

Have og få med objekt og perf. participium m.v. **og så lidt om generativ sætningsstruktur**

Sten Vikner

Sektion for Engelsk, Institut for Sprog, Litteratur og Kultur, Aarhus Universitet
sten.vikner@hum.au.dk - www.hum.au.dk/engelsk/engsv

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I projektbeskrivelsen til en af de versioner af DanDiaSyn-ansøgningen stod det nedenstående afsnit, og selvom afsnittet ikke var med i den ansøgning der fik pengene, går jeg ud fra at det er derfor jeg står på listen med dette område:

Kausative konstruktioner

Undersøgelsen vil blandt andet omhandle *få*-konstruktioner som 1a og 1b, hvor objektet *noget* kan stå enten før eller efter participiet:

- 1a Det er svært at få noget skrevet når du hele tiden forstyrrer
- 1b Det er svært at få skrevet noget når du hele tiden forstyrrer

Det er veldokumenteret at *få skrevet noget* / *få noget skrevet* har været geografisk fordelt. Man har obligatorisk foranstillet objekt vest for Storebælt og obligatorisk efterstillet objekt øst for Storebælt (med lidt vaklen på Lolland-Falster og hos yngre sjællændere), sml. bl.a. Magda Nyberg 1967 og Ømålsordbogen under *få*. Det ser ud til at visse rigsmålspåregede sprogbrugere nu kan bruge begge ordstillinger, men fordelt på to betydninger, således at type 1a er tvetydig: den kan enten betyde at taleren skriver selv eller får en anden til det (altså den kausative læsning), mens Type 1b ikke er tvetydig. DanDiaSyn-undersøgelsen vil kunne afklare i hvilket omfang det gamle system eksisterer, og i hvilket omfang det nye er etableret, eller sagt med andre ord: undersøgelsen vil kunne belyse en igangværende sprogforandring.

Det er interessant at bemærke at på svensk kan type 1b konstrueres med enten supinum *skrivit*, hvor det betyder at det er taleren selv der skriver, eller med participium *skrivet*, hvor det så er en anden der skriver (jf. Vikner & Sprouse 1988: 44, (97)).

Undersøgelsen vil også omfatte kausativer med *lade* som tager infinitiv (Vikner 1987). Modsat *få*-typen, hvor objektet enten kan komme før eller efter verbet (participiet), skal objektet følge verbet (infinitiven) i *lade*-typen. Type 2b er således ikke mulig i standarddansk:

- 2a De vil ikke lade sagen undersøge
- 2b De vil ikke lade undersøge sagen

På svensk er 2b mulig, og denne mulighed korrelerer muligvis med placeringen af partiklen i konstruktioner af typen *smide ud*. Svensk har således 2b og 3b, mens standard dansk har 2a og 3a.

- 3a Jeg smed affaldet ud
 - 3b Jeg smed ud affaldet
-

Have og få med objekt og perf. participium m.v.

1. Case

Nominative case is assigned by the finite verb to its subject.

Accusative case is assigned by the main verb to its object.

- (1) En. The students have recently sold their last books
- └──────────┘ └──────────┘
- NOM ACC
- cf. √they cf. *they
- *them √them

Passive verbs differ from active ones in that they

- have an empty subject position.
- do not assign case to their object.

The object will therefore not be assigned case in the object position. As a result, it will have to find case somewhere else, namely in the subject position:

- (2) En. The last books have recently been sold _____
- └──────────┘
- NOM

Prepositions assign case to their objects, just like verbs.

- (3) En. She has just stepped on the radio
- └──────────┘
- ACC

2. Particles

Particles are prepositions that do not assign case. Something must be therefore be done, otherwise their object will not be assigned case.

Option I. The particle forms part of the verb ('incorporation'), and 'together' they assign case to the object:

- (4) En. She has just [switched on] the radio
- └──────────┘
- ACC

Option II. The object moves to a position where it can be assigned case by the verb (this order is not possible with prepositions):

- (5) En. She has just switched the radio on _____
- └──────────┘
- ACC

As seen in (4) and (5), both options are available with English particles:

- (6) En. a. She looked the street up in her A-Z ✓ (I)
 b. She looked up the street in her A-Z ✓ (II)

As seen in (3), English prepositions have to precede their object:

- (7) En. a. *She looked the street up, hoping to see a bus coming
 b. She looked up the street, hoping to see a bus coming

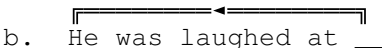
3. Verb particles in Scandinavian

Norwegian, Swedish and Danish differ with respect to the two options in (4) and (5): Norwegian has both options, Swedish only has option I, and Danish only has option II.

- (8) En. a. He threw out the carpet ✓ (I)
 b. He threw the carpet out ✓ (II)
- (9) No. a. Han kastet bort teppet ✓ (I)
 b. Han kastet teppet bort ✓ (II)
- (10) Sw. a. Han kastade bort mattan ✓ (I)
 b. *Han kastade mattan bort * (II)
- (11) Da. a. *Han smed ud tæppet * (I)
 b. Han smed tæppet ud ✓ (II)

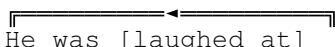
4. Prepositional passive

The so-called prepositional passive (also called 'pseudopassive') might seem to be a problem:

- (12) En. a. They laughed at him
 b.  He was laughed at ____

What is peculiar about the prepositional passive is that passivisation prevents not the verb *laugh* but the preposition *at* from assigning case, even though passivisation affects the morphology of the verb and not that of the preposition.

One analysis is to say that the reason why the passivisation of the verb *laugh* prevents the preposition *at* from assigning case is that the preposition 'forms part' of the verb:

- (13) En.  He was [laughed at] ____

This amounts to saying that the incorporation option (option I above) also applies to prepositions, thus establishing a parallel between particles and prepositions.

Support for this comes from the observation that the prepositional passive is possible in just those languages where option I is possible, i.e. English/Norwegian/Swedish but not Danish:

- (14) No. Han ble ledd av (Vinje 1987:140)
- (15) Sw. Skandalen skrattades åt (Platzack 1998:122)
- (16) Da. a. *Han blev grinnet af hele vinteren
 b. *Skandalen blev grinnet af hele vinteren
- (17) Da. a. Ham blev der grinnet af hele vinteren
 b. Skandalen blev der grinnet af hele vinteren

5. *let*-causatives display the same difference

- (18) a. Da. *Peter lod [_{VP} støvsuge tæppet]
 b. Sw. Peter lät [_{VP} dammsuga mattan]
 Peter let vacuum-clean carpet-the
- (19) a. Da. Peter lod [_{VP} tæppet [_{VP} støvsuge t]]
- b. Sw. *Peter lät [_{VP} mattan [_{VP} dammsuga t]]
- Peter let carpet-the vacuum-clean

where the embedded verb *dammsuga/støvsuge* may assign case in Swedish, but not in Danish (Vikner 1987 and many others). Instead the object has to move to a position (here seen as adjoined to the embedded VP) where it can be assigned case from *lade*. This analysis is supported by the object in the *let*-construction being able to undergo object shift only in Danish - as only in Danish does the object receive case from *let*:

- (20) Da. a. Peter har formentlig ladet det_i støvsuge t_i
 Peter has presumably let it vacuum-clean
- b. Peter lod_j det_i formentlig t_j t_i støvsuge t_i
 Peter let it presumably vacuum-clean
- (Vikner 1989:145, (20))

The analysis is also supported by the verb embedded under *let* being able to passivise only in Swedish - as only in Swedish is this verb able to assign case, which is a condition for case assignment:

- (21) a. Da. Peter lod [_{VP} tæppet [_{VP} støvsuges t]]
- b. Sw. *Peter lät [_{VP} mattan [_{VP} dammsugas t]]
- Peter let carpet-the vacuum-cleaned-be (Vikner 1989:145, (19))

6. Other constructions that seem to display the same difference

- (22) a. Da. Synes du det er prisen værd ?
 b. Sw. Tycker du det är värt priset ?
 Think you it is (worth) price-the (worth) (Hulthén 1947:128)
- (23) a. Da. Det var før han lærte sin kone at kende
 b. Sw. Det var innan han lärde känna sin hustru
 It was before he learned (know) his wife (to know) (Hulthén 1947:125)
- (24) a. Da. Du skal få alle Wiens herligheder at se
 b. Sw. Du ska få se alla Wiens härligheter
 You shall get (see) all Vienna's wonders (to see) (Hulthén 1947:124)
- (25) a. Da. Hun fik både det ene og det andet at høre
 b. Sw. Hon fick höra både det ena och det andra
 She got (hear) both the one and the other (to hear) (Hulthén 1947:124)

7. *Få*, object and perfect participle

[From Vikner & Sprouse (1988:44-45):]

Swedish has a difference between a non-agreeing participle (in neuter, singular) and a supine:

- (26) Sw. a. Jag har inte fått skrivit boken/breven än
b. Jag har inte fått skrivet boken/breven än
"I have not got written(supine/neut-sg)
the book(comm-sg)/the letters(pl) yet"

where (26a), with a supine, means that I have (not) done it myself, whereas (26b), with a participle, means that I have not got someone else to do it.

