl. 10_, they can only be understood as modal perfect).

Glismann does not explain that in primary perfect the auxiliary is always stressed and focussed, and consequently it is not possible to put anything else in the base position.

And he does not explain that the reason for the impossibility of absolute adverbials seems to be that absolute time adverbials always denote something else than the present time, and primary perfect has simultaneous time of observation. So in past perfect it is acceptable: _Han var stået op kl. 10._

Primary perfect of accomplishments indicate that the result is still actual at the speech time.

Primary perfect of a process without time adverbials indicate either that a accidental activity is just finished with effect on the present speech time, or that a more permanent activity is finished once in the past only with interest for present. Primary perfect of a process with since-adverbials indicate that the state referred to by the verb, continues from its beginning to the time of speech: _Jeg har boet her siden 1967._ Primary perfect of a process with a duration adverbial can either denote the continuity of the state, or indicate the duration of a state finished in the past, but with relevance for the speech time: _Jeg har boet i Klampenborg i 15 år._

16.

I will now take the best from all the articles in this volume and try in a patchwork fashion to put them together into one theory of the syntax of Danish sentences. I really think it can be done.

1) As Lars Heltoft proposed I do not take the finite verb as the fixed point in the scheme. I take the subject of the utterance (or perhaps rather the so called relation of nexus between the subject and the finite verb - but in a special way). The subject position is the only nonoptional constituent position in the sentence scheme.

2) I will not use the fill-the-empty-positions-principle as a definition of the concept of 'position', but, like Platzack, use a more sophisticated

principle consisting of a notation with rewrite rules or trees and in addition to that indication in each rule (each branching) of whether the constituent is obligatory, optional (') or iterated ("). In this way I will describe the interrelation between the positions, i.e. the predecence and dependency of the constituents.

Take as an example the fact that the indirect object position N^{10} is to the left of the object position N^0, and is always empty if that is empty. It is expressed by the rules:

rheme --> vp .. `objects ..
objects --> ^np np;

or the tree:

$$\text{rheme}$$
$$\text{vp} \quad .. \quad \text{`np} \quad .. \quad \text{`objects} \quad ..$$
$$\text{`npp} \quad \text{np}$$
$$\text{v} \quad \text{`np}^1 \quad \text{np} \quad \text{`np}^2 \quad ..$$
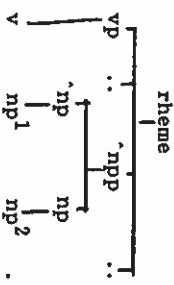
The result is a scheme with three positions: v np^1 np^2. The position np^1 is only filled if np^2 is filled, np^2 and adv are only filled if v is filled. The concept of position is thus defined by the precedence and dependency relations.

I only take two words in two sentences to have the same position if they have the same function either syntactically, textlinguistically and pragmatically. So I will never have a scheme which is maximally filled. The empty positions are defined in another way. In the example _Hun sov_ lange both np^1 and np^2 will be empty, because _sov_ will be analysed as filling the v position while _lange_ is placed on _adv_. In _hun gav ham ikke bogen_, only np^1 is empty, while _bogen_ is placed on np^2. The rule says that is is impossible to have np^2 empty while np^1 is filled by the indirecte object: *_Hun gav den ikke Petersen._

The rules will work automatically in the sense that a computer can parse any Danish sentence using the grammar as a program, and only generate one analysis of nonambiguous sentences. It works in the following way: When the sentence _hun gav ham ikke bogen_ is parsed, at first the word _bogen_ will be put in the np^1 slot, but then the parsing can not be finished because np^1 will only be filled if np^2 is filled, and there are no more words in the sentence. Then the machine will backtrack and make a second analysis with _bogen_ as np^2.

3) The scheme can be shown by the following rules:

1. sentence --> `c~focus theme "rheme "modifier (contrastive-focus = np, adjp, rheme, or non situational advp)

'~' indicate optionality; ' | ' indicate iterativity. On the right hand side of a rewrite rule there must be at least one non-optional constituent.

