

Hinweise für die Autoren

• **1997** – **1998** – **1999** – **2000** – **2001** – **2002** – **2003** – **2004** – **2005** – **2006** – **2007** – **2008** – **2009** – **2010** – **2011** – **2012** – **2013** – **2014** – **2015** – **2016** – **2017** – **2018** – **2019** – **2020** – **2021** – **2022** – **2023** – **2024** – **2025** – **2026** – **2027** – **2028** – **2029** – **2030** – **2031** – **2032** – **2033** – **2034** – **2035** – **2036** – **2037** – **2038** – **2039** – **2040** – **2041** – **2042** – **2043** – **2044** – **2045** – **2046** – **2047** – **2048** – **2049** – **2050** – **2051** – **2052** – **2053** – **2054** – **2055** – **2056** – **2057** – **2058** – **2059** – **2060** – **2061** – **2062** – **2063** – **2064** – **2065** – **2066** – **2067** – **2068** – **2069** – **2070** – **2071** – **2072** – **2073** – **2074** – **2075** – **2076** – **2077** – **2078** – **2079** – **2080** – **2081** – **2082** – **2083** – **2084** – **2085** – **2086** – **2087** – **2088** – **2089** – **2090** – **2091** – **2092** – **2093** – **2094** – **2095** – **2096** – **2097** – **2098** – **2099** – **2100** – **2101** – **2102** – **2103** – **2104** – **2105** – **2106** – **2107** – **2108** – **2109** – **2110** – **2111** – **2112** – **2113** – **2114** – **2115** – **2116** – **2117** – **2118** – **2119** – **2120** – **2121** – **2122** – **2123** – **2124** – **2125** – **2126** – **2127** – **2128** – **2129** – **2130** – **2131** – **2132** – **2133** – **2134** – **2135** – **2136** – **2137** – **2138** – **2139** – **2140** – **2141** – **2142** – **2143** – **2144** – **2145** – **2146** – **2147** – **2148** – **2149** – **2150** – **2151** – **2152** – **2153** – **2154** – **2155** – **2156** – **2157** – **2158** – **2159** – **2160** – **2161** – **2162** – **2163** – **2164** – **2165** – **2166** – **2167** – **2168** – **2169** – **2170** – **2171** – **2172** – **2173** – **2174** – **2175** – **2176** – **2177** – **2178** – **2179** – **2180** – **2181** – **2182** – **2183** – **2184** – **2185** – **2186** – **2187** – **2188** – **2189** – **2190** – **2191** – **2192** – **2193** – **2194** – **2195** – **2196** – **2197** – **2198** – **2199** – **2200** – **2201** – **2202** – **2203** – **2204** – **2205** – **2206** – **2207** – **2208** – **2209** – **2210** – **2211** – **2212** – **2213** – **2214** – **2215** – **2216** – **2217** – **2218** – **2219** – **2220** – **2221** – **2222** – **2223** – **2224** – **2225** – **2226** – **2227** – **2228** – **2229** – **2230** – **2231** – **2232** – **2233** – **2234** – **2235** – **2236** – **2237** – **2238** – **2239** – **2240** – **2241** – **2242** – **2243** – **2244** – **2245** – **2246** – **2247** – **2248** – **2249** – **2250** – **2251** – **2252** – **2253** – **2254** – **2255** – **2256** – **2257** – **2258** – **2259** – **2260** – **2261** – **2262** – **2263** – **2264** – **2265** – **2266** – **2267** – **2268** – **2269** – **2270** – **2271** – **2272** – **2273** – **2274** – **2275** – **2276** – **2277** – **2278** – **2279** – **2280** – **2281** – **2282** – **2283** – **2284** – **2285** – **2286** – **2287** – **2288** – **2289** – **2290** – **2291** – **2292** – **2293** – **2294** – **2295** – **2296** – **2297** – **2298** – **2299** – **2300** – **2301** – **2302** – **2303** – **2304** – **2305** – **2306** – **2307** – **2308** – **2309** – **2310** – **2311** – **2312** – **2313** – **2314** – **2315** – **2316** – **2317** – **2318** – **2319** – **2320** – **2321** – **2322** – **2323** – **2324** – **2325** – **2326** – **2327** – **2328** – **2329** – **2330** – **2331** – **2332** – **2333** – **2334** – **2335** – **2336** – **2337** – **2338** – **2339** – **2340** – **2341** – **2342** – **2343** – **2344** – **2345** – **2346** – **2347** – **2348** – **2349** – **2350** – **2351** – **2352** – **2353** – **2354** – **2355** – **2356** – **2357** – **2358** – **2359** – **2360** – **2361** – **2362** – **2363** – **2364** – **2365** – **2366** – **2367** – **2368** – <

