Scandinavian Presentational Sentences and Subjecthood
Handout2

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April 12, 2018
Properties of presentational sentences in Swedish and Icelandic
• -> configurationality
• -> factors that influence subjecthood
• -> why do thematic roles constrain information-structure motivated constructions such as presentational sentences

1.1 Introduction
Scandinavian languages are verb-second languages (tensed verb in second position).
Presentational sentences are characterized by an expletive, það in Icelandic, det in Swedish. Það has to be in the sentence (clause) initial position. Det can occur immediately before or immediately after the tensed verb (in canonical subject positions)
In insular Scandinavian there are two (three) positions for the pivot; in mainland Scandinavian only one (but see Håkansson (2017)):

(1) Það hefur svartr köttur alltaf verið í eldhúsinu. (Ice.Thrá 2007) (Mittelfeld pivot)
    Það hefur alltaf svartr köttur verið í eldhúsinu.(MP)
Pað hefur alltaf verið svartur köttur í eldhúsinu. (VPpivot)
There has always been a black cat in the kitchen.’

(2) Det har varit en katt i köket. (Swed) (VPpivot)
‘there as been a cat in the kitchen.’

Only intransitives?:

Icelandic

(3) Pað hefur alltaf beðið mín nukkuð skemmtilegt.
There has always awaited me something amusing
‘something amusing always awaited me.’

Swedish

(4) Det hade tilldelats studenten ett pris.
EXPL had award-PASS student-DEF a reward
‘There had been awarded a prize to the student.’

See Zaenen et al. (2017) and Maling (1988) for discussion of thematic constraints on VPpivots in Icelandic.
previous research e.g. Askedal (1986), Lødrup (1999), Börjars and Vincent (2005).

1.2 Word order

(5) | Vorfeld | Mittelfeld | Verbalfeld |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XP</td>
<td>V (DP1) (ADV*) (DP2)</td>
<td>V Prt DP3 DP4 PP*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[+FIN] [-FIN]

Topological schema see Diderichsen (1946) and Teleman et al. (1999), Kathol (2004), Müller (2013). Examples are in the compound tense because otherwise one doesn’t see where the pivot is.

1.3 Discourse/information structure assumptions

Stage-topic (Erteschik-Shir (to appear)), when expressed it is typically a temporal or spatial adjunct, and aboutness-topics (Reinhart (1981))

(6) Yesterday, Mary went to San Francisco)
Yesterday: stage-topic; Mary: aboutness-topic

(7) Yesterday there was a spiderweb in the bathtub.
Yesterday: stage-topic; no aboutness topic
Definiteness

VP internal pivots: more or less like English; we are assuming they are non-specific indefinites (discourse new and hearer new (Prince (1981); Prince (1992)). Mittelfeld pivots (in Icelandic): strong as well as weak quantified DPs. Studied mainly by Vangsnes (2002). Can they be aboutness-topics? We don’t know, to be studied!

(8) Það hefur alltaf verið (einhver) köttur í eldhúsinu. (some cat)
    Það hefur alltaf verið svartur köttur í eldhúsinu. (a black cat)
    Það hefur alltaf verið köttir í eldhúsinu. (cats)
    Það hefur alltaf verið kötturinn í eldhúsinu. (the cat)
    Það hafa alltaf verið allir köttir í eldhúsinu. (all cats)
    Það hafa alltaf verið allir kettrir í eldhúsinu. (all the cats)
    Það hefur alltaf verið einn af köttunum í eldhúsinu. (one of the cats)

(9) Það hafa alltaf allir kettrir verið í eldhúsinu. (all cats)
    Það hafa alltaf allir kettrirnir verið í eldhúsinu. (all of the cats)
    Það hefur alltaf einhver köttur verið í eldhúsinu. (some cat)
    Það hefur alltaf einn af köttunum verið í eldhúsinu. (one of the cats)
    ??Það hefur alltaf kötturinn verið í eldhúsinu. (the cats)
    ??Það hefur alltaf köttur verið í eldhúsinu. (a cat)

(10) ??Köttur hefur alltaf verið í eldhúsinu. (a cat)

