

THEME AND RHEME IN ENGLISH AND GERMAN

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Summary

The initial task of this study is to review some of the notions of theme and rheme or related notions (e.g. logical subject, logical predicate, psychological subject, psychological predicate) that have been proposed, to find out what they have in common and where they differ, and further to see whether some of the apparent differences can be reconciled as different aspects of or approaches to the same phenomena. A provisional definition of theme and rheme is arrived at, based in essence on the approach to the theme-rheme structure of sentences taken by linguists of the Prague tradition and manifest in the theory of 'functional sentence perspective'. In Parts III, IV and V an attempt is made to assess the relation of the thematic structure of sentences in English and German to their semantic and grammatical structures. In Part III, two sentence types, existential-locative and locational sentences are discussed, and indication is given of the means employed by the two languages under consideration to achieve the same or a similar communicative perspective in the expression of the same configuration of semantic categories. The thematic structure of sentences is seen to be the outcome of an interplay of means: the semantic structure of the sentence, determined by the semantic category of the verb and the semantic relationships with the verb of the associated semantic categories or participant roles, is an important means of functional sentence perspective, especially in contextually relatively independent sentences. On the basis of the semantic structure, basic types of thematic structure may be postulated in which the degree of 'communicative dynamism' carried by an element is related to its semantic relation to the verb. Contextual variants, signalled in specific ways, may be seen as modifications of basic thematic types

through the operation of the context. In Part IV, the thematic structure of contextually dependent sentences and the different means available in the two languages of signalling contextual dependence are investigated. Contextual dependence reveals itself to be a complex phenomenon, and the notion of 'givenness' to be a graded property. In Part V, the relation between thematic structure and semantic structure in contextually independent and contextually dependent sentences is further examined. In the final part, the different criteria relevant to the sequence of elements in English and German sentences are examined. The actual sequence of elements is seen to be the outcome of an interplay of different criteria: grammatical, syntactic, and thematic. The degree to which the different criteria operate on the actual sequence of elements is seen to differ in the two languages. In German, the sequence of elements can be more easily manipulated to conform to the requirements of the thematic structure than in English. However, where it is free from constraints of a grammatical nature, the sequence of elements in German is to a large extent bound by the thematic structure. In English, the motivation for the development and use, to a greater extent than in German, of special constructions may be seen as deriving largely from the requirements of functional sentence perspective.

Part I

Historical Background

The terms 'theme' and 'rheme' have for some time been used by linguists, in particular linguists of the Prague tradition (cf. Firbas, 1966;1968) to denote communicative units within the utterance. The theme-rheme structure derives from an approach to sentence organization which has come to be termed 'functional sentence perspective'. Functional sentence perspective (FSP) is concerned with the information structure of the sentence, with the distribution of degrees of 'communicative dynamism' over the sentence elements. Similar problems to those being dealt with within the framework of the FSP theory were studied in the 19th and early 20th century, e.g. by Steinthal, von der Gabelentz, Wundt, Paul and Wegener. They introduced the terms 'psychological subject' and 'psychological predicate' (von der Gabelentz, Paul) or even 'logical subject' and 'logical predicate' (Steinthal). The very use of the descriptive terms psychological or logical subject and predicate suggests what might be called in the light of more recent research into these problems a confusion of levels of analysis, and to some extent this confusion of levels has had its effect on present-day linguistic analysis (cf. Daneš, 1966: 225f.). It would therefore seem appropriate to look more closely at what was meant by these terms by 19th and early 20th century scholars and review them in the light of later insights into the problems under consideration.

Possibly the earliest work to deal with the information structure of the sentence and its relation to the sequence of elements was that

of Weil. It was published as early as 1844. Some of Weil's ideas are recalled by Firbas (1970):

"Weil distinguishes between the movement of ideas and the syntactical movement. The former is expressed by the order of words, the latter by terminations (cf. p.36 of the English translation). Weil endeavours to show that men think and express themselves in the same order whether they speak a modern language or use one of the ancient languages (37). Romance and Germanic languages represent the former, Greek and Latin represent the latter. (No mention is made of Slavonic languages.) A sentence contains a point of departure (an initial notion) and a goal of discourse. The point of departure is equally present to the speaker and to the hearer; it is their rallying point, the ground on which they meet (29). The goal of discourse presents the very information that is to be imparted to the hearer (30). Weil claims that the movement from the initial notion to the goal of discourse reveals the movement of the mind itself (43). Languages may use different syntactical constructions, but the order of ideas remains basically the same (35). Weil finds that modern languages tend to make the grammatical subject express the point of departure (37). The reverse order, which puts the goal of discourse first and the initial notion last, also occurs; Weil refers to it as the pathetic order and looks upon it as a vehicle of emotion (43)."

This would suggest that in the generation of a linear sequence of elements abc the thought moves from a through b to c. This seems at first sight to be a plausible assumption, and it is supported by evidence especially from languages with a so-called 'free' word order, where elements that are 'given' or recoverable from the preceding

context normally precede elements conveying new information. This is what Firbas (1966:240) has called the 'basic distribution of communicative dynamism,' which is the leading word order principle in Czech (Firbas, 1964:112). On the level of the semantic structure of the sentence (Daneš, 1966;1968) it is also supported by the fact that even in languages with a relatively free word order the grammatical subject expressing the agent of an action directed towards an object frequently precedes verb and object, the order SVO or SOV being the 'dominant' or 'usual' order. Other criteria are however relevant to the sequence of elements in a given utterance, e.g. grammatical and contextual. In English the order SVO very often has a grammatical function and is relatively fixed. In certain sentence types 'non-thematic' subjects, i.e. subjects conveying new information, in initial position constitutes the normal order of elements, e.g.

(1) A letter arrived yesterday.

Weil does point out, however, that "languages may use different syntactical constructions but the order of ideas remains the same".

Consider the sentences

- (2) I've never done such a thing,
- (3) That's a thing I've never done,
- (4) Das) habe ich nie getan;
So etwas)

further

- (5) I meant that,
- (6) That's what I meant,
- (7) Das habe ich auch gemeint.

In the English sentences (3) and (6) we have taken an element that which refers to the immediate context and by resorting to a certain syntactic means placed it in initial position where it has the function of grammatical subject. This kind of 'thematic foregrounding', i.e. initial positioning of an element with reference to context, means in English the choice of the kind of grammatical structure referred to as an 'identifying clause' (cf. Halliday, 1967). In the sentences (2) and (5) it would appear that the thematic elements such a thing and that are 'overshadowed' or 'backgrounded' by the elements done and meant which are the communicatively most important elements and which carry the primary accent (cf. Kirkwood, 1970: 109). In the German sentences (4) and (7) the same kind of thematic foregrounding can be achieved by placing the object of the verb das, so etwas in initial position, resulting in the sequence OVS which in German is in certain circumstances quite neutral or unmarked. Initial position of the grammatical object in English e.g. That I know (cf. That I mean) is, where possible, marked, i.e. it requires such specific motivation as contrast. We see therefore that the English and German sentences are similar in the underlying demantic structure, the relations between semantic categories (cf. Daneš, 1966, 1968) and similar in the linear arrangement of communicative value, and also similar in the surface manifestation of the underlying information structure in terms of accent placement, the thematic element in initial position carrying the secondary accent and the rhematic element at the end carrying the primary accent. The difference lies in the grammatical means used to achieve the same or very similar distribution of communicative value.

The German linguists Wundt, Paul and von der Gabelentz pursued similar ideas to those of Weil, but quite independently of what Weil had written some years previously. Both Wundt and Paul were concerned with the relation between thought and language and with aspects of language performance. They were concerned with the mental processes that precede, accompany and follow utterances (cf. Blumenthal, 1970: 16), but their approach to these questions differed. According to Wundt the act of speech begins with the apperception of a general impression (Gesamtvorstellung). Attention then isolates some aspect of this impression and by way of relational structuring it is further analyzed into constituents which retain certain structural relations to one another. Wundt is referring here to the underlying 'logical' relations holding between elements of the sentence and points to the confusion that has arisen by transferring logical components of the judgement to the division of the grammatical constituents of the sentence (cf. Blumenthal, 1970: 34). His view of the notion of 'logical subject' and 'logical object' seems to point to the definition proposed by modern linguists (cf. Halliday, 1970:159), i.e. in terms of the underlying semantic structure. He writes: "And furthermore, how are the main members of a statement related to one another if the sentence undergoes some kind of linguistic transformation that nevertheless leaves the sense untouched? If I change the sentence Caesar crossed the Rubicon into the form The Rubicon was crossed by Caesar, has the subject Caesar thereby become the object and conversely has the former object the Rubicon become the subject? Or if I say The crossing of the Rubicon was carried out by Caesar has the original predicate now changed into the subject?" (quoted by Bever, 1970:159). Wundt over-

comes the difficulty by distinguishing between two levels of linguistic analysis: "If one maintains that in the two sentences Caesar crossed the Rubicon and The Rubicon was crossed by Caesar the subject has changed, then one has assuredly lost sight of the 'subject' in the Aristotelian sense as that which undertakes the predicate and has replaced it with the behavioural viewpoint, namely that the 'subject' must be the topic. The acting person in both cases naturally is Caesar. But he is the topic of the action only in the first and not in the second sentence. The first is a statement about Caesar, the second about the Rubicon." (cf. Bever, 1970:159).

The superficially different sentences have the same set of internal 'logical' relations in terms of the logical or semantic structure of the type actor-action-object. Wundt's distinction between logical subject and topic would seem to be in agreement with that of Sweet (cf. Halliday, 1970:159), a distinction which Halliday recognizes although he himself used different terms and introduces further distinctions.

Wundt's position with regard to the so-called psychological subject is perhaps less clear. He writes (cf. Blumenthal, 1970:25): "It is true that the sentence part standing in the focus of attention frequently claims the first position in the ordering of sentence constituents. Very often, therefore, dominating concepts are followed by subordinated ones where only gradations of this sort occur... But in the case of phonetic language there are other forces that work in a different way to determine sentence structure, namely the application of determinate rules of positioning in addition to the logical aspects

of sentence structure. Language processes of stress and tonal modulation are still other forms of expression that can vary the emphasis on sentence parts. They are primarily able to bring about the correct cognitive emphasis on sentence constituents according to the logical or so-called deep grammatical base which cannot prevail over word positioning when that has been associatively fixed. This occurs in the simple sentence, but occurs to a much higher degree in exclamatory and interrogative sentences, because for them the general rule that the dominating concept always claims first position in speech does not apply."

It is generally accepted that the sentence part standing in the focus of attention frequently claims the first position in the order of elements if we understand this to mean some kind of deictic element (definite noun, pronoun, adverb of spatio-temporal deixis) which functions as a point of departure from which the communication may develop. This is in keeping with the definition of the psychological subject proposed by Paul and von der Gabelentz. Paul writes (1909:125): "Das psychologische Subjekt ist nach ihm (i.e. von der Gabelentz) das, worüber der Sprechende den Hörenden denken lassen, worauf er seine Aufmerksamkeit hinleiten will." But Wundt seems to be suggesting that this element is the 'dominating concept' followed by 'subordinating ones'. This view is brought out even more clearly in the following (cf. Blumenthal, 1970:29): "They (i.e. the sentence relational structures) can be analyzed under the general principle that when word positioning is free, not bound by a hard and fast traditional rule, etc., then the words follow each other according to the degree of

emphasis on the concepts. The strongest emphasis is naturally on the concept that forms the main content of the statement. It is also first in the sentence. In many cases it is the subject of the sentence, in others it can be the verbal predicate or the object."

His analysis of the different surface ordering of elements in the following Latin sentences does not suggest this conclusion:

(8) Romulus condidit Romam,

(9) Condidit Romam Romulus,

(10) Romam condidit Romulus.

He writes (cf. Blumenthal, 1970:28): "The significance of the differences among these particular simple sentences may be seen when we examine the corresponding interrogative sentences to which each constitutes a reply. We can then see that the three principal types are answers to questions whose object in each case is one of the three concepts contained in the simple sentence. If the question concerns the subject of the sentence, then type 1 (i.e. example (8)) is the appropriate form: 'Who was Romulus?' answer: 'Romulus was the founder of Rome' (Romulus condidit Romam). If on the other hand the verbal predicate is the object of the question, the type 2 (example (9)) results: 'What happened then?' answer: 'The founding of Rome by Romulus' (Condidit Romam Romulus). If, finally, the question concerns the object of the statement, then type 3 (example (10)) results: 'What was founded?' answer: 'Rome' (Romam condidit Romulus)."

It can be argued that the 'object of the question' is the element answering the WH-element of the question, e.g. in the question 'Who was

Romulus' the object of the question is the identity of Romulus. In the appropriate answer this element represents the communicatively most important element or rheme, i.e. 'the founder of Rome', 'Romulus' being the psychological subject and theme (in the sense in which theme is used by both Firbas and Halliday). In this case the initial element has anaphoric reference to the question which constitutes a 'minimal preceding context' (Beneš, 1968:269) for the answer. It cannot, however, be regarded as the dominating concept or the element with most emphasis. The other two situations given by Wundt are more problematic since there is no obvious direct link between question and answer. The question 'What happened then?' by no means suggests or conditions the form of the answer, which, being in a relatively context-free situation, may assume different forms, e.g. 'Romulus condidit Romam'. In the third instance, 'Romam' answers the WH-element and is the psychological predicate or rheme of the answer. In this instance we may refer to the initial element 'Romam' as the dominating concept which carries most emphasis. On the other hand, the sequence 'Romam condidit Romulus' with appropriate accent placement could well be the answer to a question 'Who founded Rome?'. The 'diagnostic question' may well be a reliable way of eliciting the rheme of a given utterance, assuming that "it is possible to assign to any sentence a set of WH-questions, representing all possible types of context to which the given sentence is applicable" (Daneš, 1970), but it does not seem to be a reliable means of determining the sequence of elements. In German, in situations where it is possible to manipulate the sequence of elements, the answer to a question may well open with the rheme, the thematic part of the sentence, i.e. that part contained

in or 'recoverable from' the question, following the rhematic part, e.g.

(11) Was hast du auf dem Boden gefunden?

Eine Aktentasche (R) habe ich auf dem Boden gefunden (T), the 'normal' sequence in connected discourse being

(12) Auf dem Boden (T) habe ich eine Aktentasche (R) gefunden.

In the case of answers to WH-questions, the motivation for placing the rheme in first position is obvious: the rheme is the 'object of the question', and it is this item of information that the speaker may wish to communicate first, there being little point in repeating, by way of introduction, elements, i.e. thematic elements, which are already contained in the question. Hence the kind of answer the WH-questions which contain the rheme only:

(13) Was hast du auf dem Boden gefunden?

Eine Aktentasche.

There was an extended dispute between Wundt and Paul on the nature of the sentence and sentence production. Paul presented what might be called a 'synthetic theory' of sentence production. Whereas for Wundt the sentence was 'der sprachliche Ausdruck für die willkürliche Gliederung einer Gesamtvorstellung in ihre in logische Beziehungen zueinander gesetzten Bestandteile' (quoted by Ammann, 1962: 139), Paul's approach was mainly concerned with the process taking place in the speaker's mind: 'Der Satz ist der sprachliche Ausdruck, das Symbol dafür, dass sich die Verbindung mehrerer Vorstellungen oder Vorstellungsgruppen in der Seele des Sprechenden vollzogen hat, und das Mittel dazu, die nämliche Verbindung der nämlichen Vorstellungen in der Seele des Hörenden zu erzeugen' (1909: 121). Paul stresses the bipartite nature

of the sentence which is the outward indication of the linking of two ideas. Every sentence consists of two parts related to each other not as equivalents, but distinguished by their function. They are termed subject and predicate. The grammatical categories are founded on a psychological relation. He does not enter into a discussion of the difference between the grammatical, psychological and logical subject, but distinguishes between the grammatical and the psychological subject and predicate and proceeds to show in some detail how the two do not always coincide.

The notion of the 'movement of thought' or of the 'cognitional act' as an act taking place in time (cf. Sandmann; 1954:110) is evident in his definition of the psychological subject as 'die zuerst in dem Bewusstsein des Sprechenden, Denkenden vorhandene Vorstellungsmasse, an die sich eine zweite, das psychologische Prädikat anschliesst' (124). He refers to the viewpoint of von der Gabelentz, with which he agrees, that from the point of view of the hearer the psychological subject is what the speaker wishes the hearer to think about, what he wishes to direct his attention towards, the psychological predicate is what he wishes him to think about it (125). As we shall see, however, he does not agree with the contention of von der Gabelentz that word order is the only criterion for the determination of the psychological subject and predicate, which is based on the assumption that the cognitional sequence correlates with the actual sequence of elements. He does concede that in primitive means of expression of the kind 'Wein Tisch' the communicative purpose of the utterance will be derivable from the sequence of elements (126), i.e. in the example quoted it

will be a request to the listener to put the wine on the table or perhaps even a statement about the location of the wine. It is interesting to note here that in German sentences expressing a different communicative purpose a characteristically different sequence of elements is found in keeping with the 'primitive' means of expression quoted by Paul. In sentences with the communicative purpose or 'sense', 'localization' (spatially or directionally) of a person or thing, the element expressing the person or thing will precede the expression of the location as in

(14) Das Buch liegt auf dem Tisch,

as opposed to sentences with the communicative purpose or 'sense' 'existence of an object in a place', where the expression of the location precedes the expression of the thing, as in

(15) Auf dem Tisch liegt ein Buch.

English, on the other hand, resorts to different syntactic constructions to express the difference in communicative intention, e.g.

(16) The book is on the table,

(17) There is a book on the table.

The communicative function of the article is of course relevant, the definite article singling out what in Paul's terms would be the psychological subject, the element to which the listener's attention is directed. However, the sequence of elements is in other languages an indication of a different communicative purpose as is evident in languages which dispense with the use of articles in most situations (cf. Czech). German uses both word order and articles to indicate the specific communicative purpose to be conveyed.

Paul regards stress as a relatively reliable criterion for the distinction of psychological subject and predicate, a view shared by Wegener (1885:29). Paul writes: "Im isolierten Satze ist das psychologische Prädikat als das bedeutsamere, das neu hinzutretende stets das stärker betonte Element". This does not fully answer the question of what determines or motivates the placement of secondary and primary accent within the utterance. Surface phenomena of this kind, like the sequence of elements in languages with a relatively free word order, are determined by a number of different, but interrelated, criteria such as the semantic structure of the sentence as illustrated in sentences (14) and (15). Other relevant criteria are the contextual dependence of elements, and the particular communicative perspective given to an utterance as a result of a specific communicative intention, e.g. 'London is the capital of Great Britain' as opposed to 'The capital of Great Britain is London'.

With regard to the actual sequence of elements in an utterance, Paul leaves aside cases where word order has become relatively fixed and has a grammatical function as in English, where initial position of a non-thematic element (psychological predicate) is not infrequent in certain sentence types (cf. Firbas, 1968). He does concede a point to 66b von der Gabelentz who maintains that a preposed grammatical predicate is always the psychological subject, but qualifies what von der Gabelentz states by pointing out that this is so in many cases, but not always. We shall look into this situation more closely in connection with the initial positioning of predicative adjectives in German in sentences such as

(18) Wichtig ist die Erkenntnis, dass Sätze eine Tiefenstruktur haben,

(19) Vorgesehen ist ein Bürohaus mit 30 Stockwerken,

where the grammatical predicate usually refers directly or indirectly to the preceding context (cf. Kirkwood, 1970). English, as we shall see, handles such situations in a different way, e.g.

(20) What is important is the realization that sentences have a deep structure,

(21) What is envisaged is a block of offices with 30 storeys.

Paul points out that the psychological predicate may precede the psychological subject in a situation that is referred to as emotive as opposed to neutral word order. He writes: "Der Subjektsbegriff ist zwar immer früher im Bewusstsein des Sprechenden, aber indem er anfängt zu sprechen, kann sich der bedeutsamere Prädikatsbegriff schon so in den Vordergrund drängen, dass er zuerst ausgesprochen und das Subjekt erst nachträglich angefügt wird"(127). We shall see that what has come to be called emotive word order involves a number of distinctions depending on what motivates the departure from the non-emotive or neutral order of elements, e.g. emphasis, contrast. We shall first have to determine what criteria are relevant to the neutral order of elements to appreciate what is meant by a departure from the norm, whether it be a departure from the theme-rheme perspective, to which some languages, including German, are susceptible, or a departure from a grammatical norm, which is relevant to the order of elements in English. For instance, whereas

(22) Den Hans habe ich gern,

with initial position of the grammatical object is quite neutral in

German, the sentence

(23) John I like,

with the order OSV is a non-neutral or 'marked' sequence in English. On the other hand, whereas the sentence

(24) Agreement was reached at the meeting yesterday,

with a non-thematic element (psychological predicate) in initial position, the sentence

(25) Einigkeit wurde gestern auf der Sitzung erzielt,

is a non-neutral or marked order in German, being a departure from the theme-rheme (psychological subject - psychological predicate) order.

Paul (127) regards sentences with the psychological predicate in first position " eine Anomalie gegenüber der bei ruhiger Erzählung oder Erörterung vorwaltenden Voranstellung des Subjekts" but concedes that this ordering is " eine nicht wegzuleugnende und nicht gar seltene Anomalie" and concludes: " Die Wortstellung kann daher nicht als ein mit den Anfängen der Satzbildung gegebenes Unterscheidungs- mittel von Subj. und Prad. betrachtet werden", thereby disagreeing with von der Gabelentz for whom word order was a relatively stable criterion for the distinction of psychological subject and predicate, and with Wundt, who maintains that words follow each other in accordance with the degree of emphasis on concepts.

An apparent contradiction to his contention that sentences consist of at least two elements he finds in the fact that situations arise where the psychological subject has no linguistic expression. In such cases, the subject can be filled in from the preceding context, a

typical case being the answer to a question where the question provides a minimal preceding context (cf. Beneš, 1968:269) from which certain elements are recoverable. This phenomenon has been pointed out by Lyons (1966:212). In some cases, deictic elements, derivable from the context of situation, are omitted in accordance with certain language-specific rules, cf.

(26) Do you like my new hat? Bought it yesterday,

(27) Wie gefällt dir mein neuer Hut? Habe ich gestern gekauft,
where the elements that are deletable differ in the two languages.

Paul has interesting remarks to make about shifts in syntactic construction brought about by the occasional discrepancy between the psychological subject and predicate and the grammatical subject and predicate, the "Gegensatz zwischen dem psychologischen (logischen) Verhältnis der Satzbestandteile untereinander und ihren rein grammatischen Verhältnis" (283). The equation psychological/logical suggests an identification of different levels of analysis which more recent work by linguists has tried to keep separate (Daneš, 1966; Halliday, 1970). This question will be discussed in some detail in connection with the levels of analysis proposed by Daneš, Halliday, and others. Paul writes (283): "Die syntaktischen Formen wie die Kasus etc. sind zunächst für bestimmte Satzteile wie Subj., Obj., Bestimmung eines Substantivums etc. geschaffen. Sie bezeichnen aber zugleich ein bestimmteres Verhältnis, als es die bloße Aneinanderreihung der Wörter vermag. Indem nun die Mittel zu einer solchen bestimmteren Bezeichnung verwertet werden, zugleich aber die alte, nie ganz zu vernichtende Freiheit in der Verknüpfung der Begriffe waltet, entsteht ein Wider-

spruch, aus welchem sich dann, wenn er usuell wird, neue Konstruktionsweisen entwickeln. Die Abweichung von der äusseren grammatischen Form besteht dabei teils in einer anderen Zusammenfassung und Trennung der einzelnen Elemente, teils in einer anderen psychologischen Anordnung derselben, wodurch Subj., Präd., Obj., etc. ihre Rollen tauschen".

And further (290): "Indem die Auseinanderreissung des grammatisch eigentlich eng Zusammengehörenden usuell wird, bilden sich neue Konstruktionsweisen heraus, von denen man, wiewohl sie ihren Ursprung dem Widerspruche zwischen grammatischer und logischer Gliederung verdanken, doch nicht mehr sagen darf, dass der Widerspruch noch bestehe. Das ursprünglich nur psychologische Verhältnis hat sich dann zu einem grammatischen entwickelt". What Paul seems to be suggesting is in line with a view I shall argue in some detail in a later chapter, namely that in organizing an utterance thematically or in arranging elements in keeping with a particular communicative perspective the speaker or writer may avail himself of certain options held in store by the particular language system within which he is working. Certain options have become 'usual' under specific contextual constraints, context being understood to mean both verbal and situational context, although the speaker is free to disregard the pressure of such constraints and, for instance, select the point of departure in a sentence without regard to context (cf. Halliday's concept of 'theme'). There is in English a tendency to associate the communicative function of theme with the grammatical function of subject which has led to the development of a number of different constructions in which the grammatical subject expresses different semantic categories such as locative, instrumental, which are expressed in German by locative and instrumental

prepositional phrases. Examples of different kinds of passive construction are given by Mathesius (1929). In the course of this study other constructions will be discussed which appear to have evolved in conformity with shifts in the communicative perspective.

Consider the sentence

(28) The room was screaming with children,
in which the grammatical subject expresses the communicative function 'theme' and the semantic category 'locative'. (cf. Fillmore, 1968:25).
The underlying semantic pattern is agent-action-location of action. The agent, expressing the communicatively most important element, i.e. the rheme, is moved to the end of the sentence in keeping with what Firbas has called the 'basic distribution of communicative dynamism'. An investigation of different sentence types in English will show that English is more susceptible to 'functional sentence perspective' than had been assumed.

Paul begins the discussion of the 'Verschiebung der syntaktischen Gliederung' by reiterating what he has stated earlier: Any sentence element may be the psychological subject or predicate, the particular function it assumes being marked by stress or by position. The initial element may be either psychological subject (in a neutral sequence of elements) or psychological predicate (in an emotive sequence of elements). If the psychological predicate is placed first, it carries the heaviest accent (i.e. the primary accent). If the psychological subject is placed first, it carries the second heaviest accent (i.e. the secondary accent). Psychological subject and predicate may be

linked by a transitional element which further specifies the nature of the link (284). The psychological subject, or part of it, is usually an anaphoric demonstrative element (284), indicating the speaker's point of departure to which the new information is joined. Point of departure is to be understood in a cognitional sense ('diejenige Vorstellung, von der in der Seele des Sprechenden und des Angeredeten ausgegangen wird') (284, cf.124). He gives the examples

(29) Ich ging nach Hause, da fand ich einen Brief,

(30) Ich sah ihm am Sonntag zum letzten Male, damals sagte
er mir...,

(31) Fritz war gestern bei mir; diesen Menschen möchte ich
immer zum Hause hinaus werfen; aber ich muss Rücksicht
auf seine Familie nehmen; aus diesem Grunde kann ich es
nicht,

which contain different kinds of deixis, including spatio-temporal deixis.

Paul refers to special constructions that have evolved as a means ~~as a means~~ of resolving the discrepancy between grammatical and psychological subject and predicate. These constructions include a number of options relating to the thematic organization of sentences which have been discussed in more recent work (Firbas, 1967; Halliday, 1967:236). He quotes the sentence

(32) It is to you, young people that I speak,
but makes no comment as to the resultant organization in terms of psychological subject and predicate.

In the analysis of this particular construction by modern linguists different approaches become evident. Firbas (1967) regards it as a means of singling out an element for special attention, throwing it

into relief. The element singled out for special attention is the communicatively most important element in the sentence, i.e. the rheme, and the construction represents a conspicuous deviation from the 'basic distribution of communicative dynamism', which places the rheme proper in end position. Halliday (1967:236), on the other hand, considers it a further option relating to the choice of theme, and the construction, which involves a 'predicated theme' serves to highlight the theme. These different approaches will be reviewed later. A further point about this kind of construction is that the element which is 'singled out' or 'predicated' is characteristically a deictic element, cf.

(33) He did it yesterday,

(34) It was yesterday that he did it,

(35) He did it carefully,

but not

(36) It was carefully that he did it.

Other means referred to by Paul have been treated elsewhere under the term 'identification' (Halliday, 1967; Kirkwood, 1970), e.g.

(37) What I most prize in woman is her affections, not

her intellect,

(Paul:285),

in which the element 'what I most prize in woman' represents an extended theme, or, in Paul's terms, the psychological subject.

Paul makes no reference to the kind of contextual constraints that might motivate the choice of these options, and it is to this aspect that we shall have to pay particular attention.

Paul draws a distinction between different kinds of adverbials from the point of view of their syntactic cohesion with the verb and their communicative importance. He distinguishes between adverbs which are 'wirklich Bestimmungen des Verbuns' as in

(38) Karl ist langsam,

and adverbials which are 'eine Bestimmung für die übrigen Glieder des Satzes' as in

(39) Morgen abend will ich dich besuchen,

and points out that the first category can be conceived as 'das eigentlich Wertvolle der Mitteilung' (287), the second, which includes temporal, local and causative adverbials, 'sind dann den übrigen Bestandteilen des Satzes gegenüber gewöhnlich psychologisches Subjekt!'. This is an important distinction which indicates a relation between the syntactic function of adverbials and their communicative function.

A further instance of the reorganization of the grammatical structure, or more precisely of the surface ordering of elements, which has come about as a result of the discrepancy between grammatical and psychological organization (Paul, 290: 'dem Widerspruch zwischen grammatischer und logischer Gliederung') is the dissociation of the genitive attribute from the element on which it is dependent, which is either a predicative adjective or a verb. Paul gives the examples (290):

(40) Des Erfolges bin ich sicher,

(41) Das bin ich vollkommen überzeugt,

(42) So viel bin ich versichert.

Cf. in English

(43) That I am sure of,

where the initial element refers to an element in context and constitutes the 'natural point of departure' of the communication in terms of the 'movement of thought'. He gives further examples where the genitive attribute is dependent on a noun. The genitive attribute is dissociated from the noun to which it is attached and is promoted to become a major constituent in the sentence. From M.H.G. he gives the examples (291):

(44) des wirdet mir buoz,

(45) des hân ich guoten willen,

(46) des sit ane sorge,

(47) si wurden des zu rate,

and from N.H.G. the examples

(48) Des Lärmens ist kein Ende,

(49) Nun will ich des Briefes ein Ende machen,

(50) Dieses Dranges ist kein Ziel zu sehen.

Once again the motivation is quite clear: an element with reference to context is moved towards the front of the sentence.

Paul (288) suggests that the historical development of constructions in English of the kind 'me was given a book' to 'I was given a book' are related to the resolution of the discrepancy between grammatical and psychological subject. He refers to passive constructions in English (291), e.g.

(51) The tailor was seldom talked of,

(52) They were never taken notice of,

which have the same function. These and related questions have been

taken up by linguists of the Prague tradition (Mathesius, 1929).

A question that has to be considered is why there should be a 'conflation of functions' in the grammatical subject. This is particularly evident in English where the grammatical subject frequently expresses the theme, but certain developments in German syntax point in a similar direction, e.g. the replacement of sentences of the type

(53) Ihm wurde der Auftrag gegeben, die Sache zu erledigen,

(54) Der Firma wurden gestern die Waren geliefert,

by sentences of the type

(55) Er wurde beauftragt, die Sache zu erledigen,

(56) Die Firma wurde gestern mit den Waren beliefert,

where in (55) and (56) the theme of the sentence is expressed by the grammatical subject in initial position. It is possible that this has something to do with sentence planning. The configuration of semantic categories constituting the 'deep structure' of a sentence may be simultaneously present in the mind, but the formulation of these categories in terms of grammatical categories is a sequential process in time. The 'announcement' of the theme in the form of the grammatical subject may involve a less heavy commitment in terms of grammatical organization than its announcement in the form of a surface dative, which presupposed the choice of an element, e.g. a verb, on which it is dependent. Hesitation phenomena in the performance of sentences are relevant here. In everyday speech, the speaker may introduce a theme in different, almost non-committal ways in terms of the subsequent grammatical role to be assigned to it before proceeding

with the actual communication to be made about the theme, e.g.

(57) You know John. (Well) He's been offered a job in London.

(58) Du kennst ja den Hans. (Also) Ihm ist eine Stelle in London
angeboten worden,

or, with the grammatical subject as theme

(59) Du kennst ja den Hans. (Also) Er hat eine Stelle in London
angeboten bekommen,

where the person implicated in the event expressed by the verb
(cf. Lyons, 1967: 391ff.) and having the function of the theme of the
utterance is expressed either by the dative or by the grammatical
subject.

The question arises whether it is properly the concern of
linguistics whether a sentence stands as a whole on the cognitive level
while it is being spoken (Wundt) or whether it is the result of the
combination of two successive thoughts (Paul). These two approaches
do not seem to be incompatible if we shift our attention from the
structure of cognition to the expression or the organization of the
cognitive act by the speaker through linguistic structure, through the
selection of certain options available to him in the language system
within which he is working in conformity with the desired communicative
perspective. Both Wundt and Paul appear to give to this linguistically
significant aspect consideration. As far as I can discover, Panfilov
(1968:31) is not correct in stating that "Paul is also obliged to
recognise that in a sentence expressing an idea the psychological
subject may follow the psychological predicate; i.e. in the given
act of thinking it may possibly be not the first but the second in the

sequence of its occurrence in the mind of the speaker". What Paul actually says is (127): "Der Subjektsbegriff ist zwar immer früher im Bewusstsein des Sprechenden, aber indem er anfängt zu sprechen, kann sich der bedeutsamere Prädikatsbegriff schon so in den Vordergrund drängen, dass er zuerst ausgesprochen und das Subjekt erst nachträglich angefügt wird", i.e. in the cognitional act the psychological subject is always the first to emerge in the mind of the speaker, but in the linguistic expression of this act the psychological predicate may in certain circumstances precede the subject. A further aspect of the question is that a 'Gesamtvorstellung' may find expression in several sentences linked by different kinds of contextual reference. The linguistically significant fact is the means by which this is achieved.

The work of von der Gabelentz predates that of Wundt and Paul by some years, but it may be appropriate to discuss his contribution at this stage since he introduces certain distinctions concerning the semantic structure of the sentence which are related to its information structure. Von der Gabelentz also attempts to explain the sequence of linguistic elements in terms of the sequence in which the components of thought emerge in the mind of the speaker: "so zerlegte nunmehr der Geist von Beginn der Rede an den ihm vorschwebenden Gedanken in seine Theile, um ihn aus jenen Theilen in fortlaufender Rede vor dem Hörer wieder aufzubauen" (368). This is the kind of analysis-for-production process proposed by Wundt. The listener constructs a similar 'Gesamtbild' from the individual components, and this is done

in the order in which he receives them: "Es ballen sich in der Seele des Hörenden die Einzelvorstellungen zu einem Gesamtbilde zusammen, und dies geschieht natürlich in der Ordnung, in welcher die Einzelvorstellungen empfangen werden" (368).