'~' indicate optionality; '"' indicate literativity. ';' indicate alternation.
On the right hand side of a rewrite rule there must be at least one non-optional constituent.

1. sentence --> ^theme rheme
2. theme --> ^s;ra
3. rheme --> ^fokus s
4. focus --> ^n;ak;hv v
5. s --> ^k nex ^obj ^atinf ^s ^adv
6. nex --> subj ^vf ^sadv ^vi ptl
7. subj --> ^at n
              `nom
8. vf --> ^va v
9. obj --> ^n;ak
10. vi --> ^n;ak ^va iv ^vi
11. atinf --> ^va at iv ^ra ^vi ^ptl ^obj ^vi ^adv
12. sadv --> ^lp sadv
13. lp --> `l l
14. ptl --> ^obj ptl

ra = relational adverbials denoting time, place, cause, circumstance.
sa = manner adverbial
s = sentence or clause
nex = the nexus of the sentence or clause
sadv = sentence adverbial, relational adverbial, manner adverbial or logical operator (negation)
va = relational adverbial, manner adverbial or logical operator (negation)
n = noun phrase
atinf = infinitive clause with at
vi = infinite verb phrase (without at)
iv = infinite verb
v = finite verb
ptl = verb complementizing particles (directional adverbials)
l = 'light' unstressed pronoun

sentence

theme   rheme

^focus   s

^k   ^at n `va v   l l sadv iv   ptl   ^obj ^atinf ^s ^adv
          subj   ^vf   nex   sadv ^vi ^ptl   n n iv $ adv

s;ra	n;ak;hv	v		k	^at n	`va	v	l l	sadv	iv	ptl	n	n iv	adv
Peter	ser	du			Peter	så	ikke							dig
Så	gav	hun	at hun ikke vil		Hun	ikke	give							ham den
			at hun ikke		Hun	sov								
			hvis (ikke)		Hun	sov	kom							
	Hvem	var	han?	han egl. var		Per	har	aldrig lagt vægt på						styrning
	skal	han			de	er								syg
manden			som at jeg ikke	kom										
manden			som at der ikke kender	lagde				vægt på						mig

Hvis han
Per han

endelig afsluttet   hurt.at blive pårate til €
afsluttet   u.be.at kunne sørge for $
vist i går afslået   at kunne overleve på de vilkår
Igen at undersøge   sagen grundigt
sagen
sagen
endeligt

So in a pedagogical and simpel version my sentence scheme can be described in this way:

base
th f_v v // k ^at n `va v   l l sadv iv ptl n n iv adv

content
th f_v v // k n a v l l a v ptl // n N V A

The subscript letters indicate extra positions dependent on the main positions.

So in my view Danish is basically a SVO-language and every time we find the verb preceding the subject it is reversed word order as Haastrup wants it. And the scheme of positions is approximately like the scheme Platzach and Askedal has proposed although the boundaries between fields are placed differently.

4) The positions of the scheme are interpreted as having either syntactic (subject, object), textlinguistic (theme, pheme, rheme, focus) or pragmatic (actualization) function.

The textlinguistic functions are not defined by the givenness or newness of the material in the positions. I define the theme as the information which is outside the scope of the pheme. That is is my interpretation of Diderichsen's formulation of 'something which prepares the content of the sentence' or 'is base of it'.

I take the focus to be the information which is in the scope of the pheme. Information which is neither theme, nor focus can be called the rheme, it is information which (if it is placed last in the sentence or receives heavy stress) is focussed. The Focus is always part of the rheme:

```
theme   (han)   (kom)   pheme   (ikke)
                rheme           focus   (i går)
```

```
theme   focus   pheme
(han)   (kom)   (ikke)
```

Among the constituents in the rheme the focus normally falls upon the last one. Normally (but not always) referentially new material, indefinite nouns, nouns in bare form and verbs, can not be the only part of the theme, e.g. Der kom en betjent. And as a tendency referentially and relationally new material, indefinite nouns, the main verb, or adjectives are focussed, e.g. En NY formand har vi ikke brug for.