The corresponding Danish sentence (with a participle) is ambiguous as to these two interpretations:

- (27) Da. Jeg har ikke fået skrevet bogen/brevene endnu
"I have not got written(neut-sg) the book(comm-sg)/the letters(pl) yet"

[end of quote from Vikner & Sprouse (1988:44-45)]

These are all also possible with the object in front of the participle, in which case they are ambiguous in both languages with respect to who the agent is (e.g. *Kalle* or someone else):

- (28) a. Da. Kalle fik brevene skrevet
b. Sw. Kalle fick breven skrivna (Hedlund 1992:26, (32))
- (29) a. Da. Endelig fik jeg min artikel skrevet
b. Sw. Äntligen fick jag min artikel skriven (Hedlund 1992:62, (175))
- (30) a. Da. Endelig fik jeg skrevet min artikel
b. Sw. Äntligen fick jag skrivet min artikel (Hedlund 1992:62, (175))
- (31) a. Da. Kalle fik nogle tænder slået ud (*af Pelle)
b. Sw. Kalle fick några tänder utslagna (av Pelle)
(Hedlund 1992:30, (22), 64, (185))
- (32) a. Da. Kalle fik slået nogle tænder ud (*af Pelle)
b. Sw. *Kalle fick utslaget några tänder (av Pelle)
(Hedlund 1992:63-4, (179). (186))
- (33) a. Da. Vi fik konferencen betalt af universitetet
b. Sw. Vi fick konfenrensen betald av universitetet (Hedlund 1992:31, (24))

8. *Have*, object and perfect participle

Agreement as above, only in Swedish and only with a preposed object:

- (34) Sw. a. Jag har packat väskorna
b. *Jag har packade väskorna (Egerland 1998:23-4, (22), (23))
- (35) Sw. a. *Jag har väskorna packat
b. Jag har väskorna packade (Egerland 1998:23-4, (22), (23))
- (36) Da. a. Jeg har pakket kufferterne
b. *Jeg har pakkede kufferterne
- (37) Da. a. Jeg har kufferterne pakket
b. Jeg har kufferterne pakkede

The preposed object requires the object to be defining an endpoint for the event (Egerland 1998), and it is therefore not possible with verbs describing a state:

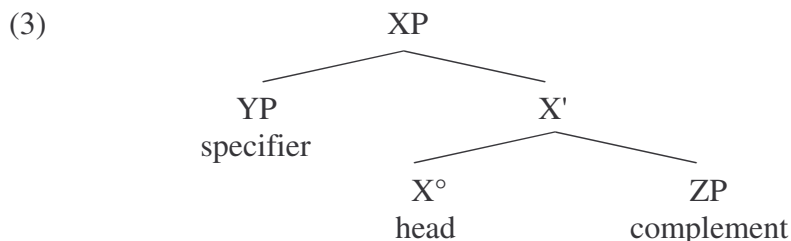
- (38) a. Da. Jeg har brevene skrevet
b. Sw. Jag har breven skrivna (Egerland 1998:25, (30))
- (39) a. Da. *Vi har matematik elsket
b. Sw. *Vi har matematik gillad (Egerland 1998:26, (41))
- (40) a. Da. *Jeg har din bror kendt
b. Sw. *Jag har din bror känd (Egerland 1998:26, (42))
- (41) a. Da. *Vi har fuglene observeret
b. Sw. *?Vi har fåglarna observerade (Egerland 1998:26, (43))

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1 Generative Tree Structures

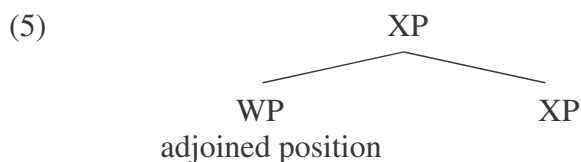
In a generative analysis, syntactic constituents all have the same basic structure, namely the "X-bar structure" in (3), where the sequence of the head and the complement may vary depending on the language:



where

- (4)
- | | | |
|----|----------|---|
| XP | = phrase | / the maximal projection of X |
| X' | = X-bar | / the intermediate projection of X |
| X° | = head | / the minimal projection of X (= a word or maybe even smaller unit) |

A phrase (a maximal projection) may thus occur inside another projection either as a specifier or as a complement. A head is always the head of its own maximal projection, and all maximal projections have a head (are endocentric). A maximal projection may furthermore also be adjoined to another maximal projection (where the sequence of the adjoined constituent and the adjoined to constituent may vary):



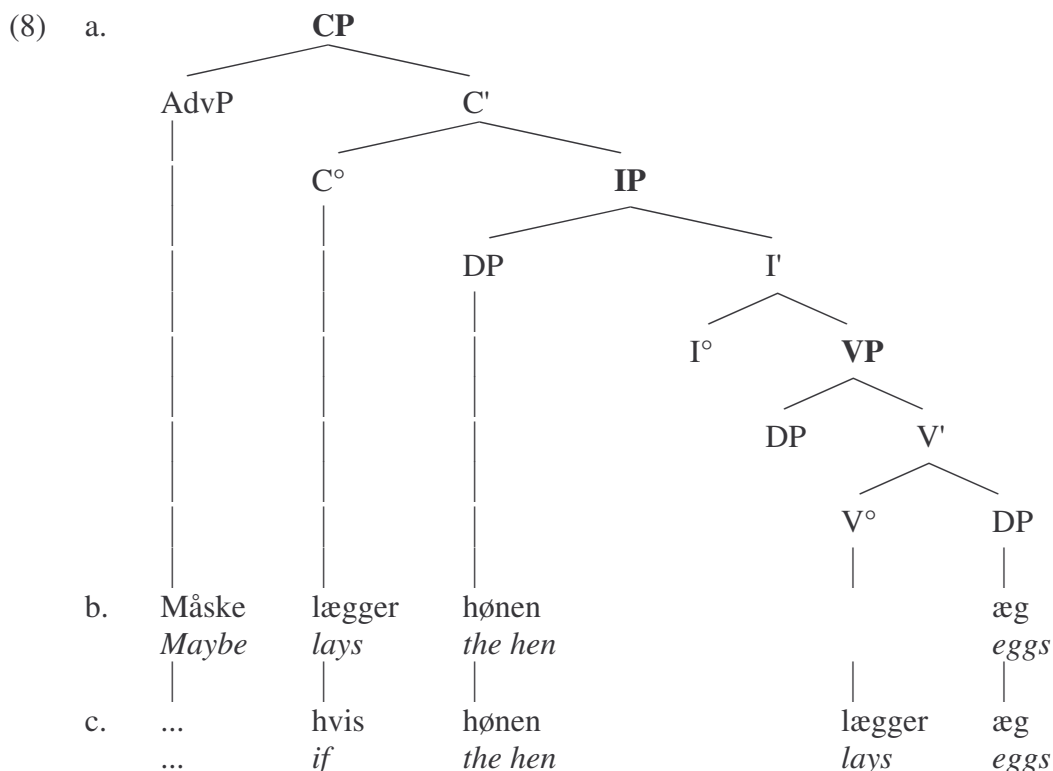
X (and also Y, Z, and W) in (3)-(5) above may stand for one of the following categories:

(6)	lexical categories (word classes)	"functional" categories
	N (noun)	C ("complementiser"
	V (verb)	= subordinating conjunction)
	P (preposition)	I (inflection)
	Adj (adjective)	D (determiner)
	Adv (adverbial)	etc.
	etc.	etc.

In a somewhat simplified generative analysis, the structure of a sentence (irrespective of whether it is a main or an embedded clause) is as follows:

- (7)
- A clause is a CP,
 - the complement of its head (= C°) is an IP, and
 - the complement of the IP's head (= I°) is a VP.