In the most primitive state of human language, he argues, there were as many possibilities of expression as there were possibilities of positioning elements: "Auf jenem naivsten Standpunkte menschlicher Rede gab es höchstens soviele Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten als Möglichkeiten der Stellung: abc, acb, bac, cab, cba. The speaker had a choice, but this choice was not arbitrary, but meaningful.

The speaker organizes his speech in such a way that the listener follows the train of thought in the way it is presented to him: "er verlangt, dass der Andere ihm nachdenke, was und wie er ihm vordenkt" (369). The first element in the communicative act is that "was mein Denken anregt, worüber ich nachdenke, mein psychologisches Subjekt und dann das, was ich darüber nachdenke mein psychologisches Prädikat" (369-370). The psychological subject is then for von der Gabelentz what has been referred to as the 'object of thought' to which further ideas are linked which form the psychological predicate.

On the other hand, von der Gabelentz, as does Paul, points out that in 'most' languages word order is to a certain extent fixed and that the train of thought follows a prescribed course (370). However, there are linguistic means, e.g. 'inversions' and changes in the structure of the sentence, which allow the speaker to depart from the course prescribed by grammatical function. He points out further that

word order may be conditioned by contextual constraints and suggests that the most useful material for an investigation of word order are contextually independent sentences such as 'factual statements' ('tatsächliche Mitteilungen').

He reports (371) that it is characteristic of the narrative style of Chinese chronicles to place the time indicator first, then the locative element, then the subject implicated in the event ('Begebenheit'). Von der Gabelentz comments (371): "Es sind das so zu sagen drei Überschriften, die ein sich stufenweise verengendes psychologisches Subjekt darstellen: Was geschah damals? Was geschah damals dort? Was geschah damals dort mit Dem und Dem?". This would appear to be in keeping with what Bolinger (1952) refers to as 'linear modification'. This sequence is also characteristic of Modern German in sentences expressing an event taking place at a particular time and in a particular place and implicating a person or an object, cf.

(60) Gestern hat sich auf der Hauptstrasse ein Unglück ereignet, where the grammatical subject, an indefinite noun, expresses the 'psychological predicate' or, in other terms, the rheme.

Von der Gabelentz is aware of the different semantic categories of the verb and the influence these different categories may have on the surface ordering of elements. He makes the interesting observation that languages which usually place the verb after the subject allow the reverse order when the verb expresses the notion of 'emergence' - "ein Inerscheinungtreten oder Sinnfälligwerden" (372). What von der Gabelentz calls the 'Sinneseindruck' is then the psychological subject, and the causer ('Urheber') of the impression, which is the grammatical

and logical subject, is predicated of the psychological subject,
e.g.

(61) Descendit pluvia.

In an English equivalent the psychological predicate would be marked
by the stress as in

(62) Rain is falling.

With regard to the placement of accent in the sentence von der Gabelentz (373) refers to the traditional view that both the beginning and the end of the sentence tend to be stressed. He feels that this view is to some extent justified: "Denn erstens ruht natürlich ein gewisser Nachdruck auf dem jenigen Theile der Rede, der als ihr Thema vorangestellt wird, also auf dem psychologischen Subjekte. Zweitens bleibt die Aufmerksamkeit des Hörers bis ans Ende gespannt, wird erst mit dem letzten psychologischen Prädikat, dem abschliessenden, befriedigt."

The views expressed by von der Gabelentz call for the following comments. It seems questionable whether the cognitional process induced in the listener by the speaker should follow exactly the order in which the elements are presented, i.e. in a purely linear fashion. We would then have to infer that in sentences of the type

(63) Auf dem Tisch liegt ein Buch,

(64) There is a book on the table,

the train of thought of the listener to the German sentence moves unidirectionally from the location 'Tisch' to the object 'Buch' and that, conversely, the thought process of the listener to the English sentence will move from the object 'book' to its location 'table'.

However, the two sentences convey the same meaning, the particular communicative sense of the English sentence being marked clearly by the special construction involving the introductory there and the indefinite article. It could be argued that the cognitional process is held in suspense by these markers and that the total meaning to be conveyed is arrived at not only by a progressive accumulation of information, but also by a regressive and occasionally corrective interpretation of the underlying structure of the sentence taken as a whole.

The view that in a language with a relatively fixed word order there may be linguistic means by which an arrangement of communicative elements in keeping with the communicative intention is achieved is also put forward by Paul who suggests some of the means available, e.g. the passive. This aspect of the order of communicative elements will be discussed in detail in another context.

As has already been mentioned, von der Gabelentz is apparently aware of different semantic sentence patterns determined by the kind of process expressed by the verb, and of the bearing these patterns have on the information structure of the sentence and on the surface ordering of elements. He seems to suggest that in some languages there is a 'usual' word order subject-verb, which is true of sentences with the underlying pattern actor-action-goal, but that this order may be reversed where the verb expresses the notion of 'emergence', to which could be added the notion of 'existence'. This has been pointed out more recently by others (cf. Beneš, 1968). In such cases the verb

expresses the psychological subject (or theme) and the existing or emerging person or object expresses the psychological predicate (or rheme). In English this particular theme-rheme structure is manifest in the placement of accent, e.g.

(65) A letter arrived yesterday.

German will tend to open the sentence with the communicatively less important adverb of time, e.g.

(66) Gestern ist ein Brief angekommen.

His remarks on accent placement and on the prominence found both at the beginning and at the end of a sentence suggests the distinction between secondary and primary accent made in more recent work, cf.

(67) Diesen Ort hatten die Studenten zum Ziel ihres Ausflugs
bestimmt,

in which there are two points of prominence relating to the points of information focus, the 'thematic element' in first position being more prominent than the 'thematic' element in postfinite position, but less prominent than the communicatively most important element, the rheme, zum Ziel ihres Ausflugs.

Richter (1903:47) suggests that in non-emotive speech the initial element of a sentence will be a known element, establishing a link with the preceding context "so dass die Rede fortwährend vom Bekannten zum Neuen für den Sprecher - vom Bekannten zum Unbekannten für den Hörer - fortschreitet". The initial element has the function of 'Anknüpfung', a term which emphasizes the textual function of this element. She uses

the term 'Thema' for the element "worüber man den Hörer zum Denken auffordert" (cf. Paul) and the term 'dominierende Vorstellung' for what the listener is supposed to think about the theme, the actual communication. The term 'dominierende Vorstellung' is also used by Wundt, but Richter differs from Wundt in her use of the term: for Richter the dominating concept is the psychological predicate, whereas Wundt identifies the dominating concept with the theme, or, more specifically, with the element in the first position. Richter contends that any sentence element can be the dominating concept, but that it is usually found within the grammatical predicate, rarely in the grammatical subject. She states: "Das Thema ist stets ein gegebenes Reales, von dem etwas Allgemeines, Abstraktes ausgesagt wird" i.e. the theme is usually a (given) particular term to which is assigned a general, abstract term. This will certainly be the case in many instances, but the distinction particular/general is properly on a different level of analysis, and sentences (114), (115), (119) and (120) show that other considerations, e.g. contextual dependence of the general term, may cause the sequence particular-general to be reversed.

Wegener (1885) uses the term 'Exposition' for what Paul and von der Gabelentz refer to as the psychological subject. The exposition serves to introduce and orientate the listener to the communicative core: "Der Kernpunkt der Mitteilung wird ausgesagt von dem, was zur Einführung und Orientierung ausgesprochen ist" (20). He prefers the neutral term 'exposition' on account of the fact that the term 'logical subject' has become established in grammar for the agent of an action, especially where the agent was not expressed by the grammatical subject,

e.g. in a passive construction. However, he retains the term 'logical predicate' for what Paul and von der Gabelentz refer to as the psychological predicate. He suggests (29) that stress is a sufficient criterion for identifying the logical predicate, but that there was in modern languages, especially French and German, a tendency to single out the stressed element by special constructions, e.g.

- (68) Caesar war der erste, der dies tat,
- (69) Caesar war es, der dies tat,
- (70) Sein Bruder war es, mit dem er kam,
- (71) Es war Nacht, als er zurückkehrte,
- (72) Es ist lange her, seit ich dich gesehen habe.

Wegener has three points to make about this kind of construction: (1) it represents a tendency to place the logical predicate in first position (2) it makes the logical predicate the grammatical predicate and (3) the usual position of the grammatical predicate following the subject is contrary to the tendency in a primitive state of language to place first in the utterance what is momentarily the strongest impression (31ff.). This particular construction is common in English and has been discussed by Paul (285), Firbas (1967) and Halliday (1967:236). There seems to be agreement on the function of the construction as being a means of singling out an element for special attention, but differing analyses in terms of theme-rheme structure are offered by Firbas and Halliday, which is partly due to their different use of the term 'theme'. In a proper analysis of its function other considerations will have to be taken into account including 'oppositions' in terms of other

thematic options, e.g.

- (73) Es ist lange her, seit ich dich gesehen habe,
- (74) Ich habe dich lange nicht gesehen,
- (75) It was John who first pointed out this difference,
- (76) John was the first to point out this difference,
- (77) The first to point out this difference was John.

Both Wundt and Paul occasionally use the term 'logical' in reference to relations holding between sentence elements. Wundt appears to be using the term to refer to the underlying semantic structure, Paul to refer to distinctions that are primarily psychological in origin. The term 'logical subject' is used extensively by Steinthal (1855) and it seems to involve distinctions which concern other levels of analysis, besides the strictly logical. Steinthal warns against confusing linguistic and logical categories (168) and points out that the discrepancy between sentence and proposition is manifest in the fact that a sentence may imply several judgments (169). He analyzes the sentence

- (78) Dieser blühende Baum muss Früchte tragen

into two judgments explicit in the form 'Dieser Baum blüht und folglich muss er Früchte tragen', the attributive construction having the value of an implicit judgment. According to Steinthal (197) we can analyze a sentence such as

- (79) Der Baum blüht herrlich,

into two judgments. This could be illustrated as follows

S P
Der Baum blüht

 S P
 Sein Blühen ist herrlich

This kind of logical analysis may be correlated with the kind of thematic analysis proposed by Svoboda (1968: /), especially for attributive constructions. Logically, in the sentence 'Der Baum blüht herrlich', 'der Baum' is the 'determinandum' and 'blüht herrlich' the 'determinans'. Sandmann (1954:116) writes: "In a judgment two concepts A and B are brought together into a higher unity by a purposeful act which consists in 'determining' A through B". The logical predicate of (79) implies a further division in terms of 'determinandum' and 'determinans', 'blüht' being determined by 'herrlich'. In terms of thematic structure the initial sentence may be divided into a theme 'der Baum' to which is assigned a rheme 'blüht herrlich'. Within the rheme a further division may be made in which the adverb 'herrlich' is communicatively more dynamic than 'blüht' and constitutes the rheme proper of the whole sentence. This may be illustrated in the following way:

To	Ro
<u>Der Baum</u>	<u>blüht herrlich</u>
	T ₁ R ₁

Having pointed out that grammar and logic are not always compatible, Steinthal states: "Die Grammatik...verdrehet oft das logische Verhältnis von Subjekt und Prädikat" (198), and he proceeds to illustrate this statement with a number of examples. He quotes the sentences

(80) Wenn das Auge brechende Medien hat, so kann es sehen,

(81) Weil das Auge brechende Medien hat, so kann es sehen,

(82) Wenn das Auge sehen soll, so muss es brechende Medien haben.

He suggests that the logical subject in all three sentences is 'brechende Medien haben' and the logical predicate 'sehen': "denn der letzte Begriff wird an den ersten geknüpft; oder mit Trendelenburg zu reden: in den ersten beiden Sätzen wird der Begriff: 'brechende Medien haben' lebendig in der Thätigkeit 'sehen'". The first part of the explanation could be taken as referring to the logical distinction between 'antecedens' and 'consequens' (an 'if... so...' relation). Herbert (quoted by Steinthal:173) distinguishes between the subject as 'das Vorausgesetzte' (antecedens) and the predicate as 'das Anzuknüpfende' (consequens). It could be argued that the agent 'das Auge' is presupposed by the activity of seeing and hence is presupposed by the whole predication ('for every X, if X has..., then...'). The second part of the explanation 'wird lebendig in der Thätigkeit' is significant as a criterion for determining the 'logical subject': in other words, the 'Begriff' 'brechende Medien haben' is taken out of its isolation as a 'Begriff' and through the relational grammatical structure of the sentence placed in relation to the verb. This also applies to 'das Auge'. I should prefer to call this a semantic relation: the verb 'sehen' establishes a semantic structure in which different 'participant roles' (cf. Halliday, 1970: 143f., 147) are involved. The noun 'das Auge' expresses the agent of the activity and is the logical subject in this sense. 'brechende Medien' has instrumental meaning, which is brought out in a more explicit way by sentences (83) and (84) which, Steinthal (196) states, conform to the logical structure:

(83) Brechende Medien ermöglichen dem Auge das Sehen,

(84) Vermöge brechender Medien sieht das Auge.

Steinthal argues that the logical subject must remain the same in each case, but it would appear that in considering 'brechende Medien' the logical subject he is thinking in terms of the point of departure, for if we apply any of the criteria discussed so far - other than position - then 'das Auge' is both logical subject and theme proper of the sentences. An analysis of sentences (83) and (84) in terms of semantic and thematic structure would then be

	instrument		agent	activity
(83)	<u>Brechende Medien</u>	ermöglichen	<u>dem Auge</u>	<u>das Sehen,</u>
	T1		T2	R
	instrument		activity	agent
(84)	<u>Vermöge brechender Medien</u>		<u>sieht</u>	<u>das Auge,</u>
	T1		R	T2

the rhematic function of the elements 'Sehen' and 'sieht' being manifest in the placement of the primary accent.

In determining the logical subject of a sentence Steinthal is obviously influenced by its thematic structure. This is evident in his discussion of the examples that follow. He writes (199): "In einem Vortrag über den Blitz heisst es: Das Eisen leitet ihn. Frage: Wo ist das Subject? Vom Eisen sollte nichts prädicirt werden, nicht von ihm sollte geurtheilt werden, sondern vom Blitze; folglich ist 'ihn' das logische Subject. Umgekehrt, es sei vom Eisen die Rede, und man sage: 'Electricität wird von ihm geleitet; so ist 'von ihm' das Subject. - 'Wie beindet sich Herr N.? 'Der Blitz hat ihn getroffen.' Im zweiten Satz ist 'ihn' das logische Subject: denn vom

Blitze ist ja gar nicht die Rede." In all these sentences the element that Steinthal refers to as the logical subject is a contextually dependent element; further, it represents what the speaker is talking about, and the other elements convey the new information the speaker communicates about them. This is quite compatible with the distinction between 'das Vorausgesetzte' (antecedens) and 'das Anzuknüpfende' (consequens) proposed by Herbart and with the distinction between the determinandum and the determinans suggested by Sandmann. It is also well in keeping with the criteria used in distinguishing between the theme and the rheme in most of the literature on the subject.

The other examples discussed by Steinthal deserve some comment. In the sentences 'Wem gehört das Buch? Es gehört Herrn N' Steinthal states (199): "Die beiden Dative sind die beiden Subjecte dieser Sätze; denn an sie soll ein anderer Begriff angeknüpft werden, nicht die Person an das Buch; oder, nach Trendelenburg, der Begriff dieser Person wird lebendig und thätig im Besitzen des Buches'. It is difficult to see how Steinthal arrives at this conclusion using the criteria he has apparently applied in analyzing the other examples, and this particular example seems to call in question the use of the terms logical subject and predicate with regard to utterances. In terms of the logic of relations both 'es' and 'Herrn N.' are logical subjects linked together in a relation of possession. In terms of the semantic structure the two elements stand in a different semantic relation to the verb. In terms of thematic structure the ownership by 'Herrn N.' is the new information conveyed about the given element 'es'. 'Herrn N.' expresses the rheme.

Steinthal argues that 'Herrn N.' is the logical subject because it is to this concept that the other concept 'es' is linked. But surely in the judgment in terms of a cognitional act (cf. Sandmann, 110, 236f.) the notion of 'es' is a prius logicum (cognitional S) with regard to the notion of 'Herrn N.' which is a posterius logicum (cognitional P). The semantics of verbs of possession are interesting from this point of view. A sentence such as

(85) John owns a house in London,

is quite possible, whereas

(86) A house in London belongs to John,

(87) A house in London is John's,

are not. Compare, however,

(88) There is a house in London that belongs to John,

(89) There is a house in London that is John's,

and

(90) The house in London belongs to John,

(91) The house in London is John's.

If we choose the person involved in the relation of possession as our point of departure, we must select the verb own. If we choose as our point of departure the object possessed, we select the verb belong or a construction with a noun in the genitive case.

In the discussion of further examples, Steinthal indicates that the grammatical predicate can also express the logical subject, e.g.

(92) Wie hat der Patient geschlafen? Er hat gut geschlafen,

where 'geschlafen' is the subject and 'gut' the predicate.

Hence it appears that Steinthal is using the term 'logical subject' for what has been referred to as the psychological subject by other writers, although his analysis suggests certain distinctions other than purely psychological ones. Only in the sentence 'Electricität wird von ihm geleitet' is what Steinthal refers to as the logical subject also the agent of the activity expressed by the verb. If the term 'logical subject' is to be used at all with reference to the structure of sentences, it would seem that it is better to reserve it for distinctions in the underlying semantic structure. This is in keeping with the use of the term in more recent work (cf. Chomsky, Halliday).

The term 'thema' for what was referred to by Paul and von der Gabelentz as 'psychological subject' was used as early as 1911 by Ammann. His conception of the theme was later taken up and further developed by Boost (1955). The conception of the theme held by Ammann and Boost has much in common with the conception of the theme proposed by Halliday and Travníček, but differs in significant respects from the theme as defined by Firbas and other linguists of the Prague tradition. In his interpretation of the theme Ammann stresses the interpersonal aspect, the relationship between speaker and listener in the communicative act. He suggests that neither Wundt nor Paul give sufficient consideration to the listener (1962: 139): "Was bei Wundt gar nicht ausdrücklich in der Definition zur Geltung kam und bei Paul erst im Nachsatz ausgesprochen wurde, die Rücksicht auf einen Hörenden, rückt neuerdings mehr in den Vordergrund". He stresses the social character of the speech act: speech

is first and foremost communication ('Mitteilung') to a listener and the typical form speech assumes is to be understood from the conditions of communication (140). His approach is apparent in the title of his work 'Die menschliche Rede'.

Ammann suggests that the nature of communication helps to explain the bipartite structure of the sentence in terms of subject and predicate. Frequently the grammatical subject will refer to an element known to the listener and the grammatical predicate to the new information to be conveyed about the subject. It will be recalled that Paul (124) states that the grammatical categories subject and predicate are founded on a psychological relationship. The subject is the element that is 'given' to both speaker and listener and forms a common basis from which the communication may proceed. He agrees that grammatical subject and predicate may not always coincide with the psychological subject and predicate (cf. Paul: 124), but that, he states, is not what matters. What is of prime importance for communication is "dass der Begriff der Mitteilung an sich schon auf etwas hindeutet, wovon die Rede ist (Subjekt) und auf etwas, was davon gesagt wird (Prädikat) - auf Gegenstand und Inhalt der Mitteilung". He retains the two terms 'Gegenstand' and 'Inhalt' of the communication, but also introduces the two terms theme and rheme to denote the same elements (141). It is just possible that he wishes to avoid the term 'Gegenstand' for what is otherwise referred to as the psychological subject since the term 'Satzgegenstand' had been used as a term for the grammatical subject. Boost explicitly discards the term 'Satzgegenstand' for the same reason and uses the terms theme and rheme throughout.

Ammann distinguishes between three kinds of subject: (1) the psychological subject or theme, the speaker's point of departure, (2) the grammatical or 'surface subject' and (3) the logical subject or agent ('handeln des Subjekt'). The logical subject is derived from the underlying semantic structure in a similar way to the distinction made by Wundt (cf. Bever, 1971:159), Sweet (cf. Halliday, 1970:159) and Halliday (1970:159). All these functions are combined in the sentence element 'Romulus' in the sentence 'Romulus hat Rom gegründet' - if we assume, although Ammann does not point this out at this stage, that 'Romulus' carries the secondary and 'Rom' the primary accent. In a different consituation the element 'Romulus' could be accompanied by the primary accent and become the psychological predicate or rheme of the sentence.

Ammann (142f) makes an important distinction between sentence ('Satz') and utterance ('Äusserung'): "Der Satz als Ausdruck des Gedankens trägt seinen Sinn in sich, die Frage nach dem Sinne eines solchen Satzes ist demnach durchaus eindeutig, der Sinn haftet am Satze, gleichviel wo und wann und von wem er gedacht, ausgesprochen, geschrieben, gebildet oder gelesen wird". What he appears to have in mind is a particular combination of semantic categories as a unit of language. In the speech act the configuration of semantic categories is transformed into an actual utterance ('reale Äusserung'), the consituation in which the utterance is made and the motivation behind its production (the communicative intention) determining to some extent the particular surface form of the utterance: "In dem Augenblick aber, wo ich den Satz als Einheit der von Mensch zu Mensch gesprochenen Rede, als reale Äusserung betrachte, erhebt sich die Frage nach dem Sinn der Äusserung als Handlung, die Frage, wie der Sprechende dazu kommt, sich so zu äussern, kurz die

Frage nach der Motivierung der Äußerung" (143). The immanent meaning of a sentence is not the only criterion motivating its linguistic realization in an actual situation. This leads to the methodological requirement of selecting illustrative instances of utterances which immediately suggest a 'motivating' situation (143), i.e. call forth a context in which they might naturally occur. Illustrative sentences of the type 'Die Wiese ist grün', quoted by Wundt, lack what Ammann calls 'einen szenischen Rahmen', a specific consituation in which it would have a meaning ('Sinn'). He does make the following point however: "zum mindesten passt er gleich gut oder schlecht in die verschiedensten Rahmen hinein". One might here draw a comparison between the potential meaning ('Inhalt') of a lexical item and the actual meaning ('Bedeutung') it assumes in a particular context. Such a sentence has a wider contextual applicability in Firbas' terms than other sentences with more specific meaning which refer to and arise from a particular consituation. It could be argued, however, that a particular configuration of semantic categories may have a characteristic language-specific realization in terms of a particular combination and indeed of grammatical categories (cf. Beneš, 1968:270; Kirkwood, 1969a). Thus a sentence with the 'meaning' 'localization of an object in a place', e.g. 'The book is on the table' differs characteristically in terms of surface realization from a sentence with the 'meaning' 'existence of an object in a place', e.g. 'There is a book on the table'. Such sentences can be called 'contextually dependent' only in terms of certain presuppositions relating to the 'determined' elements, e.g. 'There is a book', 'There is a table'. The communicative purpose or 'motivation', to use Ammann's expression, is the establishment of a relation between the two elements 'book' and 'table'. Two aspects of 'functional sentence perspective' emerge here (cf. Beneš, 1968:267), which will be

discussed in more detail later, namely the arrangement of the 'content structure' of the sentence in surface structure and the contextual modification of this arrangement in terms of the sequence of elements and accent placement.

A characteristic feature of the theme or 'Gegenstand' in Ammann's terms is that it is determined, i.e. recoverable from the preceding context or derivable from the immediate situation as opposed to the rheme or 'Inhalt' which represents non-recoverable information: "Was dem Sprechenden und dem Hörer gleicherweise gegeben ist, kann nicht den Inhalt einer Mitteilung bilden" (147) and further: "Sinnlich Gegenwärtiges kann nicht den Inhalt einer Mitteilung bilden". 'Gegenwärtig' is to be understood in both a spatial and a temporal sense.

K/ Spatio-temporal deixis can be expressed by definite nouns and adverbs; both are capable of creating in the listener's mind a sense of expectancy with regard to the information to be conveyed about this element "Jedes determiniert auftretende Element - also vor allem das personelle oder sonst identisch gegebene Subjekt - ist im Rahmen des Satzes möglicher Träger eines psychologischen Spannungsmoments, sofern der Hörer nun erwartet, über 'diesen' Gegenstand etwas zu erfahren. Ein Satz, der mit 'karl ...', 'Dort ...', 'Hierauf ...' anhebt, schafft schon im 'anhebenden' Sprechtun dieses Spannungsmoment" (107). Ammann indicated here the role of the accompanying intonation in creating the 'tension' or 'sense of expectancy' in an utterance, which is relaxed when the communicative purpose has been fulfilled, the relaxation of tension falling within the rhematic part of the sentence.

However, Ammann's analysis of a sentence he adduces in evidence of

this presents certain problems which point to other relevant factors in the theme-rheme structure of the sentence. The sentence is

(92) Dieser Brief ist gestern angekommen,

about which he writes: "das nichtgegenwärtige Moment des Zeitpunkts der Ankunft den Inhalt der Mitteilung über den gegenwärtigen Gegenstand (bildet)". This would mean that 'gestern' would carry the primary 'rhematic' accent, which in fact gives rise to an utterance which is difficult to contextualize. In this particular instance it is the element Brief that receives the primary accent and which constitutes the rheme of the sentence. It carries what has been called 'information focus'. The information structure of this kind of sentence is related to the particular kind of deixis conveyed by the demonstrative and to the semantic category of the verb - a verb expressing the notion of 'emergence on the scene'. We may adduce by comparison the following English sentences:

(93) This letter arrived yesterday,

(94) The letter arrived yesterday,

(95) The letter arrived yesterday.

In (93) letter carries information focus, letter being the element with the highest degree of communicative dynamism (cf. Firbas, 1966:240).

In (94) letter, accompanied by the definite article, represents information that is recoverable from the preceding context; it is in Halliday's terms 'given'. In (95) letter is 'marked' in terms of information focus and has contrastive meaning, the elements arrived yesterday being recoverable information and hence thematic. These instances indicate the ambiguity of the kind of question used to elicit the theme of a given utterance, e.g. 'What is the message about?'

- 'Wovon ist die Rede?'. Lyons (1966:212) quotes the examples

(96) John ran away

(97) John ran away

Sentence (96) is about what John did, i.e. 'ran away' and (97) is about who ran away, i.e. 'John', the questions eliciting not the theme, but the rheme. In this connection it is interesting to note that the question 'What happened?' will elicit an answer of the type (96), but not (97).

Ammann's criterion of temporal or spatial 'Gegenwart' or 'Nichtgegenwart' for ascertaining the 'Gegenstand' (theme) and 'Inhalt' (rheme) of an utterance (151) runs into difficulties when confronted with descriptive statements of the type

(98) Auf dem Tisch stand eine Vase mit Blumen,

where both objects are in fact 'gegenwärtig'. He states (151) "in diesem Satz ist allerdings der 'Tisch' als Teil des zu beschreibenden Raumes gewissermassen Gegenstand, aber schon die Umkehrung 'Eine Vase mit Blumen stand auf dem Tisch' lässt das Verhältnis wieder fraglich werden". The difficulty is more easily resolved if a different criterion is used, namely that of 'communicative dynamism', and attention is paid to the linguistic features of this kind of sentence, i.e. the semantic structure of the sentence as a means of functional sentence perspective, the sentence conveying the 'communicative sense', 'existence of an object in a place or situation, the locative element expressing the theme and the existing object the rheme, and to the function of the definite and indefinite articles. In Czech the sequence of elements in this type of sentence would be locative element-object as in

(99) Na stole je kniha

as opposed to a sentence with a different communicative sense

(100) Kniha je na stole

expressing the localization of a (given) object.

Ammann proceeds to ask the question whether there is anything in reality corresponding to the subject-predicate relation in language or are 'facts' structured in this way in our mind or in the communicative act itself (155). At this stage he seems to be equating subject with theme (Gegenstand) and predicate with rheme (Inhalt). He finds in the sphere of human actions such a bipartition: "Der Handelnde ist hier nicht nur im Bewusstsein als Gegenstand gegeben, ehe von ihm die Handlung ausgesagt wird, sondern er ist auch wesensnotwendig schon in der Wirklichkeit vorhanden, ehe er handelt. Wenn ich jemanden mitteile, dass Herr N.N. verreist ist, so ist nicht nur im Bewusstsein des Hörers das Subjekt 'Herr N.N.' als bekannter Gegenstand vorausgesetzt, sondern Herr N.N. muss auch in der Wirklichkeit schon als reale Person vorhanden gewesen sein, ehe er abreiste; die Existenz einer menschlichen Agens muss notwendig der Aktion zeitlich vorausliegen, der Mensch muss schon da sein, um handeln zu können". He notes further (156) that a 'fact' may have the character of an event ('Ereignis') in which someone or something is implicated. In such instances, he points out, the persons, things and locations implicated in actions and events are referred to by 'naming words' ('Namen'), whereas the accidents, the actions or events have verbal or adjectival expression. In this respect the ontological distinction corresponds to the duality subject-predicate.

It might appear then that the bipartite structure of the reality underlying the communication entails the bipartite structure manifest in the communication as 'Gegenstand' and 'Inhalt'. Ammann suggests,

however, that the situation is far more complex, the material substratum of the fact communicated not always representing the 'Gegenstand der Mitteilung' which acts as a common basis for speaker or listener. He gives the examples

(101) Es steht ein Mann vor der Tür,

(102) Es ist ein Buch abgegeben worden,

and comments: "Hier handelt es sich also darum, dass Personen und Dinge neu in den Lebensbereich eintreten, in dessen Dienst die Mitteilung erfolgt". In other words, the purpose of the communication is to convey the notion of the existence of a person or a thing in a place or a situation, the existing person or thing being communicatively more dynamic than the fact of its existence or than the place or situation in which it exists. The existing person or object is characteristically expressed by an indefinite noun, and in German the surface structure is so organized as to move the indefinite noun away from first position, an alternative sequence to that in (101) being

(103) Vor der Tür steht ein Mann.

Ammann ascribes to the expletive es a certain 'Situationsbezogenheit' - cf. 'Es erhob sich ein Sturm'; 'Da erhob sich ein Sturm'. Its main function, however, would appear to be to occupy the first position in the sentence and refer the grammatical subject, which expresses the rheme, to a position following the finite verb, if not to end position. This kind of surface organization is not used with definite nouns, the sentences

(104) Es steht der Mann vor der Tür,

(105) Es ist das Buch abgegeben worden,

being unusual, if not ungrammatical. Where the noun is definite it will

tend to occupy first position as in

(106) Der Mann steht vor der Tür,

(107) Das Buch ist (schon) (gestern) abgegeben worden.

Ammann concludes that the distinction between substance and accident does not necessarily coincide with the distinction between 'given' and 'new', although the former distinction is closely related to the grammatical organization of the sentence into substantival subject and verbal predicate. The distinction 'given' 'new' is furthermore not only to be found in the different extent of knowledge of speaker and listener (cf. Boost, 1955:18): "Die Spannung zwischen Sprecher und Hörer erwächst aus der verschiedenen Situation, in der sich beide befinden. Der Sprecher 'weiss', was er sagen will, der Hörer 'weiss es noch nicht'", but in the cognitional process experienced by both speaker and listener: "in den einsamen Akten des Aufmerkens und Feststellens ... insofern eben das Verständnis des primär aufnehmenden Bewusstseins zu den Vorgängen der Aussenwelt eine gewisse Analogie aufweist mit dem Verhältnis des Hörers zu den ihm vom Sprechenden dargebotenen 'neuen' Inhalten". In the linguistic expression of the cognitional process the speaker will organize the content of his 'message' in such a way as to make the listener aware of what he considers to be communicatively important. In a given language system he may avail himself of certain systemic means to achieve this end. In descriptive statements concerning, for example, the relation of a person or a thing to a location, deictic elements (e.g. adverbs of place) may serve in the place of gestures to direct the listener's attention from the situational context to the situated person or object in sentences with the communicative purpose

as shown in (103) or from person or object to the situational context as in (106), the difference in the direction of the cognitional process being manifest in languages with a relatively free word order, e.g. German, in the sequence of elements, e.g.

- (108) Zur linken sieht man ...,
- (109) Geradeaus stösst man auf ...,
- (110) Neben der Tür steht ein Ofen,
- (111) Hinter dem Haus ist ein Gärtchen angelegt, in der Mitte
sind Rosen angepflanzt.

English with its relatively fixed 'grammatical' word order is not insusceptible to this arrangement of content (cf. Kirkwood, 1969:99f.). Consider the sentence

(112) The door which stands wide open has 'Coffee Room' written on it, and its German equivalent

- (113) Auf der weit geöffneten Tür steht 'Coffee Room' geschrieben.

So far we have been concerned with the thematic structure of descriptive statements, what Ammann calls 'rein tatsächliche Feststellung'. Later in his work he discusses 'Sätze, die als Träger von allgemeingültigen Einsichten oder Erkenntnissen auftreten' and gives the example (254)

- (114) Bakterien sind Pilze

in which a nondefinite subject is subsumed under a nondefinite predicate.

This could also be expressed in German as

- (115) Die Bakterien gehören zu den Pilzen.

The relation between the two nouns is not one of equality, i.e. A=B as in

- (116) London is the capital of Great Britain,

but of class inclusion, B being a wider concept under which A is subsumed. The same 'logical' relation between the two nouns could be expressed by the use of a predicative adjective in place of the second noun, i.e.

(117) Bakterien sind pilzartig,

where the noun 'Bakterien' refers to a particular set of objects in which are found qualities characteristic of the general class referred to as 'pilzartig'. In a relatively context-free situation (i.e. in a definition) the more particular term will be the point of departure of the cognitional act, the communicative purpose of the predication being the assignment of a set of objects (what we are now talking about) to a class, i.e. given A, A is to be identified as belonging to the class B. The sequence of elements is then not reversible; it has a 'logical' or 'semantic' function, i.e. that of class inclusion as in

(118) London is a large city.

Ammann writes (254): "Der Sinn dieser Umkehrbarkeit aber ist der, dass der Weg der Erkenntnis von a zu b weiter führt, dass wir, von a ausgehend, zu b fortschreiten, a als b erkennen, von a auf b schliessen". This is the direction of the cognitional process "die Richtung des Fortschreitens der Erkenntnis" (255).

If, on the other hand, the sentence element referring to the class of objects is contextually dependent, the sequence of elements may be reversed, e.g.

(119) Zu den Pilzen gehören auch Bakterien,

(120) Pilzartig sind auch Bakterien.

Sentences (119) and (120) could not normally be the opening sentences of a discourse, since they presuppose a context in which 'Pilze' or 'pilzartig' is mentioned. Contextual dependence is further marked by the particle 'auch'.

Sentences (114), (117), (119) and (120) are equivalent logically, but differ from the point of view of their thematic structure. Cf.