Only OK with specific reading

(11) Í dag hafa allir kettrir verið í eldhúsinu.
    Í dag hefur kötturinn verið í eldhúsinu.

but

(12) ??Í eldhúsinu hafa nokkrir kettrir verið í dag. (some cats)
    Í eldhúsinu hafa verið nokkrir kettrir í dag. (some cats)

1.4 Subject properties of active pivots in Icelandic

Subject properties in Icelandic (from ZMT, behavioral properties a la Keenan (1976))

- (position just before or just after the tensed verb)
  - reflexivization: with subject controllers reflexivization is obligatory; with object controllers it is dispreferred but possible
- subject ellipsis
- controlled element with infinitival control verbs: cannot be demonstrated
- AcI/ECM/RtoO: infinitival subject shows object case
1.4.1 Reflexives

(13) Það hafa fjórir stúdentar týnt hjólunum
EXPL have four-NOM students-NOM lost bicycles-the
sínun/*θeirra.
their-refl/*their-non-refl
‘Four students have lost their bikes.’

(14) Það hafa aldrei fjórir stúdentar týnt hjólunum
EXPL have never four-NOM students-NOM lost bicycles-the
sínun/*θeirra.
their-refl/*their-non-refl
‘Four students have never lost their bikes.’

Examples (16) and (17) are adapted from Rögnvaldsson (1983).

(15) Það hafa margir furðufuglar komið hingað
EXPL have many-NOM strange-fellows-NOM come here
í dag með einkennilegar uppfinningar
to day with peculiar inventions
sínar/*θeirra.
(MP)
their-refl/*their-non-refl
‘Many strange fellows have come here today with their peculiar inventions.’

(16) Það hafa komið margir furðufuglar hingað
EXPL have come many-NOM strange-fellows-NOM here
í dag með einkennilegar uppfinningar
to day with peculiar inventions
sínar/*θeirra.
their-refl/*their-non-refl (VPpivot)
‘Many strange fellows have come here today with their peculiar inventions.’

1.4.2 Subject ellipsis

(17) Það hafa komið margir furðufuglar hingað
EXPL have come many-NOM strange-fellows-NOM here
í dag og farið í kröfugönguna.
to day and gone to demonstration-the.
‘Many strange fellows have come here today and gone to the demonstration.’

(18) Við höfum hitt marga furðufugla og *(θeir
we have met many-ACC strange-fellows-ACC and they
hafa) farið í kröfugönguna.
have gone to demonstration-the.
Intended: ‘We have met many strange fellows and they have
gone to the demonstration.’

Pseudo-coordination or coordination: see e.g. Wiklund (2007), Lødrup (1999), Kinn (2018)).

1.4.3 ECM, Raising to Object or Accusativus cum
Infinitivo

(19) Jón telur hestana hafa verið í
John believes horses-the-ACC to-have been in
kirkjugarðinum.
churchnyard-the
‘John believes the horses to have been in the churchyard.’

(20) Jón telur (*θað) hafa verið hesta í
John believes (*there) to-have been horses-ACC in
kirkjugarðinum.
churchnyard-the
‘John believes there to have been horses in the churchyard.’

Summary
Not all tests for subject properties that were used for canonical subjects
in Zaenen et al. (1985) are applicable to pivots in Icelandic. But the ones
that can be used (reflexivization, subject ellipsis and, possibly, raising)
show that pivots behave like subjects, regardless of their position.

Position or case?

(21) Pað hefur að sögn rekið nokkra hvali á
EXPL has to report driven several-ACC whales-ACC to
land í nótt með kálfum sínum.
land in night with calves their-refl.
‘Reportedly several whales have stranded overnight with their

1.5 Configurationality

(Non)configurationality à la Hale:
• free wordorder
• pro-drop
• discontinuous constituents
• (case marking)
Configurationality à la Haider (2005): positions identify arguments.

Haider (...) p.16: 'VO projections are compact, and the highest argument position in the projection (subject argument) needs an external identifier for this argument since it is not within the verb’s directional licensing domain.'