For a sentence with no auxiliary verb and with a (mono-)transitive main verb the structure looks as follows for both a main and an embedded clause:



Also in the generative analysis, there are tests for constituency, e.g. substitution tests or movement tests (the latter being a version of the commutation test). The underlying idea is that if two or more words (e.g. *the blue book*) may undergo substitution (9b) or movement (9c) together, then they form a constituent, whereas if two or more words in questions (*read the blue*) cannot be substituted by anything (9d) or cannot be moved (9e), then one possible reason may be that they do not form a constituent:

- (9) a. Har hun læst den blå bog ?
Has she read this blue book ?
- b. Har hun læst den ?
Has she read it ?
- c. Den blå bog har hun læst
The blue book has she read
- d. * Har hun xxxxx bog ?
Has she xxxxx book ?
- e. *Læst den blå har hun bog
Read the blue has she book

(The asterisk in front of (9d,e) signal that these two examples are not well-formed.)

2. Convergence: Topological Slots and Tree Structure Terminal Nodes

It would certainly be an exaggeration to claim that the differences between the two directions in linguistics are only pseudo-differences, but it is interesting to observe that there are many points of convergence.

One such point (even if the convergence is only partial) has to do with the slots in the Diderichsen analysis and the terminal nodes (the nodes at the end of the branches) in the generative analysis.

When it is added to the basic generative structure, (8), that adverbials (and other adjuncts) may be adjoined both on the left side and on the right side of a VP, the result is the generative structure in (10a) below.

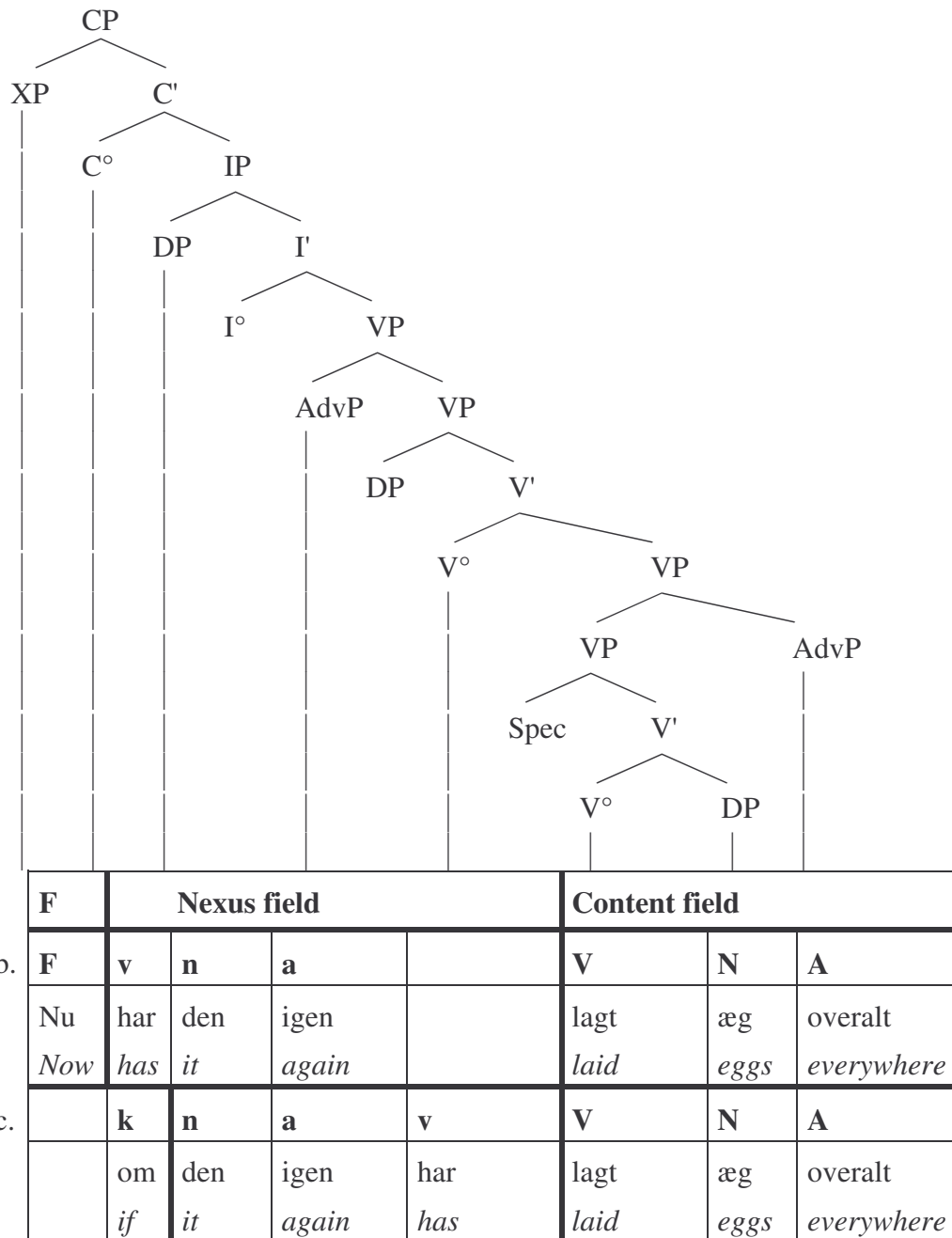
This tree structure, (10a), can be directly compared to the simplified Diderichsen models of constituent order in modern Danish as illustrated in (10b) for main clauses (Diderichsen 1946:162, 186, cf. also Hansen 1978:44, Heltoft 1986a, Allan et al. 1995:491-496, Jørgensen 2000b:71-78, Togeby 2003:56, 72) and in in (10c) for embedded clauses (Diderichsen 1946:186, cf. also Hansen 1978:72-74, Heltoft 1986a, Allan et al. 1995:496-498, Jørgensen 2000b:63-71, Togeby 2003:97-99).

It is perhaps indicative of the convergence between topological slots and tree structure terminal nodes that the first person to suggest the correspondence shown in (10b,c) between Diderichsen's analysis of the Danish main clause and Diderichsen's analysis of the Danish embedded clause was a generative syntactician, Christer Platzack (1985:71, fn 5), and that his suggestion was in turn taken up by functional syntactician Lars Heltoft (1986a:108).

The convergence itself consists in the observation that the slots in the Diderichsen analysis have direct analogues in the generative tree structure. The following list may thus allow syntacticians from one approach to understand and build on insights gained by the other approach:

- (11) a. F (foundation field)
 = CP-spec
- b. v (finite verb position in main clauses)
 = k (subordinating conjunction position in embedded clauses)
 = C°
- c. n (subject position)
 = IP-spec
- d. a (medial adverbial position)
 = position left-adjoined to VP
- e. V (non-finite verb position) (NB: one V per clause)
 = V° (unless it is the highest V° position) (NB: one V° per verb)
- f. N (object position)
 = DP-position which is the complement of V°
- g. A (final adverbial position)
 = position right-adjoined to VP

(10) a.



excerpt from

Tavs Bjerre, Eva Engels, Henrik Jørgensen & Sten Vikner (2007):
 "Functional and formal approaches to syntactic analysis", ms, University of Aarhus.

Comparative Syntax

Elective (Valfag, 3. semester), Autumn 2006, Tuesday 10-12, Room 227, Building 1453
Sten Vikner, Office hour: Tuesday 13:30-15:00, Room 421, Building 1463, Tel. 8942 6522, engsv@hum.au.dk

X-bar structure and the Diderichsen sentence analysis

(This hand-out is an expanded and improved
version of section 1 of Vikner 1999)

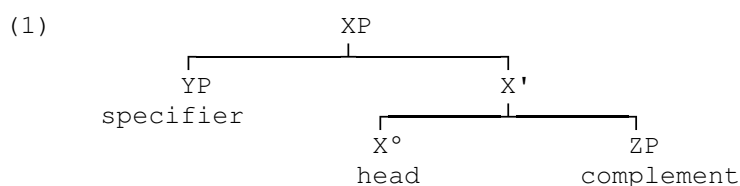
Recommended reading:

Allan et al. (1995:490-504, and if possible also 504-516)
Hansen (1980: 46-49, 72-75)
Platzack (1985:71, fn 6)

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1. X-bar structure

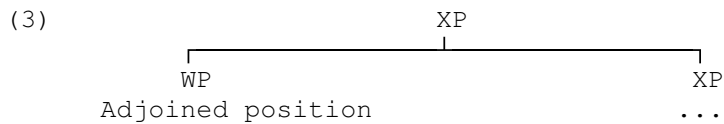
In a generative analysis syntactic constituents all have the same basic structure, namely the "X-bar structure" in (1) (where the sequence of the head and the complement may vary):



- (2)
- | | | | | |
|----|---|--------|---|----------------------------------|
| XP | = | phrase | / | the maximal projection of X |
| X' | = | X-bar | / | the intermediate projection of X |
| X° | = | head | / | the minimal projection of X |

A maximal projection may thus occur inside another projection either as specifier or as complement. A head is always the head of its own maximal projection, and all maximal projections have a head (are endocentric).