If some of the nonlast constituents in the rheme receives a heavy stress, it receives contrastive focus, and thus the sentence has both a focus and a contrastive focus.

The constituent with heavy stress in the cf position is focussed as a contrast which according to the rules of implicature *16) means 1) that the opposite of the stressed information is implicated if combined with the theme and the opposite of the focused information: På den sydlige halvkugle er det ved juletid sommer implicates: på den nordlige er det ved juletid vinter, and På den sydlige halvkugle er det ved juletid ikke vinter implicates: på den nordlige er det ved juletid vinter.

A fronted constituent without emphatic stress is part of the theme which means that they are outside the scope of the pheme. Thus

16) Togeby, Ole 1988: Underforståelser, i Mål & Mæle, 12.2, København, Gad.

situational adverbials like så, i 1984, I København, her, derfor, hvis det bliver koldt, denoting time, place and circumstance, are often themes.

4) There is only one verb position for both finite and infinite verbs, and in sentences with both auxiliary, modal verb and main verbs, the v position or the rheme field is repeated.

The tense marker, -er/ede, and the marker of definiteness, -en/et, are the constituents that create the reference from the sentence to reality, what Diderichsen called actuality function. As they create the reference, they are not part of the content (to which the reference is made), and consequently they are always thematic and never in the scope of the pheme.

This relation of nexus, which create the reference, is indicated by the word order: the finite verb in the main clause is always placed closer to the subject than any other constituent, that is either in a position to the right of the cf position, or to the right of the thematic adv, depending of which constituents are present in the sentence. In this way the actuality of the sentence is marked, i.e. it is indicated, by the juxtaposition of the subject and the verb, that the sentence is either indicative (asserted) or interrogative (questioned).

If there is no auxiliary verb in the clause (i.e. if the main verb 1 carrying the tense marker) the main verb will be found in the v position (first cycle) to the right of the subject, as proposed by Platzack and transformational grammar. Thus we find the following information structure:

```
hun     våg-    -ede
theme   focus   pheme   ikke
                        rheme
```

This sentence means: 'in the past she did not wake up', it does not mean: 'her waking up did not happen in the past'. It can, as in transformational grammar, be described by a rule saying that the at position is filled by either the at or by the tense marker (because infinitives with at have no tense marker), and then the tense marker is moved to the end of the finite verb in stead of being a constituent standing to the left of it

5) The base position is, in accordance with what Diderichsen, as quoted by Carol Henriksen, and Vive Larsen say about it, divided into two different positions with different dependency relations to the other constituents. The contrastive focus, cf, which as described above, is inside the scope of the pheme and elicit the implicatures, and the thematic advp, which is always outside the scope of the pheme. The rules are made such that the cf can only be filled if the subj(np) is filled. That means that the direct object, the indirect object, and the verbs can be found in the cf position, but never the subject. We then have the analyses:

```
HAM     gav     hun     ikke    bogen
focus   theme   pheme   rheme
```

```
derfor   gav   hun   ham          ikke    bogen
theme                  pheme    focus
```

HAM gav hun ikke bogen implicates that 'she gave the book to another', while Derfor gav hun ham ikke bogen in one reading implicates: 'she gave something else to him'.

6) The problem of multi word units or fixed phrases is, as Vive Larsen has proposed, solved in the following way: the rheme is expanded by the rules:

5. rheme --> vp ^pheme ^focus
8. vcompl --> ^np ptl

7) Chains of verbs are described, in accordance with Erik Hansens proposal*17), in the following way: both the v position and the rheme field can be iterated, i.e. repeated imediately: The rheme contains both an adv to the left of the v position and vcompl and objects to the right, and they are all repeated together with the v if the rheme is repeated.