Zum Druck werden nur Text- und Zeichengraphiken in hoher Auflösung (300 dpi) mitgeführt. Bildaufnahmen sollen nach Möglichkeit in Farbe (nicht über 10 MB) und als EPS- oder PDF-Datei (nicht über 1 MB) erstellt und digitalisiert werden. Zusätzliche Anforderungen an die Gestaltung sind in der [Grafik- und Zeichnungsanleitung](#) zu finden.

Univariate forklift analyses showed that the frequency of incidents of forklift-related incidents was significantly higher in the construction sector than in the other sectors (Table 1).

Asplenium platyneuron L.

From Pentaglottis, one of the 100 morphological characters in a table of 1000 = 1000 characters by 1000 characters. See the table. A list of all the characters is found in the 1000 White paper in the book.

Publikationssprachen sind Englisch, Deutsch und Französisch.

Anno domini, Abbatum, etc. n. r.

Anmerkungen können dem Briefing (z. B. Fußnoten) oder dem Endnotenfeld hinzugefügt werden. Abhängig von der Edition müssen sie produziert sein. Sie sind dem Minuslängstschritt nach dem Text und dem nächsten Schritt hinzugefügt. Die darin enthaltenen Informationen sollten unmittelbar zusammengefasst werden. Bei einem Besonderen Auf der Rückseite sind sie mit dem Namen des Autors und der Nummer der Edition zu versehen.

Schreibweise der Funktion $f: A \rightarrow B$ in einem Abgleich

Phonetische Zeichen werden nach Möglichkeit auf die der APIE entsprechenden Vokal- und Konsonantensymbole gesetzt, wobei die Phonem- und Allophonbezeichnungen nach der Schreibung in der Regel entfallen. Wenn bei den üblichen Zeichen Zweifel zu stehen, die gleiche Symbole mit nicht eindeutigen, aber für gewöhnlich herkömmlichen Schriftzeichen sind, so werden die letzteren in Klammern bei der Transkription wiedergegeben. Ist eine Lautart nicht als Schriftbild darstellbar, so kommt die Lautart in der Symbole mit herkömmlicher Schriftform, so weit als Original und auch in der nachfolgenden Publikation graphisch abbildbar, zur Illustration und Erklärung. Sonderzeichen sind durch einen besonderen Strich gekennzeichnet.

Das obere Linspunchloch des Porphyrons sollte eine interlineare Morphologie (Linsensid) beinhalten, welche die dazu verwendete Abtastungstechnik und in einem Ausmaß bei der Gewinnung der

Incorporating the

[illegible]

Beispiele:

Green, S. P., J. O. N. J. D. J. *Learning, Typology, A Historical and Analytical Overview*. The Johns
 Hopkins

KHIMICH, LEOPIKH A. (1977) *Prosvetnoye upravleniye v vyssheym shkole*. Moscow: Mayak.

TERMINUS, CHU-HUA (1960). Digestive and nutritive tract in *Lutjanus fulvus* (Pisces: *Lutjanidae*). *Acta Zoologica*, 243: 155. (English; New York, American Museum).