A maximal projection may furthermore also be adjoined to another maximal projection (where the sequence of the adjoined constituent and the adjoined to constituent may vary):



X (and also Y, Z, and W) in (1)-(3) above may stand for one of the following categories:

(4)

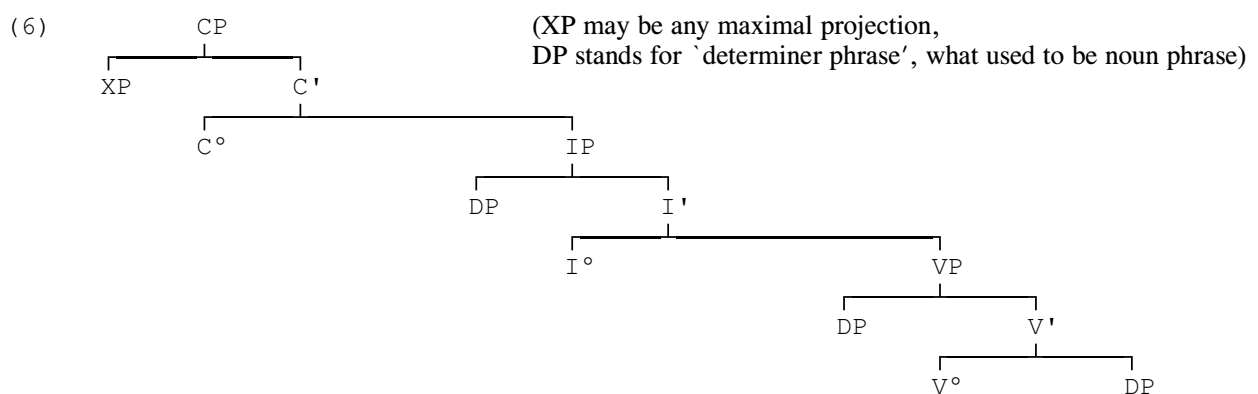
lexical categories (word classes)	"functional" categories
N (noun)	C ("complementiser"
V (verb)	— subordinating conjunction)
P (preposition)	I (inflection)
Adj (adjective)	D (determiner)
Adv (adverbial)	etc.
etc.	etc.

2. The structure of main and embedded clauses in the two analyses

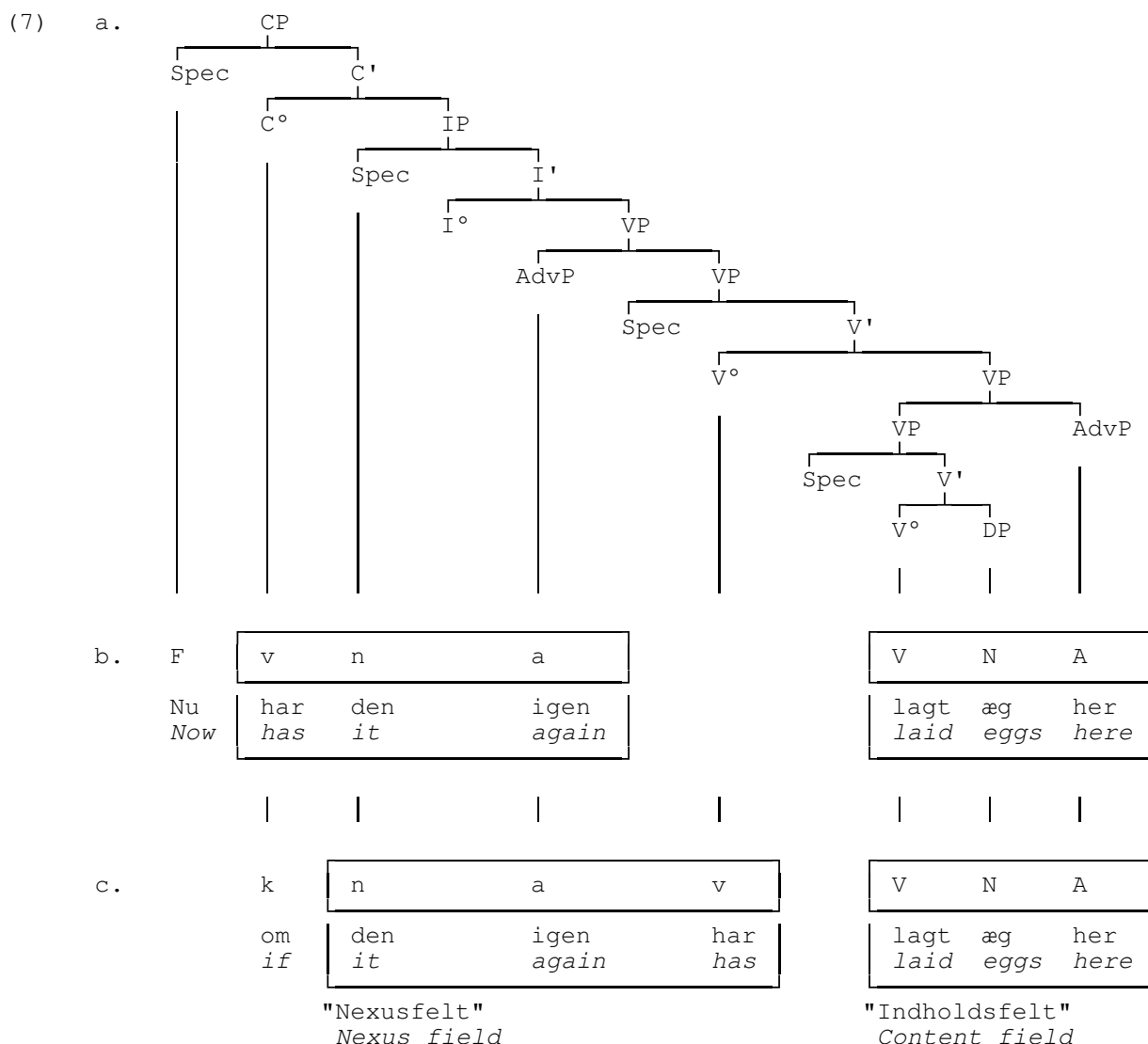
In a somewhat simplified generative analysis, the structure of a sentence (irrespective of whether it is a main or an embedded clause) is as follows:

- (5) A clause is a CP,
the complement of its head (= C°) is an IP, and
the complement of the IP's head (= I°) is a VP.

For a sentence with no auxiliary verb and with a (mono-)transitive main verb the structure looks as follows:



When you add the possibility that adverbials (etc.) may be adjoined both on the left side and on the right side of a VP, the result is the generative structure in (7a), which may be compared to the simplified Diderichsen model of constituent order in modern Danish, Norwegian and Swedish as illustrated in (7b) for main clauses (Diderichsen 1962:162, 186, cf. also Hansen 1980:44, Allan et al. 1995:491-496, Jørgensen 2000:71-78, Tøgeby 2003:56, 72) and in (7c) for embedded clauses (Diderichsen 1962:186, cf. also Hansen 1980:72-74, Allan et al. 1995:496-498, Jørgensen 2000:63-71, Tøgeby 2003:97-99):



Notice that this collapsing of the Diderichsen model for the main clause with the one for the embedded clause is one introduced by the generative analysis (Platzack 1985, cf. below), it is not one suggested by any of the authors quoted just before (7).

Diderichsen (1962) does not compare the main and the embedded clause models.

Allan et al. (1995:498) relate the two models but in the following way:

(8)	k	n	a		v	V	N	A	(embedded)
	k	F	v	n	a	V	N	A	(main)

Here the position (v) of the finite verb in main clauses is not the same as the position (k) of the subordinating conjunction in embedded clauses. Instead v in main clauses is the same as the position (a) of the sentence adverbial in embedded clauses, and a in main clauses is the same as v in embedded clauses. In addition to v and a swapping places, the subject is moved back in main clauses compared to embedded ones.

