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Anmeldelse

Finn Sørensen og Lars Heltoft (udg.): Topics in Danish Syntax.
NyS 14. Akademisk Forlag. København 1984.

Anmeldt af Christer Platzack

Introduction

During the last five years, the syntactic study of the Scandinavian lan-
guages has received more and more interest. This is mainly due to the de-
velopment of new methods within the Extended Standard Theory of Gene-
rative Transformational Grammar for studying differences between the
grammatical systems of different languages. Being closely related, the
Scandinavian languages offer interesting material for such comparative
studies. Among the examples of this newly awakened interest, we may
mention the dissertations by Engdahl (forthcoming), Taraldsen (1983) and
Thráinsson (1979), two collections of papers about Scandinavian syntax
(Engdahl & Ejerhed (1982), Hellan & Koch-Christensen (forthcoming)), a
new publication for studies in Scandinavian syntax (Working Papers in
Scandinavian Syntax), and the emergence of an annual conference, Work-
shop on Scandinavian Syntax and Theory of Grammar.

Whereas several studies of Icelandic, Norwegian, and Swedish have
been published, there have been comparatively few studies of Danish syn-
tax. It is therefore a promising sign that the 14th issue of Nydanske Studier
has been devoted to topics in Danish syntax.

The volume contains three papers on Danish grammar, written within
the framework of the Extended Standard Theory (EST); more precisely, the
contributions all share the Government and Binding (GB) framework of
Chomsky (1981). This framework is presented by Finn Sørensen in the first
paper of the volume; here, the author also purports to apply the GB theory
to Danish. The other two papers deal with particular problems in Danish
syntax: Michael Herslund discusses preposition stranding in Danish and
other Germanic languages, and Henning Nølke presents a new account of
cleft sentences in Danish.

In my review, I will consider the three papers in the order mentioned
above.

1. **Finn Sørensen's paper »The Extended Standard Theory. A presentation with reference to topicalization in Danish.« (pp. 5-33)**

In this introductory paper, FS outlines the general assumptions of Chomsky's GB theory, and illustrates this theory with analyses of Danish. In the few pages devoted to the theoretical overview, FS naturally cannot go into any detail; nevertheless, he briefly refers to most of the central subtheories and principles of the GB framework, indicates how the various parts of the grammar are supposed to interact and mentions some of the philosophical background of the theory. The second part of the paper, »EST and Danish syntax«, presents an application of some parts of the GB theory to Danish. To a certain extent, this application contains new and original ideas, some of which I will discuss in more detail.

The main part of FS's application of the GB framework to Danish is concerned with the general structure of Danish sentences. It is assumed without arguments that the sentence is a projection of the feature $[\alpha \text{Tense}]$ in Danish (p. 17); this feature is furthermore said to correspond to INFL in Chomsky's system (Chomsky 1981). Thus, the feature $[\alpha \text{Tense}]$ is considered to be the head of the sentence. Now, FS also assumes that the head of a phrase precedes its complement(s) in Danish (cf. example (19) in FS's paper). Hence, the tense feature is supposed to be the leftmost daughter of the sentence. We get the following phrase structure rule (cf. example (25) in FS's paper):

(1) $[\alpha \text{Tense}]' \rightarrow [\alpha \text{Tense}] \text{ N}'' \text{ V}''$

N'' indicates the subject, V'' the predicate. In my presentation, I prefer to use the lables [Tense], [Tense]' and [Tense]'' for the projection system of the sentence. FS uses the abbreviations S for [Tense], S' for [Tense]', and S'' for [Tense]''. This use of the symbols S, S' and S'' deviates from the standard use of these symbols; therefore, it is confusing and should have been abandoned.

Complementizers are generated under the node CP (= COMP in Chomsky's system), which also dominates *wh*-phrases in both main and subordinate clauses. According to FS, the category CP is introduced as a sister of [+ Tense]'; when [Tense] is specified as [– Tense], there is no CP node. FS thus predicts that there is no complementizer in infinitive clauses (p. 18). The phrase structure rule is given as (2) below (cf. (22) in FS's paper):

(2) $[+ \text{Tense}]'' \rightarrow \text{CP} [+ \text{Tense}]'$

To illustrate the effect of these two rules, consider the D-structure given in (4) of the example given in (3); compare examples (23b) and (28) in FS's paper.

(3)   *Per tror at Poul snart kommer.*
      'Per believes that Poul soon arrives'
      Per believes that Poul will soon arrive.