MYERS, K. V. & (PUBLISHED BY) K. MYERS, *The Company*, 1000 World Road, Suite 300, San
Paulo, London, New York, 1997. (in ZEPH. 11, 1997)

Author's address:

Die Zerschliffen sind beim Aufschreiben durch die Autoren erhalten, so wie sie beim Fundort eingeprepariert zum Fundort transportiert und dann kopiert wurden. Die Planchette von der Fundstelle ist nicht mehr vorhanden, während der Kopf der Planchette erhalten ist.

Suppose that

Die Antennenverhältnisse sind bei den Plüßlingen mit 100 Körperlängen (1 mm) 10:11, bei denen von einer Sonderdurchschnittsgröße der Antennenlänge 10:13, bei denen mit 100 Körperlängen 10:14.

Band 48 · 1995 · Heft 1/2

STUDY

Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung

chemnals

Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung

Verb-Subject Order and Theticity in European Languages

Herausgeber: Yaron Matras und Hans-Jürgen Sasse

Herausgeber: U. Clausi, Köln · E. Dotter, Klagenfurt · M. Haspelmath, Berlin · R. Löttsch, Berlin
A. Steube, Leipzig · W. U. Wurzel, Berlin

Wissenschaftlicher Beirat: G. Altmann, Bochum · N. Boretzky, Bochum
K. Braummüller, Hamburg · B. Comrie, Los Angeles · W. Croft, Nijmegen
Ö. Dahl, Stockholm · L. Dezsö, Padova · W. Dressler, Wien · S. Felix, Passau
G. Ineichen, Göttingen · E. König, Berlin · O. Kronsteiner, Salzburg · W. Lehfeldt, Göttingen
G. Lüdi, Basel · H. Lüdtke, Kiel · P. Muysken, Amsterdam · V. P. Nedjalkov, St. Petersburg
W. Oesterreicher, München · U. Pieper, Kiel · P. Ramat, Pavia · W. Raible, Freiburg
H.-J. Sasse, Köln · H. Selmeja, Innsbruck · H. Seiler, Lenzburg · P. Sgall, Prag
U. Stephany, Köln · S. Thompson, Santa Barbara · T. Vennemann, Ried



Akademie Verlag

Theticity, VS order and the interplay of syntax, semantics and pragmatics

Man muss die Sprachliche als Haupt-
bündnis für die Erkenntnis
ansuchen, eben auch in mehrdeu-
tlichen – Falsch-ohne-Subjekt und
Prädikat-gebt (MARTY, 1918, p. 144)

1. A glance back to theticity

Theticity is a topic that has received growing attention in recent years, especially in German linguistic milieu.¹ The contemporary cultural setting of this area of research is interesting in itself and does not appear accidental: It was through a debate involving philosophers and linguists from Mitteleuropa that the **thetisch/kategorisch** dichotomy became relevant from a linguistic point of view in the second half of the last century. One of the main points under discussion was how to envisage the relationship between logical judgement and linguistic expressions. At a time when the boundaries between philosophy and linguistics were being redefined, this was an especially difficult problem. Soon, however, the debate took a specifically linguistic shape bringing into focus, among other things, the question of whether impersonal and existential constructions were to be analysed according to the Subject/Predicate partition. Its importance can also be recognized by the names of scholars participating in this debate: PAUL WUNDER, MILIOSICH, FRIEDRICH KURB, to mention but a few.

Although the **thetisch/kategorisch** dichotomy was first developed in a philosophical context and received a strong impulse in Prague and then in Graz from BRENTANO's philosophical theory of logical judgement², it was driven to a border area between philosophy and linguistics by ANTON MARTY, a Swiss pupil of BRENTANO'S. In his work an interesting attempt was developed at finding a link between the theory of logical judgement and the logical analysis of linguistic expressions. This was a major shift in perspective. Not less important was MARTY'S awareness of the fundamental asymmetry between the logical and the linguistic levels, as well as his assumption that the former is to be considered autonomous of

the latter³. This point seems of crucial importance to the understanding of more recent developments in the reflection on thetic structures and the problems that the notion of "theticity" poses to contemporary linguistics.

We shall now approach the question more closely in order to be able to consider these problems on the evidence of real linguistic data.