(121) T R T R
 A ist pilzartig. B ist pilzartig

(122) T R R T
 A ist pilzartig. B ist auch pilzartig.

In (122) a theme shift may be applied, bringing the thematic element 'pilzartig' to front position, as in

(123) T R T R
 A ist pilzartig. Pilzartig ist auch B.

English with its relatively fixed word order may proceed differently in such situations. Cf.

(124) T R T R
 A is B. C is D.

(125) T R R T
 A is B. C is also B.

(126) T R T R
 A is B. B also includes C.

i.e. by the choice of a different verb, allowing the thematic element to establish the point of departure in clause structure, the point of departure in terms of the cognitional act being the same no matter which sequence is chosen, i.e. the contextually dependent or 'given' element being the basis on which the communication is founded.

The study made by Boost (1955) of the theme-rheme structure of the German sentence appears to have derived much from the work of



Ammann, and it may be appropriate to review it briefly at this stage. Boost regards the sentence as a 'Spannungseinheit' (7), based on the different extent of knowledge of speaker and listener, the 'Wissen' of the speaker and the 'Nichtwissen' of the listener. Viewing the sentence in terms of the communicative intention we must take into consideration the person to whom the communication is addressed. The speaker will avail himself of certain linguistic means to create in the mind of the listener a similar complex of ideas to his own. This is what Boost calls the 'inter-esse' of the sentence (18): "Aus einem Vorstellungskomplex A entsteht mit Hilfe des Satzes S ein (dem A ähnlicher) Vorstellungskomplex B" (18). This suggests a similar analytic process to that proposed by Wundt, although Wundt in his definition of the sentence disregards the involvement of the listener. It entails a 'Gliederung der Gesamtvorstellung', a structuring by means of language of a complex idea. Boost pays particular attention to the 'Ausgangspunkt', the point of departure of the sentence, which is a common basis for speaker and listener and from which the communication can develop. It serves to orientate the listener (22) and is characteristically taken up by adverbs of temporal deixis, e.g. 'gestern', 'heute', 'morgen', 'diese Woche', 'voriges Jahr', by adverbs of spatial deixis, e.g. 'hier', 'dort', 'inder Stadt', 'hinter dem Haus', or by uniquely referring terms, e.g. proper names, personal pronouns. The initial element, which he calls 'Thema' represents "was wir eine Gegebenheit nennen, eine eindeutig determinierte Vorstellung (von der Emphase abgesehen)" (28). The rest of the sentence is the 'Rhema' - "Das Neumitzuteilende, her höchste Mitteilungswert" (81). This is in line with the function ascribed to the first position by Paul, Richter and Ammann, but is

in obvious opposition to Wundt for whom the opening element was the 'dominating concept'. Boost's conception of the theme in terms of position in clause structure has elements in common with the concept of the theme proposed by Halliday (1970), although Halliday introduces further distinctions to be discussed later, e.g. the association of the theme with 'given' in the 'unmarked' case, or with 'new' in the 'marked' case. Boost's definition of the theme according to two criteria, i.e. by position in clause structure and by the 'givenness' holds well for German. Ammann too pointed out: "Unverkennbar neigt die deutsche Satzform dazu, mit dem determinierten Element anzuheben" (250), but it runs into difficulties when applied to languages such as English where other criteria are relevant to the positioning of elements, and when applied to German sentences of the type he quotes himself (34)

(127) Eine Welt von geflügelten Tierchen summt ungestört
über ihm,

where the initial element introduces new information and the element occupying end position is fully recoverable from the context.

The grammatical subject need not express the theme of the sentence, and Boost is careful to distinguish between the thematic structure of the sentence and its grammatical structure: "Wir verlassen die Ebene des rein grammatischen, die in sich ihre eigene Gesetzlichkeit hat, und legen darüber eine Ebene des Sinnes" (30). The thematic structure is superimposed on the grammatical structure and need not coincide with the latter (cf. Mathesius, quoted by Firbas, 1957:72; Halliday, 1967:200). The internal relations holding between grammatical elements are not affected by the thematic structure. The grammatical structure serves

the thematic structure in as much as the grammatical elements are bearers of communicative value and the arrangement of grammatical elements may be determined by the communicative intention: "Ihre Anordnung geschieht nicht unter grammatischen Gesichtspunkten, sondern von der Satzintention, von der Richtung her, in der sie Aussage erfolgen soll" (30). Boost gives no examples, but it is apparent that the arrangement of grammatical elements in keeping with the communicative intention may involve the selection of different types of construction in languages where word order is largely determined by grammatical criteria. Cf.

(128) Dieses Buch hat mir Hans geschenkt,

(129) This book was given to me by John,

(130) Auf dem Tisch liegt ein Buch,

(131) There is a book on the table,

(132) On the table there is a book,

(133) The table has a book on it.

The so-called free word order refers to the freedom in the positioning of grammatical categories. In languages where there is freedom in the positioning of elements in this sense, their arrangement may be to a large extent determined by the thematic structure and is by no means arbitrary (cf. Boost:32: "Vor allem wird der Satzbeginn aus der Beliebigkeit herausgenommen und erhält gegenüber dem Rhema, der eigentlichen Mitteilung... einen eigenen Wert, der ihn deutlich von diesem abhebt").

Boost (33) deals with the thematic structure of questions and

suggests that the situation is the reverse of that in declarative sentences, e.g.

(134) Wer(R) hat das Buch gefunden(T),

(135) Das Buch(T) hat Hans gefunden(R).

This kind of analysis does not seem to be adequate. Boost rejects the sequence

(136) Hans hat das Buch gefunden

as an appropriate answer to (134), but, as has been pointed out, this sequence would be quite 'normal' if the element 'Hans' (the rheme of the answer) receives the primary accent.

Comparing English and German, Boost (34) finds that in English the theme, if not expressed by the subject, is placed outside the sentence, leaving the rhematic part a self-contained, independent unit, e.g.

(137) Yesterday, I bought a book,

whereas in German inversion of subject and verb makes the rhematic part structurally dependent on the thematic element, e.g.

(138) Gestern habe ich ein Buch gekauft.

Seen from the point of view of Boost's definition of the theme in terms of position in clause structure, this observation is not very revealing. One would then have to say that in the sequence

(139) I bought a book yesterday,

'I' is theme and 'yesterday' falls within the rheme, i.e. that an element is thematic or rhematic by virtue of its position in the sentence. If, however, we consider the theme-rheme distinction from the point of view of communicative dynamism, which Boost himself appears to do in referring to the theme as a 'Gegenbenheit' and the rheme as 'das Neumitzuteilende, der höchste Mitteilungswert' (81), both I and

yesterday are thematic elements regardless of their position. This then leads to the interesting observation that in the English sentence (137) we have two thematic elements juxtaposed, whereas in the German sentence (138) the two thematic elements characteristically occupy positions in front of and following the finite part of the verb, the sequence of these elements being reversible as in

(140) Ich habe gestern ein Buch gekauft.

Boost's positional criteria for the theme-rheme distinction is compatible with the observable fact that in German thematic elements tend towards the beginning of the sentence and rhematic elements towards the end. However, different criteria are operative here, e.g. syntactic cohesion of elements with the verb, according to which elements syntactically closely linked with the verb are placed at the end of the sentence creating together with the finite verb in second position the predicate bracket which is a characteristic feature of German sentence structure. Cf. the sentences quoted by Boost (41):

(141) Ich habe mir gestern vormittag in der Stadt ein
Buch gekauft,

(end position of infinite verb form)

(142) Ich lege ein Buch auf den Tisch,

(end position of directional adverb),

where in terms of communicative dynamism, the element 'Buch' in both sentences is rheme proper, the elements 'gekauft' and 'auf den Tisch' occupying end position on grounds of syntactic cohesion, the sequences

(143)* Ich habe mir gestern vormittag in der Stadt gekauft ein Buch,

(144)* Ich lege auf den Tisch ein Buch,

being ungrammatical.

We shall discuss Boost's approach to the theme-rheme distinction further in the context of the definition of the theme proposed by linguists of the Prague tradition.

Sandmann (1954) has presented an extensive study of the use of the terms subject and predicate and, discarding the terms logical or psychological S and P, introduces the terms cognitional S and P. These terms are constituent parts of the cognitional act and belong, in the first place, to cognition and not to language. In the latter part of his work he endeavours to show how far the cognitional S and P are reflected in language. The cognitional act is an act which takes place in time (110) and consists of a prius logicum and a posterius logicum, which correspond to the terms psychological (logical) subject and predicate used by Paul. The point of view taken by Sandmann is a functional one (255): the specification of relations found in language are in functional dependence on the choice of one of the terms as a prius logicum and this in functional dependence on the cognitional act. Thus the sentences

(145) Many important people live in Rome,

(146) In Rome live many important people,

spoken with normal stress are cognitively different. In (145) we wish to assert of 'many important people' that they 'live in Rome'; in (146) we wish to say of Rome that many important people live there. The objective relation remains the same, and the two sentences share a common semantic structure. What is different is the cognitional structure or what we shall refer to as the communicative perspective, the perspective

into which the semantic categories are brought through the cognitional act or the communicative purpose.

Sandmann stresses the dynamism and purpose underlying the cognitional act: "In a judgement two concepts A and B are brought together into a higher unity by a purposeful act which consists in 'determining' A through B" (116); "we determine the concept A by a second concept B in order to eliminate a want, namely the indetermination of A. Further: "'Determination' is only another word for 'identification'. We may say that in the cognitional act a substratum first identified through a concept A is now being identified as belonging to experiences similar to those represented by the concept B". Thus in sentences such as

(147) London is the capital of Great Britain,

(148) The capital of Great Britain is London,

represent the logical relation $A=B$ which is reversible in the form $B=A$, but they are cognitively different, i.e.

(149) London is to be identified as the capital of Great Britain,

(150) The capital of Great Britain is to be identified as London.

Consider further the sentences

(151) A dog barks

(152) A dog barked (outside).

The sentences show the same semantic sentence pattern actor-action.

The substance-property relation is also the same. A distinction is that (151) is a classifying judgment and (152) a descriptive statement, the classifying judgment in (151) underlying the descriptive statement in (152). The two sentences are also cognitively different in terms

represents a departure from the normal word order and is non-neutral or marked.

Before proceeding to a discussion of the different concepts of the theme held by Firbas and Halliday it may be appropriate to summarize briefly the different aspects of the information structure of the sentence brought out by the writers on the subject discussed ^{so} to far. In the following chapter the notion of functional sentence perspective as developed by linguists of the Prague tradition will be discussed in detail.

Psychological considerations appear in the foreground of the discussion of the theme-rheme structure of the sentence in the work of the 19th and early 20th century German linguists, this being manifest in the terms psychological subject and predicate, which are clearly distinguished from the formal categories grammatical subject and predicate. These terms in time give way to the more neutral terms theme and rheme. The psychological subject is the first idea to emerge in the mind of the speaker. It stands in the focus of attention and usually claims first position in the sentence, the assumption being that there is a direct correlation between the order in which the constituents of the thought emerge in the mind of the speaker and the order in which they are expressed through language structure. From the point of view of the listener, it is the element of thought to which the speaker wishes to draw the listener's attention. The initial element in an utterance creates a sense of expectancy on the part of the listener based on the differing extent of knowledge of speaker and listener. It establishes a common basis from which the communication

may develop. The information conveyed about the psychological subject is the psychological predicate.

The theme is the speaker's point of departure, the rheme tends towards the end of the sentence. The function of the thematic structure in creating textual cohesion is also emphasized. The theme may represent 'given' 'recoverable' information and links up with the preceding context. Ammann distinguishes between sentence and utterance, the utterance being situated in a particular context. A reversal of the order psychological subject-psychological predicate requires special motivation and gives rise to what is felt to be a non-neutral, emotive order. The psychological subject or theme is frequently expressed by the grammatical subject, but this is not necessarily the case. In languages with a relatively fixed 'grammatical' sequence of elements special constructions may be used to achieve a distribution of communicative value in keeping with the communicative intention. Word order is not the only means of marking the theme and rheme; it may be supplemented by the placement of accent, the primary accent falling on the rheme. The theme in initial position has a certain prominence in terms of accent as a manifestation of information focus, but it is less prominent than the rheme.

The part played by the semantic structure in determining the thematic structure is also given consideration. The relevance of the semantic category of the verb and its bearing on the surface ordering of elements as a realization of the underlying thematic structure is pointed out (von der Gabeleritz). Paul distinguishes between different types of adverbs depending on their syntactic cohesion with the verb.

Adverbs closely linked to the verb (e.g. adverbs of manner) are often rhematic. Adverbs expressing spatio-temporal deixis are often thematic.

Finally, the logical structure of the sentence may have a bearing on its thematic structure. In the linking of two ideas expressed by a particular and a general term, the particular term will tend to be theme, the general rheme. This may be overridden by contextual considerations. Contextual dependence of the general term will render it thematic. Other distinctions referred to as logical, i.e. the underlying 'internal' relations holding between grammatical elements, e.g. subject as actor in an actor-action goal pattern, we shall in the following refer to as distinctions in the semantic structure of the sentence.

I shall now summarize briefly the views of Halliday and Firbas on the information structure of the sentence as they are presented in a number of articles that have appeared during the past fifteen years (Firbas, 1966, 1968; Halliday, 1967, 1970, 1971).

Halliday recognizes three types of subject, the grammatical subject, the logical subject and the psychological subject. He does not himself use these terms and replaces them with other terms, e.g. theme and actor for psychological subject and logical subject respectively. The distinctions he makes are shown in the structural functions expressed by the initial element in sentence

(160) Sir Christopher Wren built this gazebo,
where the initial element is at once grammatical, logical and psychological subject, or subject/actor/theme, whereas in

(161) This gazebo I was left by my father,

the three functions are dissociated - 'this gazebo' is psychological subject or theme and 'my father' is logical subject or actor.

For Halliday, subject is used to mean grammatical subject and nothing else; the logical subject is derived from a different set of relations which we have so far referred to as semantic. The category of psychological subject is a mixture, involving both the concept of 'given' and that of 'theme'. Theme is the element in first position, the speaker's point of departure, the rest of the sentence constitutes the rheme. A distinction is made between theme and rheme and 'given' 'new'. The different functions need not coincide.

By the term 'given' is understood that part of the message which is shown to constitute a link with the chain of discourse. The part the speaker signals as being 'new' is offered as non-recoverable information. Recoverable information - the known part or at least the part the speaker is presenting as known (cf. Ammann's 'Vergegenwärtigung des Themas') - the given has a specific function in the textual organization: it links the information to the rest of the discourse. Halliday suggests that there is a tendency for the given-new structure to be reflected in the sequence of elements in the clause - in the 'unmarked' form the given is associated with the function of theme, i.e. the point of departure, and the new element falls within the rheme, often occurring in final position.

First position does not necessarily express the function given. The theme may convey new information, although the two functions theme and given are frequently realized by the same element. The significant fact is that the speaker is free to select whatever theme he likes.

His choice is not determined by the context. The theme is what turns an ideational structure into a message: we may have a pattern of content, i.e. a semantic sentence pattern (in Daneš' terms) such as actor-action-goal, but only when the function of theme has been mapped onto one or more of these elements does a message result. In the sentence

(162) Sir Christopher Wren built this gazebo,
the initial element is actor and also theme.

In

(163) This gazebo I was left by my father
the initial element is given and theme.

The association of theme with new is marked as in

(164) It was this gazebo my father built.

The thematic status is not limited to just one element in the clause: any combination of elements can function as theme, through the use of the structural device of nominalization, as in

(165) The man who built this gazebo was Sir Christopher Wren.

Halliday suggests that the function most typically associated with that of theme is the subject function. Other things being equal, in a declarative clause, the subject is the theme. It was also recognized by Mathesius, the founder of the Prague School, that in English the grammatical subject frequently expresses the theme (Mathesius, 1929:202). However, the definition of the theme proposed by linguists of the Prague tradition differs in some significant respects from that proposed by Halliday. In the following chapter the notion of functional sentence perspective will be discussed in

detail. For the present, a brief review of the definition of the theme proposed by Firbas will give an indication of where the approaches of Halliday and the linguists of the Prague tradition differ.

In the approach to sentence analysis proposed by linguists of the Prague tradition three levels are distinguished: the grammatical, the semantic level, and the level of thematic and contextual organization of the utterance. The third level, the organization of the utterance "makes it possible to understand how the semantic and the grammatical structures function in the very act of communication, i.e. at the moment they are called upon to convey some extra-linguistic reality reflected by thought and are to appear in an adequate kind of perspective" (Firbas, 1962:137).

The theory which has been developed is referred to as 'functional sentence perspective' - the distribution of various degrees of communicative dynamism over the elements of the sentence. Firbas summarizes the theory as follows (1966:240): "The starting point of the theory is the assumption that it is in accordance both with the character of human thought and with the linear character of the sentence that sentence elements follow each other according to the amount (degree) of communicative dynamism (=CD) they convey, starting with the lowest and gradually passing on to the highest.

By the degree of CD carried by a sentence element we understand the extent to which the sentence element contributes to the development of the communication, to which, as it were, it 'pushes' the communication

where FSP is a leading principle in determining the order of elements. English employs other means of FSP, what Firbas refers to as semantic-contextual means. Semantic means of FSP include the use of articles. Cf.

(168) The door opened, and the young girl came in,

(169) The door opened, and a young girl came in.

In (168) the noun phrase 'young girl' is accompanied by the definite article. The arrival of the girl is presented as new information, and the words 'came in' function as rheme. In (169) the noun phrase 'young girl' is accompanied by the indefinite article. 'young girl' is presented as new information and functions as rheme. The difference in the placement of primary accent is a manifestation of the different thematic structure.

The operation of the context consists chiefly in thematizing sentence elements. Any element already mentioned in the preceding context normally conveys the lowest amount of CD within a sentence irrespective of its position.

The second conclusion to be drawn is that although the theme is the element within a sentence carrying the lowest degree of CD, it need not necessarily convey known information. By the degrees of CD carried by an element is understood the extent to which the element contributes to the development of the communication. But even within a sentence section made up entirely of elements carrying new information, the degrees of CD within a section are due to the interplay of two factors:

(1) tendency to effect the basic distribution of CD,

(2) the semantic structure of the sentence.

Firbas considers the following Czech sentence which is contextually independent and could occur at the beginning of a narration:

(170) Byl (He-was) jednou (once) jeden (one) král (king)

(Once upon a time there was a king)

In (170) 'byl' expresses existence and is communicatively less important than the temporal setting 'jednou'; communicatively far more important is the expression of the existing person. The semantic category of the verb may be an important means of FSP. If the contextually independent subject is accompanied by a verb of the category 'existence' or 'emergence' it is natural that attention should be concentrated rather on the person or thing existing or appearing or on the scene than on the appearance or existence itself. The subject will therefore carry a higher degree of CD than the verb. If the rest of the sentence conveys known information or merely states the 'scene' the subject may even become the rheme of the sentence. Cf.

(171) $\frac{R}{\text{A girl}} \text{ came into } \frac{T}{\text{the room}}$

In the sentence

(172) A girl broke a vase

the agent of the action is communicatively less important than the action itself. From the point of view of communication, the goal of the action is more important than the action. Similarly, with verbs expressing motion, the goal of the motion is more important than the motion itself. Cf.

(173) $\frac{T}{\text{Ein junger Student}} \text{ fuhr } \frac{Tr}{\text{einmal}} \frac{T}{\text{nach}} \frac{R}{\text{London}}$

We may compare English and German from the point of view of the positioning of communicative elements as in

(174) He wrote an interesting book

(175) Er hat ein interessantes Buch geschrieben.

The semantic structure as a means of FSP operates within that section of the sentence that has remained unaffected by, independent of, the preceding context. In each of these sentences, provided only the subject is known, the object, expressing the goal of the action, will carry a higher amount of CD than the verb, expressing an action. This holds good irrespective of sentence position.

It may be shown that, although English is less susceptible than Czech to the basic distribution of CD because of its fixed grammatical word order, it may resort to other means of FSP. Whereas in Czech a deviation from the basic distribution of CD (i.e. a consistent theme-rheme sequence) leads to a marked (emotive) order of elements, in English it is a deviation from the grammatical order that leads to a marked order. Cf.

(176) John bought the book yesterday,

(177) The book John bought yesterday.

In German the order OVS is quite neutral if the noun in initial position is accompanied by the definite article. Cf.

(178) Hans hat das Buch gestern gekauft

(179) Das Buch hat Hans gestern gekauft.

English may resort to special constructions to arrange the communicative elements in a theme-rheme sequence. These means of FSP

will be discussed in detail in another context. Word order is not the only means of FSP. The FSP of a sentence, the perspective in which the semantic and grammatical structures function in the very act of communication, is the outcome of an interplay (cooperation) of means which do not merely include word order and intonation, but also context and the semantic structure of the sentence.

Halliday and Firbas are attempting to define the theme in linguistic rather than psychological terms. The difference in their approach will be obvious even at this stage of the discussion. For Halliday the theme is the speaker's point of departure in the clause. It may convey new information, i.e. be associated with the function 'new'. This is what Halliday calls the 'marked' case, the unmarked case being the association of theme with the function 'given'. By the term 'given' is meant recoverability of information from the preceding context.

The theme in Firbas' definition is not tied to a particular position in the sentence. It is defined as the element carrying the lowest degree of communicative dynamism. Firbas points out that any element that is contextually dependent is thematic, but that contextual dependence is not a necessary criterion for the determination of the theme. In a sentence which is in its entirety contextually independent, the theme may even convey new information, although it will be the communicatively least dynamic element in the sentence, this being determined by its function in the semantic structure of the sentence. Hence the sentence

(180) The door opened, and a young girl came into the room

will be analyzed differently by Halliday and Firbas. Halliday's analysis in terms of theme-rheme and given-new would be

(181)

theme	rheme
<u>a young girl</u>	<u>came into the room</u>
new	given

the association of theme with 'new' being marked.

Firbas' analysis would be

(182)

rheme	transition	theme
<u>a young girl</u>	<u>came</u>	<u>into the room</u>

the function rheme being determined by the use of articles and by the semantic category of the verb.

A number of points arise which will need further investigation.

It appears that many linguists tend to assign to the first position of the sentence an important function. Beneš (1964: 9) has introduced the term 'basis' for this element, which comes near to Halliday's theme, but differs from it in that Halliday totally abstracts from the preceding context. The term 'basis' may be a useful term to operate with (cf. Kirkwood, 1969: 89) for the importance of the initial element may be accounted for by the fact that not only may it link the utterance with the preceding context, but it also forms a basis from which the communication may proceed.

The notions of 'contextual dependence' and 'givenness' will have to be clarified. It would seem that there are different degrees of contextual reference in terms of the 'immediacy of context'. The notion of presuppositions should also prove useful.

The role of the semantic structure in determining the theme-rheme structure will also have to be carefully considered. There would seem

to be a relation between the degree of syntactic cohesion of an element with the verb and the amount of CD it carries, e.g. adverbs expressing spatio-temporal deixis (sentence adverbs) are syntactically less closely related to the verb than are directional adverbs, which in Firbas' terms are an 'absolutely essential semantic amplification of the verb'. The former class of adverbs tend to be thematic, the latter rhematic. Finally, it will have to be considered to what extent the 'basic distribution of CD', the consistent theme-rheme perspective, can be maintained in a language in which other criteria, grammatical function, semantic structure, contextual dependence, are also operative in the positioning of sentence elements.

Part II

The Czechoslovak approach to 'Functional
Sentence Perspective'

The terms 'theme' and 'rheme' have been used by linguists of the Prague tradition to denote communicative units in the utterance. These terms have been used in a different sense by other linguists (cf. Halliday: 1967, 1970a, 1970b, 1970c) to refer to specific elements in clause structure. The terms theme and rheme derive from a theory of utterance referred to as 'functional sentence perspective, to what Halliday (1970c) has called the "text-creating component of language". It is concerned with the organization of components of meaning into discourse. 'Functional' here is to be understood as referring to "the demands that are made on language and the functions it is required to serve, i.e. the satisfaction of specific communicative needs" (Halliday, 1970b:323), with the analysis of "all the instrumentalities of language from the standpoint of the tasks they perform" (Jakobson, 1964:483). The communicative needs or functions expressed through language may be common to the speakers of different languages, but the formal, linguistic means by which a particular end or purpose is achieved may differ significantly. Different choices are available in different languages: the different choices are reflected in the structural diversity of languages. Halliday (1970c) states that "the place of FSP in the system of linguistic description is determined by the fact that it is (or at least it is an aspect of) one of a small number of functional components of language, of the language system".

Daneš (1966) distinguishes three 'levels' within syntax:

- (1) the level of the semantic structure of the sentence
- (2) the level of the grammatical structure of the sentence
- (3) the level of the organization of the utterance.

The first level relates to what Halliday (1970a: 146) calls the "experiential component" or "ideational function": it is concerned with the organization of extra-linguistic reality into concepts or components of meaning and the interrelation of these meanings in sentences. It is through the second level, the level of grammatical structure, that the meaningful units derived from the experiential component or ideational function are integrated together "each component makes its contribution to the total structural complex" (Halliday, 1970c). The semantic structure of the sentence is not concerned with the interrelation of concrete lexical meanings.

Daneš writes (1966: 226): "From our conception of the sentence ... it follows that it is only the linguistic relevant generalizations of concrete lexical meanings that enter the semantic structure of the sentence, not the concrete meanings themselves. Such generalizations possess the form of abstract word-categories (e.g. living being, individual, quality, action), or of relations between these categories (e.g. action as feature of an individual). From an analytic point of view, the sentence structure is based on that kind of relations that is sometimes called 'logical' ..., these relations are derived from nature and society and appear to be essential to the social activities of man. E.g.: actor and an object resulting from the action; the bearer of a quality or of a state and the state; action and an object resulting from the action or touched by it, etc." Similarly, Halliday's ideational function serves for the expression of content, "that is, of the speaker's experience of the real world,

including the inner world of his own consciousness" (1970a:143). A predominant demand made on language is the expression of a communication about something: "We use language to represent our experience of processes, persons, objects, abstractions, qualities, states and relations of the world around us and inside us" (1970a:145). From this structural function are derived functional elements or participant roles, roles linguistically expressed by noun phrases which appear in the expression of a process, usually represented by a verb.

Daneš (1966a:225) claims that Chomsky, like many others, does not respect the difference between the grammatical and the semantic level in syntax. Thus Chomsky (1962:518) states that in the sentence 'John is easy to please' 'John' is the direct object of 'please' (the words are grammatically related as in 'This pleases John'), while in the sentence 'John is eager to please' the word 'John' is the logical subject of 'please' (as in 'John pleases someone'). The relation between 'John' in 'John is easy to please' and in 'This pleases John' Daneš maintains is not a grammatical one, but a semantic one "since it has nothing to do with the formal grammatical properties of the given sentences". What Daneš means by the grammatical structure of the sentence is the combination of grammatical categories such as subject, object, related by 'dependence'. Such dependences may be rendered by morphological devices (agreement, government) or word order (cf. English). Hence the grammatical subject is established on the grammatical level only, the subject being that element of the sentence that depends on no other element. This appears to be in line with what Fillmore (1968:16) refers to as

'pure relations'. Pure relations are relations between grammatical constituents expressible in terms of (immediate) domination. Thus the notion 'subject' can be identified as the relation between an NP and the immediately dominating S, while the notion 'direct object' can be equated with the relation that holds between an NP and an immediately dominating VP. The central concept of the grammatical level is the sentence pattern - "a syntactic structure of the kind that it converts a sequence of words into a minimal communicative unit (an utterance) even outside the framework of connected discourse, i.e. even when it has been taken outside the framework of its settings (the situation and the context)" (Daneš, 1966a:230). From the viewpoint of its function, the sentence pattern is an 'utterance-making device', it is an abstract relational structure underlying all actually occurring utterances. The notion of the sentence pattern is similar to that derived from the concept of 'valency' (cf. Brinkmann, 1962a:223ff) Erben, 1965:231ff., 236; Flämig, 1964:335ff; Helbig, 1965: 10-23), according to which the verb opens up a number of obligatory and optional positions. These functional positions would in Daneš' terms be constitutive or distinctive features of the pattern, or in Lyons' (1968:334) terms nuclear constituents such as subject, object, certain verb-dependent prepositional phrases, as opposed to extra-nuclear constituents such as adjuncts (of place, time, manner, reason), which are optional or structurally dispensable. The latter may be communicatively important, but do not form constitutive elements of the pattern. Thus in the sentences

- (1) I saw him only yesterday
- (2) Ich habe ihn erst gestern gesehen

the adverbials are the communicatively most dynamic elements (cf. the use of the 'intensifying elements' 'only' and 'erst'), but they are structurally dispensable. Such phenomena as the sequence of elements (where it is not a constitutive feature of the pattern as it frequently is in English) belong to the level of utterance. The grammatical sentence pattern (GSP) $N^1 \rightarrow VF \rightarrow N^2$ (VF = finite verb) is one of the most common patterns in English and German (where \rightarrow denotes the relation of dependence) and $PRO \leftarrow N^1 \rightarrow \overline{VF} \quad A \leftarrow N^2$ is one of its derivations. In a sentence the functional positions of the grammatical sentence pattern are filled with particular lexical items: "The GSP does not only combine, but at the same time it converts the particular lexical meanings into another type of meaning, on a higher level of abstraction; these meanings might be called syntactic meanings and are characterized as the generalization of lexical meanings contained in the sentence, accomplished by the relational structure of the underlying GSP" (Daneš: 1968:56). The configuration of syntactic meanings Daneš calls a 'semantic sentence pattern' (SSP) (1968:56).

Daneš points out that there is "no biunique correlation between the units of the grammatical and the syntactic levels" (Daneš, 1968:56). An analysis of a number of sentences based on the grammatical sentence pattern $N^1 \rightarrow VF \rightarrow N^2$ shows various types of 'syntactic meanings', arranged in several different SSPs. The actor-action-goal pattern as in 'John bought a book' is only one of them. The following are some of the sentences Daneš adduces to indicate the possible types of syntactic meanings found in this grammatical pattern:

- (3) The farmer killed the duck (actor - affected object 'patient')
- (4) John repairs his car (actor - affected object 'patient')
- (5) Mary wrote a poem (actor - effected object 'result')

- (6) He dug a hole (actor - effected object 'result')
- (7) Mary studied mathematics (actor - specification, cf. Halliday's 'range')
- (8) He plays tennis (actor - specification, cf. Halliday's range)
- (9) John likes music (bearer of attitude - object of attitude)

The semantic category of the left and right participants is determined by the semantic category of the verb.

Daneš does not deny the importance of semantic considerations in syntax: "on the contrary we are convinced that the interrelations of both levels, semantic and grammatical, must necessarily be stated in order to give a full account of an overall linguistic system. However, to make such a statement possible, a strict differentiation of both levels is indispensable. That does not mean, of course, a separation of levels, but only a methodological step which enables us, on the next step, to ascertain their systemic interaction" (1966a:226).

Daneš' view (1968:56) that "the different semantic values (syntactic meanings) of the nouns in a sentence depend on the properties of the particular finite verb" relates to Fillmore's conception of the basic structure of the sentence as consisting of a verb and one or more noun phrases, each associated with the verb in a particular case relationship. The notion of a sentence type resulting from a particular array of case categories proposed by Fillmore (1968:) relates to Daneš' notion of the semantic sentence pattern. Fillmore's case categories appear to be on a still more abstract level than Daneš' syntactic meanings, and his claim of universal validity of such sentence types is only to some extent shared by Daneš. Daneš refers to the language-

specific semantic structure of sentences; the grammatical structure, being the very linguistic means of expression, necessarily has a 'back-effect' on the presentation (interpretation) of the communicated cognitive content. However, he admits that the effect may be merely a stylistic one. The linguistic presentation of the same 'cognitive content' may indeed vary according to the circumstances in which a sentence is uttered. The following sentences, Daneš would possibly agree, do not differ in their cognitive content, and are from this point of view synonymous, but they arise from and are applicable to different contexts:

(10) There is a wall around the garden

(11) The garden has a wall around it

(12) The garden is surrounded by a wall

cf.

(13) Um den Garten zieht sich eine Mauer

The difference between these sentences may be referred to the level of the organization of utterance, but a slight difference in meaning does arise from the different linguistic presentation. Daneš makes the further point that "semantic relations like these are linguistically rendered in different languages differently, with different depth and width" (1966a:226). Hence, for example, the type of sentence illustrated by (11) has no counterpart in German (cf. Kirkwood, 1969b:234ff.). As to the claim that the semantic categories are universal, it could be argued that the cognitive process by which extra-linguistic reality is organized into concepts or meaningful units is to some extent influenced by the available linguistic means of

expression. This may entail that in translating a text from language A to language B certain aspects of the so-called 'constant of translation' expressed in language A may be backgrounded or left unexpressed in language B by formal means.

The discussion by Daneš of the difference in semantic structure of the sentences

(14) John likes music

(15) Music pleases John

has an obvious bearing on questions of theme in both Firbas' and Halliday's use of the term. It also indicates a difference between Daneš' semantic structure and the array of case relationships proposed by Fillmore as the underlying structure of the sentence. To take this latter aspect first: both sentences have the same grammatical sentence pattern $N^1 \rightarrow VF \rightarrow N^2$. Daneš claims (1968: 63) that "the center (core) of the set of sentences based on the GSP $N^1 \rightarrow VF \rightarrow N^2$ is occupied by sentences of the semantic class 'goal-directed action'. The shared grammatical form simulates the same semantic structure even with other, peripheral sentences based on this GSP, but displaying a different semantic character". If this claim is true, then we may expect the shared GSP to have what Daneš calls a 'back-effect' on the semantic interpretation. Daneš adduces the sentence

(16) The concert excelled our expectations

as a further instance of the difference between the 'simulated SSP' and the 'underlying SSP'. In this sentence the underlying semantic relations are 'styled' as if 'the concert' were an 'actor' having performed an 'action', the goal of which was 'our expectations'. In such instances the impossibility of formulating a question with the verb 'do' (attesting the semantic character of action) "leads us to the assumption that sentences of this type have a different underlying

semantic structure, based on the relational meaning of the verb" (1968:63). I have suggested elsewhere that sentences of the type

(17) The garden has trees in it

simulates a possessive-locative pattern, although basically it is existential-locative in a similar way to

(18) There are trees in the garden

(cf. Kirkwood, 1969b).