(4)   Per tror [+ Tense]''

```
              CP                         [+ Tense]'
              |           _____/     |      _____
              |          /                      |               \
              |     [+ Tense]       N''        ADV''            V''
              |                      |           |               |
              |                      N'         ADV'             V'
              |                      |           |               |
              |                      N          ADV              V
              |                      |           |               |
              at                    Poul        snart          kommer
```
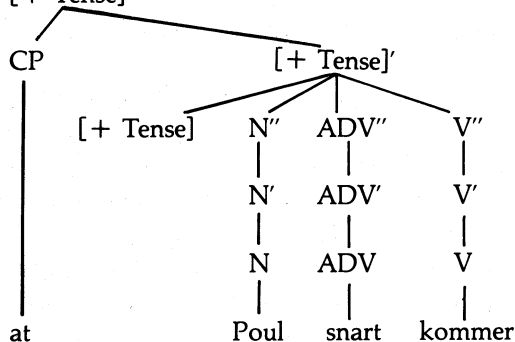
The order of the adverbial and the finite verb is different in main and subordinate clauses. Consider (5), the main clause corresponding to the embedded clause in (3). Here, the finite verb is placed in front of the adverbial:
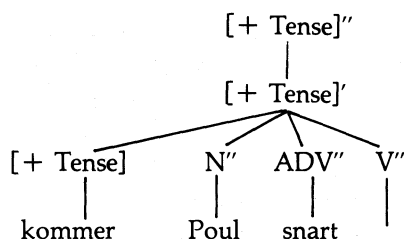
(5)   *Poul kommer snart.*
      'Poul comes soon'
      Poul will soon arrive.

To account for this word order difference between main and subordinate clauses, FS presents the following hypothesis (example (32b), p. 20 in FS's paper):

(6)   *A rule which applies only in main clauses moves the tensed verb in V'' to the left and places it in the position [+ Tense].*

When the finite verb has been fronted, it precedes the adverbial. The structure obtained corresponds to a well-formed yes/no-question:
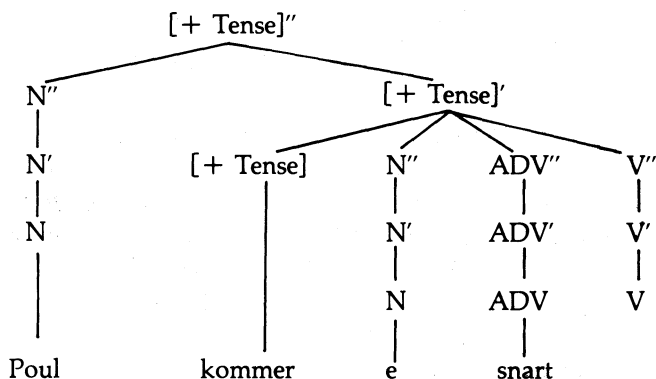
(7)

$$[+\ \text{Tense}]''$$

$$[+\ \text{Tense}]'$$

```
        [+ Tense]      N''    ADV''   V''
            |           |       |      |
         kommer       Poul    snart
```

To obtain the word order of a declarative main clause, FS proposes the following principle (example (32c), p. 20 in FS's paper):

(8)   *The lexical elements which function as subject are generated either to the left of [+ Tense]' or between [+ Tense] and V''.*

The structure of (5) thus looks like (9); compare example (41), p. 23 in FS's paper:

(9)

```
                  [+ Tense]''
        N''                       [+ Tense]'
        |
        N'        [+ Tense]    N''    ADV''    V''
        |             |         |       |       |
        N                      N'     ADV'     V'
        |                       |       |       |
                                N      ADV      V
                                |       |
      Poul        kommer        e     snart
```

The element *e* is, according to FS p. 20, »a particular combination of grammatical features such as Person, Gender, Number«. At the level of LF, the phrase in front of [+ Tense]' is related to the empty element »as an operator binds a variable« (FS, p. 29). In the same way, other constituents can be topicalized outside of [+ Tense]' and related to an empty element. Consider e.g. examples (10a, b) below, which correspond to (64a, b) in FS's paper:

(10)   a $[_{Tense''}\ [_{P''}\ Til\ ham]\ [_{Tense'}\ gav\ jeg\ en\ bog\ [_{P''}\ e]]]$
       b $[_{Tense''}\ [_{N''}\ Den\ bog]\ [_{Tense'}\ har\ jeg\ givet\ [_{N''}\ e]\ til\ ham]]]$

There is virtually no independent argument in FS's paper for the proposed description of Danish sentence structure. This could have been accepted if FS's contribution had been merely a review of generally accepted ideas within the GB framework. However, the description presented must be considered an original contribution to describe the main word order properties of one of the Germanic V/2 languages (Danish), i.e., one of the languages where the finite verb must occur in second position in declarative main clauses. Since there has been an intense international debate concerning these matters during the last decade, including Koster (1975), den Besten (1983), Holmberg (1983), Koopman (1984), Platzack (1983, forthcoming), and Safir (1982) (cf. the overview in Platzack (1985)), one could have expected FS to specify his position in relation to this debate and to indicate why he believes his description to be superior. However, such a discussion is lacking in FS's paper, the only reference being to Diderichsen's field theory, which is shown to be inferior to FS's description.