2. Assumptions and problems in the theory of theticity

MARTY singled out two main kinds of judgement, the two-membered or synthetic judgement and the one-membered or indivisible judgement. The first is set up through the combination of two correlative units, i. e. a logical subject and a logical predicate, while the latter "besteht ... einzig und allein im 'Anerkennen' (bzw. 'Verwerfen') eines 'vorgestellten Inhalts'"⁴, so that it contains neither a logical subject nor a logical predicate. It is the one-membered judgement that is called "thetisch". As has been underlined by ULRICH, MARTY himself saw a number of difficulties in comparing the logical and the linguistic level. One such difficulty which concerns us here is that, although a thetic, one-membered judgement is indivisible, the corresponding thetic expression at the linguistic level gives rise to "den Schein der Zweigliedrigkeit". This effect is due to the fact that the linguistic expression shows a grammatical subject and a grammatical predicate⁵. The solution offered by MARTY deserves attention, as it is full of implications for contemporary research. ULRICH sums it up under three main points: 1) "er auf die Diskrepanz zwischen sprachlicher Form und logischem Inhalt hinweist, 2) zur Befreiung des Urteils von dem 'Sprachlichen Gewand (Fassung)' aufruft und 3) als wichtig nicht die sprachliche Form, sondern die Bedeutung jener Formeln, den in ihnen ausgedrückten Gedanken ansieht, die keineswegs eine Zweigliedrigkeit beinhalten"⁶.

MARTY maintained that it is not inappropriate in this case to speak in terms of "Subject" and "Predicate", with the proviso that the terms be assigned a meaning different from and only "similar" to the one they have in the two-membered judgement⁷. As MARTY observed, in fact, "das Subjekt oder der Träger eines Vorgangs ist etwas anderes als das Subjekt des Urteils, worin der Vorgang beurteilt wird, und es wäre nichts Besseres als ein Sophisma per equivocationem, dem einen ohne weiteres das andere zu substituieren"⁸.

The logico-philosophical source of the **thetisch/kategorisch** dichotomy has exerted a subtle and powerful influence even on contemporary research on the problem. In particular, recent approaches seem to share the implicit assumption that the existence of a "thetic" function need not be demonstrated on empirical grounds, being rather the result of a theoretical speculation. This is reflected in the methodological procedures in works on theticity, which start from the definition of thetic function and then try to analyse a set of means (i. e.

¹ One may think of a cultural area which has been created by shared scientific traditions or, more generally, by the circulation of ideas. Although a renewed interest in the "Thetic categorical" dichotomy can be dated back to a paper by KURODA (cf. KURODA 1972), attention has more recently been given to this topic in a monograph by ULRICH (cf. ULRICH 1985) and in a study by SASSI (cf. SASSI 1987); also worth mentioning is the most recent presentation of the problem by HANSEN (cf. HANSEN 1993).

² See McALISTER (1976) for an overview of various aspects of BRENTANO'S theory.

³ MARTY (1918:16) explicitly says that the logical judgement is "unabhängig von jeder Art Sprache".

⁴ ULRICH (1985:56).

⁵ Cf. MARTY (1918:145).

⁶ ULRICH (1985:58).

⁷ Cf. MARTY (1918:270); this point is mentioned by ULRICH (1985), 58, fn 44.

⁸ MARTY (1918:158).

linguistic structures) that realize it⁹. Interesting discussions of means have been presented by various scholars, with emphasis on different groups of languages¹⁰.

It is the definition of thetic function in linguistic terms, however, that causes a problem. If, following a wide consensus, it is defined as the property of “non-predicativity” and as such is considered a fundamental facet of grammar, the burden of the matter is only placed on one of the most complicated and controversial concepts in linguistics, i.e. predication¹¹.

Even the exploration of means, on the other hand, needs caution. V/S order, which has been considered a typical device coding theticity in certain languages, may prove to be more disputable than previously thought.