### 1.6 Subject properties of active pivots in Swedish

#### 1.6.1 Control of reflexives

(22) **Några studenter** hade kommit ut från sina/*deras
some students had come out from REFL/NON-REFL kontor.
offices

‘Some students had come out from their offices.’

(23) **Några studenter** hade körts ut från sina/*deras
some students had kick.PASS out from REFL/NON-REFL kontor.
offices

‘Some students had been kicked out of their offices.’

(24) **Vi** hade kört ut **några studenter** från deras/?sina
we had kicked out some students from NON-REFL/REFL kontor.
offices

‘We had kicked out some students from their offices.’

(25) **Det** hade kommit ut **några studenter** från
expl had come out some students from
sina/*deras kontor.
REFL/NON-REFL offices

‘Some students had come out from their offices.’

#### 1.6.2 Subject ellipsis

(26) **Vi** mötte en flicka och Ø hälsade på henne.
we met a girl and greeted on her

‘We met a girl and said hello to her.’

(27) **Sen** mötte vi en flicka och Ø hälsade på henne.
then met we a girl and greeted on her

‘Then we met a girl and said hello to her.’

This is not possible under identity with an object:
(28) *Vi mötte en flicka och Ø hälsade på oss.
we met a girl and greeted on us
Intended: ‘We met a girl and she said hello to us.’

(29) Hela dagen har det suttit en katt i fönstret och
all day has EXPL sat a cat in window.DEF and
(*har) spanat på småfåglarna.
(*has) looked at small-birds.DEF
‘All day a cat has been sitting in the window, watching the
small birds.’

Note that the auxiliary is also omitted in the second conjunct.

1.6.3 EMC

(30) Det finns **de/dem** som tycker annorlunda.
EXPL exist those.NOM/ACC who think differently
‘There are those who think differently.’

(31) Johan anser det troligen kunna finnas **de**
John considers EXPL probable can-INF exist they-NOM
som tror att jorden är platt.
that believe that earth-the is flat
‘Johan considers it probable that there exist people who believe
that the earth is flat.’

(32) Jag anser dem vara orimliga.
I consider them to-be unreasonable.
‘I consider them to be unreasonable.’

(33) Det anses troligen kunna finnas de som
there is-considered probably can-INF exist they-Nom that
tror att jorden är platt.
believe that the earth is flat
‘It is considered probable that there exist people that believe
that the earth is flat.’

1.6.4 Control into infinitival adjuncts

(34) En man satte sig på bänken utan att se sig för.
a man sat REFLEX on bench.DEF without to look REFLEX for
‘A man sat down on the bench without looking.’

(35) Det satte sig **en man** på bänken utan att se
EXPL sat REFLEX a man on bench.DEF without to look sig för.
REFLEX for
‘A man sat down on the bench without looking.’

**Upshot**

Assuming that the Vorfeld and the Mittelfeld are topic positions (under normal stress) and the Verbalfeld is reserved for non topics (again under normal stress), the canonical position in both Icelandic and Swedish is not a simple subject position but a a subject-topic position. The same seems to be the case in Dutch:

(36) De/??Een jongen heeft over de straat gelopen.
    The/A boy has over the street run.
    Er heeft een/*de jongen over de straat gelopen.
    There has a/the boy over the street run.

1.7 Passive Pivots


1.7.1 Icelandic

**Reflexives**

(37) Það var fleygt nokkrum stúdentum út af skrifstofum
    EXPL was kicked some students out of office
    sínum/??ðeirra.
    their-refl/non-refl.
    ‘Some students were kicked out of their offices.’

(38) Það var nokkrum stúdentum fleygt út af skrifstofum
    EXPL was some students kicked out of office
    sínum/ðeirra.
    their-refl/non-refl.
    ‘Some students were kicked out of their offices.’

Non-reflexive better than predicted under subject hypothesis

**Subject ellipsis**

There seems to be a lot of variation here.