As a matter of fact, FS's proposal has some severe drawbacks which make it inferior to the competing descriptions of Germanic (including Danish) word order mentioned above. Consider first the different word order in main clauses and subordinate clauses, illustrated in (3) and (5). In FS's description, this difference has to be explicitly stated as a condition on the rule which moves the tensed verb to the front of the sentence (cf. (6) above). Most of the alternative descriptions claim that the finite verb is moved to COMP, i.e., the position where complementizers are generated, and that the presence of a complementizer blocks the movement of the verb. Thus, in these descriptions, the difference in word order between main clauses and subordinate clauses follows as a consequence of the description and does not have to be explicitly stated.

Secondly, consider the rule of verb movement itself (cf. (6) above). FS has to postulate the existence of this specific rule, whereas all the alternative descriptions consider the movement to be an instance of the general rule schema Move alpha, i.e., they do not have to add a new rule to the grammar, as FS does. Furthermore, the alternative theories independently motivate the presence of verb movement, i.e., it is shown that verb movement must take place not only in order to derive the correct word order, but for other reasons as well. There is nothing of this kind in FS's contribution.

Thirdly, consider the two subject positions introduced by the hypothesis (8) above, and illustrated in (9). As FS himself remarks (p. 24), the structure given in (9) could have been derived by Move alpha: in that case, the subject would have been moved from its position after [+ Tense] to

the position to the left of [+ Tense]'. FS does not tell us why he prefers the non-transformational solution.

Notice, by the way, that it is not clear from FS's presentation whether he assumes the leftmost subject position to be under CP or not.

Finally, we may notice that FS, contrary to the other attempts at describing the V/2 phenomenon, assumes that verb movement takes place in PF, not in the syntax. FS actually provides some arguments for this assumption. One argument is based on the projection principle, which guarantees (among other things) that there must be a head of V" at S-structure. According to FS (p. 30), this means that »the raising of the tensed verb from V" to [+ Tense] must take place after the level of S-structure in order to have the head of V" at the bottom of V" at this level.« This argument is inconclusive, however: if it is assumed that the moved V leaves a trace in V", there is no violation of the projection principle involved.

Summing up, my impression is that FS's introduction would have been more useful if he had refrained from presenting his own ideas about Danish sentence structure and stayed closer to established views and assumptions within the GB framework. If better argued, his own description should have been published as a separate paper. As it is, the reader becomes confused, not knowing for sure whether a certain proposal belongs to the commonly held beliefs of GB-syntacticians, or whether it is a suggestion put forward by the author.

2. Michael Herslund's paper »Particles, Prefixes, and Preposition Stranding« (pp. 34-71)

Herslund's paper presents some interesting empirical material on preposition stranding in Germanic languages. There is virtually no stranding in German, and a very restricted type of stranding in Dutch (cf. van Riemsdijk (1978)). In English, a preposition may be stranded if it is within VP, whereas in Danish and the other Scandinavian languages (including Faroese, which is not mentioned in MH's paper), preposition stranding is possible also when the PP is outside of VP. Consider the following examples from Danish, where *e* indicates the extraction site:

(11) a *Hvad$_i$ tænker du på e$_i$?*
'what think you of'
What do you think of?

b *Hvem$_i$ har du fået den af e$_i$?*
'whom have you got it from'
Whom have you got it from?

c *Hvem$_i$ var han gået i teatret med e$_i$?*
   'whom was he gone to the theatre with'
   Whom had he gone to the theatre with?
d *Hvilken ø$_i$ har han købt hus på e$_i$?*
   'which island has he bought house on?'
   On which island has he bought a house?

As MH notices, the Scandinavian data are theoretically interesting. They clearly indicate the inadequacy of a universal interpretation of Hornstein & Weinberg's (1981) claim that extraction out of PP is possible only from PPs subcategorized for by the verb. It has been noted previously (consider e.g. Maling & Zaenen (1982) and several papers in Ejerhed & Engdahl (1982)) that the Scandinavian languages are more liberal than English with respect to extraction possibilities; the data about preposition stranding thus fit nicely into this picture.