Togebv (2003:98-102) also collapses the main clause model and the embedded clause model, but in a manner slightly closer to the collapsing suggested in (7) above:

- (9) k n a v V N A (embedded)
 K F v n a V N A (main)

but the position (v) of the verb in main clauses is not the same as the one (k) of the subordinating conjunction in embedded clauses even though all 12 examples illustrating the collapsed model in Togebv (2003:102) either have v empty and k filled, or v filled and k empty.

The juxtaposition of the the main clause model with the embedded clause one in Hansen (1980:73) is also relatively close to the collapsing suggested in (7) above:

- (10) K k n a v V N A (embedded)
 K F v n a V N A (main)

but also here the position (v) of the verb in main clauses is not the same as the position (k) of the subordinating conjunction in embedded clauses.

Jørgensen (2000:70) is slightly different, aligning one field (embedded) with two (main):

- (11) | k | n | a | v | V | N | A | (embedded)
 | F | v | n | a | | V | N | A | (main)

Finally we arrive at the collapsing suggested in (7) above, originally suggested by Platzack (1985:71, fn 5) and also taken up by Heltoft (1986:108):

- (12) (F) k n a v V N A (embedded)
 F v n a V N A (main)

The possibility of having a "fundamental field" in an embedded clause left of the subordinating conjunction is illustrated by the authentic colloquial example (5) from page 2, 03.10.2006):

- (13) [F] [k]
 Da. ... ikke sige hvorfor at han selv havde været på politistationen
 ... not say why that he self had been on police-station-the

This also illustrates another difference: To the generative analysis, the initial *hv*-element in an embedded question is in CP-spec, i.e. the fundamental field (F). To e.g. Hansen (1980:72) and Togebv (2003:99), the initial *wh*-element in an embedded question is in the field of the subordinating conjunction (k). The problem with the latter is that such a *wh*-element can be an XP (*I wonder **what** he prefers* vs. *I wonder **which of the two solutions** he prefers*), just like the elements occupying F, and as opposed to the elements otherwise occupying k.

The following is a less simplified though still not quite complete version of the Diderichsen model for the main clause (Diderichsen 1964:370, 379):

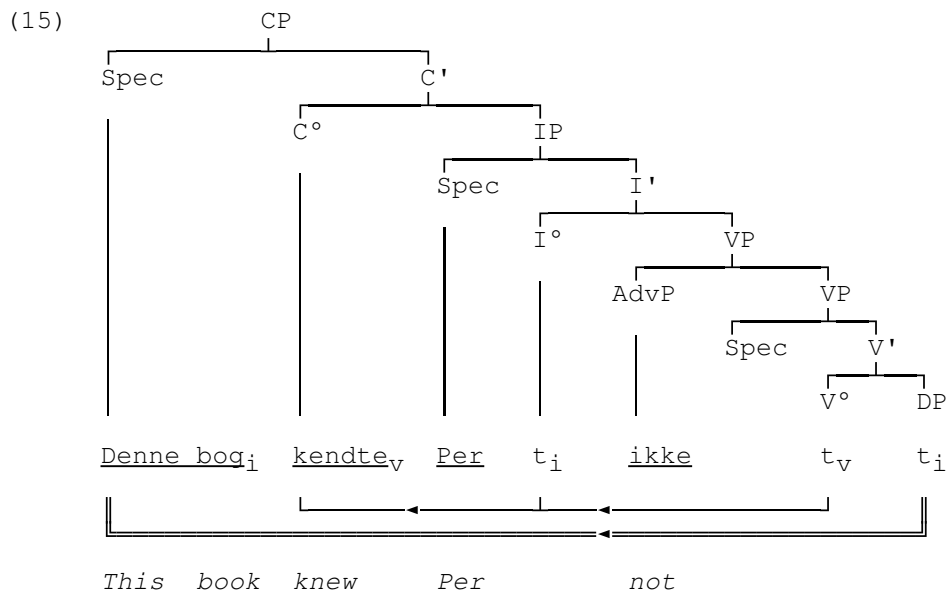
- (14)
- | For-
binder-
felt | Funda-
ment-
felt | Nexusfelt | | | Indholdsfelt | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|-----------|------|-------|--------------|---------|-------------|--|
| | | V-pl | N-pl | A-pl | V-pl | N-plads | A-plads | |
| | | | | a A | | | | |
| | | | | | v V | IO DO | fast frit | |
-
- | Conne-
ctor
field | Funda-
mental
field | Nexus field | | | Content field | | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|-------------|------|-------|---------------|---------|--------------|--|
| | | V-pl | N-pl | A-pl | V-pl | N-place | A-place | |
| | | | | a A | | | | |
| | | | | | v V | IO DO | fixed free | |

3. Similarities between the two analyses

3.1 Topology vs. syntax

The generative model has no distinction between Diderichsen's two levels of analysis "topology" and "syntax", which Heltoft (1986:121) describes as follows: "**topological analysis** (Where are which constituents placed?) and **syntactic analysis** (Which constituents may a sentence consist of and how may they be combined?)". In the generative model both "topological analysis" and "syntactic analysis" fall under syntax.

In the generative analysis, constituents may move. A moved constituent leaves a trace (or more than one). The sentence *Denne bog kendte Per ikke* is analysed as follows:



Denne bog is in CP-spec (Diderichsen's topology: it is placed in the "fundamental field") and it has left a trace in the complement position of *kendte* (Diderichsen's syntax: it is the object of *kendte*). In a way you might say that Diderichsen's difference between topology and syntax corresponds to the difference between the base position and the landing position (i.e. to the difference between D-structure and S-structure) in the generative analysis.

3.2 Movement and traces

Hansen (1980:55) talks about movement to the fundamental field ("opflytning til fundamentfelt-et"), and gives examples (1980:61, 75) with moved elements where the "normal position" of the moved element is marked "()" (corresponding to a trace in the generative analysis):

- (16) Da. a. Vinden fører () med sig langt ud over havet
Wind-the carries with it far out over see-the

 en duft af hø og nyslåede enge
 an air of hay and new-mown meadows

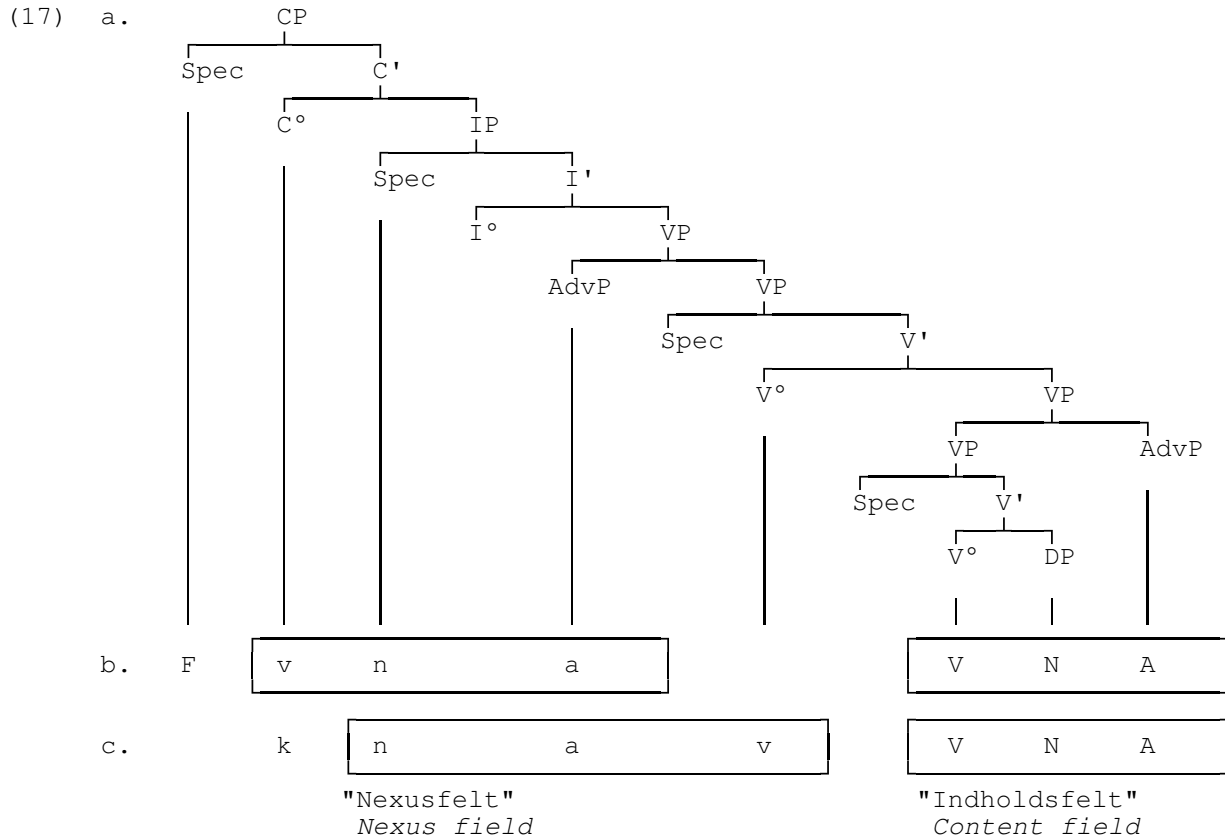
 b. Den bemærkning lod jeg bare som om jeg ikke havde hørt ()
 That remark pretended I just as if I not had heard

Allan et al. (1995:510) also talk of movement to the fundamental field, and Jørgensen (2000:69) talks of movement ("fremrykning") both to the fundamental field and of the finite verb in declarative main clauses.