Daneš suggests that sentences (14) and (15) have a different underlying semantic structure, the SSP of (14) being 'bearer of an attitude - attitude - object of attitude' and that of (15) 'recipient of affection - affecting - source of affection'. While (14) could answer the question 'What is John's attitude to music?', (15) suggests the question 'How does music affect John?'. 'Please' would therefore seem to be more of an action verb than 'like': the question could just be asked: 'What does music do to John?'. Halliday (1970a:158) would seem to suggest that the transitivity roles are the same: 'John' having the function 'affected' in both cases, 'music' being the causer. A similar relation he claims for the verbs 'fear' and 'scare', but Halliday makes the reservation that though the transitivity roles are the same, such sentences are not identical in meaning. Fillmore argues (1968:30) that the verbs 'like' and 'please' are synonymous; they have the same frame feature + (---- O + D) and differ only in their subject selection feature. The subject selection feature obviously relates to Halliday's conception of the theme. Elsewhere (1968, quoted by Huddleston, 1971:73) Fillmore suggests that the verbs 'buy' and 'sell' as in

(19) John sold Peter the book

(20) Peter bought the book from John

differ in that they emphasize the contribution to the event of different participants, the 'goal' and 'source' respectively. Huddleston (1971: 73), following Halliday's conception of the theme, suggests that this difference of emphasis is a matter of thematic organization. I would not agree with Daneš that such sentences have an identical cognitive content. They may certainly refer to the same event in extra-linguistic reality, but surely the difference in structure reflects a difference in which the reality is viewed or conceived, and the assignment of a rheme to a theme is also a relevant function in the cognitional act. The difference in cognitive content is reflected in the different linguistic presentation of the same event. The organization of the utterance "makes it possible to understand how the semantic and the grammatical structures function in the very act of communication, i.e. at the moment they are called upon to convey some extra-linguistic reality reflected by thought and are to appear in an adequate kind of perspective" (Firbas, 1962a:137). In the sentences

(21) I like the book

(22) The book pleases me

(23) Mir gefällt das Buch

(24) Das Buch macht mir Freude

according to Firbas' definition of the theme both 'I', 'mir' and 'book', 'Buch' are thematic, the rheme being expressed by the verb or verbal phrase 'like', 'gefällt', 'machtFreude' which in normal circumstances (i.e. excluding contrastive stress) will receive the primary accent. Halliday would assign to the noun phrases in these sentences the 'function given' (a criterion relevant to Firbas' definition of the theme) but

would call only the first elements theme, the point of departure of the clause. A possible compromise of the two approaches would be to call the initial element in such cases the thematic basis, and it is the choice of the thematic basis, either the 'affected' or the 'causer', that is partly relevant to the choice of the one or the other construction. I shall use the term 'thematic basis' throughout to refer to sequences where the initial element is recoverable from the context or is the carrier of a low degree of communicative dynamism, as opposed to a 'rhematic basis' to refer to situations where the opening element conveys new information as in

(25) A letter arrived yesterday

(26) A book is what I wanted for Christmas,

the rhematic basis being marked or unmarked depending on grammatical, semantic and contextual criteria.

Before leaving the question of the different interpretation of sentences with 'like' and 'please' to proceed to a more general discussion of the level of thematic organization a few remarks, by way of anticipation, on the passivization of such verbs may be relevant, since it relates directly to the choice of thematic basis. Lyons (1970:94) in describing the difference between active and passive sentences in English points out that "it is quite clear that the greater 'naturalness' of one rather than the other depends upon the kind of noun phrases or noun that occur as the underlying subject and object, whether they are definite or indefinite, whether they refer to human beings or things". He suggests that

(27) John was reading a book

is more 'natural' than

(28) A book was being read by John

In (27) the basis of the sentence is thematic and the rheme is placed at the end of the sentence in keeping with the theme-rheme sequence referred to by Firbas as the 'basic distribution of communicative dynamism'. In (28) the opening element conveys new information, and the motivation for the passive construction which, in English, is initial positioning of a thematic element, is lacking. In order to foreground the rheme English might rather resort to the construction

(29) It was a book John was reading

where the grammaticalized sequence SV is not violated.

Compare the German sentence

(30) Ein Buch hat Hans gelesen.

Where 'book' is accompanied by a definite determiner the passive seems quite natural as in

(31) The book is read by many of our students.

Halliday (1970a:153) also relates the use of the passive in such situations to questions of information focus, e.g.

(32) She was pleased by (with) the gift

is more natural than

(33) The gift was liked by her.

This is because the passive is a means of bringing the element governed by 'by' into prominence as the focus of information. In (33) the 'by' element "tends to be the 'given' element and this does not appropriately carry such prominence" (Halliday, 1970a:153).

On the other hand, a sentence such as

(34) John is liked by all of his colleagues

is quite natural, the element governed by 'by' being communicatively

more dynamic than 'John'.

A further point which seems to have been overlooked by writers on the subject is that a sentence such as

(35) The book pleases him

will more 'naturally' give way to

(36) The book gives him pleasure.

Compare

(37) Das Buch erfreut ihn

(38) Das Buch macht ihm Freude

where the communicatively important element 'please' is nominalized and moves into end position by means of a 'function verb'. This is a means English may resort to of moving the less dynamic pronoun towards the front of the sentence. The same holds for the German sentence.

Compare

(39) The book gives pleasure to her (not to him)

where the construction and resultant position of 'her' is motivated by the contrastive meaning of the element 'her'. Whether or not the indirect object is included in the 'bracket' created by the function verb and the nominal will depend to a large extent on rhythmic criteria, i.e. the length and 'weight' of the nominal and the strength of the end of the bracket.

Hence we will normally prefer

(40) The book gives pleasure to a large number of our younger students.

to

(41) The book gives (to) a large number of our younger students pleasure.

But end position of the nominal is quite acceptable if the end of the

bracket is strengthened by attributes in the noun phrase. Cf.

(42) The book gives (to) a large number of our younger students a certain amount of pleasure.

This aspect of the sequence of elements and its relation to the thematic organization of the utterance will be discussed further in connection with verbo-nominal constructions in English and German. We may expect rhythmical criteria of this kind to have an influence of the positioning of elements. This is what is meant by Behaghel's 'Gesetz der wachsenden Glieder' (1932, 3:367). However, as we shall see there is some correlation between what is rhythmically heavy and what is communicatively important.

In the works dealing with FSP three aspects of the phenomenon have been pointed out by various writers:

- (1) known (given) information - unknown (new) information
- (2) theme - rheme (in terms of the formal organization of clause structure)
- (3) different degrees of communicative dynamism.

Daneš (1970) has pointed out that the distinctions (1) and (2) go back to Mathesius. The third aspect, the different degrees of communicative dynamism has been introduced by Firbas.

Mathesius, taking the ideas expressed by Weil as his basis, distinguishes formal sentence analysis from functional sentence analysis. The former is concerned with the formal grammatical structure of the sentence, the latter examines the semantic structure of the sentence with regard to the actual situation, to the context, both verbal and situational. The two levels are interrelated since the grammatical structure represents the formal means by which the communicative

requirements or the communicative intention are expressed. Mathesius' conception of FSP suggests a bipartition of the sentence into a theme and a rheme. In his article (1939, quoted by Daneš, 1970b) he defines the 'starting point' of the utterance as "that which is known or at least obvious in the given situation and from which the speaker proceeds", (in the German translation of this article there is a qualification to the notion of 'known', i.e. "die verhältnismässig bekannten oder auf der Hand liegenden Dinge, von denen der Sprecher ausgeht"), whereas the rheme, the core of the utterance, is "what the speaker states about, or in regard to, the starting point of the utterance". In a paper written in 1942 (referred to by Daneš, 1970b) Mathesius defines the 'foundation' (or the theme) of the utterance as something that is being spoken about in the sentence, and the 'core' as what the speaker says about this theme. In all this a number of functions seem to have been conflated which it is perhaps better to keep separate, i.e.

- (1) known (given) - unknown (new) which refers to the contextual aspect of FSP;
- (2) the 'starting point of the utterance'. This may be taken to refer to the linear sequence of elements in the sentence. It may coincide with what is known or given. On the other hand, in English, it may not;
- (3) what is being spoken about and what the speaker says about it.

Halliday (1967:205) prefers to keep the functions of clause-initial position (which he calls 'theme') separate from the functions 'given' and 'new': "The two are independently variable But there is a relationship between them such that in the unmarked case the focus of information will fall on something other than the theme: it

will fall at least within the rheme, though not necessarily extending over the whole of it", and again (1967:212) "Basically, the theme is what comes first in the clause: and while this means that there is in the unmarked case (i.e. if the information structure is unmarked) an association of the theme with the given, the two are independent options (cf. Firbas, 1964). The difference can perhaps be best summarized by the observation that while 'given' means 'what you were talking about' (or 'what I was talking about before'), theme means 'what I am talking about' (or 'what I am talking about now'). The two do not necessarily coincide".

Halliday is quite explicit about what he means by 'starting point': it is the left-most element in the clause. However, the terms 'starting point', 'foundation', 'basis' can be taken in a cognitional sense as that element from which the cognitional process proceeds. This may be verbally or situationally 'given', but need not precede 'new' elements in the actual formulation of the cognitional process, or indeed be the very first thing to be mentioned. FSP should not be equated with what Firbas calls the 'basic distribution of communicative dynamism' according to which elements follow one another in a consistent theme-rheme sequence. Mathesius' interpretation of FSP appears to involve the identification of the two. Firbas, in discussing Mathesius' work (Firbas, 1964:112), writes: "The principle of FSP ... causes the sentence to open with thematic and close with rhematic elements, thematic elements being the elements which convey facts known from the verbal or situational context, whereas rhematic elements are those conveying new, unknown facts". Firbas himself distinguishes the two concepts, as we shall see presently. In his

analysis of Czech word order Mathesius finds that FSP (in this sense) plays a decisive role in determining the order of words. He writes (1929:6f. in the German translation by Beneš, 1971): "In den ruhig vorgetragenen Sätzen wird zuerst das Thema und erst dann der Mitteilungskern gesetzt (objektive Abfolge), während bei einer erregten Behauptung eine umgekehrte Abfolge vorherrscht (subjektive Abfolge)". Hence in languages in which the sequence of elements is susceptible to the principle of FSP - or rather to the basic distribution of communicative dynamism - the theme-rheme sequence will be found in non-emotive sentences (unmarked order) and in emotive sentences the rheme-theme order (marked order) will predominate. The unmarked order will then represent a conscious deviation from the neutral or unmarked order for the purpose of achieving a special effect. Mathesius refers to the 'hierarchy' of all the word order principles, the hierarchy being determined by the mutual relation of the principles, i.e. by the extent to, and the manner in, which they operate (cf Firbas, 1964:111). In English, he finds, it is the principle of grammatical function that determines the sequence of elements, the sequence SV(0) being the predominant order in declarative sentences. This principle plays a far less important role in Czech, and it remains to be seen to what extent it is operative in German. This will be discussed in the following chapter. Mathesius also establishes the distinct tendency in English to make the subject express the theme: "In languages with developed verbal systems there very often appears a vacillation between two different conceptions of the grammatical subject, that of the doer of the action expressed by the predicative verb and that of the theme of the enunciation contained in the predicate. Compared with Modern German or with any of the Modern Slavonic languages, e.g. Modern Czech,

Modern English shows a characteristic tendency for the thematic conception of the subject. In English sentences, accordingly, the theme of the enunciation is expressed as a rule by the grammatical subject and the central part of the enunciation actually made by the grammatical predicate" (1928:61). He suggests some of the means English may employ to make the subject-predicate order conform to the theme-rheme sequence, including

- (1) the passive (where the subject expresses the semantic category 'patient', 'object'), as in
 - (i) 'The book is being read
- (2) the passive (where the subject expresses the semantic category 'affected'), as in
 - (ii) I have been given the advice
- (3) the possessive passive (where the subject expresses the semantic category 'affected'). This type of sentence is related to what I have called possessive-locative (Kirkwood, 1969a)
 - (iii) Everywhere he had crowds hanging on his lips
- (4) the perceptive passive (where the subject expresses the semantic category 'affected')
 - (iv) I found a certain boldness of temper growing in me.

Other constructions such as 'identifying clauses' (cf. Halliday; 1967; Kirkwood, 1970a), which English has evolved to a far greater extent than German, permit the identification of the grammatical function subject with the communicative function theme. More recent studies have shown that in English the grammatical subject is capable of expressing case categories (e.g. locative, instrumental) which in German would be expressed by locative or instrumental prepositional

phrases.

Mathesius concludes (): "If in Modern English the word-order has become stabilized, so that the subject, as a rule, precedes the predicate, and if, on the other hand, the grammatical subject in Modern English has come to have a clearly thematical function, it is evident that the two changes combined tend towards the stabilization of the objective order subject-theme: predicate-enunciation in Modern English (1928:66).

Firbas' definition of the theme differs from that of Mathesius in significant respects. In a more obvious way it differs from the definition of the theme proposed by Halliday and Travniček (cf. Firbas: 1966a). Mathesius' definition of the theme is "that which is known or at least obvious from the given situation, and from which the speaker proceeds". The rheme of the sentence is defined by Mathesius as "that which the speaker states about, or in regard to, the theme of the utterance". The term 'starting point' also used by Mathesius suggests that Mathesius regarded the sequence of elements as the only means of FSP, and this explains the conclusion he arrives at that English is less susceptible to FSP than Czech. As Firbas (1966a:297) points out, however, the term 'starting point of the communication' is ambiguous. It could be interpreted as referring to the element that starts off the communication within the sentence by taking up front position or as the element carrying the lowest degree of CD irrespective of the position it occupies within the sentence, which provides a 'basis' or 'foundation' from which the communication is developed. Travniček objected to Mathesius' definition of the theme as that element which conveys known information on the grounds that it was too narrow and that the phenomenon to be regarded as the essential feature of the

theme must be of a general character, remaining invariably the same in all cases. Travníček's definition of the theme is the sentence element that links up directly with the object of thought, proceeds from it and opens the sentence thereby. This recalls the notion of the 'psychological subject' proposed by earlier writers on the subject, a notion of which Mathesius strongly disapproved because of the psychological, non-linguistic attitude implied by the term. Halliday, referring to the different conceptions of the theme held by linguists of the Prague tradition refers to the separation of two functions, that of recoverable and non-recoverable and that of initiation and proposition, a distinction he observes in his own analysis (cf. Halliday, 1970b:353f.), and points out that his own use of theme is closest to that of Travníček. Certainly, Halliday's criteria for defining the theme are as general and invariable as those of Travníček, but his definition appears to rest more strongly on linguistic than on psychological grounds, positional criteria being the most relevant: "There is only one semantically significant place in the sequence in the English clause, namely first place. Nearly all variation in sequence in the clause is storable in terms of first position" (Halliday, 1970b:352). However, quite apart from the question of the influence the choice of the element in first position has for the rest of the clause, the rheme in Halliday's terms, there is the other important question of what motivates the choice. Travníček's notion of the 'object of thought' is difficult to work with for it leaves out of account significant linguistic criteria, semantic and contextual, that have an influence on the choice of the initial element. On the basis of his definition it is difficult to account for the fact that sentence openings differ characteristically from language to language,

or as variations within the same language, e.g.

(43) There is a student living next door

(44) A student lives next door

(45) Nebenan wohnt ein Student

(46) Ein Student wohnt nebenan.

There are 'internal' reasons for these variations which may be language-specific and are more readily explained in terms of the 'hierarchy of word order principles' and the extent or degree to which they are operative in a specific language. Hence, for 'internal' language-specific reasons sentences (43) - (46) are not equivalent in meaning, although they may express the same extra-linguistic reality. The definition of theme and the distinctions proposed by Firbas appear more readily to account for these phenomena. Firbas' definition of the theme is established on the basis of the various degrees of communicative dynamism carried by sentence elements: thematic elements are the carriers of a low degree of CD, the theme proper being the carrier of the lowest degree of CD. By contrast the rheme or rhematic elements bear the highest degrees of CD within the utterance. The sequence theme-rheme constitutes what Firbas calls the 'basic distribution of communicative dynamism'. By the degree of CD carried by an element is meant the extent to which it pushes the communication forward or contributes to the further development of the communication. Hence, elements that are recoverable from the context, verbal or situational, are thematic. Like Halliday, Firbas observes the distinction and the relation between the two variables given-new and theme-rheme, but Halliday's definition is based solely on positional criteria, and Firbas points out that the theme and rheme as carriers of the lowest and highest degrees of CD respectively are not tied to particular positions in the sentence. Hence, Firbas' definition

allows for more than one thematic element in the sentence. Mathesius' definition of the theme as an element conveying known information and constituting the starting point of the communication forced him to refer to sentences without a theme or sentences with anticipatory themes, e.g. the opening sentence of a narration may convey entirely new information and the sentence may be from the point of view of the conveyance of new information homogeneous. Compare

(47) Byl jednou jeden král

(47a) Once upon a time there was a king

(48) V jedné zemi panoval král, který

(48a) In a country reigned a king, who

Firbas argues that from the point of view of the varying degrees of CD carried by the elements in these sentences the sentences are heterogeneous, i.e. each element carries a different degree of CD.

The FSP of a sentence is seen as the outcome of a cooperation or interplay of means of FSP, word order being only one of them. Other important means are the operation of the context and the semantic structure of the sentence: "The operation of the context consists chiefly in 'thematizing' sentence elements (i.e. in rendering them thematic): any element already mentioned in the preceding context normally conveys the lowest amount of CD within a sentence irrespective of the position occupied by it. (Thus in 'He wanted to please Mary', 'Mary' will be rhematic or thematic according to whether it has not or actually has been mentioned in the preceding context.)"

(1966b:240). And further: "There is a specific group of words predisposed by their semantic content to function as the theme. This group is formed especially by the personal, possessive, demonstrative and reflexive pronouns and the definite article. Under favourable

conditions they effectively signal contextual dependence" (1966b: 241). This will of course apply to pronouns with anaphoric reference: pronouns with cataphoric (reference forward in the text) or exophoric (reference to same feature in the context of situation) reference may function as rheme (cf. Kirkwood, 1970:108), e.g.

(49) What I want is this (cataphoric or exophoric)

(50) What I want is that (exophoric)

as opposed to

(51) This is what I want

(52) That is what I want

where the pronouns 'this' and 'that' may have anaphoric reference.

The question of less explicit contextual reference, i.e. by implication, which has not been discussed by Firbas, will be taken up later. Svoboda (1970) regards CD and contextual dependence as complementary phenomena: "Communicative dynamism is an abstraction from and generalization of the reciprocal of contextual dependence". As to the semantic structure, Firbas (1966b:240) writes: "it operates within that section of the sentence that has remained unaffected by, independent of, the preceding context". The means of signalling the degree of CD are provided here by the semantic relations into which an element may enter. Consider the sentences:

(53) There was a book on the table

(54) A letter arrived yesterday

(55) A girl broke a vase

(56) A young student one day went to London.

In (53) and (54) a contextually independent noun phrase (this being signalled by the non-generic indefinite article) is accompanied by a

verb expressing 'existence' or 'appearance', 'coming into existence'. Firbas argues that "it is natural that attention should be concentrated rather on the person or thing appearing or existing on the scene than on the appearance or existence itself. The subject will therefore carry a higher degree of CD than the verb. If the rest of the sentence conveys known information or merely states the scene, the subject even becomes the rheme of the sentence (1966b:243). The elements 'on the table' and 'yesterday' express a local and temporal setting respectively and are thematic. We shall come back to the question of local and temporal adverbs presently. In sentence (55) Firbas (cf. 1970) suggests that a contextually independent object will carry a higher degree of CD than the verb; if the semantic agent-action-goal pattern expressed by means of the grammatical subject-verb-object pattern is contextually independent in its entirety or contextually dependent through the agent/subject ('A/The girl broke a vase) the following interpretation applies: the verb will carry a lower degree of CD than the object, but a higher degree of CD than the subject. This is because a known or unknown agent appears to be communicatively less important than an unknown action and its unknown effect or result (cf. Firbas:1970).

What has been said about the contextually independent object in (55) applies to the contextually independent directional adverb in (56). Both the object and the adverbial element express what Firbas calls an "absolutely essential semantic amplification of the verb". The term 'absolutely essential semantic amplification of the verb' or 'indispensable amplification' is used by Firbas in conformity with the notion of 'transitivity' presented by Sechahaye (cf. Firbas, 1959:41f.) who extends the use of the term 'transitive' to any verb whose semantic

content is in need of amplification, "an amplification without which the meaning of the verb would be incomplete" (Firbas, 1959:41). The term 'indispensable amplification' will, however, have to be used carefully, either with reference to 'deep structure' relations or to surface structure cooccurrence. Consider the sentence

(57) I have been looking (for a room) for three days.

If the complement refers to an element which is recoverable from the context it may be omitted in surface structure with certain verbs, in this case it is not indispensable in surface structure. In the case of other verbs the complement is necessary in surface structure, e.g.

(58) He arrived at this conclusion last week

(59) He relies on his friend a great deal.

The dispensability or indispensability of the complement cannot simply be regarded as a formal, 'grammatical' and language-specific property of the verb, for corresponding verbs in different languages show the same features. Compare

(60) Ich suche (ein Zimmer) seit drei Tagen

(61) Ich habe mich auf deine Unterstützung verlassen

(62) Ich habe mit deiner Unterstützung gerechnet

in which the prepositional phrases are indispensable in surface structure.

The same applies to the prepositional phrase in

(63) Er ist letzte Woche zu dieser Entscheidung gelangt.

Compare

(64) Er ist gestern zu seinem Freund gekommen

(65) Er ist gestern gekommen

(66) Er ist gestern zu einem Entschluss gekommen

(67)+ Er ist gestern gekommen

(68) He came to his friend yesterday

(69) He came yesterday

(70) He came to a decision yesterday

(71)+ He came yesterday.

Whether or not a prepositional phrase is an optional or obligatory complement of the verb in surface structure will also have a bearing on its position in the sentence (cf. Kirkwood, 1969:100f). In the case of optional prepositional phrases initial positioning is quite possible, e.g.

(72) From this tradition it has freed itself.

In the case of obligatory prepositional phrases initial positioning is often not possible, e.g.

(73)+ At this conclusion he arrived after examining the material.

German is not subject to these restrictions, cf.

(74) Von dieser Tradition hat es sich befreit

(75) Zu diesem Schluss gelangte er nach einer Untersuchung des
Materials.

In order to place a thematic element in initial position English may resort to other constructions (cf. Kirkwood, 1969a: 100), e.g.

(76) This is the conclusion he arrived at after examining the
material.

In a review of Boost (1955), Firbas (1958) compares the conception of the theme-rheme structure proposed by Boost and that of the linguists of the Prague tradition. Boost conceives the sentence as a field of tension arising from the 'Wissen' of the speaker and the 'Nichtwissen'

of the listener. The 'tension' or 'expectancy' is called forth by the placing of the initial element, the 'Thema', an element which expresses something known or given, and is resolved in the course of the utterance, usually towards the end. Boost sees the German sentence as a bipartite structure consisting of a theme at the beginning, the rest of the sentence including the finite part of the verb in second position constituting the rheme. Firbas agrees with Boost that the theme usually expresses something known or given in contrast to the rheme which expresses the new information to be conveyed. However, he points out that this conception of the theme-rheme structure is not consistent with the definition of the theme as proposed by linguists of the Prague tradition (although the definition of the theme put forward by Mathesius seems to be in some respect similar) and that it is not even fully consistent with the principles set forth by Boost himself. Thematic elements, Firbas argues, as the carriers of the lowest degree of CD, are not necessarily tied to a particular position in the sentence, i.e. first position. He refers to examples quoted by Boost himself, e.g.

(77) Gestern half er mir

(78) Eine Welt von geflügelten Tierchen summte ungestört über ihm.

Since Boost defines the theme not only on the grounds of 'givenness', but also on positional criteria, the themes of the sentences (77) and (78) would be in his terms 'gestern' and 'eine Welt von geflügelten Tierchen', all that follows constituting the rheme. Hence, 'er' and 'ihm', which convey known information would be regarded by Boost as falling within the rheme. The inclusion of elements conveying known information within the rheme would be consistent with Mathesius'

conception of the theme-rheme structure of the sentence (cf. Daneš, 1966b:18), but Firbas does not hold that the sentence falls into a bipartite structure of theme and rheme. In Firbas' terms in (77) 'er' is the theme proper, i.e. the carrier of the lowest degree of CD. In (78) the initial element expresses the rheme, this being determined by the semantic structure of the sentence which contains a verb expressing the notion of 'existence'. The element 'ihm' in end position is the theme proper.

Firbas does admit, however, that the initial element does have a special function in the sentence. He refers to Bolinger (1952:118) who writes: "Before the speaker begins, the possibilities of what he will communicate are practically infinite, or if his utterance is bound within a discourse, they are at least enormously large. When the first word appears, the possibilities are vastly reduced..." As suggested earlier, the possibilities will be even greater if the initial element is unmarked for case, i.e. the grammatical subject, the choice of a prepositional phrase or in German of a surface dative limiting the possible selection of the verb. Beneš (1964:9) also assigns to the initial element, which he calls 'Basis', a special function: "Unter Basis wird hier der Ansatz verstanden, der als Ausgangspunkt der Mitteilung unmittelbar an den Kontext anschliesst, der Spannung (Erwartung) erweckt und die Mitteilung in einer vorausbestimmten Richtung lenkt". This is to some extent in agreement with Halliday's conception of the theme, although Halliday's definition of the theme is not necessarily determined by the preceding context (cf. Halliday,

1970b:256f.): "In principle, the theme is the point of departure - the takeoff point of the clause; and the significant fact about it is that the speaker is free to select whatever theme he likes. His choice is not determined by the context. He may select an item that is anaphoric, and thus links with what has gone before: but he is not obliged to do so, and he very often does not. In any case, there may be nothing of the kind that he can choose as the theme: not every clause has an anaphoric or other kind of 'given' element in it, whereas every clause must have a theme". The conception of the theme proposed by Halliday may have particular relevance to English; in other languages, with greater possibilities of permuting elements, the element in first position may very frequently link up with the preceding context. Firbas agrees that the initial element may have an important function from the point of view of pointing in the direction in which the utterance is to evolve, but he states that it should not be identified with the element carrying the lowest degree of CD, i.e. with the theme proper in his terms. Admittedly, languages with a relatively free word order manifest in certain circumstances what he calls the 'basic distribution of CD', but a consistent theme-rheme sequence cannot always be maintained in every sentence. In cooperation with other means of FSP besides word order which shape the communicative perspective of the utterance, it may undergo certain modifications. Mathesius has shown that what Firbas calls the theme proper may in English be expressed by the grammatical subject and, for grammatical reasons, may occupy initial position in a sequence of sentences. This situation is

less 'tolerable' in German (cf. Brinkmann, 1962b:357), the theme proper being moved into other positions, characteristically to the position immediately following the finite part of the verb (cf. Kirkwood, 1970:103), leaving the initial position open for the establishment of what Benes has called the 'Basis'. Hence, the positioning of elements must be studied in the context of other relevant criteria. The surface structuring of a sentence should be regarded as the outcome of the interplay of a number of different criteria which are operative to a different extent in different languages (cf. Kirkwood, 1969a), including grammatical, semantic and contextual criteria.

Firbas has quite convincingly shown that FSP is the outcome of an interplay of means and that susceptibility to FSP is by no means dependent on word order alone. This means that the relations in regard to CD between the elements of a distributional field may remain the same in spite of differences or changes in word order. A question that arises in this connection is that of a 'basic word order' from which all the others may be derived. Sgall (1967:216f.) suggests that the basic distribution of CD is a suitable point of departure for establishing this basic word order. There is the fact that in German an isolated sentence such as

(79) Das Mädchen fragte die Frau,

where the functions subject and object are not clearly marked as such and the sentence may be interpreted as SVO or OVS, it is usually interpreted as representing the SVO order. This, it appears, also applies to similar examples in Russian (cf. Firbas, 1970). If

sentence (79) is spoken with a heavy, contrastive accent on the first element, the sentence is more obviously felt to be ambiguous, meaning either

(80) It was the girl who asked the woman

or

(81) It was the girl the woman asked,

the 'predicated' element being the rheme of the sentence. Without this specification, the sentence is interpreted as subject-verb-object, actor-action-goal, theme-rheme. This would lend support to Sgall's proposal, there being a relation between the notion of actor or agent as the initiator of an action and that of theme as the 'natural' point of departure in the clause, representing a 'given' notion - or a notion presented as 'given' -, which is further characterized or specified by the grammatical predicate. This would apply to other sentence types in which the grammatical subject expresses a notion which is further characterized or specified by the grammatical predicate, e.g. 'John is happy', 'John is a teacher', 'John ran away'.

With regard to the order SVO as revealed in the sentence

(82) A boy liked a girl

which has come to be established as the grammaticized core of the word order system in English (and which in German too has a grammatical function where subject and object are otherwise not distinguished as such) Firbas (1970) suggests that a reader or listener will naturally interpret such a sentence as actor-action-goal, subject-verb-object, theme-transition-rheme sequences on the semantic, the grammatical and the FSP level respectively. Referring to sentences of this kind, he

writes (1970): "Owing to the presence of the non-generic indefinite articles, they could open narratives or constitute complete single messages. It is certainly remarkable that a reader or hearer will most naturally interpret them as actor-action-goal, subject-verb-object, theme-transition-rheme sequences on the semantic, the grammatical and the FSP level respectively. It is evident that it is first and foremost sentence linearity that, particularly in regard to the nouns, signals the mentioned order of functions. But what is of particular interest is why in absence of semantic and grammatical signals and any dependence on preceding context sentence linearity signals just the mentioned orders. The explanation seems to be quite simple. Being a very primitive (though efficient) means, sentence linearity cannot but reflect the normal and natural order of phenomena as occurring in the extra-linguistic reality. Initiating an action, the actor necessarily exists before it. Only after it has started the action can reach or affect its goal or produce some altogether new object ('A potter made a vessel'). The communication develops along the same line. The degrees of CD rise accordingly and the intonation centre falls on the object, expressing the goal of the action. The sequence displays the basic distribution of CD. The way the grammaticalized core of Modern English word order has become established is certainly not at variance with the nature and the requirements of FSP. The conclusion suggests itself that it could not be otherwise, for FSP serves the communicative purpose of the sentence. On the basic instance level, i.e. on the level of complete contextual independence, the grammaticalized order SVO is in full harmony with the basic

distribution of CD".

Similar ideas have been expressed by Benes (1970:1021) who suggests a relation between the particular arrangement of semantic categories in a sentence and its thematic organization. He writes: "Eine bestimmte Anordnung von semantischen Kategorien im statischen Satschema ergibt sich schon aus der Gebundenheit der sprachlichen Mitteilung an das zeitliche Nacheinander, aus der Notwendigkeit, die simultan und vieldimensional existierende aussersprachliche Wirklichkeit mit Hilfe sprachlicher semantischer Kategorien in lineare Zeitfolge umzusetzen". Hence the linear, spatio-temporal character of discourse will make it necessary to convert our experience of extralingual reality into a particular arrangement of semantic categories. There is in some languages a 'semantic word order' as an established pattern for certain combinations of semantic categories: "Wie in einigen Sprachen für Kombinationen bestimmter grammatischer Kategorien eine bestimmte grammatische Wortfolge existiert, so gibt es in anderen Sprachen wie z.B. im Tschechischen - eine semantische Wortfolge als stabiles Schema für Kombinationen bestimmter semantischer Kategorien, die einen bestimmten 'Sinn' haben". In the dynamic organization of the utterance the required pattern is either selected 'ready-made' or is modified according to the needs of the context. English is less susceptible than Czech, and German, to such contextual modification of the established pattern by means of the positioning of elements, but may avail itself of certain constructions to achieve a sequence of meaningful elements in accordance with the requirements of FSP. The established pattern for existential-locative sentences in English is
there + be + indef. + N + Adv(loc)

as in

(83) There are trees in the garden,

but the locative element may be moved to first position in accordance with contextual requirements as in

(84) The garden has trees in it,

a sequence which is similar to the sequence in the German sentence

(85) Im Garten sind Bäume.

It should be noted that the FSP of the sentences (83) and (84) in terms of the distribution of degrees of CD is the same or very similar, the difference being that in (84) a thematic element has been foregrounded by means of the 'have' construction.

The relation between basic sentence patterns as a reflection of our experience of objective reality and a basic word order which is subject to contextual modification has also been discussed by Admoni (1970:248ff.). Admoni states that the cognitive content of sentences may be represented in different ways according to the 'point of view' ('Einstellung') taken by the speaker. Different elements can be made the point of departure of the sentence and this may cause changes in the formal structure of the sentence, e.g. the choice of a different construction or of a particular verb category, or entail a manipulation of the order of elements, where this is allowed, without changing the relations holding among them. Admoni suggests that what he refers to as 'logical-grammatical sentence types', i.e. basic sentence patterns of the type 'John is happy', 'John is a teacher', 'A boy liked a girl', do themselves express a point of view. The point of view has acquired general validity in the language concerned (cf. Beneš' notion of

'usuelle Wortfolgekonfigurationen' (1970:1023)) and reflect essential relations and situations in objective reality for the speakers of the language. In a relatively context-free situation a neutral sequence of elements will be chosen in which, he suggests, the subject ('der Subjektsnominativ') will express the 'psychological subject' (which he equates with the theme and with 'given') which is determined or characterized by the grammatical predicate (the 'psychological predicate', the rheme, the 'new'). In this way, the actor will be characterized by the action, a particular by a universal, and in the act of communication the thought process of both speaker and listener will move from the element that is to be characterized to what characterizes it. He goes on to say that the point of view of the speaker with regard to the cognitive content may come into conflict with the 'normal' predicative form. The point of departure may then not be the subject, but another sentence element, e.g. an adverbial as in 'Morgen gehe ich in die Bibliothek' as an answer to the question 'Und was tun Sie morgen?' or 'Nach Berlin fahren wir morgen' as an answer to the question 'Wann fahren Sie nach Berlin?' Admoni has now introduced a context by way of a preceding question. What we have in the answer to the question is what I shall refer to later as a 'rheme-theme conversion', a rhematic element in the question becoming thematic and forming the point of departure (thematic basis) of the answer. Paul (1909:283) also refers to the discrepancy that may arise between the grammatical subject and predicate and the psychological subject and predicate and points to the different constructions that may arise as a result of the attempt to resolve this discrepancy. Admoni states

that the conflict between the 'normal' typical sentence forms and the point of view of the speaker leads to the creation of new 'logical-grammatical sentence types' (e.g. the passive form). On the other hand, the 'normal' sentence form may be changed without resorting to special sentence types. Languages with a relatively free word order may resort to the permutability of sentence elements. Compare the English and German sentences

(86) The book was given to me by John

(87) Das Buch hat mir Hans geschenkt.

The available data do suggest that the grammatical subject frequently occupies first position in the linear arrangement of elements and expresses the theme, and, in some of its case functions in English, e.g. agent, instrumental, locative, it may indeed represent the 'natural point of departure' in the formulation by the speaker of the cognitional process. In other languages, e.g. German, the case functions instrumental and locative will usually be expressed by prepositional phrases which will tend to occupy the position held by the grammatical subject in English, i.e. initial position.