(39) Pað hafa verið seldir margir
    EXPL have been sold-MASC.PL many-NOM
    bílar og fluttir út til
    cars-NOM-MASC.PL and exported-MASC.PL out to
    Póllands.
    Poland
    ‘There have been many cars sold and exported to Poland.’
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(40) Það var fleygt nokkrum stúdentum út af EXPL was kicked several-DAT students-DAT out of skemmtistaðnum og *(θeir) urðu æstir. nightclub-the and they were upset

Intended: ‘Several students were kicked out of the nightclub and they were upset.’

better with a Mittelfeld pivot:

(41) Það var nokkrum stúdentum fleygt út af EXPL was several-DAT students-DAT kicked out of skemmtistaðnum og *(θeir) urðu æstir. nightclub-the and they were upset

Intended: ‘Several students were kicked out of the nightclub and they were upset.’

1.7.2 Swedish

Reflexives

(42) Det hade körts ut några studenter från EXPL had kick-PASS out some students from sina/?deras kontor. refl/non-refl offices

‘There had been some students kicked out of their offices.’

Subject ellipsis

Pivots in passive sentences don’t allow subject ellipsis when the second conjunct is active.

(43) *Det har bjudits in några musiker till festen och EXPL have invited.PASS in some musicians to party.DEF and blivit glad-pl

Intended: ‘Some musicians has been invited to the party and they became glad.’

Some speakers, however, find that subject ellipsis is possible if the second conjunct is also passive, as in (44)

(44) Det har sålts många bilar och exporterats till EXPL have sold-PASS many cars and exported.PASS to Polen.

Poland

‘There have been many cars sold and exported to Poland.’
Control into Infinitival Adjuncts
The control possibilities are restricted for passives in general:

(45) *En man placerades på bänken utan att se sig för.  
A man place-PASS on bench.DEF without to look REFL for  
A man was put down on the bench without looking.

(46) *Det placerades en man på bänken utan att se  
EXPL place-PASS a man on bench.DEF without to look  
sig för.  
REFL for

For several speakers, the following, where both clauses are passive, is grammatical:

(47) Några brev hade postats igår utan att ha  
some letters had post-PASS yesterday without to have  
frankerats.  
stamped.PASS  
‘Some letters had been mailed yesterday without having had stamps put on.’

The presentational version of this example, however, is judged ungrammatical by most speakers.

(48) *Det hade postats några brev igår utan att  
EXPL had post-PASS some letters yesterday without to  
have frankerats.  
have stamped.PASS

Factors such as animacy play a role:

(49) Vilken skandalmatch! I andra halvlek bars det  
what scandal-match in second half carried.PASS EXPL  
ut en spelare utan att vara skadad.  
out a player without to be injured  
‘What a scandalous match! In the second period, a player was  
carried out without being injured.’

Upshot
If one wants to maintain a notion of subject that unifies canonical active and passive subjects with active pivots but excludes passive pivots, one has to appeal to two hierarchies: the lexical one (thematic roles) and the information structural one (topic < ...). The subject has to be ‘prominent’ on either of these hierarchies: it has to be either a topic or
it has to be the highest lexical argument (where we are assuming that passive does not delete an argument from the lexical argument list). The observation that grammatical functions are sensitive to information-structural factors as well as thematic ones has also be made with very different data in Dalrymple and Nikolaeva (2011).

1.8 Thematic constraints on pivots in Swedish

Intransitives

*Theme subject*

(50) Det har försvunnit **ett viktigt papper**.  
EXPL has disappeared an important paper  
‘An important paper has disappeared.’

(51) Det kom in **en katt i köket**.  
EXPL came in a cat in kitchen.DEF  
‘A cat came into the kitchen.’

But we also find *agents*

(52) Det har arbetat **två hundra människor här**.  
EXPL have worked two hundred people here  
‘Two hundred people have worked here.’

(53) Det har ringt **någon till dig**.  
EXPL has phoned someone to you  
‘Someone has phoned you.’

However, *experiencers* and *instruments* are not acceptable as pivots:

(54) *Det hade frusit **några barn i natt**.  
EXPL had frozen some children in night  
Intended: ‘Some children had felt cold last night.’

(55) *Det hade skurit **en kniv igenom väggen**.  
EXPL had cut a knife through wall.DEF  
Intended: ‘A knife had cut through the wall.’