4. Differences between the two analyses

4.1 The number of positions

The generative structure in (7a) contains two positions ("fields") more than the Diderichsen model as in (7b): VP-spec (the sister of V') and I°. (7) is repeated here as (17):



VP-spec is the base position of the subject, which however always moves to the specifier of IP (the sister of I'), in order to be assigned case (which is almost always nominative).

I° is always empty in Danish (and in English, it is only filled by finite auxiliaries and finite main verb *be*), but on the other hand all finite verbs occur in I° in Icelandic and French, cf. the hand-out from 10.10.2006.

The generative structure can thus say something principled about differences between related languages, whereas different languages need different (pairs of) models in the Diderichsen view (one pair for Danish/Swedish/Norwegian as in (7b,c), another pair for old Danish/Icelandic, cf. Diderichsen 1941:89, and a completely different model for e.g. German, cf. e.g. Wöllstein-Leisten et al. 1997:53-75, etc.), without the analysis giving any principled reason why Danish does not follow the model for German or why German does not follow the Danish one.

On the other hand, the Diderichsen model(s) for Danish (and one for German, etc.) has the advantage that it contains no positions which are never filled.

4.2 The number of constituents

There are more constituents in the generative structure, (7a), than in the Diderichsen model, (7b,c), also if we assume the extended Diderichsen model in (14) above. I will use two kinds of arguments for the existence of a constituent: Movement (to CP-spec/the "fundamental field") and substitution (pronominalisation, here with subsequent movement of the pronoun to CP-spec/the "fundamental field").

Thus it can be shown that a VP which **includes** a final adverbial is a constituent (which corresponds to the "content field" in the Diderichsen models):

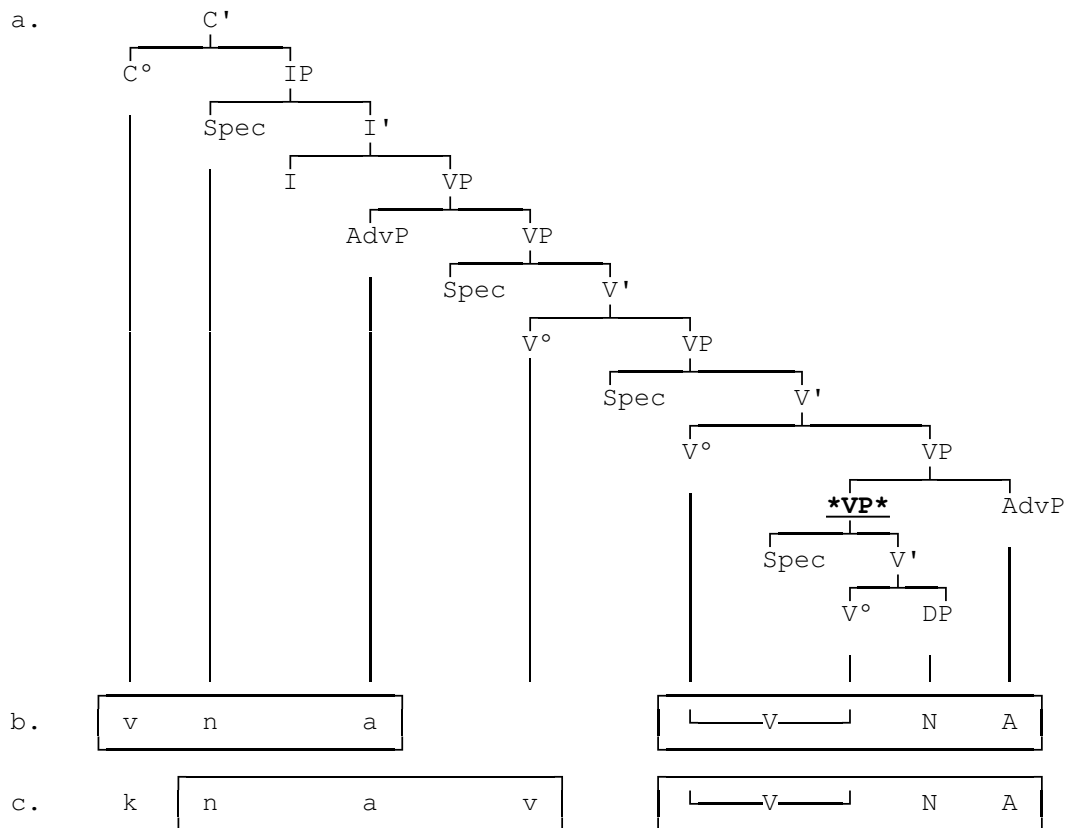
- | | | | | |
|--|----|----|----|--|
| | V | N | A | |
| | V° | DP | PP | |
- (18) [Kritisere regeringen for åben mikrofon]
 Criticise government-the for open microphone
- ville departementschefen under ingen omstændigheder ____
 would the permanent undersecretary under no circumstances
- | | | | | |
|--|----|----|----|--|
| | V | N | A | |
| | V° | DP | PP | |
- (19) [Bagtale folk uden at lægge fingrene imellem], det kunne hun ____
Slander people without putting fingers-the in-between, that could she
 (= Talk about people behind their backs without mincing her words, that she could)

But it can also be shown that a VP that **excludes** a final adverbial constitutes a constituent, i.e. a constituent which is found in the generative structure, (7a) (the lowest VP), but not in the Diderichsen model, (7b)/(14):

- | | | | |
|--|----|----|----|
| | V | N | A |
| | V° | DP | PP |
- (20) [Lave en anstændig lasagne] kan jeg kun ____ [med en kogebog ved hånden]
 Make a decent lasagne can I only with a cookbook to hand
- | | | | |
|--|----|----|----|
| | V | N | A |
| | V° | DP | PP |
- (21) Jeg er imponeret over at Bo kan [rette eksamensopgaverne] [i toget],
 I am impressed over that Bo can correct exam papers in train-the
- det kan jeg kun ____ ved mit skrivebord
 that can I only at my desk

Furthermore, in the generative analysis of Danish, there is a VP for every time there is a verb, which means that if there are three verbs, there are three VPs, one of which is a constituent made up of only the last of the verbs plus its object (marked as ***VP*** in (22a)). This constituent is completely impossible in the Diderichsen model, as all non-finite verbs would occur in the same slot, V. It is however possible to show that such a constituent (***VP***) does exist, cf. that it can be moved as in (20) or substituted by *det* as in (21):

(22) a.