Many modal verbs following each other are desribed by the iterativity of the V: Han har skullet kunne komme. And the repetition of the whole verb phrase is described by the iteration of the rheme:

Then examples like lægge vægt på or tage stilling til or arbejde på være parat til the np positions are used but only if the ptl position is filled. In examples stå op, vågne op, slå til the np positions are not filled. Normally the np position is filled by bare form np's, but not always.

Erik hensen makes a distinction between three type af adverbial functions:
1) adverbials modifying the whole sentence, e.g. vist,
2) adverbials modifying the whole chain of infinite verbs but not the whole sentence, e.g. i går and igen,
3) adverbials only modifying one main verb (the last one), e.g. grundigt.

In my scheme adverbials of type 1), are placed in the sadv of the rheme in the first cycle. Adverbials of type 2) are placed on the vp(adv) of the subsequent cycle, and adverbials of type 3) are placed in modifier position following the last cycle.

```
Han har   vist   i går   afslået   igen   at undersøge sagen   grundigt
v (1.) sadv // adv  v (2.) // adv (3.)// at v (4.)   object   modifier
```

17) Hansen, Erik 1970: Sætningsskema og verbalskema in NyS 2, p 116-137. København

---

It is evident that, contrary to what Erik Hansen says, it must be the correct description that there is no modifying adverbial to the right of v inside the rheme, because an infinite verb in a middle cycle can only have its modifier to the left. If afslået should be modified by med vilje it is not possible to say: Han har vist i går afslået med vilje igen at undersøge sagen. You must say: Han har vist i går med vilje afslået igen at undersøge sagen.

Notice that the algorithm makes two analyses of a sentence with two verbals and a negation, because the negation is ambiguous with respect to the position in which it is placed, corresponding to two different reading of the sentences: Avisens vigtigste opgave er: ikke at udkomme, or Avisens vigtigste opgave er ikke: at udkomme and Hun ønsker: ikke at deltage or Hun ønsker ikke: at deltage.

8) As Lars Heltoft suggests, the preposition in a non bound modifying prepositional phrase is placed higher in the syntactical hierarchy than the verb phrase (called the rheme).

9) Thee two types of perfect, which are discussed by Otto Glismann, will be treated differently in the scheme: the modal perfect is a thematic auxiliary and can be placed in the thematic vf position, while the auxiliary of the primary perfect is stressed and focussed and consequently placed in the rhematic v position, and that excludes that anything is placed in the thematic adv position:

10) In imperatives without base the imperative is focussed, so if there is a subject the imperative is placed in the cf position, and if there is a thematic adverbial the imperative is placed in the rhematic v position and there can be no subject to the left of the verb

```
                                  sentence
        contrastive                theme            "rheme"          "modifier"
        focus
   ^cf  ^vf thadv ^vf   ^thadvp ^vf  subj   ^adv ^at ^at ^v^   ^lp  ^pheme       ^vcompl
                                                          sadv        np ptl  np   objects   adv ^np
                          hun                   at  deltage   ikke
                                                    ønsker
                                                    ikke

        her  har   hun    ikke   at   deltage
                                      sovet
                                      HAR
                                      sovet
                                      ønsker
                                      hun

        gå
             da    du     hun                          ud
```

It is a problem to put imperatives without subject in a scheme which is constituted by the subject, but that is the price I pay for all the other advantages of taking the subject as constitutive of the sentence.

11) The light pronominal positions are only filled if the sadv is filled - because it is only in this case it can be seen that the pronouns are found in the l position. In other words: in the sentence: Jeg gav ham den, ham and den are placed in objects position, while they in Jeg gav ham den ikke are placed in lp.

It can be derived from the rules that the pronouns are not found in the l position in subordinate clauses because the negation in subclauses is placed in vp(adv), and there is no l position to the left of that position.

12) In wh-questions the wh-word is focussed and consequently analysed as placed in the cf position. In yes/no questions the verb is focussed and placed in the cf position.