In my opinion, the empirical part of MH's paper is highly interesting, whereas the theoretical claims he makes are more dubious. MH purports to show that preposition stranding is crucially dependent on other syntactic properties, including the possibility to have intransitive prepositions, preposition incorporation, particle movement and uninflected relative complementizers. The existence of a correlation between two or more grammatical phenomena may, naturally, be due to some underlying common property of the phenomena involved, but it may also be a sheer coincidence. To sustain the claim that a certain correlation is of theoretical interest, it must be shown how the phenomena involved are related. This metodological demand is only partly fulfilled by MH.

Consider the putative relation between the verb-particle structure and preposition stranding. The two cases are illustrated in (12a, b):

(12) a *Han lagde en plade på.* [verb-particle: MH's example (1b)]
         He put a record on.
      b *Grammofonen$_i$ lagde han en plade på e$_i$.* [preposition stranding]
         'the grammophone put he a record on'
         The grammophone, he put a record on it.

Noting that the verb-particle construction is present in all the modern Germanic languages, and that most of these languages belong to the few languages of the world which can strand prepositions, MH (p. 36) tentatively proposes the following typological law: if a language has preposition

stranding, it must have the verb-particle construction. From the point of view of Germanic languages, this is a correct rendering of the facts. However, MH does not tell us why this correlation holds true. In section 2 of his paper, he follows Emonds (1972) and van Riemsdijk (1978) in arguing for the idea that particles are intransitive prepositions. Thus, he concludes (p. 39), when a language has particles, this shows that it is possible to use prepositions intransitively in this language. And this possibility »creates the first condition for preposition stranding to occur«.

This is a very thin link, indeed. Consider once again example (12b). Although there is no visible NP after *på* 'on' in this example, the preposition could hardly be said to be used intransitively. If it is claimed that this is the case, it should follow that the same claim should be made with respect to the verb *read* in (13): *read* is used intransitively in this example, and it is the existence of intransitive verbs which makes an example like (13) possible:

(13)   *Which book$_i$ did he read e$_i$?*

I would assume that most scholars would hesitate to make such a proposal without having very strong arguments. It seems more likely that there is no direct link between intransitivety and the possibility to »strand« a transitive verb, and consequently, that intransitivity has nothing to do with the stranding of prepositions either.

Another example of weak argumentation is found in section 2.2., where MH purports to show that particles and PPs »are really the same thing« (p. 40). Trying to establish the underlying position of particles within the subgroup of Germanic languages which MH labels »Northsea Germanic« (NSG), MH discusses data from Danish, English, and Norwegian; Swedish is mentioned in a footnote. These languages show interesting differences with respect to the relative position of the direct object and the particle. In English and Norwegian, the particle may precede or follow the object; however, if the direct object is a weak pronoun, it must precede the particle. In Danish, the particle invariably follows the direct object, whereas in Swedish, we have the opposite situation: the particle normally precedes the object, although it is possible to find the reversed order in certain contexts. In view of these facts, MH assumes (p. 40) »that the underlying order in NSG is Verb-Direct Object-Particle«. The inverted order in English, Norwegian, and Swedish is considered to result from a rule of particle movement.
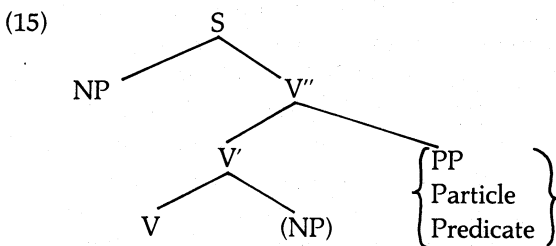
The curious reader naturally wants to know how facts like the obli-

gatoriness of Particle Movement in Swedish and the absence of this rule in Danish follow from this description. There is no answer in MH's paper. Furthermore, there is no independent argument for the assumption that the basic word order in NSG is Object-Particle, not Particle-Object. As a matter of fact, MH does not even tell us why he believes in the existence of a common underlying order between particle and object in NSG: another possibility would be that both word orders are underlying and that they are not transformationally related. As long as MH does not try to put and answer questions like these, we cannot consider his description to be more than an interesting hypothesis.

Next, consider MH's discussion of verbs which subcategorize for PPs, particles or predicates. Examples are given in (14):

(14) a *Han lagde en plade* på grammofonen. [MH's example (1a)]
         He put a record on the grammophone.
      b *Han lagde en plade* på.   [MH's example (1b)]
         He put a record on.
      c *Vi efterlod ham* helt udmattet.   [MH's example (14b)]
         We left him completely exhausted.