A departure from the neutral order requires 'positive specification by motivated choice' (cf. Halliday, 1967:219), the motivation being the establishment of a link with the preceding context by means of placing a contextually dependent element, e.g. in German the object of the verb, a predicative adjective, in initial position - elements which normally go to the end of the sentence forming with the verb in second position a predicative bracket. Further motivation may be the creation of an emotive sequence of elements by placing a contextually independent element,

even the rheme proper, in initial position. This sequence will only be emotive if it represents a departure from the neutral sequence.

In English, non-thematic subjects in initial position constitute the norm in certain sentence types, e.g.

(88) A letter arrived yesterday,

whereas in similar situations in German the neutral sequence will be to move the non-thematic subject away from initial position, as in

(89) Gestern ist ein Brief angekommen,

as opposed to the non-neutral sequence in

(90) Ein Brief ist gestern angekommen.

The neutral sequence will be unmarked in that it presupposes no context and so can be the beginning of a discourse: the non-neutral sequence will be marked in that it presupposes a context to which it is applicable.

Emotive order, especially where an element has contrastive meaning, may be regarded as a special case of contextual dependence. The following sentences may serve to illustrate these differences:

(91) Ein Freund hat mir zu Weihnachten ein Buch geschenkt

(92) Dieses Buch hat mir ein Freund zu Weihnachten geschenkt

(93) Ein Buch hat mir ein Freund zu Weihnachten geschenkt.

(91) is unmarked; (92) and (93) are marked; (92) by the contextual dependence of 'Buch' and (93) by the contrastive meaning of 'Buch'.

Examples of sentences quoted by Halliday (1970b:355) are interesting in this connection. Compare

(94) George takes his wife to the movies

(95) George takes his wife to the movies

(96) George takes his wife to the movies

(97) George takes his wife to the movies.

5/ The unmarked case is (97) in which the new element comes last in the information unit and carries the primary accent. Note that even if a temporal adverb is added to the sentence, the accent remains on the directional adverb, providing that it is contextually independent. Cf.

(98) George takes his wife to the movies every week.

This suggests a relation between the degree of syntactic cohesion of an element to the verb and the degree of CD it carries, the directional adverb being more closely related to the verb than the object, the 'sentence adverb' 'every week' being added 'loosely' to the syntactic frame constituted by the verb and the valency-dependent elements, cf.

(99) He put a book on a table 2

(100) He put a book on the table

(101) He put a book on a table

(102) He put the book on the table.

The position of valency-dependent 'nuclear' elements in German sentences is relevant here. In the neutral or 'unmarked' sequence elements are placed in relation to their syntactic cohesion with the verb (cf. Kirkwood, 1969a), creating what might be called a 'syntactic norm' in which elements most closely linked to the finite part of the verb move to end position. Contextual consideration may then motivate certain modifications of this 'syntactic' order. Compare

- | | |
|---|------------|
| (103) Hans geht jede Woche mit seiner Frau ins Kino | } unmarked |
| (104) Jede Woche geht Hans mit seiner Frau ins Kino | |
| (105) Ins Kino geht Hans mit seiner Frau jede Woche |) marked |

This will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

In a number of studies (1957;1959;1966) Firbas has applied the theory of FSP to language material in English, German and Czech, and it might be appropriate to examine some of the conclusions he reaches in the light of further evidence. In an early paper (Firbas:1959) he deals with some aspects of the shift from verbal to nominal expression in English, which he relates to functional sentence perspective. The first thing that strikes the reader at this stage of Firbas' research into questions of FSP is that the decision of whether an element is more or less dynamic, thematic or rhematic, is made quite accurately, but perhaps rests too much on intuitive reasoning. Empirical 'tests' have since been evolved, such as that of the question which a sentence presupposes, but this method of enquiry entails certain problems. Firbas' analysis of the sentence (1959:42)

(106) Every evening he used to come and see her, and stop to supper
at the farmhouse

is as follows: "As to the elements before the comma, 'he' is undoubtedly the theme proper: 'her' and 'every evening' are also thematic, but communicatively more dynamic than 'he', 'every evening' being in its turn more dynamic than 'her': the words 'used to' are transitional, 'come and see' rhematic. After the comma, the expression 'at the farmhouse' is perhaps the most dynamic thematic element, whereas 'stop to supper' are rhematic, 'supper' probably being the most dynamic element, and consequently the rheme proper, of the entire sentence". I do not question this analysis, but feel that a number of points need further explication. I shall deal first with the pronouns 'he' and 'her', about which Firbas says that both are thematic, that is in that they both convey recoverable information, but that 'her' is communicatively more dynamic than 'he'. Elsewhere, Firbas has argued strongly that a

theme in the following sentence, explicit reference to 'Peter' will avoid possible ambiguity, e.g.

(110) T_1 John relied very much on his friend R_1 Peter

(111) $T_2(=R_1)$ Peter went to see $T_3(=T_1)$ him in London every weekend,

where the element 'Peter' and 'him' are both thematic, but Peter carries a higher degree of CD than 'him'. German is less inclined than English to put thematic subjects with identical referents in first position in a sequence of sentences, and the theme proper, the element derived from the hypertheme of the text and carrying the lowest degree of CD in subsequent sentences, being referred to immediate postfinite position, e.g.

(112) T_1 Die Gruppe kam zu einer R_1 Lichtung im Wald.

(113) $T_2(=R_1)$ Diesen Ort hatten die $T_3(=T_1)$ Studenten zum R_2 Ziel ihres Ausflugs bestimmt.

where 'diesen Ort' is communicatively more dynamic than 'die Studenten'.

In such textual sequences in German the grammatical subject of a following sentence will be associated with the bearer of the lowest degree of CD, e.g.

(114) Ein Mann sah einen Jungen
 x y

(115) Er erhielt von ihm einen Ball
 x y

(116) Ein Mann sah einen Jungen
 x y

(117) Von ihm erhielt er einen Ball
 y x

Compare the use of 'dieser' which refers to the right-most noun in the preceding sentence, which may be used to resolve any ambiguity:

less dynamic than an element derived from a rheme-theme conversion, and it is the communicatively less dynamic element that will be associated with the function subject.

As to the adverbial elements in the sentence quoted by Firbas, it is possible that Firbas would wish to explain this in terms of the basic distribution of communicative dynamism. He does in fact suggest that the position of an element in a sentence may determine the degree of CD it carries. With regard to the sentences

(127) Thanks to his doctor's prescription he found himself
extremely well

(128) He found himself extremely well thanks to his doctor's
prescription

he writes (1964:115) "The semantic content of the causal adverbial element, together with the free semantic relation the element displays in regard to the verb, operates on the FSP level in such a way as to leave it to the sentence position to determine what degree of CD is to be carried by the adverbial element. Hence in (127) the adverbial clause is thematic, and in (128) it is rhematic.

It could be argued, on the other hand, that a certain position is determined by the amount of CD to be carried by an element, i.e. the amount of CD the speaker assigns and wishes the listener to assign to the element in question where positional variants are possible. In German, elements carrying the lowest degree of CD are frequently found in immediate postfinite position; the amount of CD carried by these elements can be recognized on intuitive grounds, but also confirmed.

empirically by the degree of contextual dependence. This is the characteristically unstressed section of the German sentence, and the amount of stress carried by an element is certainly related to the communicative dynamism it carries. Being relatively unimportant or conveying 'incidental' information, it is placed in this position by the speaker and recognized as being communicatively relatively unimportant by the criteria of position and stress by the listener. As to adverbial clauses, there are, for instance, in German two ways of introducing an adverbial clause of reason, either with 'da' or with 'weil'; 'da' clauses point to a reason that the speaker assumes is known to the listener, 'weil' clauses introduce new information to the listener, c.f.:

(129) Da der Zug (ja) ^T verspätet ist, kann ich sie nicht ^R abholen

(130) Ich kann sie nicht ^T abholen, weil der Zug ^R verspätet ist

cf. in English

(131) Since the train is late, I won't be able to meet her at
the station

(132) I won't be able to meet her at the station, because the train
is late.

Being thematic, a 'da' clause cannot stand on its own; a 'weil' clause, on the other hand, can, the corresponding theme being recoverable from the preceding context, e.g. from a preceding question, cf.

(133) Warum kannst du sie nicht abholen?

(134) Weil der Zug verspätet ist.

The notions of topic shift and topicalization introduced by writers on the subject suggest an arrangement of elements in accordance with the degree of communicative dynamism. Working within the generative framework Heidolph (1966) has formulated rules for permuting sentence elements in German according to whether they are assigned the contextual feature (+m) (=mentioned in the preceding context, 'given') or (-m) (=not mentioned in the preceding context, 'new'). Once carried out, the assignment of features provides the basis for obligatory permutation rules, for determining the placement of accent, and for the integration of cohesive texts. Taking as the underlying order the order manifest in independent clauses (cf. Bierwisch 1966:34) with the verb in end position, the sequence (1) (-m) subject + (+m) adverbial + (+m) object + \mathcal{Q} + verb + aux is permuted by an obligatory rule to (2) (+m) object + (+m) adverbial + (-m) subject + \mathcal{Q} + verb + aux. A further rule places the last (-m) element in the sentence behind the element \mathcal{Q} . Thus from (2) is derived (3) (+m) object + (+m) adverbial + \mathcal{Q} + (-m) subject + verb + aux. The \mathcal{Q} permutation determines the element which receives the primary accent.

The application of these rules explains the difference in sequence and accent placement in the following sentences:

(135) Der Sturm riss einen Baum um

(136) Den Baum riss ein Sturm um

(137) Der Dieb hatte in dem Zug einen Koffer gestohlen

(138) Der Dieb hatte den Koffer in einem Zug gestohlen

(139) Der Weg führt zu einer Brücke

(140) Zu der Brücke führt ein Weg.

Hence we see that in the generation of such sentences it is the contextual feature ($\pm m$) or, in other words, the thematic or rhematic status of the elements that determines the position of the elements, and not the other way around. Heidolph adds a further 'topicalization' rule which moves one of the elements with the feature ($+m$) to first position. This element receives the secondary accent. This rule establishes what I have called the thematic basis. This element need not coincide with the element carrying the lowest degree of CD, which, as has already been mentioned, in German sentences often occurs in immediate postfinite position.

A further relevant aspect of this question is that on intuitive, but in principle explicable grounds, locative adverbs are more closely related to the verb than are temporal adverbs. Temporal adverbs are perhaps more appropriately termed 'sentence adverbs' than are locatives, standing outside the 'frame' constituted by the verb and the participant roles, i.e. the valency-dependent elements. Locatives are frequently constitutive elements of the sentence pattern and structurally indispensable, e.g. situational locatives with existential verbs and directional locatives with verbs of motion: temporal adverbs are structurally indispensable in less frequent cases, e.g.

(141) X lived in the 19th century

(142) The meeting is tomorrow

The position of locatives in the surface structure of English and German sentences adds empirical support to the claim of stronger cohesion of locatives to the verb than temporal adverbs: German sentence structure is characterized by what has been called the

'Rahmenkonstruktion' or 'Distanzstellung' (Admoni, 1962), according to which elements most closely linked with the finite part of the verb (in second position in declarative sentences) are the farthest removed from it, creating with the verb a 'predicative bracket'. This is seen most clearly in the case of structurally indispensable elements, e.g.

(143) Er fährt morgen mit seiner Frau an die See

(144) Ich bin in diesem Jahr mehrere Male in London gewesen.

What has been called 'syntactic cohesion' ultimately rests on the semantic properties of the verb and its need of complementation. In English, the syntactic cohesion of elements operates differently: English is characterized by 'Kontaktstellung', elements closely linked with the verb tend to be close to it in surface structure, e.g.

(145) He is going to the seaside with his wife tomorrow

(146) I have been to London several times this year

where the locative immediately follows the verb, and the temporal adverb, even in surface structure, appears 'outside' the basic frame created by the verb and the constitutive elements. In German the non-constitutive temporal adverb is included in the predicative bracket and in normal circumstances it appears in immediate postfinite position - or in first position. This positioning also applies to locatives which are strictly speaking non-constitutive, e.g.

(147) Er hat gestern den ganzen Tag im Büro gearbeitet

(148) He was working in the office all day yesterday.

On the assumption, which has yet to be proved correct, that there is a correlation between the communicative dynamism of an element and its syntactic cohesion with the verb, we may then state that

locatives generally carry a higher degree of CD than temporals, the latter being what Firbas calls 'a mere temporal setting for the event expressed by the verb' (1964:115) - which could be perhaps more appropriately restated 'by the verb and participant roles'.

These arguments, which will be more fully discussed in the following chapter, would seem to lend support to the assignment of degrees of CD to the sentence elements in sentence (106) quoted by Firbas. Firbas does, however, refer to the importance of the semantic structure in determining the amount of CD carried by an element, with particular reference to the verb-object combination.

In two articles (1959, 1961) Firbas discusses the shift from verbal to nominal expression in the light of functional sentence perspective. He notes a marked disposition in English as compared to Czech to disengage the finite part of the verb from carrying the notional component of the predicate. The finite part of the verb expresses the grammatical functions of concord, tense and mood, the semantic function being expressed by the nominal part of the predicate. Thus theme, expressed by the grammatical subject, and rheme, expressed by the nominal part of the predicate, are linked by means of a 'transitional element' carrying a higher degree of CD than the theme, but a lower degree than the rheme, e.g. in the use of 'process nouns' as 'He gave her a look', 'He gave it a try', 'He gave it a push', 'He gave it a good brush', etc. Owing to the marked rise in CD, the nominal element is brought into distinct relief in regard to the finite part of the verb. Comparing English and Czech he concludes (1961:95): "In other words,

the general structure of English - on a much larger scale than in Czech - (i) favours the expression of rhematic notions rather by nominal than by verbal elements, and (ii) ultimately tends to render the predicative verb markedly transitional. On the other hand, the general structure of Czech - on a much larger scale than in English - (i) liberally permits the predicative verb to convey rhematic notions, (ii) liberally permits the transitional verb to move up close to the rheme. Consequently, as a rise in CD before a rhematic element is more conspicuous if occurring after a markedly transitional verb than after a verb coming up close to the rheme, the relief with which the entire rhematic layer is set off against the other (i.e. the thematic and the transitional) layers is more conspicuous within the English utterance than within its Czech equivalent".

Many of the constructions in English with 'process nouns' will in German be rendered by a full verb, e.g. 'She gave him a look' ('Sie blickte ihn an'), 'Give it a try' (Versuch's mal), 'He gave it a good brush' ('Er hat es gut ausgebürstet'), but nominalizations of verbs are common in formal style in German, i.e. constructions consisting of a 'function verb' and a nominal, e.g. 'zum Abschluss bringen' ('abschliessen'), 'zur Durchführung kommen' ('durchgeführt werden') 'eine Entscheidung treffen' ('entscheiden') 'Beschluss fassen' ('beschliessen'). Erben (1965:114) sees in this splitting of the predicate into two parts a possibility of creating the predicative bracket characteristic of German sentence structure in the "Streben nach einem 'Zielpol', nach einem satzschliessenden 'Prädikatsteil',

der zusammen mit dem Verb ein 'Mittelfeld' umspannt", e.g. 'Er berichtet über die Ereignisse der letzten Woche' - 'Er gibt über die Ereignisse der letzten Woche einen Bericht'. This is related to the 'Entzweiung des Prädikats' discussed by Boost who regards the sentence as a 'field of tension'. This syntactic tendency noted by a number of writers is also obviously related to the tendency to move communicatively important elements towards the end of the sentence in accordance with the basic distribution of CD.

The phenomenon of distinct relief may also help to explain other constructions in English which will be discussed in detail in the following chapter. Consider the sentences

(150) I expected that

(151) That is what I expected

(152) You ought to get to know John

(153) John is a person you ought to get to know.

In (151) and (153) the thematic elements 'that' and 'John' are foregrounded forming a prominent thematic basis. In (150) and (152) the thematic elements are, as it were, 'backgrounded' or 'overshadowed' by the rhemes in the sentences in which they occur (cf. Kirkwood, 1970a:109). The structure of existential sentences in both English and German may also be viewed in the light of this tendency, e.g.

(154) There is a book on the table

(155) Auf dem Tisch liegt ein Buch

(156) Es liegt ein Buch auf dem Tisch

where the rhematic element does not open the sentence, but is thrown into distinct relief by means of preparatory elements.

Firbas has stressed that the FSP of a sentence is the outcome of

an interplay of means, including the operation of the context and the semantic structure of the sentence. In his article 'Non-thematic subjects in contemporary English' (1966b) he indicates that although there is a distinct tendency in English, as pointed out by Mathesius, to express the theme of the sentence by means of the grammatical subject, non-thematic subjects are not infrequent and by no means a peripheral phenomenon in the structure of Modern English. It will be recalled that Mathesius linked the concept of theme with the opening element of a sentence, the theme is "that which is known or at least obvious in the given situation, and from which the speaker proceeds" (cf. Firbas, 1966a:268). These criteria for defining the theme led Mathesius to the conclusion that there are not enough means in English to put all the non-emotive English sentences into a theme-rheme order (cf. Firbas, 1966b:239) and that "In regard to English, this is of no account, for as a comparison of a Czech original with a good translation would show - English differs from Czech as being so little susceptible to the requirements of FSP as to frequently disregard them altogether". In Firbas' definition of the theme as the bearer of the lowest degree of CD, the theme is not restricted in occurrence to the initial position. Both the context and the semantic structure function in distributing degrees of CD over the sentence elements and the cooperation of these means may work counter to the basic distribution of CD. The sentences Firbas adduces in support of his argument are characterized by the occurrence of verbs of 'existence' or 'appearance' as a semantic means of FSP, e.g.

(157) A haze hovered over the prospect

(158) A girl came into the room.

He writes (1966b:243): "The novelty, and hence contextual independence,

signalled by the non-generic indefinite article becomes especially apparent if the contextually independent subject is accompanied by such verbs or verbal phrases as 'come', 'come into view', 'come on the scene', 'come in', 'come up', 'appear', 'to present oneself', 'to take place', 'to arise'. These verbs or verbal phrases undoubtedly imply or even explicitly express 'appearance' - a kind of coming into existence - on the scene (i.e. the scene created by the narrow ad hoc context at the moment of utterance) or simply 'existence' on the scene. It is natural that attention should be concentrated rather on the person or thing appearing or existing on the scene than on the appearance or existence itself. The subject will therefore carry a higher degree of CD than the verb. If the rest of the sentence conveys known information or merely states the scene, the subject even becomes the rheme of the sentence ('A girl came into the room')." The notion of the ad hoc narrow scene is important and suggests different degrees of contextual dependence that may be operative on the level of FSP. Consider the sentence (Firbas, 1966b:245)

(159) In the passage was standing the girl with the veil,

From the point of view of the narrow, ad hoc context the initial adverbial element is more immediately recoverable and is theme, the subject expressing the element with the highest degree of CD, the rheme. In this connection we may compare the German sentences I have discussed elsewhere (Kirkwood, 1969a:103)

(160) Das Buch lag auf dem Tisch

(161) Auf dem Tisch lag das Buch

In (160) 'Buch' represents 'what I am now talking about' and is immediately available information. This given element of information is related to a location which expresses the new information to be

conveyed about 'Buch'. (160) differs semantically from (161) in that (160) has the 'communicative sense' 'localization of a thing in a place', and (161) the communicative sense 'existence of a thing in a place'. In (161) the cognizant attention moves from the location to the thing to be located, the thing to be located being related to the location; in (160) the location is related to the thing to be located.

I have indicated elsewhere (Kirkwood, 1969b:232) that in German non-thematic subjects do not open the sentence in the unmarked case if the sentence contains a temporal or locative adverb. This element, being thematic, will occupy first position referring the non-thematic subject to the end of the sentence. In German, initial position of non-thematic subjects in such instances will create a marked sequence of elements, this being a departure from the basic distribution of CD to which German is susceptible. In English it is a deviation from the grammatical or 'grammaticized' order of elements that leads to a marked sequence, and the occurrence of non-thematic subjects in initial position may be quite neutral.

The semantic structure of the sentence with particular reference to the semantic category of the verb have been related to questions of FSP by Beneš (1968:267), Daneš (1967:502), and Pala (1970). Beneš and Daneš are mainly concerned with verbs expressing the notion of existence or appearance. The FSP of different kinds of existential sentence in English and German I have discussed elsewhere (Kirkwood, 1969b), and I shall treat this aspect of FSP in some detail in the following chapter. Pala (1970) describes briefly the apparatus of the so-called predicate expressions, i.e. the predicate and its arguments,

and makes use of it for some basic types of FSP. He sets out to show certain relations between semantic classes of Czech verbs, as are described by means of the apparatus of predicate expressions, and FSP. Pala also refers briefly to the distinction between adverbials denoting place, time, manner and 'circumstantial modifiers' and the arguments of the predicate expression, which include the so-called 'inherent adverbial modifiers' and some other obligatory adverbials. The arguments of the predicate correspond then to the nuclear or constitutive elements discussed above. With regard to the 'normal' or 'neutral' word order he states that this order is actually an intuitive expression of the fact that the character of human thinking and the necessity of linearizing the communication often tends to constitute the order arg-T Pred T// arg-R, where the first argument has the semantic content 'subject of an action', 'agent', 'bearer of an action', etc., the predicate in the second place has the semantic content 'action', 'activity', 'movement' etc., the second argument in the third place denotes one of the possible 'objects of an action'. This ordering of semantic elements is, as we have seen, closely related to the basic distribution of CD, and will represent the neutral or basic order of elements found in contextually independent sentences. Pala suggests that this means that for any particular transformational grammar its base component should be able to assign automatically the marker 'rheme' (R) to a certain element of the deep structure and the marker 'theme' (T) to the other. It means further that this fact must be reflected in the arrangement of elements in surface structures and that it is necessary to know how to link up all the data with the corresponding consituations at the same time observing all the rules of cross-reference. This relates to what I have said

earlier: a basic sequence of elements will reflect the underlying semantic structure of the sentence in a contextually independent situation. This basic sequence is also the expression of a particular thematic organization arising from the degrees of communicative dynamism inherent in the semantic content of the sentence elements. The basic sequence of elements may then in the actual communicative act undergo certain contextual modifications.

More recent remarks on the relation between the semantic structure of the sentence and its thematic structure have been made by Huddleston (1971) and Anderson (1971). Both authors use the term 'theme' in the sense proposed by Halliday as "the grammatical function of the leftmost element, or group of elements, in the clause" (Huddleston, 1971:315). (It is not quite clear why Huddleston refers to this function as 'grammatical'). Huddleston writes (64): "In this deeper classification it seems clear that the distinction between prepositional phrases and NP's will not be of real significance as such - though it obviously plays a crucial role in traditional accounts of transitivity, where 'X consists of Y' is intransitive and 'X contains Y' is transitive. The presence or absence in surface structure of a preposition governing an NP filling one of the 'participant roles' may be due to idiosyncratic properties of the verb or to general rules of preposition deletion - rules typically involving the thematic organization of the sentence (cf. Fillmore, 1968). An example of the latter is found in the familiar contrast between 'He gave the book to John' and 'He gave John the book'. It is clear that these clauses are alike as far as the 'type of process' and the 'participant roles' are concerned. The difference has to do

with such matters as information focus (Halliday, 1967). We can say then that the clauses are alike in respect of transitivity, different in respect of thematic or discourse organization: this is preferable to saying that they are alike in deep structure but different in surface structure - the thematic dimension must certainly be taken into account at the semantic level. The transitivity dimension involves aspects of structure that are relevant to cognitive meaning; the thematic one involves such matters as foregrounding or emphasis, the division of the text into units of information, the distinction between 'given' and 'new' information, and so on - matters which typically affect the order of elements in the sentence and the intonation and rhythm". Huddleston states that the thematic dimension must certainly be taken into account at the semantic level; it will certainly have an influence on the choice of verb in certain situations, e.g.

(162) He owns a house in London

(163) He owns the house in London

(164) + A house in London belongs to him

(165) The house in London belongs to him

(166) + To him belongs a house in London

With reference to the examples 'He gave John the book' and 'He gave the book to John' it is interesting that in both English and German in the 'unmarked' order the indirect object precedes the direct object in surface structure, the sentence

(167) Er gab das Buch dem Kind

being marked for contrast in German (cf. Kirkwood, 1969a:86). I suggested earlier that 'Kontaktstellung' was characteristic of English, whereas 'Distanzstellung' was a characteristic feature of German word

order. If we assume that there are both intuitive and to some extent explicable reasons for regarding the direct object as being more closely related to the verb than the indirect object (cf. Kirkwood, 1969a:86), then the sequence of objects in English would seem to represent untypically a case of 'Distanzstellung' in the unmarked case. Anderson (1971:127) relates the process of the subjectivization and objectivization of locatives to the thematic organization of the sentence, but assigns part of the motivation to the semantic representation: "I am not proposing here any rules allowing for different sequences of post-verbal casual phrases (when more than one is present). I assume that these (together with the rules preposing such phrases, when 'thematic' - Halliday, 1967: particularly §5) are rather superficial, though some at least derive their motivation from the semantic representation". The reference to motivation is important (cf. Kirkwood, 1969a:106): the choice of a particular sequence of elements or of a particular construction may in the communicative act be motivated by the information structure of a unit of discourse extending beyond that of the sentence, i.e. a 'text', but a particular arrangement of elements may in a contextually independent situation be regarded as the 'normal', 'unmarked' or 'basic' surface expression of a particular configuration of semantic categories, this particular configuration of semantic categories entailing a specific functional sentence perspective.

I shall now refer briefly to the relevance of FSP to the organization of discourse or 'text' with particular reference to the work of Daneš (1970a, 1970b) and Halliday (1970a, 1970b, 1970c). Questions of thematic cohesion between sentences in English and German

will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter. As we have seen, different aspects of the phenomenon of FSP have been pointed out by various authors (1) the dimensions of known (given) information and new information (2) the organization of a sentence into theme (as the starting point of the utterance) and rheme (as what the speaker says about the theme (Mathesius, Halliday)) and (3) the distribution of various degrees of CD over sentence elements. These different functions, e.g. the functions of theme and given frequently coincide, but the theme may in certain circumstances convey new information, the association of the function theme as the point of departure in clause structure (Halliday) and 'new' being regarded as the marked case, the theme in English in the unmarked case often being realized by the grammatical subject (Halliday, Mathesius). It is in this respect that the concepts of the theme held by Firbas and Halliday most obviously differ, non-thematic subjects (in Firbas' definition of the theme) representing in certain sentence types (i.e. existential sentences) a neutral situation in Modern English. For Halliday it is mainly the dimension given-new that determines the organization of a text into discourse units. The meaning of theme is not the same as that of given, although the two functions are often realized by the same element. In Halliday's terms the theme is the point of departure in clause structure, the 'take off point of the clause' (Halliday 1970b:316) - "and the significant fact about it is that the speaker is free to select whatever theme he likes. His choice is not determined by the context. He may select an item that is anaphoric, and thus links with what has gone before; but he is not obliged to do so, and he very often does not" (Halliday, 1970b:357). What Halliday is saying is perhaps more relevant to a language like English than to German, or Czech, in which the sequence of elements is to a large

extent determined by the 'basic distribution of CD'. In fact, as has been pointed out by Brinkmann (1962:491) a sequence of sentences with non-thematic openings has in German a particular stylistic effect, what Brinkmann refers to as 'harter Einsatz', the stylistic effect resting on what might be called the 'norm of expectancy'. However, as we shall see in the following chapter, English may resort to a particular sequence of elements or a particular construction which is motivated by the wish to establish a link with the preceding context. Daneš (1970a) questions Halliday's statement that thematization is independent of what has gone before and that this aspect of FSP is irrelevant to the organization of text: "But such a conclusion appears very doubtful in the light of the fact that the choice of the theme of a particular utterance can be hardly fortuitous, unmotivated, and without any structural connexion to the text. In fact, even a superficial observation of texts shows that the choice and distribution of themes in text reveal certain patternings: this statement also corresponds to our intuitive expectations that the progression of subject-matter presentation must necessarily be governed by some regularities, must be patterned" (1970a). Daneš inquires into the notion 'known' or 'given' information, which he finds "relative and very broad (if not vague)". Givenness is a 'graded property'. Given or known is information which is recoverable from the context, situation and common knowledge of the speaker and listener. There may, however, be divergencies between the two, but "after all, it is the speaker's evaluation that is the determining factor". This relative character also applies to the notion of 'new' information. Halliday points out that the new piece of information is 'new' not in the sense that it has not been previously mentioned, but that the speaker presents it as not being recoverable from the preceding discourse. Furthermore,

'givenness' depends on the length of the portion of preceding text in relation to which the evaluation is being carried out. This recalls Firbas' notion of the 'ad hoc, narrow scene', elements from the ad hoc narrow context being more immediately recoverable, and hence more thematic, than elements 'brought in' from a more distant preceding context. Semantic information that is contextually 'given' may be mentioned directly or indirectly: direct mention will concern identical wording or a synonymous expression or a paraphrase, indirect mention is based on semantic implication. Hence in the sequence

(168) The north-east of the country was hit by the storm

(169) Also affected were some areas in the south

'hit' and 'affected' are related by implication; 'hit' implies 'affected', but 'affected' does not necessarily imply 'hit', cf.

(170) If the town is hit by the storm then it is affected

(171) + If the town is affected by the storm then it is hit.

The sequence of the sentences is determined by this relation of implication, and could not normally be reversed as in

(172) The north-east of the country was affected by the storm

(173) Also hit were some areas in the south.

Danes' conception of the 'utterance theme' is close to Benes' definition of the point of departure or 'Basis' (cf. Benes, 1959) as the opening element of the sentence that "links up the utterance with the context and the situation, selecting from several possible connections one that becomes the starting point, from which the entire utterance unfolds and in regard to which it is oriented". Hence the utterance theme has two important functions: that of selecting an element from the accumulated mass of known information and of establishing a basis or foundation from which the subsequent

discourse is developed. It should be noted, however, that in formulating the definition of the 'Basis', Benes is referring to the function of sentence opening elements in German which in the neutral or non-emotive instances may be associated with recoverable information. Owing to the fact that in English different, i.e. grammatical criteria are operative in determining the actual sequence of elements, the sentence opening element in English may in certain circumstances be non-thematic. Compare

(174) Man sprach über das Problem der Wiedervereinigung

(175) Über diesen Punkt wurde schliesslich Einigung erzielt.

(176) The problem of reunification was discussed.

(177) Agreement was finally reached on this point

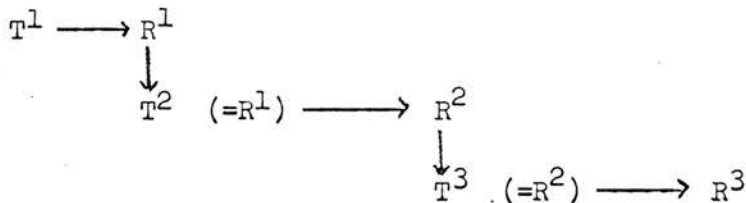
where in the German sentence (175) 'über diesen Punkt' forms a thematic basis linking up directly with the rheme of the previous sentence.

The English sentence (177) opens with a rhematic element.

Daneš states that the text connexity is represented by the thematic progression: "By this term we mean the choice and ordering of utterance themes, their mutual concatenation and hierarchy, as well as their relationships to the hyperthemes of the superior text units (such as the paragraph, chapter,) to the text whole, and to the situation".

He describes four main types of thematic progression:

(1) Simple linear thematic progression (or thematic progression with linear thematization of rhemes:



(where the horizontal arrow \longrightarrow indicates the T - R nexus within an utterance, while the vertical one indicates the contextual connection of T). An example of this type of thematic progression is (cf. Daneš, 1970a):

(178) Unsere Wirtschaft sucht rationelle Arbeitsverfahren.
Rationelle Arbeitsverfahren verlangt auch die Wissenschaft.

Note here the function of the particle auch, which in the following chapter I shall refer to as a 'rheme marker'. The sentences

(179) Science also requires rational procedures

(180) Rational procedures are also required by science

are in isolation ambiguous or 'multifunctional' in terms of their FSP.

Application to a specific context will serve to disambiguate the sentences: in the context

(181) Our economy is seeking rational procedures

auch will mark out science as the rheme. This kind of thematic organization could be represented in the following way

X needs Y

Z also needs Y

cf. the German

Z braucht Y

Z braucht auch Y

Auch Z braucht Y

The other interpretation is to associate auch with the element 'rational procedures', which could be represented as

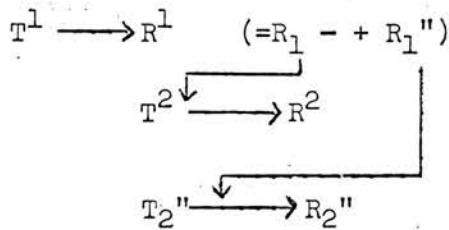
X needs Y

X also needs Z

This type represents the most elementary, basic thematic progression

Rumänien gemeinsame Grenze mit und im Norden mit ...
Im Süden bildet der Fluss Donau die Grenze mit Die
östliche Grenze ist teilweise das Schwarze Meer.

The fourth type represents a formal frame for the employment
of the basic types and is referred to as the 'exposition of a split
rheme', which may be represented as follows:



An example of which is:

(184) All substances can be divided into two classes: elementary
substances and compounds. An elementary substance is a
substance which consists of atoms of only one kind ...;
a compound is a substance which consists of atoms of two
or more different kinds

Daneš comments: "This type of TP is characterized by the fact that
a certain R is explicitly or implicitly doubled ($R' + R''$) or multiple
($R' + R'' + R''' + \dots$) so that it gives rise to a pair (triple ...)
of thematic progressions".

Daneš presents these types of thematic progression as "abstract
principles, models, or constructs". The implementation (manifestation)
of these models in particular languages depends on the properties of
the given language, especially on the different means available for
expressing FSP.

In the following chapter the hypotheses presented by linguists of the Prague tradition (Beneš, Daneš, Firbas, Mathesius, Pala, Sgall, Svoboda) together with those representing a different conception of the theme (cf. Halliday) will be re-examined in the light of a large corpus of material from 'common core' English and German. It is hoped that this re-examination will throw some new light on the different means of FSP operative in the two languages, and the extent to which they are operative, and on the place of FSP in the language system.