13) In subordinate clauses nothing is focussed and the conjunction is thematic and fulfil the same function as a situational adverbial, viz to establish the relation to the preceding text. Therefore conjunctions are placed in the thematic adverbial position

As mentioned by Lars Heltoft an at can be inserted in most subordinate clauses between the conjunction and the subject. As he proposes, I will place them on the thematic vf position (which is an optional position). The place them in explicative object sentences is, like Lars Heltoft says, placed in the thadv position.

In relative clauses there will then be possibility of som in thadv, at in th(vf) and der in subj position.

Ole Togeby

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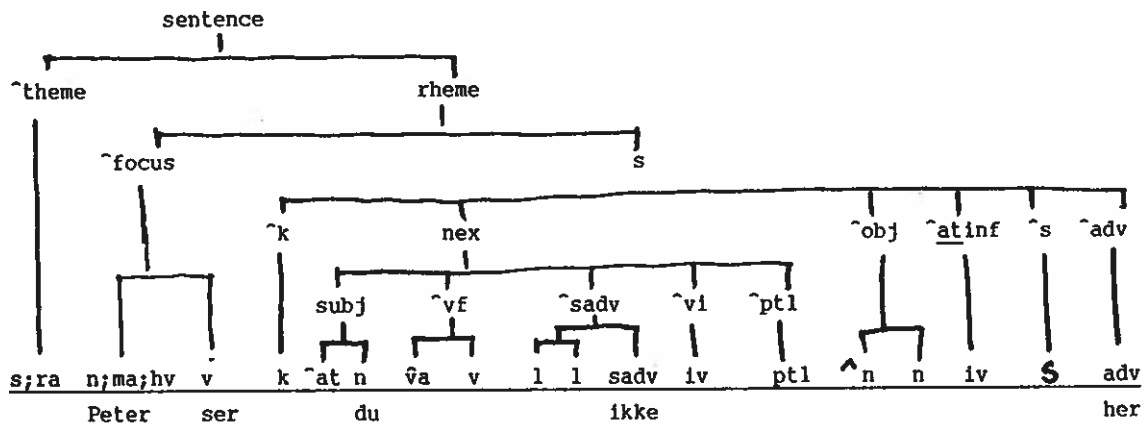Koster, Jan: 1975: Dutch as an SOV-language in Linguistic Analysis 1, p. 111-136.
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```
                              sentence
                                 |
        ┌────────────────────────┴──────────┐
     ^theme                              rheme
        |                                   |
        |         ^focus                    └──────────────────┐
        |            |                                         s
        |            |        ^k          nex        ┌──────────┬────────┬──────┬──────┐
        |            |         |            |      ^obj    ^at inf   ^s   ^adv
        |            |       ┌──┴──┐     ┌──┬──┬──┐    |        |      |     |
        |            |     subj  ^vf  ^sadv ^vi ^ptl  |        |      |     |
        |          ┌─┴─┐    ┌┴┐   ┌┴┐   ┌─┴─┐  |   |  ┌┴┐      |      |     |
 s;ra n;ma;hv  v    k  ^at n  ^a   v   1  1  sadv iv  ptl ^n  n   iv    $    adv
       Peter  ser        du                ikke                              her
              Peter  så                                            dig
 Så          gav        hun          ham den ikke
 ...                    at hun ikke vil              give       ham den
                        Hun         sov
                        Hun         sov       ikke
                        P&T         har        aldrig lagt vægt på    stavning
                   Hvis han         er                            syg
 ...         skal  han              sove
       Hvem  var        han?
 ...   hvem             han egl. var
 ...                om(ikke)at han        kom
 ...              hvis(ikke)  han        kom
 manden         som  at jeg ikke kender
 manden         som  at der ikke kender                        mig
                        de        lagde          vægt på   ^va at iv   ^ptl  ^obj ^vi ^adv
                                                           hurt.at blive  parate til  £
                                                  £:       u.be.at kunne  sørge for   $
                                                  $:              at kunne overleve på de vilkår
                        hun    har      endelig afsluttet      sagen
                        hun    har              afsluttet      sagen         endeligt
                        han    har      vist i går afslået     igen at undersøge sagen grundigt
 s;ra n;ma;hv  v    k  ^at n  ^a   v   1  1  sadv iv  ptl   n   n   iv              adv
 th   f_v      v  //  k   /n  /   a  / v    11^A / v_ptl      n^N   s;inf            A
```

So in a pedagogical and simpel version my sentence scheme can be described in this way:

```
base          nex                    content
th f_v v//  k  n  a  v  11^a V_ptl// n^N  V  A
```

'^' indicate optionality; ' " ' indicate iterativity. ';' indicate alternation.

On the right hand side of a rewrite rule there must be at least one non-optional constituent.

1. sentence --> ^theme rheme
2. theme --> ^s;ra
3. rheme --> ^fokus s
4. focus --> ^n_{ak};ma;$\underline{hv}$ v
5. s --> ^k nex ^obj ^$\underline{at}$inf ^s ^adv
6. nex --> subj ^vf ^sadv ^vi ^ptl
7. subj --> ^$\underline{at}$ n_{nom}
8. vf --> ^va v
9. obj --> ^n_{ak} n_{ak}
10. vi --> ^n_{ak} ^ma iv ^vi
11. $\underline{at}$inf --> ^va at iv ^ra ^vi ^ptl ^obj ^vi ^adv
12. sadv --> ^lp sadv
13. lp --> ^l l
14. ptl --> ^obj ptl

ra = relational adverbials denoting time, place, cause, circumstance.

ma = manner adverbial

s = sentence or clause

nex = the nexus of the sentence or clause

sadv = sentence adverbial, relational adverbial, manner adverbial or logican operator (negation)

va = relational adverbial, manner adverbial or logican operator (negation)

n = noun phrase

$\underline{at}$inf = infinitive clause with $\underline{at}$

vi = infinite verb phrase (without $\underline{at}$)

iv = infinite verb

v = finite verb

ptl = verb complementizing particles (directional adverbials)

l = 'light' unstressed pronoun

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2. theme --> `thadvp subj (thadv = thematic adverbial phrase (conjunctions or situational adverbials:
   place, time, or circumstance))

3. thadvp --> adv `vf (finite verb)

4. rheme --> vp `pheme `vcompl `objects

5. vp --> `adv `at vf (adv = all types of adverbials except ptl and sentence adverbials)

6. pheme --> `lp(hrase) sadv (= sentence adverbials, negations or prepositional phrases)

7. lp --> `l l (light pronominal constituents)

8. vcompl --> `np ptl (particles: locative adverbials, bound prepositions)

9. objects --> `np np

10. modifier --> adv np (heavy position) (adv = modifying adverbial, prepositional phrases.)

---

sentence

`contrastive theme   "rheme"

`contrastive theme   `thadvp   subj

E cf `vf thadv  `vf   np   `adv `at `v"   `l l   sadv   `np ptl   `np   adv `np

Peter ser   du   så   ...

Så gav   at   hun   Peter   ...
          hun   hun ikke vil   give   ...

Hvem var hvem han egl. var   ...
...   om(ikke)at han   kom
...   hvis(ikke) han   kom

Hvis   han   er
          skal han sov

så stor   som   jeg   er
manden   som at jeg ikke kender
manden   som   der ikke kender
manden   som at de   lagde

...

E cf `vf thadv `vf   sadv   `np ptl   `np   adv `np

So in a pedagogical and simpel version my sentence scheme can be
described in this way:

focus/ theme /   rheme"   /heavy

E // F_v // b_v   //n / a /   v"_l // A /   A /   A // H

E // F_v / b_v   n / a   v"_l / A   _nN   A / H