According to MH, the non-italicized phrases in (14) all occur in the same structural position (cf. example (16) in MH's paper):

(15)

$$
\begin{array}{c}
S \\
NP \qquad V'' \\
V' \qquad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} PP \\ Particle \\ Predicate \end{array} \right\} \\
V \qquad (NP)
\end{array}
$$

As one of his arguments for this structure, MH mentions (p. 42) that »[s]ome verbs can either be followed by a PP (or particle) or a predicative phrase, but not both, as predicted by the proposed configuration«. Since (15) is supposed to be valid for all NSG languages, we expect this prediction to hold for Swedish as well as for Danish. However, it is not too difficult to find Swedish examples where a PP or a particle occur together with a predicative phrase. Consider the following cases:

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(16) a   *Han lämnade kvar honom ensam på stranden.*
           'he left behind him alone on the beach'
           He left him behind on the beach, alone.
      b   *Han lämnade honom kvar ensam på stranden.*
           (same as (16a))
      c   *Han åt upp maten kall.*
           He ate up his food cold.

Furthermore, if (15) is a correct structure, we do not expect to find sentences with both particles and PPs subcategorized for by the verb. This prediction is noticed by MH (p. 42), who claims that »[w]hen both types of phrases occur in the same clause, the PP is clearly an 'outer locative', a PP dominated by S, not by VP". Once again, Swedish provides us with counterexamples. Compare the status of the non-italicized PP in (17a) and (17b):

(17) a   *lägga en platta* på grammofonen
           put a record on the grammophone
      b   *lägga på en platta* på grammofonen
           put a record on on the grammophone

In (17a), the PP denotes either that the record is put on the grammophone in order to be played (inner locative), or that the grammophone is the place where you happen to put the record (it could also have been the table etc., i.e., outer locative). Example (17b), however, where we have a particle, can only have the first reading. I.e., we find both the particle and the inner locative PP in the same clause, contrary to MH's prediction.
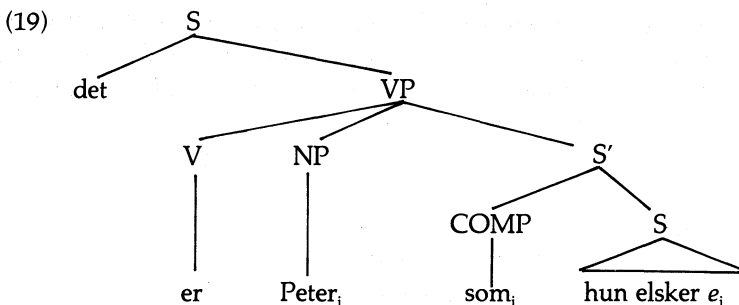
Thus, we may conclude that MH's arguments for the structure given in (15) are somewhat dubious, at least if this structure should be valid for Swedish.

However, in spite of my objections to some of MH's arguments, I find his paper interesting and thought provoking. Although I have questioned several parts of his description, it cannot be denied that MH has pointed at some important differences within the Germanic languages with respect to preposition stranding, and he has suggested ways in which these differences can be accounted for. It would be exciting to pursue some of these suggestions further in order to see where they might lead us.
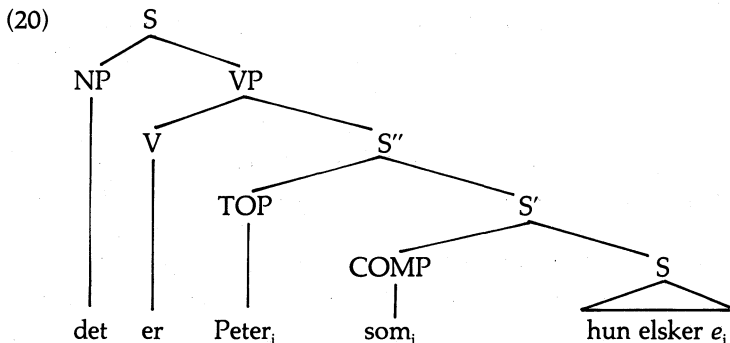
3. Henning Nølke's paper »Clefting in Danish« (pp. 71-111)

In the third paper of this volume, Henning Nølke surveys previous attempts to describe cleft sentences and comes to the conclusion that these attempts are inadequate with respect to Danish clefts. He therefore proposes an alternative description, according to which the focus and the cleft clause are both generated as daughters of VP. A sentence like (18) is assigned the S-structure (19) [HN's example (67)]:

(18) *Det er Peter som hun elsker.*
      'it is Peter THAT she loves'
      It is Peter she loves.