Note that the following is grammatical:

(56) Det hade suttit **några barn utanför och frusit**.  
EXPL had sat some children outside and frozen  
‘Some children had sat outside and frozen.’
**Monotransitives**

With active monotransitives the construction is impossible with *agents* regardless of whether the pivot precedes or follows the object.

**Agent-Patient**

(57) *Det har stulit någon student cykeln.*

EXPL has stolen some student bike.DEF

Intended: ‘Some student has stolen the bike.’

(58) *Det har stulit cykeln någon student.*

EXPL has stolen bike.DEF some student

Intended: ‘Some student has stolen the bike.’

(59) *Det har hjälpt en student den gamle mannen.*

EXPL has helped a student the old man.DEF

Intended: ‘A student has helped the old man.’

(60) *Det har försökt många att bestiga berget.*

EXPL have tried many to climb mountain.DEF

Intended: ‘Many people have tried to climb the mountain.’

But if the pivot is a *theme* it may be preceded by an Experiencer or a Goal, as pointed out in Platzack (1983) and Maling (1988) from whom the following examples are taken.

**Theme-Experiencer:**

(61) Det hade hänt honom något konstigt.

EXPL had happened him something strange

‘Something strange had happened to him.’

(62) Det kunde vänta mig en verklig överraskning när jag kom hem.

EXPL could await me a real surprise when I came home

‘A real surprise could be waiting for me when I came home.’

**Theme-Goal:**

(63) Det hade nått Tomas ett brev hemifrån.

EXPL had reached Thomas a letter from-home

‘A letter from home had reached Thomas.’

(64) Det har slagit mig något intressant.

EXPL has struck me something interesting

‘Something interesting has struck me.’
However when the subject/pivot is not the theme, the presentational versions are impossible:

*Experiencer-Theme/Stimulus:*

(65) *Det hade sett några studenter röken.*

EXPL had seen some students smoke.DEF

Intended: ‘Some students had seen the smoke.’

(66) *Det hade fruktat många en ny tsunami.*

EXPL had feared many a new tsunami

Intended: ‘Many people had feared a new tsunami.’

*Goal-Theme:*

(67) *Det hade mottagit en student priset.*

EXPL had received a student prize.DEF

Intended: ‘A student received the prize.’

**Passive versions of monotransitives:**

*theme/patient, suppressed agent*

(68) Det bjöds in en musiker till festen.

EXPL invited-PASS in a musician to party.DEF

‘A musician was invited to the party.’

*theme-pivot, suppressed active subject is an Experiencer*

(69) Det hade sett rök i skogen.

EXPL had see-PASS smoke in forest.DEF

‘Smoke had been seen in the forest.’

Clear *Goal* pivots in passives are ungrammatical, even when the demoted subject is a theme

(70) *Det hade nåtts en journalist av nyheten.*

EXPL had reach-PASS a journalist by news.DEF

Intended: ‘The news had reached a journalist.’

but the following, where the suppressed subject is an Agent, is grammatical:

(71) Det skulle hjälpas en man över gatan.

EXPL should help-PASS a man over street.DEF

‘There was a man who needed to be helped over the street.’

In Icelandic, *hjálpa* ‘help’ takes a dative argument which is assumed to be a Goal. In Swedish, *hjälpa* seems to have been reanalysed as taking a Patient argument, see e.g. Platzack (2005)
Ditransitives

Few ditransitive verbs are used in the passive in Swedish but there are some that are acceptable for most speakers. As shown in Haddican and Holmberg (to appear), these verbs tend to be morphologically complex, like tilldela ‘award’.

Goal subject:

\[
(72) \text{Studenten} \quad \text{hade} \quad \text{tilldelats} \quad \text{priset.}
\]

\[
\text{student.DEF} \quad \text{had} \quad \text{award.PASS} \quad \text{prize.DEF}
\]

‘The student had been awarded the prize.’

Theme subject:

\[
(73) \text{Priset} \quad \text{hade} \quad \text{tilldelats} \quad \text{studenten.}
\]

\[
\text{prize.DEF} \quad \text{had} \quad \text{award.PASS} \quad \text{student.DEF}
\]

‘The prize had been awarded to the student.’