With these ideas in mind, we now turn to the analysis of V/S structures in Romance languages, an area of research on word order which has been extensively investigated. Some scholars interested in theticity have proposed that Romance V/S structures show a “lack of syntactic predicativity”, which is related to a sort of “desubjectivization”; they have also added that V/S structures as markers of theticity should not be considered statements about new topics¹². We will see in 6. that these claims, though interesting and stimulating, pose some problems.

In the following paragraphs, V/S structures from real data will be analyzed in order to test these claims empirically. Two Romance languages with a relatively free order of constituents have been selected, Italian and Spanish, each represented by corpora of both written and spoken texts¹³.

3. VS order in Italian and Spanish

3.1. Mono-argumentality

A close inspection of various text types shows that V/S configuration in Romance can be determined by a wide range of factors. The first and most influential factor seems to be what I will call “mono-argumentality” (cf. also CHISSARIO, this vol.); this is a property concerning the nature of the verb, i.e. its predicate frame: it has turned out that in the great majority of V/S structures in our corpora of Italian, the main verb is either an intransitive or an intransitive-reflexive (even more generally a *si* construction¹⁴) or else an agentless passive. As apparent, these are all verbs that, either at the level of basic representation or at some derived level, have a one-argument predicate frame. The same result emerged from the scrutiny of our corpora of Spanish.

⁹ See HABIB RASID (1993) for an overview of the contemporary theories of theticity.

¹⁰ Cf. Ullrich (1985), chapter 2 (especially on pp. 95–101) and chapter 3, with a discussion based on Romance structures and SASSI (1987), who offers a broader survey of means from many typologically different languages.

¹¹ For a discussion of this point see SASSI (1987:55–6).

¹² Cf. SASSI (1987:534–35).

¹³ The corpora of newspaper reports contain 15 articles for each language. As to the corpora of spoken language, 10 texts of unplanned conversations have been selected for each language. Each text lasts approximately 15 minutes. The speakers are Italian and Latin American university students.

¹⁴ For an analysis of the behaviour of these constructions, regarding V/S order, see CHISSARIO (this vol.). A broad investigation in a generative framework of V/S order with intransitive, intransitive-reflexive and passive verbs can be found in BERZIO (1986). See Sorrento (1994) for a discussion of some problems in the application of his model to real data.

Here I will quote a few examples from the corpora of written Italian and written Spanish:

- (1) *Ma, grazie ad un numero, è arrivata la traccia ligure*
but thanks to a number is arrived the connection Ligurian
‘but, thanks to a (telephone) number, the Ligurian connection arrived’
- (2) *Desde hace un mes no queda libre ni una plaza de hotel*
since 3d person a month not remains vacant not even a single room of hotel
SG, of the
verb ‘to do’
‘for the past month, not a single hotel room has remained vacant’
- (3) *Si apre un nuovo troncone: quello dell’ospedale di Lecco*
3d person opens a new section: that of the hospital of Lecco
SG, REFL.
PRONOUN
‘a new section is opening: that in Lecco’s hospital’
- (4) *y en estos momentos ya no se hacen pronósticos*
and at these times by now not 3d person make forecasts
REFL.
PRONOUN
‘and at this time, forecasts are no longer made’
- (5) *In figura 1 sono riportati i valori formantici relativi a tali vocali*
In figure 1 are represented the values of formants related to such vowels
‘In fig. 1, formant values of such vowels are represented’
- (6) *Tan sólo habían sido recuperados 20 cadáveres*
only had been recovered twenty bodies
‘only twenty bodies had been recovered’

Mono-argumentality can be considered as a powerful, though not necessary, condition. Other factors, however, play a role in the determination of V/S structures. They are of various nature: rhythmical, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic. Such factors seem to enhance the effect of mono-argumentality rather than work independently of it; in other words, they succeed if the mono-argumentality condition is met. What seems especially worth noting is the fact that none of them (strictly speaking, not even mono-argumentality) conforms to the cause and effect model. Rather, they all seem to be consistent with a multiple conditioning model, where each factor exerts a partial and variable influence on the phenomenon.

I will first try to illustrate briefly the factors mentioned so far and then point out the “weight”, i.e. the frequency of each in the corpora.