(19)

```
                     S
           ┌─────────┴──────────┐
          det                   VP
                     ┌──────────┼──────────────┐
                     V          NP              S′
                     │          │         ┌─────┴─────┐
                     │          │        COMP          S
                     │          │         │          ╱───╲
                    er       Peter_i    som_i    hun elsker e_i
```

The thesis proposed by HN is well argued and deserves to be taken as a serious alternative to competing descriptions, at least for Danish and the other Scandinavian languages. The most important of these alternatives is a uniform approach based on Chomsky (1977), according to which the focus and the cleft clause have the same structure as a main clause with a topicalized element. The sentence (18) above would be given the following S-structure in this description:

(20)

```
              S
        ┌─────┴──────┐
       NP            VP
        │      ┌─────┴──────┐
        │      V            S″
        │      │       ┌────┴──────┐
        │      │      TOP           S′
        │      │       │       ┌────┴─────┐
        │      │       │      COMP         S
        │      │       │       │         ╱───╲
       det    er    Peter_i  som_i    hun elsker e_i
```

[Actually, Chomsky assumes a wh-element in COMP which is deleted in PF; HN suggests that *som* is a »marked possibility for NP operators« (p. 101). Chomsky also introduces a distinction between NP/PP clefts on the one hand and ADVP-clefts on the other. As HN notes (p. 91 f.), there is apparently no reason to apply this distinction to Danish (or to any Scandinavian language).]

As we can see from (19) and (20) above, the main structural difference between the two approaches concerns the position of the focus in relation to the cleft clause. According to Chomsky, the focus constitutes a constituent with the cleft clause; with HN, I will refer to this approach as the *TOP-theory*. In HN's own description, the focus and the cleft clause are both sisternodes under VP. I will call this theory the *HN-theory*. In my review I will devote primary attention to HN's arguments in favour of his own approach and his reasons for rejecting the TOP-theory. It is to be noted that some of the arguments against the TOP-theory are found in the section of HN's paper which deals with the »Focus Placement Transformation«, i.e., the section where HN demonstrates the inadequacy of an approach according to which clefts (and pseudo-clefts) are transformationally derived from their corresponding non-clefts (pp. 85-88 in HN's paper).

The first argument I will consider has to do with the economy of the description. According to HN, the HN-theory is more economic than the TOP-theory, since the HN-theory »does not require any restrictions which are not already in the grammar, and it does not extend the power of the grammar, as it demands only already existing rewriting rules in the base« (p. 95). The TOP-theory, on the other hand, is uneconomic according to HN, since it involves the addition of both a new rewriting rule, VP → V S", and a specific subcategorization of the verb *være* 'be' for the complement S". This is a weak argument. First, since S" is a possible projection of S both in the TOP-theory and in the HN-theory, there is no reason to consider the grammar uneconomical if it contains a rewrite rule which introduces S" as a complement of V. On the contrary, given the optionallity of rules and structures in the GB framework, it should be more costly to block the existence of S"-complements, since this must involve the introduction of a new constraint in the grammar. Secondly, it is simply not true that *være* is the only verb subcategorized for S": *blive* must also be subcategorized for such a phrase, since it too may be used in clefts. Consider the following example:

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(21) *Det blir Peter der vinder.*
      it becomes Peter THERE wins
      It will be Peter who wins.

*Thus, HN has not been able to show that the HN-theory is more economical than the TOP-theory.*

A related argument against the TOP-theory is found on p. 87. Here, HN discusses the implications of the occurrence of som in the COMP-node of the cleft clause. In Chomsky's description, the TOP-node is related to the phrase under TOP with the help of *wh*-movement. Since the wh-element is assumed to land in COMP, we either have a structure with both a wh-element and the complementizer *som* in COMP, which should be blocked by the filter ruling out double filled COMPs, or we have to assume the presence of a specific rule in the grammar, which respells the wh-element as *som*. As HN points out, if we choose the second alternative, we have a rule which seems to »be limited to cleft constructions«, surely an uneconomical description. However, since the HN-theory also assumes wh-movement to relate the focus to the cleft clause, it is vulnerable to the same objection. Actually, HN (p. 100) suggests a solution to the problem which is equally applicable within the TOP-theory. Thus, this argument does not help us to choose between the two theories.

It should be pointed out that the GB-framework also allows for a description where wh-elements land outside COMP. As a matter of fact, this option has been suggested for Swedish, e.g. by Holmberg (1983) and Platzack (1983, forthcoming), where both a wh-word and the complementizer *som* occur in the surface structure of indirect wh-questions. If this description is generalized to clefts, the presence of *som* in COMP is no longer a problem: since the wh-phrase is outside of COMP, we do not need any specific rule to handle *som*. Thus, it is not evident that HN has stated the problem correctly.