Part III

The Thematic Structure of Existential Sentences
in English and German

This section will be primarily concerned with the thematic structure of existential sentences in English and German. I shall firstly discuss sentences with the verbs to be or sein, which function as a transitional element relating the rheme to the theme, but will include other verbs expressing the notion of existence, and further, verbs denoting the notion of 'emergence', which have a similar function. Particular attention will be given to sentences involving a construction with the verb have, which, as has been pointed out, can be seen as transformationally related to existential sentences (cf. Lyons, 1968: 388ff.). From the analysis of the thematic structure of sentences containing such verbs a tentative conception of the theme will be proposed which derives basically from the notions of the theme proposed by linguists of the Prague tradition. The term 'thematic basis' will be introduced, which relates to the term theme used by Halliday and to the term topic used by other linguists, and which will be defined as a specific function assigned to a thematic element in the sentence. The conception of the theme arrived at will be tested in the light of other linguistic phenomena in the subsequent sections of this part.

In order to express the semantic relations 'existence of a person or thing in a place' English and German have at their disposal a number of sentence patterns, e.g.

- (1) There is a book on the table
- (2) The table has a book on it

- (3) Auf dem Tisch liegt ein Buch
(4) Es liegt ein Buch auf dem Tisch.

I shall leave aside for the moment the type of existential sentence illustrated by (2). Later it will be proposed that the have construction is a means by which the locative element is subjectivized and made into the thematic basis.

The high probability equivalents (1), (3) and (4) in English and German have the grammatical patterns

- (1) there + be + indef + N¹ + Adv(loc)
(3) Adv(loc) + $\begin{pmatrix} \text{sein} \\ \text{V exist} \end{pmatrix}$ + indef + N¹
(4) es + $\begin{pmatrix} \text{sein} \\ \text{V exist} \end{pmatrix}$ + indef + N¹ + Adv(loc)

where in (1) there represents the unstressed introducer or 'expletive' there as opposed to the demonstrative adverb there as in

- (5) There is the book/ on the table

which is always stressed (cf. the interchange between Allan and Sampson 1972). There is a break in the flow of speech indicated by /. (5) may be derived from

- (6) The book is there - on the table

with on the table appositional and explanatory which suggests further that this there and the locative element are coreferential and that in the case of (5) it may be said that the initial there 'anticipates' the locative element. For a somewhat similar instance of significant break in the flow of speech, cf.

- (7) They have all gone/ upstairs

i.e.

- (8) They (who were upstairs) have all gone,
as opposed to

(9) They have all gone upstairs,
where upstairs is a directional adverb.

The possible origin of the expletive there will be discussed later. For the moment it may be suggested that whereas the demonstrative there is coextensive with the locative element it anticipates, the expletive there outlines a general spatial sphere of reference which is further specified by the locative element which follows.

From the point of view of their thematic organization it will be seen that such sentences do not open with the grammatical subject, an indefinite noun with a high degree of communicative value which constitutes the rheme of the sentence, but with some kind of introducing element situating the utterance in a spatial context, either the expletive there in English, a locative adverb or the expletive es in German, which serves to move the subject from initial position to a position following the finite verb.

The sentences

(10) A book is on the table

(11) Ein Buch liegt auf dem Tisch

are, it will be suggested, marked variants of the sentences with an introducing element.

From the point of view of their function in the thematic organization of sentences the expletive there in English and the expletive es in German have features in common, but whereas there is explicitly locative, es is not. Ammann (1962: /) ascribes to the expletive es a certain 'Situationsbezogenheit' and compares the sentences

(12) Es erhob sich ein Sturm

(13) Da erhob sich ein Sturm

Beneš (1971) suggests that whereas es in such sentences has a purely formal function, da in this function is 'emotional gefärbt'.

The expletive es would, however, appear to have a purely formal function and in some uses it is related to English it, i.e. in anticipating a following nominal expression. Like there in English it has the function of occupying first position in the sentence and of referring the subject to a position following the finite part of the verb. Unlike there, however, es is omitted if the first position is occupied by another element, e.g. a temporal or locative expression, cf.

(14) Auf dem Tisch lag ein Buch

(15) On the table there was a book.

Furthermore, the expletive es is not normally found in existential sentences containing an adverbial of time, e.g.

(16) Es sind jetzt keine Studenten mehr da

(17) Es war vorher noch etwas Wein in der Flasche

(18) Es war gestern niemand zu Hause

(19) Es war eben jemand an der Tür

which to some native speakers sound 'awkward', the 'natural' procedure being to move the temporal adverb into initial position, e.g.

(16a) Jetzt sind keine Studenten mehr da

(17a) Vorher war noch etwas Wein in der Flasche

(18a) Gestern war niemand zu Hause

(19a) Eben war jemand an der Tür.

In English the expletive there may be freely used in sentences containing an adverb of time. The adverb of time tends to occur in final position, a characteristic position of adjuncts in English, cf.

- (20) There was no one there yesterday
(21) There was someone at the door just now
(22) There was no one there when I came.

Initial position of the temporal adverb would be what will be referred to as a 'marked option', e.g.

- (23) Yesterday there was no one there,
requiring specific motivation such as that of 'enumerative contrast'.

It does not seem correct to refer to the expletive there in English and the es in German as 'empty' elements. They have the important communicative function of signalling the presence in the communication of an indefinite noun, the use of there and es with definite nouns being ungrammatical or of questionable acceptability, cf.

- (24) ? There was the book on the table
(not impossible in certain contexts, e.g. What made you think he'd been reading?)

- (25) * Es lag das Buch auf dem Tisch.

In other words, it might be said that the initial element serves to alert the listener's attention to the element in the utterance with the highest degree of CD. The terms 'preparatory there' or 'anticipatory there' suggest this function. As we shall see presently, however, this is a situation peculiar to existential sentences with be or be + ing + V in English. Otherwise, non-thematic subjects in initial position constitutes the neutral or 'usual' sequence of elements, whereas in German this is always a non-neutral or marked sequence.

Kuno (1971) suggests that the basic word order of existential sentences is

Locative + V_{exist} + NP

for SVO languages. This is the conclusion I arrived at for German (Kirkwood, 1969, 1969a). We may regard this basic word order as representing a 'cognitional order', the way in which objective reality is apperceived and presented by means of linguistic form. In sentences expressing goal-directed action in English and German, sentences frequently open with the grammatical subject expressing the agent of the action. This may be explained in cognitional terms. Brinkmann (1962: 489ff) makes a distinction between 'Vorgangssätze' (with intransitive verbs or reflexive verbs of the type sich entwickeln) and 'Handlungssätze' (with transitive verbs) and writes: "Der Vorgangssatz wird geneigt sein, das Geschehen aus den Umständen zu entwickeln und darum mit ihnen beginnen; der Handlungssatz dagegen kann jederzeit aus sich selbst, d.h. mit einem Subjekt beginnen". In the agent-action-goal pattern the agent represents the source from which the action originates; the action is in turn directed towards a goal; action and goal presuppose the agent. In the 'Vorgangssatz', a sentence expressing "allgemeine Vorgänge und Befindlichkeiten der Umwelt", the initial element will outline the situation in which the event takes place or which gives rise to the event (cf. Kirkwood, 1969; 92), - "Das grammatische Subject ist dann nicht Ausgangspunkt sondern eher Ziel" (Brinkmann, 1962a:233). There is an obvious relation between the 'cognitional order' and the order of elements according to the basic distribution of CD. This basic word order may undergo contextual modification, the motivation for modifying this order relating to the 'hierarchy of principles' governing the order of elements in a particular language. Thus, in German, in the actor-action-goal pattern the object of the verb, if contextually dependent, may establish the natural point of departure in the linear sequence of elements, e.g.

(29) Das weiss ich

(30) Das Stück habe ich schon gesehen

thus sequence being quite neutral in an appropriate context. Word order in German is, as we shall see, more susceptible to the basic distribution than in English. In English the sequence SVO frequently has a grammatical function, and whereas in German it is a departure from the theme-rheme sequence that leads to a non-neutral or marked sequence, in English it is a departure from the grammaticized order SVO. Hence in English

(31) That I know

(32) The play I have seen

are marked in as much as they require specific motivation such as that of contrast. From this it follows that

(29) Das weiss ich

and

(31) That I know

are not exact equivalents.

Word order in German is susceptible to the requirements of FSP (i.e. the distribution of degrees of CD over the 'sentence' elements) to such a degree that the position of quantifiers in existential sentences is a clear indication of whether they are definite or indefinite (cf. Kirkwood, 1969:103f.). Compare

(32) Viele Studenten standen vor der Universität

(33) Jemand war in jedem Zimmer

(34) Vor der Universität standen viele Studenten

(35) Es standen viele Studenten vor der Universität

(36) In jedem Zimmer war jemand

(37) Es war jemand in jedem Zimmer

In (32) viele is a definite determiner (or partitive) corresponding to the English many of the (i.e. 'andere standen woanders'); viele Studenten forms the thematic basis of the utterance, vor der Universität the rheme. In (34) and (35) viele is an indefinite determiner (or non-partitive) and viele Studenten constitutes the rheme of the sentence, the thematic element vor der Universität moving in (34) to initial position. A similar analysis applies to (33), (36) and (37). The English equivalents

(38) Many (of the) students were standing in front of the university

(39) Someone was in every room

(40) There were many students standing in front of the university

(41) There was someone in every room

suggest that, in existential sentences at least, English word order shows an (unusual) susceptibility to the requirements of FSP.

In anticipation of a more detailed statement of the conception of the theme being proposed here, following a discussion of other types of existential sentences, including sentences with have, I shall make the following remarks at this stage. Within the Prague tradition there are two conceptions, which may be related:

(1) The theme is what is being spoken about and the rheme is what the speaker says about it. This is the definition proposed by other linguists (cf. Zemb (1971) theme "wozu man etwas sagt", rheme "was man dazu sagt"). Some confusion has arisen over the terms 'starting point' 'point of departure' used in this connection. Mathesius defines the 'starting point' of the utterance as "that which is known or at least obvious in the given situation and from which the speaker proceeds" (cf. Firbas, 1966⁴

268). The 'starting point' of the utterance may be taken to refer to the linear sequence of elements. It may also be understood in a cognitional sense as that element from which the cognitional process proceeds. This may be verbally or situationally 'given', but need not precede 'new' elements in the actual formulation of the cognitional process. I propose to combine these two kinds of 'starting point' by introducing the term 'thematic basis' which refers to a specific function expressed by clause initial position of a thematic element. The term 'thematic basis' also suggests the alternative functional position 'rhematic basis'.

(2) different degrees of communicative dynamism. This aspect has been introduced by Firbas and has been discussed in detail in the previous two parts.

The term 'dynamism' suggests that the communicative act, which I shall use to refer to both the cognitional process (the apperception of objective reality) and the formulation or presentation of this process by means of linguistic form, is a dynamic and purposeful act involving the association of a rheme with a theme. The theme I shall take to be the least dynamic element in the sentence (realized by elements derivable from the context, e.g. definite nouns or reference items 'local and temporal settings' such as adverbs of place and time which outline the spatio-temporal situation in which an event takes place. Such elements are in the immediate focus of attention. The rheme of the sentence is that element which is brought into the focus of attention by being related to the theme, and it is essentially the relation of a rheme to a theme that constitutes the dynamism of the communicative act. Hence in the

existential type of sentence

(42) There is a book on the table

I assert of the table that there is a book in some relation to it as opposed to

(43) The book is on the table

where I assert of the book that it is some relation to the table.

Using other terms, we might say that in (42) the table is characterized by the existence of a book on it and in (43) the book is characterized by its being on the table.

A similar analysis applies to sentences with verbs of emergence, which will be discussed in detail presently. Consider the sentences

(44) A girl came to see me yesterday

(45) Gestern hat mich ein Mädchen besucht.

If girl is contextually independent, sentence (44) does not mean

(46) What I am saying about a girl is that she came to see me yesterday

or

(47) What happened to a girl was that she came to see me yesterday

but rather

(48) What happened to me yesterday was that a girl came to see me.

Hence in existential sentences of the type discussed so far the locative or temporal element is thematic in as much as it establishes a local or temporal sphere of reference to which is related the existence of a person or thing, or, it is in relation to this sphere of reference that I assert the existence of a person or thing. This element is thematic regardless of its position in the linear sequence of elements (e.g. end position in English). As we shall see, have constructions

in English represent a means by which the thematic locative element may be foregrounded.

By way of a brief interlude before proceeding further I should like to mention what might be referred to by the rather imprecise term 'the context of interest or expectancy' and I shall examine two typical situations involving sentences with existential verbs and locatives:

(1) a situation where the indefinite noun in an existential sentence is thematic, and

(2) where both the existing person or thing and the locative are 'given', one of them being presented as being communicatively more important than the other.

(1) In certain consituations the indefinite noun functioning as subject in an existential sentence with there may be an element derivable from the consituation and hence thematic. The rheme is then expressed by the locative element, e.g.

(49) T R
 There is some milk in the fridge

as opposed to

(50) R T
 There is some milk in the fridge

in (49) the element milk is presented as being contextually dependent and thematic; it may presuppose a question Where can I find some milk? or may represent the speaker's anticipation of the listener's request for information about the location of milk, cf.

(51) You'll find some milk in the fridge

(52) You'll find some milk in the fridge

i.e. if you are looking for some milk you will find some in the fridge (51),

or, if you look in the fridge you will find some milk (52). The direction of the cognizant attention is different in each case. Compare the sequence of elements in equivalent German sentences

(53) Milch findest du im Kühlschrank

(54) Im Kühlschrank findest du Milch.

(50), (52) and (54) are neutral or unmarked in that they represent a statement of fact, i.e. the existence of X in Y; they presuppose no particular context. (49), (51) and (53) are marked for the feature of contextual dependence. They may presuppose¹an explicit question as to the location of X or express the anticipation on the part of the speaker of the listener's desire for information concerning X.

Interesting examples of this kind of different thematic organization reflecting a difference in presuppositions were found in notices in a hotel and at an airport. The notice in the hotel read

(55) A shoe-cleaning machine is situated near the main lifts

with a German translation which read

(56) Bei den Hauptfahrstühlen befindet sich eine Schuhputzmaschine

(55) anticipates on the part of the room occupant a desire for information about shoe-cleaning machines; a shoe-cleaning machine is the theme and the location is the rheme. The sentence is marked for presuppositions concerning the room occupant's desire for information. The German sentence (56) is not marked in this way; it is simply a statement of the existence of X in the location Y. The two sentences are therefore not exact equivalents.

The notice in the airport read

(57) Hairdressing facilities available within terminal 2

1 see over

1 In view of the different technical senses in which 'presupposition' is being used in linguistics and philosophy (cf. Garner, 1971) I should point out that I am using 'presuppose' in 'A sentence A presupposes a context B' in reference to the extent to which the thematic structure of a given sentence, signalled by the sequence of elements, accent placement, definite and indefinite determiners, or the use of special constructions, marks it as being contextually dependent. For instance, a sentence A boy had broken a window presupposes no context and could form the initial sentence of a discourse, whereas The window had been broken by a boy presupposes 'Someone broke a window'.

(58) Ein Friseurgeschäft befindet sich im Empfangsgebäude 2

Both sentences are marked for presuppositions, i.e. if you are looking for X you will find it in Y, and are thus equivalents.

(2) This concerns the locative adverbs there and da. What is concerned here is neither the expletive there or da, nor the demonstrative there or da. Consider the sentences

(59) ¹John was \there/ here

(60) \John was/there /here

(61) ¹Hans war \da

(62) \Hans war /da

(where ¹ or / denotes the secondary or thematic accent and \ the primary or rhematic accent).

In these sentences we may assume that the elements John/Hans, there/da are known to the listener. The difference in theme-rheme structure is not determined by the criterion known/unknown, given/new, but by which element is in the immediate focus of attention or interest and which element is brought into the focus of attention or interest. In (59) and (61) the elements John/Hans are in the immediate focus of attention or interest, and the focus moves from this element to its 'being-there'. The communicative sense of (59) and (61) is the local specification of a 'given' entity, as in

(63) Das Buch lag auf dem Tisch.

In (60) and (62) the situation outlined by there/da is in the immediate focus of attention or interest, and the focus moves from the situational context to the existence of someone in this context. The communicative sense of these sentences is similar to that of

(64) Auf dem Tisch lag das Buch

where auf dem Tisch refers to the immediate, ad hoc 'narrow' context and das Buch is recalled from a wider context. Although definite and referring to known information, das Buch is more dynamic than the locative, being the element 'brought into focus'. We may imagine a context involving a question from which two different answers may arise depending on what is in focus and what is brought into focus, e.g.

(War Hans auf der Party?)

(65) Ja, 'Hans war \da

(66) Ja, \Hans war /da

In both sentences Hans and da are derivable from the immediately preceding context. The difference in meaning may be formulated as follows: whereas (65) might mean: I assert of Hans that he was there (at the party) (to the exclusion of other possible places), (66) might mean: I assert of the party that Hans (as distinct from other guests) was there.

In other situations the focus may be on the verb, e.g. on the 'actuality' of someone's being there as opposed, e.g. to a promise of being there, cf.

(67) (You said you would come). And there/here you are

(68) (Du hast ja gesagt, dass du kommen würdest). Und da bist du auch

Note the use of auch in (68) which, as we shall see, often accompanies rhematic elements, both nouns and verbs, cf.

(69) I know that (R) as well

(70) I know (R) that

(69a) Das weiss ich auch

(69b) Auch das weiss ich

(70a) Das weiss ich auch.

I have suggested that, in English, existential sentences with the verb to be show an unusual susceptibility in terms of word order to the requirements of FSP, non-thematic subjects in initial position being otherwise quite normal. In addition to sentences with a locative element, the there construction is used with temporal adverbs, but there seems to be a restriction as to the kind of noun found in such sentences. Compare the sentences

(71) There was a meeting yesterday

(72) There was an accident last week

as opposed to

(73) + There was a book yesterday.

This suggests that only process nouns are found in sentences involving to be and a temporal complement.

One could say

(74) There was a train only five minutes ago

where the sentence expresses an event; train like process nouns implies a temporal dimension. In German, sein cannot be used with process nouns, e.g.

(75) + Gestern war eine Sitzung

(76) + Letzte Woche war ein Unfall.

In such cases a verb suggesting a process rather than stative being will normally be used, e.g.

(77) Gestern fand eine Sitzung statt

(78) Letzte Woche hat sich ein Unfall ereignet.

On the other hand, whereas it is possible to say

(79) The meeting is tomorrow

which expresses temporal specification and in thematic structure is

similar to sentences expressing local specification, e.g.

(80) The book is on the table,

it seems that the sentence

(81) A meeting is tomorrow

is less acceptable than the structurally similar sentence

(82) A book is on the table

Both sentences will normally give way to sentences with there.

Both (81) and (82) become more acceptable if a semantically 'fuller' verb of existence is substituted for to be, e.g.

(83) A meeting takes place tomorrow

(84) A book is lying on the table

It is interesting to note that the expletive there in English fulfils a communicative function in sentences which are not infrequently heard in colloquial English, but which are otherwise considered ungrammatical, e.g.

(85) There was a bus went down five minutes ago

(86) There was a lot of work went into his A-levels

(87) There was a student came to see me last week

(88) There was a free fight went on outside the theatre.

These sentences are different from a sentence such as There is a firm in London makes these maps which is a reduced form of There is (exists) a firm in London which makes these maps.

Some speaker's of English will not accept the use of there in sentences containing other verbs of existence, e.g.

(89) ? There took place a meeting in the room

(90) ? There stood a woman at the window,

whereas the continuous form (be + ing + V) is possible with the

expletive there, e.g.

(91) There was a meeting taking place in the room

(92) There was a woman standing at the window.

In German the expletive es may be used in sentences with other verbs expressing existence as an alternative to the construction

Adv(loc) + (sein + indef + N, e.g.
(V exist

(93) In dem Zimmer fand eine Sitzung statt

(94) Es fand eine Sitzung im Zimmer statt

(95) An dem Fenster stand eine Frau

(96) Es stand eine Frau an dem Fenster.

As we shall see in the discussion of sentences containing verbs of 'emergence', in such sentences the expletive there may be used, e.g.

(97) There appeared a woman at the window

(98) There arose some difficulties at the meeting.

First of all, I shall give examples, mainly from German of sentences containing verbs of existence other than sein. I shall then give illustrative examples of verbs expressing the notion of emergence, and then proceed to discuss existential sentences with the verb have.

The examples are taken from a wide range of texts in formal style. Examples from literature are interesting in that they frequently illustrate the desire on the part of the author to combine with the notion of existence some other features characterising the subject. On occasion, literary examples show a tendency to depart from the neutral or unmarked order with the locative element in first position for the sake of achieving a special effect.

herrschen

(99) Über diese Frage herrschte Einigkeit

- (100) In den meisten der bisher erforschten Sprachfamilien herrscht eine gewisse Gleichmässigkeit des grammatischen Baues
- (101) Das soll aber nicht heissen, dass solche Umstellungen immer möglich sind und dass in der Frage ihrer Reihenfolge reine Willkür herrscht
- (102) Keines der beiden Probleme war in den Wahlen ein Schlüsselfaktor, weil bei den beiden grossen Parteien keine Einigkeit herrschte
- (103) Lange Zeit herrschte die Meinung, dass sich die Betonung nach den Wortklassen zu richten habe
- (104) Stille herrschte im Hause. Nur der Wind war hörbar.

A possible English equivalent of (99) would be There was no agreement on this question, which is predictable from the pattern of equivalence established above. The same applies to (100), but the type of thematic foregrounding made available by a have construction (or with some other verb, e.g. show) might be applied, e.g. Most languages investigated so far have/show..... With both have and show the initial element is characteristically locative (cf. He showed me his new book as opposed to He/his face showed no sign of surprise). This will be taken up in more detail in the discussion of have and in the section on case. (102) and (103) show that in independent clauses the basic sequence locative + subject remains unchanged; the verb moves into end position by an obligatory rule, but remains transitional regardless of its position. Such transitional elements have little lexical meaning of their own, expressing little more than the notion of existence (cf. Kirkwood, 1969a:232). In other contexts they may assume full lexical meaning. Compare

- (105) Der König hat lange Zeit geherrscht

(106) ? Die Meinung hat lange Zeit geherrscht

In (105) herrschen has full lexical meaning, expressing an action, i.e. that of reigning, and is therefore part of the rheme (lange Zeit geherrscht). In (106) it is a transitional element. This sentence is hardly acceptable if spoken with normal intonation. A possible sequence would be that of (103) in which the definite article in die Meinung is determined by the following relative clause. Being transitional, these verbs do not carry stress. Sentence (104), a literary example, shows a departure from the neutral or unmarked sequence. The two sentences have a distinct parallelism in terms of thematic structure, i.e. rheme-theme. The second sentence is also basically an existential sentence, the predicate assuming certain features characteristic of the subject. Hörbar is thematic by way of semantic inference from the first sentence. A possible theme-rheme sequence could be achieved, e.g. Hörbar war nur der Wind/Hören konnte man nur den Wind. This sequence would be more directly cohesive thematically, but the special effect of the parallelism would be lost.

bestehen

(107) Zwischen den Leerstellen der Satztypen und den Wortklassen besteht keine schlichte 1-zu-1 Entsprechung.

(108) Anschliessend besteht für die Mitglieder der Versammlung die Möglichkeit, an unsere verehrten Gäste Fragen zu stellen.

(109) Besteht zwischen den Bedeutung zweier Wortgruppen ein Widerspruch, d.h. ein Verhältnis von Bejahung und Verneinung, dann ...

(110) ... und sie werden später sehen, dass zwischen Beurteilung und rein tatsächlicher Feststellung wesentliche Unterschiede bestehen.

(111) Es ist aber andererseits offensichtlich, dass zwischen Konstituentenbäumen und Abhängigkeitsbäumen gewiss Zusammengänge bestehen.

The basic situation remains the same. English equivalents would have a there is/are construction. In (108) in addition to the there + be construction there is an obvious option with the verb have, the persons implicated becoming subject and thematic basis: Afterwards the members of the assembly will have an opportunity ...

liegen

A more concrete and a more abstract use can be distinguished:

(a) concrete use of liegen

(112) Auf dem Tisch liegt ein Buch

(113) An verschiedenen Stellen der Stube, entweder auf einem Stühlchen oder auf der Bank oder auf den Fensterbrettchen, liegen die zauberischen wenn aber schon bekannteren und vertrauteren Geschenke von gestern abend herum.

(114) Der Weg war vom Schnee überall gleich weich und war überhaupt nur daran zu erkennen, dass er als ein gleichmässiger weisser Streifen in dem Walde fortlief. Auf allen Zweigen lag schon die schöne weisse Hülle.

(115) ... und die Schneeflocken fielen stets reichlicher, so dass der ganze Boden schon weiss war, dass der Wald sich grau zu bestäuben anfing und dass auf dem Hute und Kleidern des Knaben sowie auf denen des Mädchens der Schnee lag.

(116) Um neun Uhr, eines Sonntagmorgens, sass der Konsul im Frühstückszimmer vor dem grossen, braunen Sekretär, der am Fenster stand und dessen gewölbter Deckel vermittels eines witzigen Mechanismus zurückgeschoben war. Eine dicke Ledermappe, gefüllt mit Papieren, lag vor ihm.

(112) and (113) represent the basic type. In (113) the noun functioning as subject denotes information known to the listener/reader, but it is this element that is brought into focus and constitutes the rheme. In

(114) and (115) Schnee is the hypertheme of the whole text. The two sentences 'copy' the basic type with the theme-rheme sequence of locative and subject, but it is in fact the location of die schöne weisse Hülle/der Schnee that is the most dynamic element. In the short story from which these examples were taken, which describes nature and man's relation to it, there is a remarkably high occurrence of existential sentences of the basic type, and in such a context such copies of the basic type are to be expected. (116) represents a conscious departure from the basic type. The stylistic implications of examples from literary contexts are worthy of note, and there is room for further research in this field.

(b) more abstract use of liegen

(117) In diesem Zusammenfallen der Werte liegt doch noch eine gewisse Regelmässigkeit.

(118) ... aber in der Form selbst liegt kein Hinweis darauf, dass der Angesprochene den Inhalt des betreffenden Verbuns realisieren soll.

(119) Nicht in der Form, sondern im Verbum als solchem liegt also die Kraft, den Angesprochenen zu einem Vollzug zu veranlassen.

Here, too, in English equivalents there is a choice between a construction with there + be and a have construction, e.g.

(117a) There is after all a certain regularity in this coincidence of values.

(117b) This coincidence of values does after all have a certain regularity (about it).

sitzen

(120) ... und dass auf den verschiedenen grünen Zweigen der Tannen und Fichten, die sich wie Hände öffneten, schon weisse Fläumchen sassen.

This example is taken from the same context as (114) and (115).

stecken

- (121) In der Nachricht, dass eine Konferenz, welche die für Stadt- und Landplanung zuständige Organisation gestern in London veranstaltete, eine dreiviertel Stunde zu spät und nur in Anwesenheit eines Viertels der namentlich angeführten Teilnehmern begann, steckt irgendwo eine Lehre.
- (122) ... das Spottwörtlein, in jedem Deutschen stecke von Geburt an ein Stück Schulmeister.

High probability equivalents would be (121) There is a moral in the news that ... The news that... has a moral to it;

- (122) There is a bit of the schoolmaster in every German
Every German has a bit of the schoolmaster in him.

stehen

- (123) Vor der Tür steht ein Auto.
- (124) In der dunklen Ecke standen die beiden Rumänen oder Ungarn.
- (125) Hinter den Ketten steht das Sprachsystem, aus dessen Elementen die Ketten gebildet werden.
- (126) Im Mittelpunkt der heutigen Debatten standen zwei Fragen.
- (127) Ich fand sie etwa hundert Meter von dem Blumengeschäft.
Das Schaufenster war erleuchtet. Orchideen standen hinter der Scheibe ...

(123) - (126) represent the basic type. In (124) and (125) the subjects are definite nouns (the relative clause in (125) is non-restrictive and does not account for the use of the definite article). In both these sentences the locative element refers to something in the immediate focus of attention: the subjects of the sentences refer

to persons or things brought into the focus of attention by their relation to the sphere of the locative element. (127) is taken from a literary context and represents a departure from the basic type: the locative element is contextually dependent in an obvious way. With regard to English, where there is the option of introducing the subject by means of the expletive there, the option of not doing so may have a special effect, cf.

(128) (I looked out of the window). There was a large grey car standing by the door.

(129) (I looked out of the window). A large grey car was standing by the door.

Otherwise, as suggested earlier, initial position of a non-thematic subject is quite neutral or unmarked in English.

Sentence (126) is in fact a high probability equivalent of an original English sentence which read

(130) Two issues have dominated today's debates here.

The element today's debates here is less dynamic than two issues.

The thematic status of the second noun phrase could be explained by its contextual dependence, but need not be: it denotes the sphere to which the element two issues is related. The sentence is 'about' today's debates here and of this element it is asserted that it was dominated by two issues. Cf. the possible paraphrases

(131) There were two major issues in today's debates here

(132) In today's debates here two major issues were concerned, in which the locative character of the theme is made more explicit.

stattfinden

- (133) Im August letzten Jahres fand in Kiel dank der Initiative des dortigen Ordinarius für Sprachwissenschaft ein internationaler linguistischer Sommerkurs statt.
- (134) Morgen findet im Stadttheater ein Konzert statt.
- (135) Darüber hat schon eine sehr detaillierte Besprechung in der letzten gemeinsamen Sitzung der Kommission des Bildungsrates stattgefunden.

Note that stattfinden collocates only with process nouns. The verb has itself processual character as opposed to the stative character of the verbs discussed so far. Like the English take place it has features in common with the verbs of emergence to be discussed presently. As noted before, whereas the sentence A meeting was yesterday is hardly acceptable, the sentence A meeting took place yesterday is quite acceptable in formal style. Initial position of non-thematic subjects is quite normal with verbs of emergence, e.g. A letter arrived yesterday.

(133) and (134) are characteristic of the basic type. The opening element in each case is a temporal adverb outlining the temporal context of the event. It is a characteristic feature of thematic temporal and locative expressions, and thematic elements in general, in German that they occupy positions immediately preceding and following the finite part of the verb in second position. In this way, together with the finite verb they accompany, they establish a spatio-temporal context for the event described by the rhematic section of the sentence. This feature will be discussed in more detail in the section on word order in English and German.

In (135) an element in the structure of the noun phrase eine sehr detaillierte Besprechung darüber has been detached from the noun phrase and placed in initial position, where it establishes a direct link with the preceding context. The locative adverb has been moved to a position following the subject. This is (1) in accordance with 'das Gesetz der wachsenden Glieder (cf. Behaghel, 1932,3:367) (2) a means by which the element is assigned more communicative weight. A possible reformulation of (135) would be

(135a) Darüber hat in der letzten gemeinsamen Sitzung der Kommission des Bildungsrates eine sehr detaillierte Besprechung stattgefunden.

(135) also illustrates a means by which the predicative bracket formed by the finite part of the verb and the subject may be shortened (cf. the section on word order to follow).

The effect of moving the locative element to a position following the subject may be seen by comparing

(136) Im August fand in London eine Versammlung statt.

(137) Im August fand eine Versammlung in London statt.

(136) represents the basic type: the element eine Versammlung is the rheme. (137) is a variant of the basic type, and a possible interpretation of (137) is that Versammlung has been thematized by contextual dependence, the implication being 'Meetings have been held in various parts of the country. In August there was a meeting (one) in London'. Being thematic, the element Versammlung moves towards the front of the sentence and the rheme in London towards the end.

Compare

(136a) In August there was a meeting in London

(137a) In August there was a meeting in London.

(136) and (136a) represent the basic type and presuppose no context; they could form the opening sentences of a discourse. (137) and (137a) presuppose the contextual dependence (verbal context, context of interest) of the elements Versammlung and meeting.

hängen

(138) ... und da waren Türen mit Emailleschildchen: VIa und VIb, und zwischen den Türen hing, sanftglänzend unter Glas in einem schwarzen Rahmen, die Medea von Feuerbach und blickte in die Ferne: dann kamen Türen mit Va und Vb, und dazwischen hing ein Bild des Dornausziehers, eine wunderbare rötlich schimmernde Fotografie in braunem Rahmen. Auch die grosse Säule in der Mitte vor dem Treppenaufgang war da.

This passage illustrates clearly the movement of the focus of attention from location to thing existing in the location. The linear sequence of elements corresponds to the direction of the cognitional process. The final sentence represents the realization of an option in existential-locative sentences in German, i.e. the preposing of the subject, in this case for stylistic variation.

vorhanden sein

(139) Aber hier ist ein Element des Willkürs vorhanden, das weder für das Fernsehen noch für die Kapitalanleger gut ist.

cf. English But there is an element of arbitrariness here

vorliegen

(140) Über das andere 'Supergipfeltreffen' in Moskau liegen keinerlei konkrete Angaben vor.

A locative element within the structure of a noun phrase has been moved to initial position (cf. 135).

(141) Gegenwärtig liegen dem Parlament die Initiativanträge zweier Abgeordnete vor.

Two thematic elements, a temporal and locative adverb, accompany the finite part of the verb (cf. (133) and (134)).

It is notable that in both formal and literary style German shows a tendency to use a semantically fuller verb expressing basically the notion of existence, the verb also characterizing the relation between locative and subject. This has been observed by Brinkmann (1962:527) who writes: "Im allgemeinen hat das Deutsche die Neigung, nicht die allgemeine Darstellung durch sein zu wählen, sondern eine spezielle Schweise, die die Art des Sich-befindens näher bestimmt". This has been noted earlier in the case of process nouns which collocate normally only with verbs of processual character. The following examples represent an even more descriptive statement of the existence of a thing in a place.

(142) Mitten in dem freien luftigen Raum aber ragte ein roter Fabrikschlot.

cf. There was a factory chimney towering up, but hardly
There towered up a factory chimney for the reasons stated earlier.

(143) In der Wand klafft ein Riss

i.e. There is a crack (gaping) in the wall or
The wall has a crack (in it).

(144) Auf den Karosserien der Autos tänzelt die Sonne.

cf. The sun is shining on the coachwork of the cars.

The sentence There is the sun shining on the coachwork of the cars is not normally acceptable, the noun the sun being definite.

cf. There is a light shining on the coachwork of the cars.

(145) ... dass unter unseren Füßen eine eigene Welt ... sich bewegt.

(144) and (145) show that verbs expressing movement may express basically the notion of existence in a place. Cf. the example of the verb fahren quoted by Sgall (1970) In Prag fahren jetzt Autobusse statt Trolleybusse for which could be substituted ...gibt es Compare further Durch das Tal gehen keine Strassen, Es gehen keine Strassen durch das Tal No highways pass through the valley, There are no highways passing through the valley.

(146) ... woA in unserem Land, wie anderwärts, sich grosse Massen Geldes zusammenhäufen.