But only one presentational version is acceptable, namely the one where the indefinite pivot is the Theme:

\[
(74) \text{Det} \quad \text{hade} \quad \text{tilldelats} \quad \text{studenten} \quad \text{ett pris.}
\]

\[
\text{EXPL} \quad \text{had} \quad \text{award.PASS} \quad \text{him} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{reward}
\]

‘There had been awarded a prize to the student.’

\[
(75) \ast \text{Det} \quad \text{hade} \quad \text{tilldelats} \quad \text{en student} \quad \text{priset.}
\]

\[
\text{EXPL} \quad \text{had} \quad \text{award.PASS} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{student} \quad \text{prize.DEF}
\]

Intended: ‘There had been awarded a student the prize.’

This conforms to the pattern we noticed above, that only theme pivots are possible when there is another NP/DP argument in the Verbafeld.

1.9 A mapping account

Acceptable sentences are the result of a negotiation between different grammar components which impose their violable and non-violable constraints on the outcome. For the data at hand: lexical and information-structure layer.

1.9.1 Lexical layer

Assumptions

1. Platzack (2009), Platzack (2010): Swedish verbs can take at most three direct arguments, realized as DP/NPs.

2. cross-linguistically, the lexical layer depends on event-structure; there a two principles that organize event structure: 1. an instigator/cause comes before an effect, 2. an inclination to see human
experience and, human participation in general, as being more central than that of non-humans.

**Swedish Thematic hierarchy**

There are theme-experiencer and theme-goal verbs, which follows from organizational principle 1 rather than 2. but basically Swedish follows organizational principle 2.

Cf Platzack (2010, 75f.): three ‘role families’, each associated with a different position in the hierarchical structure.

\[(76) \quad \text{HR}(\text{Agent,Cause}) < \text{IR}(\text{Experiencer, Goal, Instrument, Stimulus}) < \text{LR}(\text{Theme, Patient})\]

We will refer to the first equivalence class as having the high role (HR), to the second as having the intermediate one (IR) and the third as having the low role (LR).

In Swedish the order between arguments in the VP is fixed Haddican and Holmberg (to appear), i.e. it is determined by the lexical structure (but see later):

\[(77) \quad \text{Vi} \text{ tilldelade studenten} \text{ ett pris.}\]
\[\text{we awarded} \quad \text{student.DEF a prize}\]
\[\text{‘We awarded the student a prize.’}\]

\[(78) \quad \text{Vi} \text{ tilldelade en student priset.}\]
\[\text{we awarded} \quad \text{a student prize.DEF}\]
\[\text{‘We awarded a student the prize.’}\]

\[(79) \quad \text{daß er seiner Frau sein Geld gegeben hat.}\]
\[\text{daß er sein Geld seiner Frau gegeben hat.}\]
\[\text{that he his wife-dat his money-acc given has}\]
\[\text{‘that he gave his money to his wife.’}\]

Lexical mapping for a canonical ditransitive sentence:

\[(80) \quad \begin{array}{c|c|c|c|c|c|c}
\text{Vorfeld} & \text{Mittelfeld} & \text{Verbalfeld} \\
\hline
\text{XP+HR} & \text{V} & \text{Prt} & \text{DP1} & \text{DP2} & \text{DP3} & \text{PP} \\
\hline
\text{[+FIN]} & \text{+HR} & \text{[+FIN]} & \text{+IR} & \text{+LR} \\
\end{array}\]

**Possible presentational structures**

- V LR
- V HR
- V IR LR
1.9.2 Information structure

Ultimately, this prominence hierarchy should follow from the fact that discourse normally progresses from what is given to what is new. For Swedish, we get:

(81) \[[\mathrm{Eva}_{\text{ABOUT-TOP}}] \text{gick till köket.}\]
    Eva went to kitchen.DEF
    ‘Eva went to the kitchen.’

(82) \[[\mathrm{Sen}_{\text{STAGE-TOP}}] \text{gick [\mathrm{Eva}_{\text{ABOUT-TOP}}] till köket.}\]
    then went Eva to kitchen.DEF
    ‘Then Eva went to the kitchen.’