The main argument put forward by HN against the TOP-theory concerns the relation between cleft sentences and sentences with a topicalized element. It has often been noted that these two constructions are similar: HN quotes a passage from Hansen (1973) who claims that the constituents which can be focalized are a subset of the constituents which can be topicalized. According to the HN-theory, the similarities between clefting and topicalization are semantic, not syntactic in nature; HN makes use of lambda-calculus to describe the similarities (p. 104 f.). The TOP-theory, on the other hand, claims that the similarities between clefting and topicalization are mainly syntactical: according to this theory, the S" constitut-

ing the complement of *være* 'be' in clefts is structurally identical to the S"
underlying a sentence in which some element is topicalized. Since this
claim is stronger than the claim made by HN, HN has to justify his own
weaker description by showing that the analogy between clefting and topi-
calization »turns out to be rather superfluous«. However, none of the dif-
ferences between clefting and topicalization put forward by HN in order
to show that the TOP-theory is unsuccessfull at this point are especially
convincing.

As one of his arguments for a structural difference between the cleft
clause and a sentence with a topicalized element, HN points to the fact that
topicalization is always followed by subject-verb-inversion in Danish,
whereas inversion is impossible in clefts. This difference does not, how-
ever, indicate that clefts and sentences with topicalization have different
structures; rather, it indicates that verb-movement (cf. Sørensen's paper)
has taken place in the sentence with topicalization, but not in the cleft sen-
tence. Consider the S" pictured in (22):

(22)
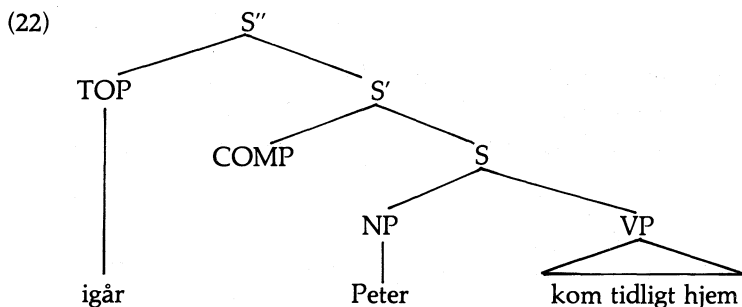
If the verb is moved to COMP, as assumed by most theories about verb-
second languages (den Besten (1983), Holmberg (1983), Platzack (1983,
forthcoming), etc.), we get the inverted word order of a topicalized sen-
tence. In clefts this movement is blocked, presumably by the presence un-
der COMP of a complementizer (but cf. another suggestion in Sørensen's
paper). It is evident that we do not need to assume different syntactic
structures for cleft sentences and sentences with topicalization to capture
the difference with respect to subject-verb-inversion. [Topicalization also
triggers inversion in embedded clauses. Cf. Platzack (forthcoming) for an
attempt to describe root phenomena like these in subordinate clauses.]

Another putative argument against the assumption that a structure like
(22) underlies both cleft sentences and sentences with topicalization is, ac-
cording to HN, that »[c]omplementizers simply cannot follow TOP«. This

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is, naturally, a matter of description: if we accept the TOP-theory, it is clear that we consider it to be a false statement. As a matter of fact, Danish dialects also provide independent evidence for the uncorrectness of this statement: as Erik Hansen (1983) has observed, sentences like (23) are possible in Danish ømål (The dialects spoken in the Danish islands of Funen, Zealand, etc., as different from those spoken in Jutland):

(23)   *Han spurgte om ikke at vi havde set Ole.*
         'he asked if not that we had seen Ole'
         He asked if we had not seen Ole'

In this case, there is a topicalized negation between the two complementizers. If we assume that the negation is under TOP, (23) also indicates that HN's generalization is incorrect. Obviously, it cannot be used as an argument against the TOP-theory.

In addition to the differences mentioned above, HN presents the following three cases in which cleft sentences differ from sentences with topicalization:

a) Sentence adverbials like *klogt nok* 'wisely', *måske* 'maybe', *faktisk* 'in fact' are often topicalized but can never be clefted.
b) Sentence adverbials can occur before the focus, but never before the topic:

(24)   a   *Det er heldigvis bilen vi har solgt.*
              'it is luckily the car we have sold'
         b   **Heldigvis bilen har vi solgt.*
              'luckily the car have we sold'
              Luckily, we have sold the car.

c) The topic, but not the focus, may have the discourse function of being »what is talked about« in the sentence.

Given the GB framework, it seems unlikely that any of these differences has to do with the syntactic structure of the two constructions compared. Rather, the differences noticed should be handled in LF or in the pragmatic component of the grammar. Thus, these differences cannot be used as arguments against a description like the TOP-theory, which claims that cleft sentences and sentences with topicalization have identical underlying structures.