This example is similar to (144) and (145).

(147) Hinter der Fassade der Revolution verbirgt sich vieles, was verwerflich ist.

cf. English There is plenty behind the façade of the revolution which is... It is interesting to find in a book written in formal style by an author of German origin sentences such as

(148) ... and in this, etc. is hidden language itself

(149) ... even in this unsatisfactory formulation is hidden an element of truth which we shall try to elucidate.

(150) Eine Welt von geflügelten Tierchen summt ungestört über ihm.

This example, which was discussed earlier, is taken from Boost (1955:34).

It contradicts the conception of the theme proposed by Boost which he

states occupies initial position in the sentence and refers to 'Bekanntes' 'Gegebenes'. It represents an option in the thematic organization of the sentence, i.e. foregrounding of the rheme as a rhematic basis.

(151) An dieser Bestimmung haftet nichts grundsätzlich Absurdes an.

cf. There is nothing basically absurd about this rule

This rule has nothing basically absurd about it.

(152) ... und erst spät fühle ich, dass mir in allem diesem kein Genuss bereitet sei.

cf. ... that in all this there is no enjoyment for me

(153) Denn auf dieser Konferenz mangelte es gewiss nicht an Ideen.

i.e. a negation of non-existence, a possible English equivalent being

(154) For there was no shortage of ideas at this conference.

(155) In seinen Augen spiegelt sich der Schein des Feuers.

(156) ... und in seinen Aufsätzen spiegelt sich das Bild einer Welt, die zwar durch Unvernunft der Menschen recht unvollkommen war, aber immer besser werden konnte.

In English equivalents of (155) and (156) the verb reflect could be used which, like show in certain uses, combines with a locative realized by the grammatical subject, e.g. His essays reflect the image of a world Locative subjects in English will be discussed in connection with have and, in greater detail, in the section on case.

Compare

(157) Zu den Formen, die mit der kommunikativ-psychologischen Struktur des Satzes verbunden sind, gehört auch die Paranthese.

(158) An der Konferenz nahmen zehn Delegierte aus Grossbritannien teil.

The locative element, expressed in German by a locative prepositional phrase, could in English be realized by the subject, e.g.

(157a) The forms also include parenthesis.

(158a) The meeting included ten delegates from Great Britain.

Variants of the basic type are illustrated by the following sentences:

(159) In der Ferne hört man Musik.

cf. Music can be heard in the distance where music is rhematic as opposed to Music can be enjoyed by almost anyone where music is thematic.

(160) (Die Sonne ging auf) Am Himmel sah man keine Wolken.

These sentences are not merely statements of fact concerning the existence of a thing in a place; they imply a further participant role, that of the person(s) perceiving the situation.

Other variants of the basic type of existential sentence will be discussed in the section on case, e.g.

(161) Mystery surrounds the cause of the disaster.

(162) The room was screaming with children.

(163) The room resounded with applause.

Sentences (162) and (163) represent other sentence patterns involving a state related to a location, which will be discussed in a subsequent section. By way of anticipation, a few remarks may be appropriate here. In these semantic sentence patterns we see that the locative element, expressing the location in which a process or state is perceived, is made subject and the point of departure of the communication. This sequence does not necessarily correspond to the sequence of events in 'logical time'. Cf.

(164) The leaves were wet with dew.

In terms of causation we might express the meaning of this sentence as 'There was a dew on the leaves causing them to be wet', but in terms of cognition (apperception) and presentation we express the state in the sequence

location of	state characterizing	causer of
state	the location	state

i.e. we perceive in an object (leaves) a state (wetness) and to this state we relate the causer of the state. This is reflected in the thematic organization, the object (leaves) is characterized by a state, and this state is further specified by reference to the causer, giving the thematic structure

T o	Tro	Ro
<u>The leaves</u>	are <u>wet with dew</u>	
	Tl	Rl

Compare the special effect achieved by the opening line of the poem (165) Vom Taue glänzt der Rasen

Beweglicher eilt schon die wache Quelle

where a certain tension is achieved by placing the characterizing features vom Taue glänzt and beweglicher eilt before the thing characterized. The decoding process is 'held in suspense' until the theme is announced. End position of this element makes it communicatively more dynamic: it identifies the theme anticipated by the elements characterizing the theme. In the first line der Rasen is the theme proper and glänzt, which receives the primary accent, the rheme proper, i.e.

There is dew (R^1) on the grass (T^1) and the dew ($T^2 = R^1$) is causing the grass to shine (R^2). Similarly, (162) could be analyzed 'There are

children (R^1) in the room (T^1) who ($T^2 = R^1$) are screaming (R^2).

However in the sentence The grass is wet with dew the element with dew is presented as a specification of the state as is with children in The room is screaming with children. Here we have an interplay of criteria determining the thematic structure of the sentence: the logical sequence of events and the perspective in which the sequence of events and the resultant state are perceived and presented. Cf. the accent placement in

(166) Vom Taue glänzt der Rasen

(167) Der Rasen glänzt vom Tau

I have discussed situations where the semantic structure of a sentence determines the thematic structure, e.g. with reference to particular and general terms and with reference to sentences expressing goal-directed action. In a context-free situation there will be a correspondence between semantic (logical) structure, cognitional structure, and thematic structure. In a sentence expressing goal-directed action, the agent from whom the action originates (source of action) will express the theme, and the goal the rheme proper, carrying an even higher degree of communicative dynamism than the verb, cf.

To	Ro
<hr/>	
A boy	<u>bought a book</u>
	<hr/>
	Tl Rl

But where one or the other element is contextually dependent, e.g. an element which in the basic type is rhematic, the communicative perspective, that is the thematic structure will change, cf.

(168) Ein Junge (T) hatte einem Mädchen (R) Blumen (R) geschenkt.

(169) Die Blumen (T) hatte der Junge (T) einem Mädchen (R) geschenkt.

(170) Die Blumen (T) hatte dem Mädchen (T) ein Junge (R) geschenkt.

(168) represents the basic type in which there is a correspondence between the semantic and thematic structure. (169) and (170) are contextual variants of (168) in terms of thematic structure. It is significant that the order SVO came to be established as the grammatical core of the English word order system.

Before proceeding to discuss verbs of emergence a few remarks should be made on the German es gibt. It expresses 'existence' or 'coming into existence' and corresponds in some contexts to the English exist: Es gibt Löwen: Lions exist; Löwen gibt es in Afrika: Lions exist in Africa, and in others to the verb to be: Im Tiergarten gibt es Löwen: There are lions in the zoo. Brinkmann (1962:526) refers to it as "die allgemeinste Formel für das Dasein von Personen, Dingen und Einrichtungen". Eggeling (1961:139) writes: "with es gibt the reference is always more general than with es ist". Dal (1962:167) writes: "Die Fügung es gibt hat ihren Ausgangspunkt teils in Verbindungen, wie 'wenn du hingehst, so gibt es ein Unglück', wo es auf den Inhalt des Nebensatzes hinweist, und gibt die Bedeutung von hervorbringen hat ... teils in Ausdrücken, wie 'es gibt ein Gewitter', wo es die vorhandenen Wetterverhältnisse bezeichnet." The original meaning of 'producing', 'bringing about' by natural conditions or by 'force of circumstances' is to some extent evident in the use of the expression in present-day German. In some contexts it alternates with es besteht, which suggests existence generally as in Es gibt keinen Grund, .../ Es besteht kein Grund, ... as opposed to Du hast keinen Grund where the existence of a reason is related specifically to the sphere of the subject. We can say In London gibt es vier Hauptbahnhöfe but not In London sind vier Hauptbahnhöfe. On the other hand we

can say Auf dem Tisch ist/liegt ein Buch, but not Auf dem Tisch gibt es ein Buch. Sentences with es gibt are similar in thematic organization to the basic type, with the difference that the rheme is expressed by the grammatical object, e.g.:

(171) Für die Arbeit mit den wenigsten Fehlern gibt es einen Preis.

(171a) There is a prize for the paper with the fewest mistakes.

(172) Über die Bedeutung des Labour-Siegs in Hull kann es keinen Zweifel geben.

(172a) There can be no doubt about the meaning of Labour's victory in Hull.

(173) Denn soweit es in Grossbritannien eine Kontroverse gab, betraf es nicht die historische Leistung, die die Gründung dieser Gemeinschaft darstellt.

(173a) For where there has been a controversy in Britain, this has not been on the historic achievement which the creation of the community represents.

Verbs expressing the notion of 'emergence'

The placement of accent in the opening lines of the well-known poem

(174) Der Mai ist gekommen

Die Bäume schlagen aus

is an indication of the difference in thematic status between verbs expressing the notion of emergence and verbs expressing an action. In the first line gekommen is thematic, cf. Es kam der Mai and the Russian nastala vesna where the verb of emergence precedes the subject in conformity with the basic distribution of communicative dynamism.

In the first line der Mai is a specification of what has come; in the second line schlagen aus is a specification of what the trees are doing. In der Mai ist gekommen there is an implicit locative, cf. Der Mai ist gekommen/ist da.

Sentences of this type may also be marked for contextual dependence, cf.

(175) And then the train arrived.

(176) And then the train arrived

(175) represents the basic type, the subject expressing the rheme (the element brought into focus). (176) is marked for contextual dependence (context of interest or expectancy), and the train is thematic (in focus), cf.

(177) Schliesslich kam der Zug an

(178) Schliesslich kam der Zug an

It is interesting to note that in such sentences in English the existential there is used with indefinite subjects, but not normally with definite subjects, cf.

(179) And then there came a programme about adult education.

(180) And then came the programme I had been looking forward to.

This corresponds to the use of the existential there with verbs of existence, eg.

(181) In this town there lived a famous writer

(182) In this town lived the famous writer X

cf. further And then came the big moment, ? And then there came the big moment.

It would seem that the existential there is used more freely in

sentences with verbs of emergence than with verbs of existence, at least in the 'simple' form as opposed to the continuous form, cf.

(183) ? There stood a woman at the window

but

(184) There was a woman standing at the window

(185) There appeared a woman at the window

(186) From the evidence gathered there emerges a hint of conspiracy

(187) ... and the arrival of a new term six centuries later gave rise to the idea that there had arrived a new thing

This use is perhaps restricted to more formal style. Initial position of the indefinite subject is quite common in English with verbs of emergence, e.g.

(188) A dispute arose over this question,

whereas in sentences expressing the existence of a thing in a place this is usually only found with semantically fuller verbs of existence, e.g.

(189) A chair is standing in the corner

(190) ? A chair is in the corner

(190) giving way to

(191) There is a chair in the corner

The use of the there construction may be felt to have a particular stylistic effect (cf. Kirkwood, 1969a:231), e.g.

(192) There came wise men from the east to Jerusalem

(Matthew II, i)

(193) And behold there arose a great tempest in the sea

(Matthew VII, xxiv)

It is interesting to note that in The New English Bible this construction is not used, e.g.

(192a) Astrologers from the east arrived in Jerusalem

(193a) All at once a great storm arose on the lake

We have distinguished between existential sentences with indefinite subjects expressing the existence of a person or thing in a place, e.g. There is a book on the table and sentences with definite subjects denoting the local specification of a (given) person or thing, e.g. The book is on the table. A similar distinction applies to sentences with verbs of emergence, e.g.

(194) Er horchte, ob aus den Räumen, die hinter den Türen lagen, Geräusche kamen.

(195) Dann kommt der Anstoss zur persönlichen Fühlungnahme aus der Situation,

where in (194) the locative expression is thematic and precedes the subject, and in (195) the locative element is rhematic and follows the subject.

Examples of sentences with verbs of emergence in German

entstehen

(196) Aus solchen Erfahrungen entsteht dann von ungefähr ein Gedicht
cf. A poem (R) somehow comes out of this sort of experience,

The poem (T) arose from his experiences as a student.

(197) Über diese Frage ist ein Streit entstanden

(198) Es ist ein Streit über diese Frage entstanden

Compare

(199) From this there arises a first important question of principle

(200) The dispute arose from a rejection of a claim for improved holidays

sich entzünden

(201) An dieser Frage entzündete sich eine lebhafte Diskussion

It would be possible in English to place the locative element in first position as in (199), e.g.

(202) Over this question there arose a lively discussion,

but English may resort to a causative verb and make the theme the subject, e.g.

(203) This question gave rise to/aroused a lively discussion

The relation between locatives and causatives will be discussed in the section on case.

(204) Zu harten Auseinandersetzungen über die konjunkturelle Situation und den anhaltenden Preisauftrieb kam es am 24. April im Bundestag zwischen der Regierungskoalition und der Opposition. Entzündet hatte sich die Debatte an einer Äusserung des Bundeskanzlers vor dem SPD-Präsidium, dass die Preise sich beruhigten.

These are the opening sentences of a newspaper report. In the first sentence the verb expresses emergence (cf. es entstanden...) and the emerging thing harte Auseinandersetzungen constitutes the rheme. It is a characteristic feature of newspaper style to put the communicatively most dynamic element first, especially at the beginning of an article (the motivation being perhaps to catch the reader's attention. Otherwise the initial element may be suggested by the heading of the article.) In the second sentence the rheme of the first sentence is converted into the theme (rheme-theme conversion will be discussed in relation to textual cohesion). The sentence opens with a transitional element and the theme proper is characteristically in immediate postfinite position (cf. Ausgelöst wurde die Debatte durch ... What gave rise to the debate was ...). In the second sentence, the locative element, which is

rhetic, assumes causative meaning.

sich ergeben

- (205) Aus den Gesichtspunkten, die in den verschiedenen drei Abschnitten erörtert wurden, ergibt sich eine Reihe wichtiger praktischer Folgerungen für die eigentlichen Unterrichtsvorgänge.
- (206) Drittens ergibt sich aus allen diesen Fragen erneut die brennende Notwendigkeit einer begründeten umfassenden Gesamtschau und Voraussage.
- (207) Zugleich aber ergibt sich aus diesem Satz noch ein anderer Zusammenhang zwischen der Neigung zur Nominalisierung und der zur sprachlichen Ökonomie.

(205) represents the basic type Adv(loc) + V_{emergence} + indef + N¹.

in (206) and (207) initial position is occupied by a thematic temporal adverb which causes the thematic locative adverb to move into immediate postfinite position.

sich entwickeln

- (208) Aus dem aktuellen Anlass der Kanzler- und Regierungskrise entwickelte sich auf diese Weise nebenbei auch ein interessanter verfassungsrechtlicher Disput.

This sentence represents the basic type. Immediately following the finite part of the verb and preceding the rheme are thematic elements conveying incidental information.

- (209) Aus dieser Urquelle sprachlicher Äusserung entwickeln sich in der Folge zwei Arten der Satzgestaltung

This is very similar to (208).

(210) In ihr entfaltetete sich ein Drang nach Selbständigkeit

In this case the locative element is an animate noun. A possible English equivalent would be

(211) There developed within her an urge for independence, but it would be possible in English to make the locative element subject as in

(212) She developed an urge for independence

The question of locative subjects in English will be taken up again later in connection with have constructions. For the present it may be said that if in such sentences the subject denotes the sphere in which a process takes place the passive transformation is not possible, even if the object of the underlying active sentence is definite, e.g.

(213) ? This urge for independence was developed by her during her childhood.

sich zeigen

(214) Hier zeigt sich ein wortgeographischer Unterschied

A possible English equivalent would be

(215) A difference in geographical distribution becomes apparent here.

In English, however, there is available a further means of foregrounding the locative element and making it subject, i.e. the use of an 'identifying clause' (cf. Halliday, 1967; Kirkwood, 1970), e.g.

(216) This is where the difference in geographical distribution becomes apparent.

The question of 'identification' will be discussed in a subsequent section.

(217) Entsprechen die Sätze so durchaus den Verhältnissen habitueller Wortfolge, so zeigen sich bei näherem Zusehen im einzelnen doch gewisse Eigentümlichkeiten.

Here too a number of thematic elements conveying incidental information have been inserted between the verb and the subject.

(218) Aber in beiden Sprachen zeigt sich hier die Tendenz zum analytischen Sprachbau, die jedoch im Englischen wesentlich stärker ausgeprägt ist als im Deutschen.

The definite article in die Tendenz is determined by the following attribute. Preceding and immediately following the finite part of the verb are thematic locative elements.

erscheinen

(219) Am Abend des 27. April 1966 erschienen im Bundeskanzleramt beim Leiter der Wirtschaftsabteilung Beauftragte der Firma Texaco.

The sentence opens characteristically with a temporal adverb situating the utterance temporally; the locative element immediately follows the verb. These adverbs combine with the temporal deixis of the finite part of the verb to situate the utterance in a spatio-temporal context.

(220) Es soll nun der Versuch unternommen werden, die Struktur des deutschen Satzes so aufzuhellen, dass hinter der verschiedenen Form des deutschen Satzes ein Sinn erkennbar wird, derart dass im Individuellen das Generelle zur Erscheinung kommt.

The sentence contains two verbal expressions denoting emergence: erkennbar wird and zur Erscheinung kommt. Both parts of the sentence conform to the basic type.

tauchen

(221) Aus den Blumen und Gewächsen hinter der Scheibe tauchte das Gesicht eines Herrn.

The definite article in das Gesicht eines Herrn is determined by the attribute in the noun phrase, cf. possible English equivalents:

(222) From among ... the face of a man appeared.

(223) From among ... there appeared the face of a man.

sich ereignen

(224) In London ereignete sich in der vergangenen Woche ein merkwürdiger Vorfall.

cf. possible English equivalents:

(225) A remarkable incident occurred in London last week.

(226) In London last week there occurred a remarkable incident.

As we have seen, with verbs of emergence the there construction is possible in English, cf. While this was all going on, there happened to me one of the most remarkable incidents of my life. It should be noted that such verbs which are from the point of view of thematic status basically transitional, e.g. An accident (R) occurred (Tr) on the main road to X(T) may with generic nouns be used in rhematic function, e.g. (Such things as) accidents (T) (do) occur(R)

sich vollziehen

(227) In den letzten Jahren hat sich in Grossbritannien eine Geschmacksrevolution vollzogen.

Compare

(228) There has been a revolutionary change of taste in Britain in recent years,

where to be may co-occur with a process noun.

auftreten

(229) Dagegen tritt in der neuartigen, von unserem Autor verwirklichten,

Fügung die inhaltliche Spannung überhaupt nicht erst auf.

In this sentence the emerging thing is expressed by a definite noun and conveys given information. But whereas the locative element is 'in focus', the emerging thing is recalled into focus and hence more dynamic. The distinction between different degrees of givenness will prove an important criterion in determining the thematic structure of sentences.

sich anbahnen

(230) Es bahnt sich in der Erkenntnis des Wesentlichen in der modernen Kunst eine Übereinstimmung an.

It would be possible to attach the locative element to the noun phrase eine Übereinstimmung by means of a 'rank shift', thereby shortening the predicative bracket extending from the verb to the subject, e.g.

(231) Es bahnt sich eine Übereinstimmung in der Erkenntnis des Wesentlichen in der modernen Kunst an.

This would also involve a change in perspective: in (230) the locative element is 'characterized' by the subject eine Übereinstimmung; in (231) Übereinstimmung is characterized (determined) by the locative element.

(232) Aber auch hier wird sich schon bald ein Wandel anbahnen.

eintreten

(233) Es gibt keine Defizite wie in der Hochkonjunktur 1965, es gibt einen Überschuss im öffentlichen Gesamthaushalt. Hier ist ein Fortschritt eingetreten.

Compare

(234) Die stabilisierende Wirkung, die sich die Bundesregierung auf

Grund der Aufwertung in den Nachbar- und Haupthandelsländern
der Bundesregierung erhofft hat, ist nicht eingetreten.

In (233) eintreten is transitional; in (234) it is rhematic.

sich herausbilden

(235) Es haben sich aber im Verkehr der Menschen untereinander
auch bestimmte Melodieformen herausgebildet, die ...

klingen

(236) ... und aus dem Garten hatten Hammerschläge geklungen.

Compare

(237) ... and there was a sound of hammering in the garden.

erschallen

(238) Die Huttischen erhoben ihre Stimmen wider ihn und in ganz
Deutschland erscholl ihr Klage - und Rachegeschrei.

This example is taken from Behaghel (1932, 4: 51) in a section entitled
'volltonige Subjekte hinter dem Verbum'. About this example he writes:
"Die Voranstellung eines andern Gliedes als das Subjekt kann durch
bestimmten Bedarf bedingt sein: sie ist affektisch bedingt". This
would mean that this is an instance of emotive word order and that
the initial locative element is rhematic. It is only rhematic, however,
if we assume that the subject is contextually dependent and thematic,
and this is a possible interpretation. The difficulty with this
interpretation is that the subject of the second communicative field
is more specific than the section in the first communicative field
to which it refers erhoben ihre Stimmen wider ihn and is hence not
necessarily implied by that element. We can say The crowd flung stones
at the soldiers. Also thrown were ... since fling implies throw, but

the sequence of fling and throw cannot be reversed in the text. I suggest that the sequence in (238) is in conformity with the basic type and quite neutral.

erblühen

(239) Wie die Kinder so sassen, erblühte am Himmel vor ihnen ein bleiches Licht mitten unter den Sternen und spannte einen schwachen Bogen durch dieselben.

emporsteigen

(240) ...und vertraute mir an, dass aus dem von ihm jüngst gemalten Schornstein wirklicher Rauch emporsteige.

This sentence representing the basic type is followed in the text by the sentence

(241) ...und P. berichtete mir, dass nun Rauch aus allen Schornsteinen steige.

In (241) Rauch is thematic by contextual dependence, cf.

(242) ...told me that there was smoke (T) coming from all (R) the chimneys,

where it is the quantifier that expresses the rheme.

strömen

(243) Die Schule war aus. Über den gepflasterten Hof und heraus aus der Gitterpforte strömten die Scharen der Befreiten.

In the second sentence, the locative element links up directly with the preceding sentence. The subject, which is also derivable from the preceding context, but in a less direct way, is the element brought into focus.

sich bemerkbar machen

- (244) Mit dem als 'abwechslungsreich und stürmisch' bekannten Monat April machte sich an den westdeutschen Börsen ein frischer Wind bemerkbar.

This is a variant of the basic type.

As a subtype of the basic type

Adv(loc) + V_{emergence} + indef. + N¹

are sentences containing a verb expressing the notion of 'bringing into existence'. A passive construction is used resulting in the sequence: In a location A is brought into existence (by an unspecified agent) an object B. Consider the sentence

- (245) Leider ist weder in der Sache noch in der Terminologie schon Einheitlichkeit erzielt worden.

Other adverbials may be used, e.g. instrumental adverbs, denoting the presupposition of the existence of the object B, e.g.

- (246) Ich kann einfach keinen Verstoß gegen die Masshaltepolitik sehen, wenn durch diese Gebührenerhöhung nicht einmal ein völliger Kostenausgleich erzielt wird.
- (247) Umgekehrt kann durch eine Übersteigerung der falschen Betonung Unzutreffendes rascher entlarvt werden als bei mässig starker Betonung.

Other verbs used in this pattern are

heranziehen

- (248) Wie weit dabei zur Vermeidung subjektiver Auslegung exakte Methoden herangezogen werden können, ist vorläufig noch schwer zu bestimmen.

einführen

- (249) Hierzu ist ergänzend zu bemerken, dass besonders in literarischer Sprache als psychologisches Subjekt anstelle der Anknüpfung an schon Bekanntes gern ein neuer Begriff eingeführt wird.

einleiten

- (250) Früher oder später müssen mit irgend jemand Verhandlungen eingeleitet werden.

gewinnen

- (251) Über das Verhältnis der Phonologie zur akustischen und physiologischen Analyse von Lautformen sind in den letzten Jahren bedeutende Einsichten gewonnen worden.

For examples of English sentences containing verbs of 'bringing into existence' compare

- (252) In the Nordic languages there has been created a passive voice out of a reflexive construction which is no longer felt as such.
(253) There was a report issued today.

As in the case with verbs of existence, in sentences with verbs of emergence the expletive es may be used in German as a means of moving the indefinite noun expressing the rheme from initial position. Otherwise a thematic locative element, if present, may occupy first position. In any case, initial position of the subject will produce a marked order, the motivation for the departure from the neutral or unmarked order being emphasis or contrast. For examples of the use of es where no locative element is present, cf.

- (254) Es war grosse Ruhe eingetreten.
- (256) ... und es begann Tony Buddenbrooks dritte Ehe.
- (257) Es entstand eine Pause.
- (258) Schnee fiel, es kam Frost, und in der scharfen, klaren Luft erklangen durch die Strassen die geläufigen oder wehmütigen Melodien der italienischen Drehorgelmänner.
- (259) Hierauf vergeht der lange Winter, es kommt der Frühling.

The evidence adduced so far suggests a relationship between the semantic structure of existential-locative sentences as a configuration of semantic categories and what might be called a cognitional order, i.e. the order in which states and processes are apperceived. In the communicative act the cognitional process is presented in a way which reflects the perspective in which the states and processes are perceived. In German there is an obvious correlation between the cognitional order and the linear sequence of elements. To the sphere of an element in the focus of attention realized by a locative expression is related a person or thing existing in or emerging from this sphere, which is realized by the grammatical subject. This is the element that is brought into focus by being related to the sphere of the element already in focus, to what Firbas has referred to as the ad hoc, narrow context. This is the basic distinction between thematic and rhematic elements that is being proposed here. The term communicative dynamism and the terms proposed by Zemb (1971), 'Bezeichnungen' for thematic elements, 'Bedeutung' for the rheme, suggest the same distinction: the theme or thematic elements are the least dynamic, more static, elements, they represent the sphere which is presupposed

by the state or process which is related to it; they represent the source (spatio-temporal situation, agent of an action) from which the state or process is seen to emerge. Terms such as known/unknown, given/new, suggest a similar distinction, but fail to reflect the dynamism involved in the establishment of a relation of a rheme to a theme. Indeed, as we have seen, rhematic elements, the communicatively most dynamic elements in an utterance, may be derivable from the preceding context, but here a distinction must be made between what is in immediate focus and what is brought or recalled into focus. The basic type proposed represents the neutral or unmarked situation, *departures from which* require positive specification.

Existential sentences in English of the type discussed do not show a linear sequence of elements in conformity with the basic distribution of CD, the thematic locative expression following the rheme. By means of the 'expletive' or 'anticipatory' there the indefinite noun functioning as subject may be moved from initial position, but initial position of the indefinite noun is in certain circumstances quite usual or neutral. In contrast to this, initial position of the indefinite noun in German is always non-neutral or marked. The thematic structure of the sentence in English is usually adequately signalled by the semantic structure (articles, category of verb) or by the operation of the context. However, in the following part of this section and in subsequent sections we shall see that English may avail itself of special constructions as a means of organizing the utterance into a theme-rheme sequence. Even within the basic type discussed

above permutations of elements are possible for the purpose of what I have referred to as thematic foregrounding. The situation in English is such that whereas thematic foregrounding by means of special constructions that have (possibly) been evolved for this purpose is quite neutral or unmarked, permutations within the basic type for the purpose of thematic foregrounding are marked and require specific motivation. Furthermore, certain constraints apply to the permutability of elements in such sentences for the purpose of thematic foregrounding. The sentences

(260) A book was found on the table

(261) Agreement was reached on this point

are similar in thematic organization and in surface structure, i.e.

rheme	theme
indef. + N ¹ + Vpass + Adv(loc)	

in both cases the locative element may be foregrounded to establish the thematic basis, i.e.

(262) On the table a book was found

(263) On this point agreement was reached

i.e.

Adv(loc) + indef. + N¹ + V pass

This kind of thematic foregrounding is less usual and requires more motivation (e.g. emphasis or contrast) than the German counterparts

(264) Auf dem Tisch wurde ein Buch gefunden

(265) Über diesen Punkt wurde Einigkeit erzielt

which are quite neutral.

A further point is that whereas the permutation

Adv(loc) + V pass + indef + N¹

leads in the case of (260) to an acceptable sequence, i.e.

(266) On the table was found a book,

this sequence is in the case of (261) not acceptable, i.e.

(267) ? On this point was reached agreement.

A difference between the sentences (260) and (261) is to be found in the presuppositions accompanying the sentences, and it is possible that it is this difference that accounts for the acceptability of (266) and the non-acceptability of (267). (260) presupposes the existence of a book on the table prior to its being found there. (261) does not presuppose the existence of agreement on this point. Sentences of the type illustrated by (260) are more closely related to existential sentences of the type There was a book on the table / On the table (there) was a book, A castle is situated on the hill / On the hill is situated a castle. Compare

(268) There was a pavilion situated near Hyde Park

(269) A pavilion was situated near Hyde Park

(270) Near Hyde Park was situated a pavilion

(271) There was a pavilion constructed near Hyde Park

(272) A pavilion was constructed near Hyde Park

(273) ? Near Hyde Park was constructed a pavilion.

In the following part of this section I shall discuss the kind of thematic foregrounding made possible by the use of have constructions.

Lyons (1967:390) suggests that "in many," and perhaps in all,

languages, existential and possessive constructions derive (both synchronically and diachronically) from locatives". There would appear to be a relation between existential-locative sentences of the type There is a book on the table and sentences of the type The table has a book on it, I have a book on the table. Consider the German sentences

(274) Die Stadt Berlin hat einen Bären im Wappen

(275) In dem Wappen der Stadt Berlin ist ein Bär

(276) Er hat ein grosses Bild in seinem Zimmer

(277) In seinem Zimmer hängt ein grosses Bild

(278) Ich habe ein Glas vor mir stehen

(279) Vor mir steht ein Glas

(280) Der Stuhl hat ein Schild dran

(281) An dem Stuhl hängt ein Schild

(282) Die Stadt hat nur 10 000 Einwohner

(283) In der Stadt leben nur 10 000 Einwohner

In each case the haben construction is correlated with an existential-locative sentence with a verb of existence, sein, hängen, stehen, leben.

The grammatical pattern shown by (274), (276), (278), (280) is

$$N^1 + \text{haben} + N^2 + \text{Adv}(\text{loc})$$

corresponding to the existential-locative pattern

$$\text{Adv}(\text{loc}) + V \begin{cases} \text{sein} \\ \text{exist} \end{cases} + N^1$$

(282) shows a different pattern, i.e.

$$N^1 + \text{haben} + N^2$$

corresponding to the existential-locative pattern

$$\text{Adv}(\text{loc}) + V \begin{cases} \text{sein} \\ \text{exist} \end{cases} + N^1$$

The question arises to what extent there is a relation between existential-locative and haben sentences in German and English. Danes (1966:226) has pointed out that "semantic relations ... are linguistically rendered in different languages differently, with different depth and width". We may compare the above sentences with their English equivalents

- (274a) The city of Berlin has a bear in its coat of arms
- (275a) There is a bear in the coat of arms of the city of Berlin
- (276a) He has a large picture in his room
- (277a) There is a large picture in his room
- (278a) I have a glass in front of me
- (279a) There is a glass in front of me
- (280a) The chair has a notice on it
- (281) There is a notice on the chair
- (282a) The town has only 10,000 inhabitants
- (283a) There are only 10,000 inhabitants in the town

The patterns in English

$N^1 + \text{have} + N^2 + \text{Adv}(\text{loc})$

$N^1 + \text{have} + N^2$

correspond to the German patterns stated above.

It would seem that the particular pattern shown by (280) has a less wide distribution in German than its English counterpart has in English. Consider the following sentences in which the locative is expressed by the subject in initial position and then taken up again by a preposition + pronoun.

- (284) There are two hundred pages in the book
(285) The book has two hundred pages (in it)
(286) There is a bed in the room
(287) The room has a bed (in it)
(288) There are twenty pupils in the class
(289) The class has twenty pupils (in it)
(290) There is some wine in the glass
(291) The glass has some wine in it.
(292) * The glass has some wine
(293) There is a carpet on the floor
(294) The floor has a carpet on it
(295) There is a woman waiting at the bus stop
(296) ? The bus stop has a woman waiting at it
(297) There is someone at the door
(298) * The door has someone at it
(299) There is a table by the window
(300) ? The window has a table by it
(301) There is a chair near the door
(302) ? The door has a chair near it

It will be observed that there are limits to the extent to which the construction may be used in English. Sentences in which the object of have is animate are unacceptable, unless the subject of have is also animate, e.g. He has friends by him/with him. Constructions with the prepositions by, at, near are in certain circumstances unacceptable. German counterparts of the English sentences, e.g.

- (303) ? Die Flasche hat noch Wein drin
(304) * Der Tisch hat ein Buch darauf

are felt by informants to be just acceptable (303) or not acceptable (304).

In both English and German the constructions

$N^1 + \text{haben} + N^2$

$N^1 + \text{have} + N^2$

would seem to be restricted to cases where the noun functioning as object is a constituent part ('quantifies') the sphere of the subject (cf. The year has twelve calendar months, The year consists of twelve calendar months).

Note that the have construction allows the introduction of two locative expressions, the second expressing a further specification of the first, the first expressing the theme proper. In the case of personal subjects, the subject denotes the person implicated in the state (or, as we shall see, process) expressed by the predicate. In German the haben construction is possible where the second locative denotes a location related to the sphere of the subject, e.g.

(274) Die Stadt Berlin hat einen Bären im Wappen

(276) Er hat ein grosses Bild in seinem Zimmer

With personal subjects it may denote a specification of the sphere of the subject, e.g.

(305) Er hat ein Glas vor sich stehen

(306) Er hat viele Freunde um sich/bei sich,

but whereas in English the subject may denote the person implicated in the state or process ('interested person') as in

(307) We have a student living with us

(308) We have a student living next door,

the haben construction is not possible in German, and the person implicated is expressed by a locative expression or left unexpressed, e.g.

(309) Bei uns wohnt ein Student

(310) Nebenan wohnt ein Student

(311) Bei uns wohnt nebenan ein Student.

have and haben constructions express the existence of a person or thing related to a place (to the sphere of the subject), and the existing person or thing expresses the rheme. We saw that with verbs of existence the existing thing may be contextually dependent and thematic, this being a contextual variant of the basic type. This also applies to have and haben constructions, e.g.

(312) We have the green carpet in the living room

(313) Wir haben den grünen Teppich im Wohnzimmer

where the locative expression in end position expresses the rheme.