3.2. Rhythmical factors

At the moment, the exact role of rhythmical factors is not at all clear. They require a broader and deeper discussion than can be presented here. In the corpora, they appear to operate especially in V/S structures with “verba dicendi”:

- (7) *"Ogni tanto lo incontravo sul pianerottolo", raccontava ora*
Occasionally him En-el in.the landing tells furthermore
la signora Delfini
Mrs. Delfini
'"Occasionally I met him in the landing", adds Mrs. Delfini'
- (8) *"Los accidentes se producen porque hay conductores*
the car accidents 3d person cause because other drivers
PLUR.FEM.
PRONOUN
malos ...", relató el accidentado
bad reported the man.who.had.been.injured
'"Car accidents happen because there are bad drivers and bad buses," reported the man who had been injured'

Although in other structures of this kind S has the feature [+New] and is focal, examples (7) and (8), in which S is [-New] and not in focus, show that the newness (locality) of S cannot be considered as the main factor affecting VS order in structures with *verba dicendi*.¹²

3.3. Syntactic factors

Two main syntactic factors can be detected in the corpora. The first shows up in subordinate sentences: relative sentences (especially relative locative sentences), indefinite relative sentences, indirect interrogatives, completives seem to favour V' order:

- (9) *... in cui abitano alcune amiche delle ragazze*
in which live some friends of.the girls
'in which some friends of the girls live'
- (10) *... en la que viajaba la expedición de norteafricanos*
in the which travelled the expedition of North.Africans
'in which the expedition of North Africans travelled'
- (11) *... vedere come variano le altezze delle formanti*
to.see how vary the pitches of.the formants
'to see how the pitch of formants vary'
- (12) *y ver a que clase pertenece uno*
and to.see to what class belongs one
'to see to what class one belongs'

Another relevant factor concerns the part of structure preceding the verb: when it is occupied by a constituent which is not the subject, the subject tends to occur in post-verbal position:

- (13) *... ad ogni posizione dello stilo passa una porzione diversa del segnale*
for each position of.the stylus passes a part different of.the signal
'for each position of the stylus, a different part of the signal passes'

- (14) *En Bijlmermeer viven sobre todo inmigrantes del Surinam*
in Bijlmermeer live above all inmigrantes from the Surinam
'in Bijlmermeer live mostly immigrants from Surinam'

3.4. Semantic factors

Two semantic factors prevail in the corpora. The first concerns **Aktionsart**: the lexical matrix of the verb contains one of the features [+Ingressive], [+Punctual], [+Resultative]:

- (15) *È scattato l'agguato*
is sprung the ambush
'the ambush has been sprung'
- (16) *Resulta clara la creciente sensación de deterioro de*
It turns out clear the increasing perception of deterioration of
nuestra situación política
our situation political
'the increasing perception that our political situation is deteriorating is clear'¹³

The **Aktionsart** factor can be formulated in a more general way with the condition that the verb has one of the features [+Durative] / [-Stative].

The second factor concerns a semantic property of the noun with subject function: In some cases it has the feature [-Animate]:

- (17) *Alle 18 è scoppiato un altro incendio*
At 6 p.m. is broken.out an other fire
'at 6 p.m. a new fire broke out'
- (18) *Según testigos ayer cayeron por lo menos cincuenta morteros*
According.to witnesses yesterday fell at least fifty mortar.shots
'according to witnesses yesterday, at least 50 mortar shots fell'

Sometimes the noun has the feature [+Abstract] in addition to the feature [-Animate]:

- (19) *Nei palazzi federali invasati da stuoli di esperti e consiglieri*
In buildings federal invaded by a crowd of experts and advisers
risuonava la cadenza lenta e strascicata del Sud
echoed the accent slow and drawled of.the South
'in federal buildings, which had been invaded by a crowd of experts and advisers, the slow and drawled southern accent echoed'
- (20) *Por contra, respecto de la política económica de la CE, predomina*
on.the.contrary as.regards of.the policy economic of the CE prevails
en nuestra ciudadanía la idea opuesta
in our citizenship the idea opposite

¹² The Spanish verb literally means 'results'.