Concluding this subsection, I do not find HN's arguments for a struc-

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tural difference between cleft sentences and sentences with topicalization particularly convincing. Furthermore, I would like to point at some facts from Swedish which strongly suggest that the two sentence types have identical underlying structures. Consider first the peculiar property of Swedish, the topicalization of finite verbs, leaving a finite copy in the clause. An example is given in (25):

(25) *Sjunger gör han gärna.*
      'sings does he willingly'
      Sing, he willingly does so.

Notice that a sentence like (25) has two finite verbs: the fronted one, and the dummy verb *göra* 'do'.

Now consider the cleft construction. If the TOP-theory is correct, we also expect to find finite verbs as focus and a finite dummy verb in the cleft clause. This is a correct prediction, as shown by (26):

(26) *Det är sjunger han gärna gör.*
      it is sings he willingly does

The HN-theory does not predict this analogy. Thus, the Swedish facts given in (25)-(26) support the TOP-theory over the HN-theory.

Next, consider the case marking of personal pronouns after Swedish *vara* 'be'. In Standard Swedish, the oblique forms of the personal pronouns must be used when the pronoun is the object of a verb or a preposition. Thus, (27)a, but not (27)b, is a correct sentence:

(27) a   *Hon skulle möta mig på perrongen.*
          she would meet me on the platform
      b   **Hon skulle möta jag på perrongen.*
          she would meet I on the platform

When a personal pronoun occurs as complement of *vara* 'be', only the nominative form is allowed:

(28) *Det är jag / *mig.*
       It is I / me

With respect to cleft sentences, the TOP-theory and the HN-theory make different predictions regarding the form of a personal pronoun in focus position: the TOP-theory correctly predicts that the pronoun has a form

corresponding to the form the pronoun would have in its original position: if the gap is in object position the pronoun has the oblique form, if it is in subject position the pronoun has nominative form. The HN-theory, on the other hand, makes the false prediction that the pronoun should be nominative in both cases, since it is a complement of *vara* (cf. (19)). Consider the following examples:

(29) a *Det är* $\begin{Bmatrix} *jag \\ mig \end{Bmatrix}$ *hon älskar.*

It is $\begin{Bmatrix} I \\ me \end{Bmatrix}$ she loves

b *Det är* $\begin{Bmatrix} jag \\ *mig \end{Bmatrix}$ *som älskar henne.*

It is I/me who love her

Data like these could have been devastating for the HN-theory had it not been for the fact that this theory makes the correct prediction with respect to Danish, where a personal pronoun following *være* must be in oblique form: *Det er mig.* 'it is me'. When the pronoun is focalized, it is also in the oblique form, independent of the position of the gap in the cleft clause. Compare (30) with the Swedish example in (29)b:

(30) *Det er* $\begin{Bmatrix} *jeg \\ mig \end{Bmatrix}$ *der elsker hende.*

[same as (29)b]

Naturally, this difference between Swedish and Danish clefts might indicate that the cleft construction should be described differently in the two languages. If this is correct, the arguments from Swedish have no relevance for HN's description, which is concerned with clefting in Danish. Another argument for the assumption that Swedish and Danish clefts have different underlying structures might be the following difference with respect to the choice of complementizer in the cleft clause. In Swedish, *som* is the only complementizer possible in such clauses, whereas in Danish,

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som may only be used when the focus is an NP. The complementizer *at*, on the other hand, may be used with all types of focuses; notice that the corresponding Swedish complementizer *att* is never used in clefts.

However, the assumption that clefts in Swedish and Danish have different underlying structures should only be accepted when other attempts have been investigated and proven unsuccessful. In my opinion, it is more likely that the difference noted here has nothing to do with different underlying structures, but rather with some kind of parametric variation between these two closely related languages. An attempt to explain these differences might turn out to be a fruitful contribution to a comparative syntactic description of the Scandinavian languages.

It should have been evident that I find HN's paper very interesting, although he has not convinced me that the HN-theory is superior to the TOP-theory. As a matter of fact, it seems to be the case that data from Danish and other Scandinavian languages are problematic to both theories. HN deserves credit for having brought some of these cases out into the open.

4. Conclusion

As a concluding remark, I would like to stress the fact that my objections to particular descriptions in the three papers under review are not intended to diminish the overall value of these papers. On the contrary, I find several aspects of these papers interesting and thought provoking. It is obviously of importance for comparative Scandinavian syntactic studies that Danish scholars try to bring Danish data into the theoretical grammatical discussion.

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