(23) $\begin{matrix} V & N \\ V^\circ & DP \end{matrix}$
 [Lave en anstændig lasagne]
 Make a decent lasagne

? A
 $\begin{matrix} V^\circ & PP \end{matrix}$
 har jeg aldrig kunnet ____ [uden en kogebog ved hånden]
 have I never could without a cookbook to hand

(24) $\begin{matrix} & & & & \begin{matrix} \text{V} \\ \text{V}^\circ \end{matrix} & & \begin{matrix} \text{N} \\ \text{DP} \end{matrix} & & \begin{matrix} \text{A} \\ \text{PP} \end{matrix} \\ & & & & \text{lappe} & \text{sin cykel} & & \end{matrix}$
 Tina mente at Ole egentlig burde [lappe sin cykel] med det samme,
 Tina thought that Ole actually ought mend his bike right away

men det sagde han at han først ville ____ dagen efter
 but that said he that he first would day-the after

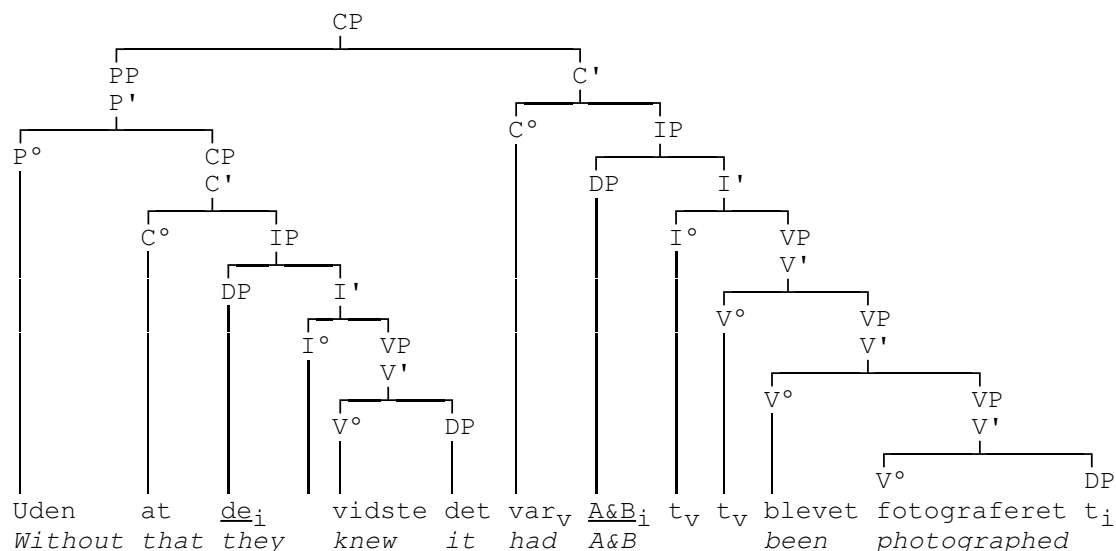
4.3 C-command

All constituents in the generative structure (except the very highest CP) are part of a larger constituent, whereas the Diderichsen model contain at least four fields which are not part of a larger field. This makes it possible to define the following relation ("C-command") in the generative structure (cf. the hand-out from 05.09.2006):

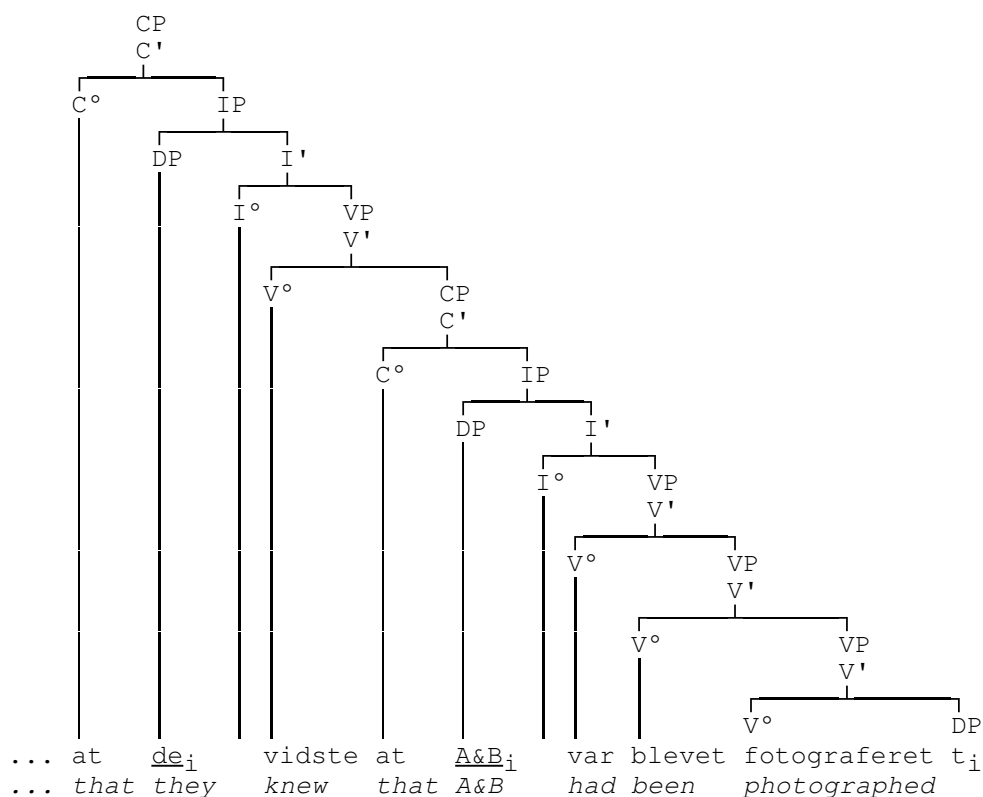
- (25) X c-commands Y if and only if
- all constituents that contain X also contain Y,
 - neither X nor Y dominates the other.

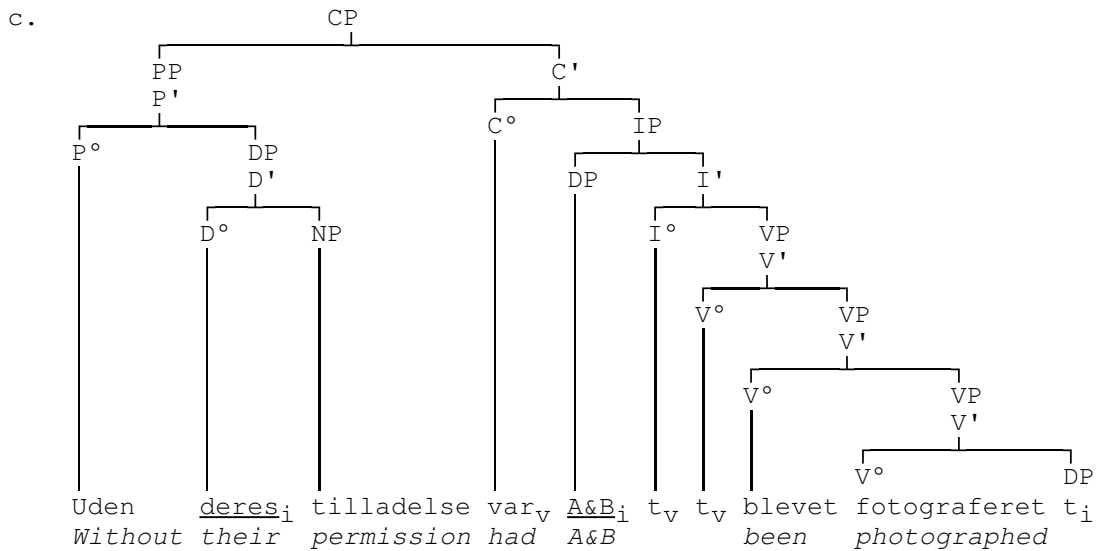
This relation may be used to make the following universal generalisation: A pronoun and a DP (determiner phrase, i.e. "noun phrase") may not be coreferential, if the pronoun c-commands the DP (remember the first syntax lectures: *John* thinks *he* is intelligent name c-commands pronoun, coreference possible, vs. *He* thinks *John* is intelligent pronoun c-commands name, coreference impossible). In this way, the difference between (26a,c) and (26b,d) may be accounted for, whereas a purely linear rule would not be able to make a distinction between them. (To save space, I omit not only empty specifier positions but also the branch between specifier-less XPs and their X's).

(26) a.