Previous studies of have and haben constructions (Bendix, 1966; Benveniste, 1960; Brinkmann, 1959; Lyons, 1967) have discussed the semantic relations holding between the participant roles in such sentences and, more or less explicitly, the thematic structure (Brinkmann's article has the revealing title 'Die haben-Perspektive im Deutschen'). In the following I shall be concerned mainly with the function of have and haben in the thematic organization of the sentence. have and haben may on account of their grammatical properties be classed as 'transitive verbs': both verbs combine with a direct object or an accusative. A feature which sets them off from fully transitive verbs is their inability to form the passive (haben is never used passively, have may be in certain circumstances). This feature they share with other verbs (possess/besitzen, contain (denoting a state)/enthalten, fassen in the meaning of contain). Their inability to form the passive is related to the semantic properties of have and haben

and to the fact that they themselves fulfil a function in the thematic organization of the sentence which is at least part of the motivation for the use of passive constructions. Verbs that may form the passive occur in transitivity patterns of the type agent-action-goal, the goal of the action becoming in the passive construction the grammatical subject of the sentence. The motivation behind the use of the passive with these transitivity patterns derives from the thematic organization of the sentence: the goal of the action expressing the theme is brought into initial position and made subject; the agent of the action is, if expressed, according to Halliday (1970:153) moved into a 'position of prominence' as the 'focus of information'. This statement is not quite correct as we shall see later. If the agent is left unspecified as in

(314) John has been hurt

the focus of information is on the process. The resultant sequence in terms of thematic organization is theme-rheme.

In the case of have or haben and the other verbs mentioned occurring in the grammatical sentence pattern $N^1 + V + N^2$ the subject expresses other semantic categories than that of agent, and I shall firstly be concerned with the semantic relations holding between the subject and the predicate in sentences in which these verbs occur.

Let us first consider some verbs in English and German where the subject does not express the agent of an action and where the passive may not be used. The verb fassen in German may occur in different semantic sentence patterns, e.g.

(315) Die Polizei hat den Dieb gefasst

(316) Der Saal fasst zweihundert Menschen.

(315) represents an agent-action-goal pattern, and passivization is possible, e.g.

(317) Der Dieb wurde von der Polizei gefasst

Sentence (316) may not be passivized; the sentence

(318) *Zweihundert Menschen werden von dem Saal gefasst

is ungrammatical. The semantic category expressed by the subject of (316) is locative; the grammatical object expresses a quantification of the sphere of the subject, as it does in sentences with 'middle verbs' (Lees, 1966), e.g.

(319) Das Paket wiegt zwei Pfund

(320) Das Haus kostet neunzigtausend Mark

(321) The parcel weighs two pounds

(322) The house costs ten thousand pounds

where passivization is also not possible.

Sentence (316) may be reformulated as

(323) In dem Saal können zweihundert Leute Platz finden

where the category locative is now expressed by a locative prepositional phrase. Compare

(324) The room seats two hundred people

(325) Two hundred people can be seated in the room

Other verbs occurring in different semantic sentence patterns are contain and develop. Compare

(326) The attack was contained by the army

(327) * The article was contained by the second volume

It is possible to say

(328) The article is contained in the second volume

where is contained refers to a state rather than a process. In a

similar way, enthalten may be used in German, e.g.

(329) Der Aufsatz ist im zweiten Band enthalten

but not

(330) * Der Aufsatz wird vom zweiten Band enthalten.

Consider further the sentence

(331) In ihr entfaltetete sich ein Drang nach Selbständigkeit

which might be rendered in different ways in English, i.e.

(332) Within her there developed an urge for independence

(333) She developed within her an urge for independence.

Sentence (333) may be felt to be either ambiguous or indeterminate with respect to the expression of agency, since develop may occur in different semantic sentence patterns, cf.

(334) John has further developed the theory

which may be passivized, i.e.

(335) The theory has been further developed by John.

In (334) and (335) the element John expresses the agent of an action.

In (333) the subject may express different notions. Compare

(336) She developed a fine sense of humour during her first ten years' experience as a teacher.

This sentence is perhaps more obviously ambiguous than (333). It may mean that she developed consciously a sense of humour, in which case the sentence may be passivized quite naturally, providing the object of develop is thematic, i.e.

(337) Her fine sense of humour was developed during her first ten years' experience as a teacher.

Otherwise it means that in her there developed a sense of humour

(without conscious effort on her part), in which case the passive is not possible, an active sentence being used instead, e.g.

(338) Her fine sense of humour developed during her first ten years' experience as a teacher.

In German equivalents of (336)-(338) different verbs would be used, i.e. entwickeln, sich entwickeln. Entwickeln would combine with an agent and an 'object of result'; sich entwickeln would combine with an objective (cf. Fillmore, 1968: 25) or neutral (cf. Lyons, 1970: 130) case denoting the 'emerging thing' and a locative expression. In the case of entwickeln the use of the passive would lack motivation from the thematic organization, since first position of the object of the verb, where the noun functioning as object is thematic, represents an unmarked option, cf.

(339) Den feinen Sinn für Humor entwickelte sie in den ersten zehn Jahren ihrer Erfahrung als Lehrerin.

These sentences represent different choices of thematic basis, by which is meant the thematic element (in terms of communicative dynamism) selected as the point of departure in the linear sequence of elements. In semantic sentence patterns involving an agent, it is frequently the agent that is selected as thematic basis. In semantic sentence patterns involving a locative and a thing situated in or emerging from this location, it is, particularly in German, the locative expression that is selected as the thematic basis, the existing or emerging thing, which expresses the rheme of the sentence, being in this way moved from initial position.

One could, of course, conceive of the agent of an action as the source from which the action proceeds and expressing a kind of locative. Both kinds of locative may be thought of as the natural point of departure of an action or process in a cognitional sense, that is to say, relating to judgments we make about our experience of objective reality. Indeed, agentive subjects are frequently found in first position in the sentence, this represents what might be called a basic sequence of elements or what I have referred to as a cognitional order from which other orders are derived. These other orders represent options realized in keeping with the desired communicative perspective. Passive constructions are a means of FSP by which a noun phrase expressing the semantic category of 'goal' (affected person, affected object, object of result, 'specification') is selected as the thematic basis of a sentence and made subject, the agent of the action being left unexpressed, or, if expressed, being moved away from initial position. As suggested earlier, it is not quite correct to state, as Halliday does (1970:153) that the passive is a means of bringing the element governed by by into prominence as the focus of information. Compare the sentences

(340) Die neuen Massnahmen wurden von den Studenten begeistert
aufgenommen

(341) The new measures have been enthusiastically received by the
students

(342) The new measures have been received by the students with
enthusiasm,

where the element Studenten, students is thematic, unless it has contrastive meaning, and in the German sentence (340) occupies a position reserved for elements with the lowest degree of communicative

dynamism. In certain circumstances, the agent of the action is left unexpressed, since it is fully recoverable from the context, e.g. may express the hypertheme of the discourse.

With regard to have and haben constructions it may be said that (1) the subject is non-agentive, and (2) the subject, in the unmarked instance, expresses the theme proper of the sentence. We have noted that there is in English, and to a lesser extent in German, a relation between have sentences and existential sentences. A more adequate explanation of this relationship may be found if we consider the nature of the relation between subject and predicate in have sentences.

Bendix (1966) states that the basic component of either major submeaning of A has B - inherent or non-inherent - may be paraphrased as 'there is a relation between A and B'. Another component is 'A is the topic'. The strategy he uses is "to define A has B in terms of a number of sentence constructions which do not contain the verb have. These classes of constructions represent sentences that paraphrase or express more exactly the relation between A and B that is asserted to exist by a given occurrence (i.e. token) of an A has B sentence" (1966: 38). He states further: "Thus, such a definition aims to account for the claimed empirical datum that speakers accept members of the said classes of sentences without have as paraphrasing or expressing more exactly the basic meaning of the respective A has B sentence or is saying substantially the same thing" (38). However, not all of the sentences arrived at by the transformational rule

A has B ← B is X A Y

retain the same communicative perspective as the initial sentence, and

it is with this aspect of the question that I shall be mainly concerned. Bendix gives as examples the sentences

(343) John will have the hardest task

(344) The hardest task will be for John,

which, if spoken with normal intonation, yield different perspectives.

If we replace the element John by X, and the element hardest task by Y, we may say that in (343) to the sphere of the subject X is related Y; X is derived from the immediate context and is selected as the point of departure or thematic basis of the utterance: to the theme X is assigned a rheme Y. In (344) to Y is related the sphere of X; Y is derived from the immediate context and made thematic basis: to a theme Y is assigned a rheme X. In both sentences, both X and Y may be given, but different degrees of givenness must be distinguished: the thematic element is in the immediate focus of attention, the rhematic element is recalled into the focus of attention and related to the theme. It may be said that the thematic element is in the 'focus of attention or of interest', but that the 'focus of information' is on the rhematic element. On the assumption that the subject of the have construction in (343) and the prepositional phrase in (344) are locative elements, the construction of (344) is similar in terms of thematic organization to that of (345) and (346).

(345) There is a book on the table

(346) The table has a book on it

and that of (344) similar to that of (347)

(347) The book is on the table

where the locative element in (345) and (346) is thematic, and in

(347) rhematic. Compare further the German equivalents of (343) and (344)

(348) Hans wird die schwierigste Aufgabe haben

(349) Dem Hans wird die schwierigste Aufgabe zufallen

(350) Die schwierigste Aufgabe wird Hans haben

(351) Die schwierigste Aufgabe wird dem Hans zufallen

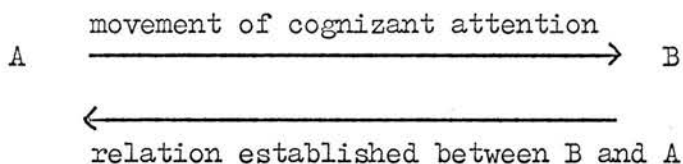
where in (349) and (351) the locative character of X is more explicit. The assumption I am making is that (343), (345), (346), (348) and (349) express the communicative sense of the existence of a thing related to a place (the sphere of a person or of a thing), (344), (347), (350) and (351) express the communicative sense of the localization of a (given) thing in a place (in the sphere of a person or a thing).

From the point of view of the semantic relations holding between the elements A and B it may be sufficient to say that there is a relation between A and B such that A has B is equivalent to B is X A Y (Bendix, 1966:39f.). However, from the point of view of the communicative perspective it is important to state whether B is definite or indefinite and that in the construction A has B to the sphere of A is related B, i.e., where B is indefinite, there is a B X A Y. To give an example: in the sentence The table has a book on it, There is a book on the table, I assert of the table that there is a book in some relation to it, whereas in B is X A Y, where B is definite, The book is on the table, I assert of the book that it is in some relation to the table. There is a difference in perspective whether to A I relate B (To John (A) I gave a book (B)), or whether I relate to B A (I gave the book (B) to John (A)). To put it more explicitly, consider once again the sentences

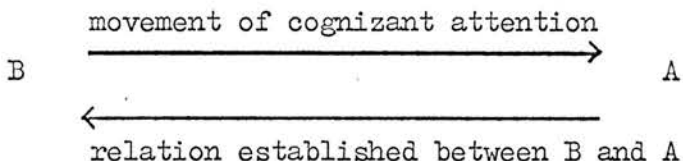
(352) B A
There is a book on the table

(353) B A
The book is on the table

In (352) the cognizant attention moves from table to book, from the sphere of A, which is in the focus of attention, to the object B, which is brought into the focus of attention by being related to the sphere of A. This may be illustrated in the following way



In (353) the cognizant attention moves from book to table, from B to the sphere of A. B is the element in focus; A is brought into focus by being related to B. This may be illustrated in the following way



The objective relation is the same and the sentences share a common semantic structure. What is different is the communicative perspective, which refers both to the perspective in which the objective reality is apperceived and to the perspective in which it is presented. The dynamism of the cognitional act has two aspects: (1) the movement of the cognizant attention from theme to rheme, and (2) the relation of the rheme to the theme. In Sandemann's terms (1954:116), table in (352) is the 'determinandum' and book the 'determinans'. In (353) it is book that is the 'determinandum' and table the 'determinans'.

(cf. the terms 'Bezeichnungen' and 'Bedeutung' used by Zemb
(1971)).

In his article 'Die haben-Perspektive im Deutschen' (1959),
Brinkmann shows some of the ways in which sentences with haben express
an extension of the sphere of the subject ('eine Erweiterung des
Subjektbereichs'). He proceeds from the attributive use of haben as
in

(354) Der Alte war grauhaarig

(355) Der Alte hatte graues Haar

where a property is attributed to the subject by means of haben, and
quotes other sentences in which the subject (typically a personal
subject) denotes the person involved or implicated in a state of being
as in

(356) Ich habe Hunger,

where the subject denotes what Benveniste (1960:123) would call 'le
siège d'un état'. In sentences quoted by Brinkmann such as

(357) Sie haben die Ostsee dort oben

(358) Wir haben heute schönes Wetter

(359) Wir haben noch eine Stunde Zeit

a situation or state which might be expressed by way of an existential
sentence, e.g.

(360) Dort oben ist die Ostsee

(361) Heute ist schönes Wetter

(362) Es ist noch eine Stunde Zeit

is related to the sphere of the subject, i.e. the subject is the
experiencer of, is implicated in, an existing situation or state.

A situation or state which exists apart from the subject is brought into its sphere of interest. (360), (361) and (362) are the more objective presentation of the existence of a thing, (357), (358) and (359) relate the existence of a thing to a person. Compare

(363) Ich habe den Brief geschrieben

(364) Ich habe den Brief abgeschickt

(365) Der Brief ist geschrieben

(366) Der Brief ist abgeschickt.

The person implicated in a state may be expressed by different means, e.g. a prepositional phrase, cf.

(367) Er hat es schwer, sich durchzusetzen

(368) Es ist für ihn schwer, sich durchzusetzen

(369) He has difficulty in asserting himself

(370) It is difficult for him to assert himself.

These sentences show a difference in the choice of thematic basis.

The haben or have construction allows the person implicated to form the point of departure in the communicative act. Brinkmann (1959:181) suggests that haben gives the speaker "die Möglichkeit, den Menschen selber in den Mittelpunkt zu rücken", i.e. allows the speaker to put the person implicated in the focus of attention as the point of departure of the utterance. Otherwise, this element is moved to a less prominent position in the sentence, cf.

(371) Ich habe die Freude, Sie zu begrüßen

(372) Es ist für mich eine Freude, Sie zu begrüßen

(373) I have pleasure in welcoming you

(374) It is a pleasure for me to welcome you.

It could be said that the use of have or haben in such cases gives the element expressing the person implicated a certain prominence in that it is set off in distinct relief from the rheme. In (372) and (374) this element is 'backgrounded' by the rheme. Compare the foregrounding and backgrounding in

(375) There is a book on the table

(376) The table has a book on it.

It is evident then that to an existential sentence expressing objectively the existence of a person or a thing in a place there is often a corresponding have or haben sentence. The have or haben sentence may represent the realization of further options, i.e. the introduction of a further participant role, i.e. the person implicated or interested in the state expressed by the predicate as in I have a book on the table, or the foregrounding of the locative element, making it the thematic basis from which the communication proceeds.

Brinkmann argues that possession (of concrete objects) is not the central meaning of sentences with haben. He refers to older literature in which haben rarely combines with a noun with the feature 'concrete' in the meaning of 'possess'. He concludes: "Der gegenwärtige Gebrauch von haben unterscheidet sich also nicht dadurch von dem der älteren Zeit, dass haben heute entdinglicht wäre: man wird im Gegenteil sagen können, dass die Ausdehnung der haben-Fügung ^{auf} den gegenständlichen Bereich erst allmählich erfolgt ist" (184f.). This

would imply that the 'basic' meaning of haben sentences in German is reference to a state of being in which the subject is somehow implicated or which is somehow related to the subject, possession being only one of the relations involved.

In addition to its use in sentences denoting a state in which the subject is involved, have in English may be used in sentences where the predicate expresses an event or a process. The subject, typically a personal subject, denotes the person involved (in a non-active sense) in an action carried out by an agent, which may be specified or not. The semantic category expressed by the subject could be said to be that of 'affected'. Ambiguity may arise, since the same surface combination of grammatical categories may express a different configuration of semantic categories, cf.

(377) He had a watch stolen

(378) He had his beard cut off

(379) We had two of our members arrested in London last week

(380) She had two of her best students leave.

These sentences may be interpreted in two ways depending on the meaning assigned to the grammatical subject: the sentences may express the initiation of an action carried out by an unspecified agent and they may be paraphrased accordingly, e.g.

(381) He organized the theft of a watch

(382) He arranged for his beard to be cut off

(383) We were responsible for the arrest of two of our members
in London last week

(384) She caused two of her best students to leave.

In this case have approaches the meaning of cause, and the subject denotes the person actively involved (responsible for) the action. This contrasts with the non-active use of have where the subject expresses the notion 'affected' or 'experiencer'. In a similar way, the sentence

(385) He ought to have more respect

is ambiguous, meaning either

(386) He ought to show more respect (for others)

or

(387) He ought to be shown more respect (by others)

These sentences may thus be interpreted as meaning the active or non-active involvement of a person in an action. The motivation behind the have construction is the desire to mention explicitly the person involved or implicated in the event; an alternative is available where mention is made of this participant role, but in a less direct way, e.g.

(388) His beard was cut off

(389) Two of our members were arrested in London last week

(390) Two of her best students left.

In German, haben is not used in either of these constructions. Explicit mention of the person non-actively involved in, experiencing or affected by the process is possible, in the case of direct involvement by a dative, e.g.

(391) Ihm wurde der Bart abgeschnitten

or, in the case of indirect involvement by a different construction, e.g.

(392) Wir haben erlebt, wie zwei unserer Mitglieder letzte Woche
in London verhaftet wurden.

The characteristic feature of the construction with have is that the person involved (actively or non-actively) is given the status of a separate communicative unit, and this unit expresses the theme proper of the sentence. The assignment of separate communicative units to participant roles is a characteristic feature of more formal (and more explicit) style, cf.

(393) She suffered a slight injury to her head
as opposed to

(394) Her head was slightly injured.

From the point of view of the distribution of degrees of CD, in (393) the distribution is rendered more distinct by the assignment of the status of a separate communicative unit to the different participant roles. Sentence (393) may be analyzed as follows:

To	Tr	Ro
<hr/>		
She	suffered	a slight injury to her head
<hr/>		
	T ₁	R ₁

the rheme proper being placed in end position.

In (394) the distribution is less distinct, and the sentence is ambiguous or multifunctional in terms of FSP. The sentence may be interpreted as

T	R
<hr/>	
Her head	was slightly injured

where injured receives the primary accent,

or

R	T
<hr/>	
Her head	was slightly injured

where head receives the primary accent.

The particular interpretation of the sentence will depend on the context. In a context in which 'injury' is in the context of expectancy, e.g. following an accident, the part injured will be the communicatively more dynamic element, e.g.

What is wrong with his leg?)

T R
His leg is broken

(How badly was he hurt?)

R T
His leg was broken

(393) is more explicit and from the point of view of FSP less ambiguous.

Other examples of have constructions

(a) where the predicate denotes a state in which the subject is implicated

(395) This account still has something missing

(396) There is still something missing in this account

(397) The article has no interest (in it) for him

(398) There is no interest in the article for him

(399) The notion 'subject of' has no semantically constant value
attached to it

(400) There is no semantically constant value attached to the
notion 'subject of'.

(401) The door, which stands wide open, has 'Coffee Room' inscribed
on it

(402) There is 'Coffee Room' inscribed on the door, which stands
wide open

(403) He has a play on in Edinburgh

(404) There is a play of his on in Edinburgh

(b) where the predicate denotes a process in which the subject is implicated

(405) I have a friend coming next week

(406) There is a friend of mine coming next week

(407) The yacht had a member of her crew injured

(408) A member of the yacht's crew was injured

(409) X has had a great deal written about him in recent years

(410) There has been a great deal written about X in recent years.

In German counterparts of English sentences with have or get (cf. I have friends coming, I've got friends coming) a semantically fuller verb is often used, and the person or thing involved is expressed by a surface dative, e.g.

(411) Das führt auf die Tatsache, dass einer Sprache Geltung zukommt

(412) Sie werden zweifelsohne hoffen, dass ihnen von der Presse eine wohlwollendere Behandlung zuteil wird als den Liberalen

(413) Solchem Urteil kann der Charakter des Endgültigen anhaften

(414) Allen Leuten, die uns begegneten, haftete das unverkennbare Zeichen des Eifers an.

In these sentences, the theme is expressed by a dative (with locative implications) and the rheme is expressed by the grammatical subject.

The semantic category locative (in a wide sense, including the sphere of the personal subject affected by a state or process) is

frequently expressed by a dative in German, cf.

(415) Mir ist kalt

which has the dialectal variant

(416) Ich habe kalt.

The thematic status of the initial element in sentences with have requires further comment. We have noted that have constructions are a means of foregrounding a thematic element and making it the thematic basis and subject of the sentence, this element being in the case of inanimate subjects the location to which a state or process is related, or in the case of animate subjects the person non-actively involved (affected by) the state or process expressed by the predicate. We could extend the use of the term locative to include animate nouns (cf. Anderson, 1971), since in the instances discussed they denote the sphere of reference to which something is related. Furthermore, they denote a general sphere of reference which in the case of a following locative is further specified. For this reason, we may refer to this element as the theme proper, carrying an even lower degree of communicative dynamism than the following, more specific, locative expression. In this context I shall discuss the possible origin of the 'expletive' there, which, it will be suggested, also indicates a general spatial sphere of reference which may be further specified by a following locative expression.

With regard to the source of there in existential sentences different views have been put forward. Fillmore (1968:41, 46) suggests that there is developed from a transformation which copies the locative phrase into subject position and then replaces it by the proform there.

Lyons (1968:393) states that the use of there in locative sentences is a syntactic device of English for 'anticipating' the locative phrase in surface structure. Allan (1971: 15) suggests that there is an existential operator in the noun phrase.

Whatever the source of there may be, its thematic status is evident: like es in German it is a formal means of moving the indefinite subject from initial position, but unlike es it has locative implications, although it has been claimed by Ammann that es has a certain 'Situationsbezogenheit'. It is significant that there and es are only found in sentences expressing the existence or emergence of a person or thing in a place.

I shall not present in full Allan's argument in favour of the interpretation he proposes, but single out certain aspects of his article that have a bearing on what has been said generally about existential-locative sentences in this section. Allan (6f.) suggests that the relationship of

(417) John has a car

to

(418) There's John's car

is 'exactly comparable' to the relationship of

(419) John has a/the car

to

(420) The car is John's

"that is, in the sentences containing have the locative element is thematised whereas in sentences containing be the objective element is thematised". Although elsewhere - in the distinction of the demonstrative adverb there and the expletive there he uses phonological

criteria (accent placement) to illustrate difference in function, he omits to apply such criteria in the sentences (417)-(420) which would indicate differences in thematic structure. He is, of course, using 'theme' in the sense proposed by Halliday and refers to (418) as an instance of 'predicated theme'. On the assumption that there is a relationship between (417) and (418) we would have to assign the primary accent to the element John in one kind of context, the context being something like 'Where will we get a car from? Well, there's John's car (John has a car), where car is thematic in terms of communicative dynamism. This is similar to sentences with there where the locative element expressed the rheme, the existing thing being recoverable from the context, e.g.

(421) There is some milk in the fridge

(422) The fridge has some milk in it.

In another kind of context, the element car would be marked by accent as rheme, i.e. How do we get there?

(423) John has a car

(424) There's John's car

where John is an element 'in focus' or in the immediate context and car is brought into focus.

Allan writes (6f.): "In some cases ... the 'new' information is introduced obligatorily as the predicated theme of an existential sentence, e.g. There's John's car". Does the term 'predicated theme' apply to the whole of the noun phrase or to part of it, i.e. according to the context to John or to car? The term 'predicated theme' would suggest that there is an empty element whereas (1) it significantly

only collocates with indefinite nouns functioning as subject and (2) it is the point of departure from which the communication is evolved, pointing the way towards the following indefinite noun. It is indeed the theme proper of the sentence in terms of communicative dynamism, indicating a general spatial sphere of reference to which the existence of a person or thing is related. Furthermore, the term predicated theme fails to account for the different contextual applicability of the sentence depending on which element of the noun phrase is marked as thematic or rhematic.

Allan suggests (6) that in the sentence John has a car the element John is locative. I tend to agree with this interpretation and have referred throughout to the 'sphere of the subject' to which a state or process is related. It could also be argued that other semantic categories are basically locational in character (cf. Anderson, 1971), e.g. in sentences involving an agent-action-goal pattern both agent and goal could be said to represent different kinds of locative: the agent is the source from which the action evolves, the goal the 'place' towards which the action is directed. It is the semantic structure which determines the thematic structure of the sentence in a context-free situation, and in a context-free situation the SVO sequence is in conformity with the basic distribution of CD. The locative implications of some semantic categories are apparent, but it would seem that in order to arrive at a proper understanding of certain linguistic phenomena, e.g. selectional restrictions, transformational constraints, finer distinctions should be made. Allan (7) is suggesting that the relation between There's John's car and John has a car is the same as

that (in terms of locative preposing) between There are books in the library and The library has books in it. This would imply that the semantic relation between subject and object in John has a spare bed and The room has a spare bed is the same, although there are obvious transformational constraints, e.g. it is possible to say There is a spare bed in the room, The room has a spare bed in it.

Allan's reference to the have transformation as a means of thematizing the locative element of existential sentences relates to a conception of the theme derived from Halliday (1967). Applying the definition of the theme as an element with a low degree of CD in a sentence, the locative element in There is a book on the table and The table has a book on it remains thematic in both positions, the difference lying in what I have called the choice of thematic basis - a further option being available, that of the implication of a person, introducing a further deictic element as in I have a book on the table. Applying a different, but related conception of the theme as 'das, wozu man etwas sagt' and of the rheme as 'das, was man dazu sagt' (Zemb) we arrive at the same division into theme and rheme: in There is a book on the table I assert about the table that there is a book on it, and not of a book that it is on the table. This indicates a discrepancy between the movement of cognizant attention and the spatio-temporal sequence of elements in the utterance. I find it difficult to see any reason other than purely positional ones for assigning the function theme to book on the one hand and to table on the other. The association of position with function disregards the fact that an element can have the same function in different position and overlooks the significance

of positional variants.

Allan (9) states that the expletive there has much in common with the expletive it. He points out that the expletive it "is employed ... as a copy of the relative clause: its complement, which carries tonic stress, contains 'new' information". The relative clause it 'copies' conveys given information, is thematic, as is the locative element 'anticipated' by the expletive there. Both the expletive there and the expletive it serve to refer the thematic element to a position following the rheme, and in that way the rheme is foregrounded, with the resultant sequence theme proper (there or it) - rheme - theme. I have pointed out (Kirkwood, 1969: 102) that constructions of the kind commonly found in colloquial English, e.g. It's a long time coming the bus have a similar motivation. In a given situation the referent of it may be obvious, but the speaker mentions it, perhaps to reaffirm what he is talking about, with more obvious motivation where the referent is not easily recoverable from the context, verbal or situational, e.g. It was really excellent that paper you gave. In this use of it the rheme is foregrounded and singled out for special attention¹. The motivation is frequently that of contrast as is illustrated by the examples of 'predicated themes' given by Allan, for which I am proposing the term 'foregrounded rheme':

(425) John is here at home

(426) It is John that is here at home

1 cf. It is very significant everything he writes, Everything he writes is very significant. Note that the noun phrase anticipated by it is always definite, e.g. It is in the fridge the milk, but not It is in the fridge some milk.

(427) It is here that John is at home

(428) It is here at home that John is

This kind of construction and its possible motivation will be discussed in more detail in a subsequent section.

Allan writes (11): "The assertion of the existence of an object is the assertion of a spatio-temporal location for it: this is the notion contained in the classical axiom 'whatever is, is somewhere; what is nowhere is nothing'. One way of expressing the spatio-temporal location is there, be: the tense carried by be indicates the temporal location, there indicates the spatial location". In the German sentence given in this section illustrating the 'basic type' of existential sentence it was frequently found that the finite part of the verb was accompanied in first and third position by adverbs of spatio-temporal deixis. This means that at the beginning of the utterance the thing existing or emerging is situated temporally and spatially before it is mentioned. I tend to think that the expletive or existential there has a similar function. It may perhaps be said that the there in existential-locative sentences in English outlines the general spatial location, which is unmarked for deictic distinctions of proximity and finer subdistinctions, to which the existence of a thing relates, which is further specified by the locative element that follows. This would also help to explain sentences with have or haben such as

(429) He has a glass in front of him

(430) Er hat ein Glas vor sich stehen

in which the sphere of the subject is further specified by the locative element, i.e. the existence of a glass is related generally to the

(440) Er klopfte seinem Freund auf die Schulter

(441) Ich sah ihm ins Gesicht

(442) Seine Freunde stehen ihm zur Seite.

It is not surprising that Anderson (1971: 110) finds the following sentences unacceptable or of questionable acceptability:

(443) A table has a book on it

(444) A table has the book on it

(445) There is a book on a table

(446) There is the book on the table

In existential-locative sentences the locative element is characteristically definite, 'identified', 'determined'. It is the sphere of reference in the immediate focus of attention to which is related an existing or emerging person or thing, this element being brought or recalled into the focus of attention.

In the sentences of the type discussed it is obvious that there is a relation between the surface organization of such sentences in terms of the spatio-temporal sequence of elements and the thematic structure. The thematic structure is in turn related to the underlying semantic structure, a particular configuration of semantic categories being associated with a particular perspective in which existing or emerging things are perceived. This type of sentence was chosen as a point of departure for a study of the relevance of the thematic structure to the organization of sentences in English and German in as much as its bearing on sentence organization is more obvious than in other semantic sentence patterns. In German, the

spatio-temporal sequence of elements proves to be very susceptible to the thematic organization. In English, its relevance is unusually distinct. A study of the surface organization of sentences in a given language must take account of the different sets of criteria that are relevant and the extent to which the one or the other has a bearing on this organization. In languages with a relatively free word order, e.g. Czech and to a lesser extent German, it is the basic distribution of CD that is the main criterion determining the spatio-temporal sequence of elements, deviations from the theme-rheme sequence requiring specific motivation. In this sense the positioning of elements is not free, since a particular configuration of semantic categories will in the neutral or unmarked case be realized in surface structure in a particular sequence, other sequences being derived from this normal sequence under certain contextual constraints or determined by a specific communicative intention. In English, the SV(0) order has come to be the grammaticalized core of the word order system, and it is a departure from this grammatical order that gives rise to a marked sequence of elements. Thus the sentences That I know and Das weiss ich are not exact equivalents. In English, non-thematic subjects in initial position represent the neutral situation in certain semantic sentence patterns. However, the expletive there in existential sentences represents a systemic means whereby the non-thematic subject, typically an indefinite noun, may be moved away from initial position, the position normally held by the subject being occupied by the expletive there. There outlines the general spatial sphere of reference to which the existence of a person or thing is related. It indicates the presence in the

utterance of an indefinite noun and 'alerts' the listener's attention to this element. It may be said that it 'anticipates' the following locative element, but it is not co-extensive with it, the locative element representing a specification of the general sphere of reference outlined by there. In the use of have constructions, a thematic element is made subject and foregrounded. The rheme is moved towards the end of the sentence. The thematic function of have constructions is more characteristic of English than of German, since in German almost any element (excluding, for example, the pronoun object es), if thematic, may occupy initial position. With regard to prepositional phrases attached as complements to the verb I have pointed out elsewhere (Kirkwood, 1969: 100) that preposing of prepositional phrases, although less usual than postpositioning, is possible where the prepositional phrase is optional in surface structure, e.g.

(447) On this point agreement was reached

(448) From this tradition it has freed itself,

but less acceptable where the prepositional phrase is obligatory in surface structure, e.g.

(449) ? At this conclusion he arrived after examining the
material

(450) ? On your support I was relying at the meeting.

In German, preposing of the prepositional phrase is quite normal with both optional and obligatory prepositional phrases, e.g.

(451) Über diesen Punkt wurde Einigkeit erzielt

(452) Zu diesem Schluss gelangte er nach einer Untersuchung des
Materials.

It will be suggested in ,a subsequent section that the extensive use of 'special constructions' in English, e.g. 'identifying clause', which are not found to the same extent in German, is a means by which a thematic element may be moved to first position and made subject, e.g.

(453) This is the conclusion he arrived at after examining the material.

The association of the theme with the subject in English is obviously related to the fixed grammatical order of elements. It is significant that of all possible orders it was the order SV(O) that came to be the grammaticalized core of the English word order system. It may be said that this represents in certain cases a 'cognitive order': in the agent-action-goal pattern the agent represents the source of the action, the point of departure from which the process evolves. It is significant that in languages with a relatively 'free' word order, e.g. Russian, the SOV order is at first the dominant order in the child's speech, being replaced by SVO at about 1; 11 (cf Slobin, 1966), permutations of these orders appearing later in the child's development. This may be accounted for by the child's acquisition of inflexional means of marking grammatical functions. But even this does not explain fully the fact that it is the SOV and SVO orders that are the first of all possible orders to be used. The evolution of special constructions allowing the theme to be associated with the subject is further evidence for the tendency towards a thematic conception of the subject in English. In cases where it is non-thematic, i.e. in existential-locative sentences, the subject position is 'filled' by the expletive there and the subject

is referred to postfinite position. With regard to the elements occupying first position in English and German there is a further difference that appears to be of some relevance here: in German declarative sentences the verb occurs in second position and in this position it is frequently immediately preceded and followed by thematic elements, initial position being occupied by a situational adverb, and the theme proper (i.e. the grammatical subject) occupying immediate postfinite position. Thus, in German, thematic elements are separated by the finite part of the verb, e.g.

(454) Gestern fuhr ich in die Stadt

In English, it is also possible to move the situational adverb to the beginning of the sentence, but because of the fixed order SV, the two thematic elements are juxtaposed, e.g.

(455) Yesterday I went to town

The juxtaposition of two thematic elements expressing different kinds of deixis may be felt to be unusual, unless there is specific motivation for doing so. Normally, the utterance will have the sequence

(456) I went to town yesterday.

The specific motivation for placing the situational adverb in initial position may be 'enumerative contrast', e.g.

(457) On Monday I went to see a friend

 Yesterday I went to town and
 today I hope to get some work done.

In such a case, reference to time does not represent incidental information, a 'temporal setting' in which an event is taking place, but a communicatively important frame of reference, contrasts within which are being enumerated. Thus it would seem that initial position

of an element other than the subject in English requires special motivation which is not relevant to the positioning of elements in German. The special constructions which English has evolved allow what I have referred to as thematic foregrounding where, for instance, an underlying object is made subject and thematic basis, e.g.

(458) You ought to know that

(459) That is something you ought to know

(460) I have never done such a thing

(461) That's a thing I have never done

In German, the use of a special construction is not necessary. The object of the verb is placed in first position

(462) Das solltest du wissen

(463) So was habe ich nie getan.

and in this way a similar 'distinct relief' of thematic and rhematic elements is achieved to that made possible by special constructions in English.