1. topic \(<\) completive focus (Choi (1997))
2. topics are -New
3. Completive Foci are +New
4. (+Prom elements do not play a role in the account)

The NP/DP1-position in the Mittelfeld is open to all thematic roles and this is where we find aboutness topics if the Vorfeld is occupied by e.g. a stage topic, see (82) and (87), only subjects-topics are mapped onto NP/DP1. The Verbalfeld is the position for completive foci.

Discourse constraints on Swedish pivots

Non-specific indefinites rarely function as topics, see Mikkelsen (2002) and Erteschik-Shir (2007). Bare plurals in the Vorfeld tend to get a generic interpretation, referring to the kind rather than to instances of the kind (cf. Carlson (1977)).

(84) Katter jamar.
    cats meow
    ‘Cats meow.’

(85) Det lekte några barn på ängen.
    EXPL played some children in field.DEF
    ‘Some children played in the field’

(86) *Det lekte fem av barnen på ängen.
    EXPL played five of children.DEF in field.DEF
    Intended: ‘Five of the children played in the field’
(87) På eftermiddagen lekte det några barn på ängen.
‘In the afternoon some children played in the field.’

(88) Det har arbetat två hundra människor här.
‘Two hundred people have worked here.’

(89) Det har ringt någon till dig.
‘Someone has phoned you.’

Anward (1981) and Teleman et al. (1999): agentive subjects modified by Agent oriented adverbs like motvilligt ‘reluctantly’ and med flit ‘on purpose’ are infelicitous in the corresponding presentational versions.

(90) Två hundra människor har motvilligt arbetat här.
‘Two hundred people have reluctantly worked here.’

(91) *Det har motvilligt arbetat två hundra människor här.
‘Two hundred people have reluctantly worked here.’

(92) Någon har ringt till dig med flit.
‘Someone phoned you on purpose.’

(93) *Det har ringt någon till dig med flit.
‘Someone phoned you on purpose.’

Similarly, manner adverbs are fine with canonical subjects but sound strange in presentational constructions (see Teleman et al. (1999, 3:400)).

(94) Många islänningar sjöng entusiastiskt på matchen.
‘Many Icelanders sang enthusiastically at the match.’

(95) *?Det sjöng många islänningar entusiastiskt på
‘Many Icelanders sang enthusiastically at the match.’

1.9.3 Mapping
The unmarked lexical order is (where HR stands for High Role, IR for Intermediate Role, and LR for Low Role).
(96)  HR(Agent,Cause) < IR(Experiencer, Goal, Instrument, Stimulus) < LR(Theme, Patient)

The unmarked discourse order is
1. topic < completive focus (Choi (1997))
2. topics are -New
3. Complettive Foci are +New
4. (+Prom elements do not play a role in the account)

When both the lexical and the information structure are aligned, we get a line-up in which the highest lexical role is mapped to a topic in the Vorfeld or Mittelfeld and the other lexical roles to non-topic positions in the Verbalfeld. This is what we find in canonical transitive and ditransitive sentences. In languages such as Swedish, this least marked line-up corresponds to the categorical structure, which seems to be the most prevalent and often the only one that is recognized. In this alignment, the highest lexical argument of the verb maps outside the VP, onto a canonical subject position. Choi (1997) assumes a CANON constraint to achieve this alignment.

**Presentational Mapping assumptions**

- The highest lexical argument is a non-specific indefinite and hence does not qualify as a topic.
- The pivot is mapped to the lowest VP position (DP3) "because" it is the position for +New/-Prom Completive Focus element.
- The pivot is mapped on the DP3 position (not just the final VP position in surface order).
- The ordering constraints on lexical roles hold in the Verbalfeld even in presentational construction: *IR < HR; *LR < IR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vorfeld</th>
<th>Mittelfeld</th>
<th>Verbalfeld</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XP+Top</td>
<td>V (DP1)</td>
<td>V Prt DP2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+FIN]</td>
<td>+Top</td>
<td>[-FIN] IR/ComF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ComF</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- *HR – NP/DP2
- *LR – NP/DP2
- *IR – NP/DP3
- *IR < HR
References