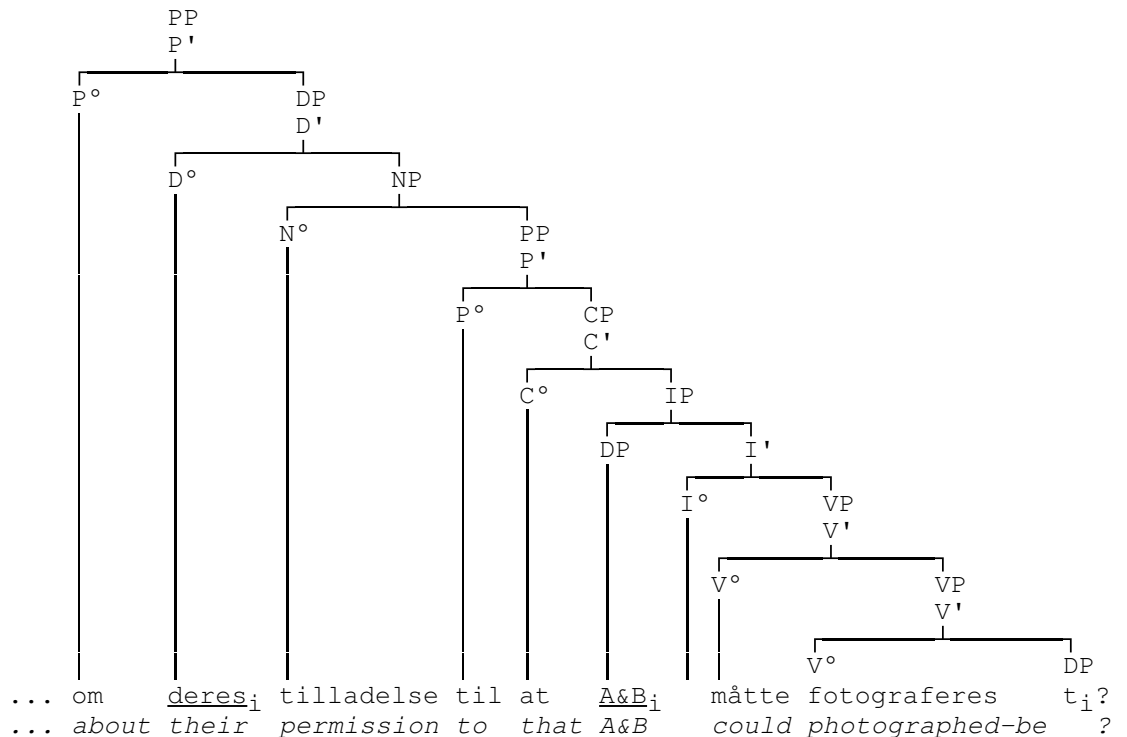


b. *Jeg tror ikke ...
I think not ...





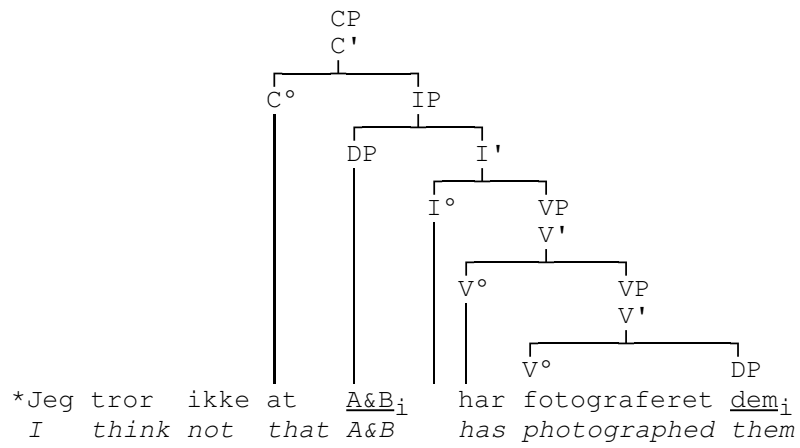
d. *Har du hørt
 Have you heard ...



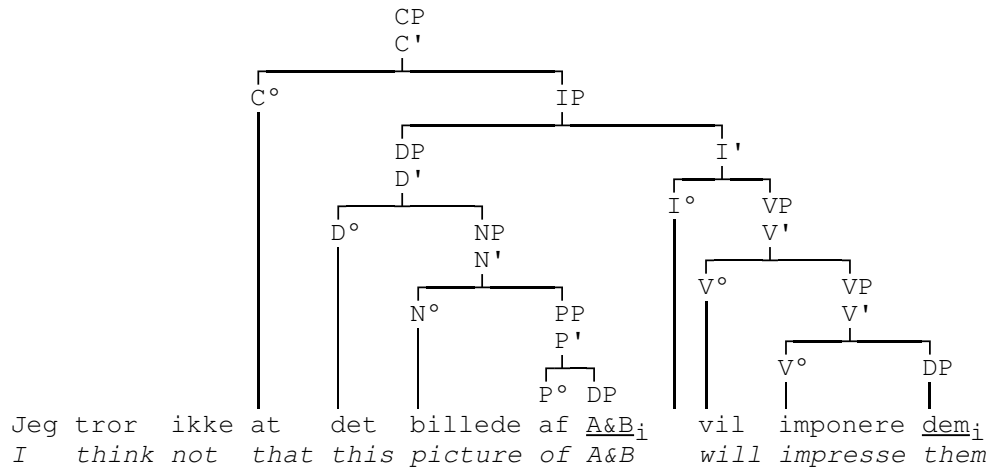
In (26a,c) at least one constituent contains *de/deres* without also containing *A&B* = *Anne og Bo* 'Anne and Bo', e.g. the embedded clause that *de* is the subject of in (26a) or the DP that contains *deres* in (26c). This is not the case in (26b,d). Thus the pronoun c-commands the name in (26b,d) but not in (26a,c).

Another universal generalisation is that a DP may only be coreferential with a pronoun that it c-commands if the pronoun is inside a different clause:

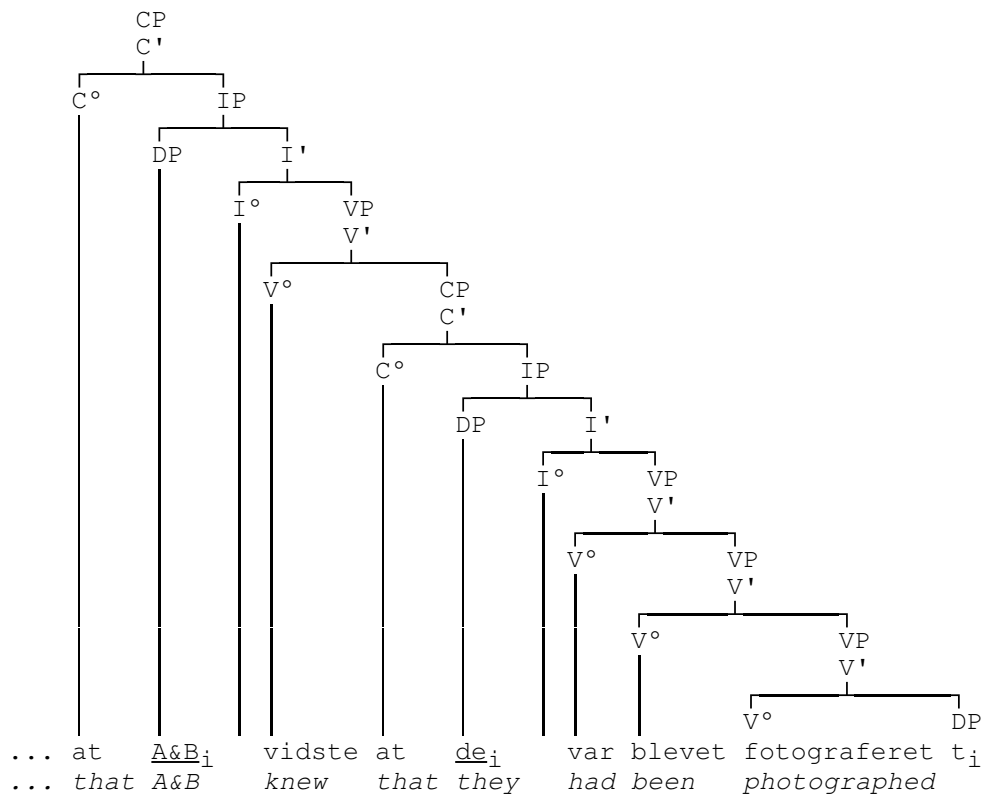
(27) a.



b.



c. Jeg tror ikke ...
 I think not ...



In (27a) *A&B* and *dem* are in the same clause and *A&B* c-commands *dem*. In (27b) *A&B* and *dem* are in the same clause but *A&B* does not c-command *dem*, and in (27c) *A&B* c-commands *dem*, but they are not inside the same clause.

Such generalisations, which are not only valid for Danish, cannot be formulated within a framework like the Diderichsen one.

5. Conclusion

The objective here was to illustrate both how much the generative analysis (Government & Binding / Principles & Parameters) and the Diderichsen model have in common and what exactly distinguishes them.

The most striking difference is probably that the generative analysis is not tailor-made for Danish, and therefore requires a more comprehensive machinery than the Diderichsen model does. This more comprehensive machinery on the other hand has the advantage that the generative analysis has something to say about comparative data. This is also interesting because when it is possible to say something about the difference between Danish and Icelandic, then it is also possible to say something about the diachronic development of Danish.

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