‘on the contrary, regarding the economic policy of the E.C., the opposite view prevails in our citizenship’

(17)–(20) are examples of what has traditionally been considered ‘eventive’ or ‘process-oriented’ VS structures. In these structures, the subject noun turns into a determination of the verb.

3.5. Pragmatic factors

In the literature on VS order in Romance languages a distinction is often made between structures in which only the subject noun has the feature [+New] and structures in which this feature is distributed over the entire sentence (i.e. the so-called ‘all new sentences’¹²). VS order, in fact, can appear with either the first or the second property. In the following examples, only the subject noun has the feature [+New]:

(21) *Arrivano i vigili del fuoco e le ambulanze.*
arrive the firemen and the ambulances
‘Firemen and ambulances arrive’ (in the co-text fire is mentioned as well as people arriving at the place where the fire is)

(22) *Tambien estaba a punto de desbordarse el río Sella.*
also was at point of overflowing the river Sella
‘also the Sella River was about to overflow’ (the co-text speaks of rivers which had overflowed; note, however, that the name of ‘Rio Sella’ had not been mentioned before)

In each of the following examples the sentence is all new:

(23) *E’ arrivata una piacevole notizia.*
Is arrived a pleasant piece of news
‘a pleasant bit of news arrived’

(24) *y en esa época naturalmente solamente iba gente de esa estración social*
and at this time of course only went people of this origin social
‘and at that time, as is natural, only people of this social origin used to go’

Structures like (23)–(24) seem to occur especially when the subject noun has the feature [–Animate] and/or [+Generic]. Furthermore it is perhaps not fortuitous that they are frequently found in narrative contexts. The phenomenon, however, deserves to be studied in depth, as a clearcut distinction between sentences with a [+New] subject and all new sentences is not always possible when real texts are analyzed. In particular, the impact on the VS order of the animacy feature on the one hand, and of the narrative context on the other, should be tested on a larger and more differentiated corpus.

It seems even more problematic to ascertain the role played by locality, a property which has often been considered either as coinciding with newness or partially overlapping with it¹³. In particular, regarding terminological problems, some scholars prefer to term the phe-

nomena under discussion sentences ‘with subject in focus’ and ‘all focus’ sentences, respectively.

A first and general difficulty concerns the definition of focus itself; if it is considered as the function of ‘highlighting’, one has to take into account the possible discrepancy between what is highlighted for the speaker and what is highlighted for the listener. If theticity has to be defined in terms of focus properties, it risks falling apart.

A second problem concerns the common association between theticity and all-focus sentences. This association is based on the assumption that pragmatic structure is isomorphous to the semantic one. In the same way, as eventivity/orientation on the process makes the structure indivisible from a semantic point of view, locality should be distributed over the whole sentence, making this inseparable at the pragmatic level. This isomorphism, however, is highly disputable. To go back to our examples, one should conclude that (21) and (22) are not thetic structures, while (23) and (24) are. This is a highly undesirable claim since, from the semantic point of view, (22) and (23) – sharing the property of [–Animate] subject – can be grouped together, while (21) and (24) – whose subject nouns have the features [+Animate], [+Human] – are in a way more similar¹⁴.

On the other hand, if theticity is defined in terms of orientation on the process/eventivity/non-predicativity, (22), (23), (24) may well conform to it or, at least, better than (21). The latter sentence offers some problems as to whether it may be considered ‘thetic’, due to the conjunction of features {[+Animate], [+Human], [+Definite]}.

So far, we have discussed two pragmatic factors influencing VS order. There is a third one remaining to be mentioned, i.e. the type of textual progression. In Italian newspaper reports, for example, SV often characterizes descriptive progressions or, more generally, background information, while VS often occurs in narrative progressions or in foreground parts of the text:

(25) *Pochi giorni prima cinque ricoverate dell’ Istituto geriatrico*
A few days before five patients of the Institute for the elderly

Radaelli sono morte nel giro di 72 ore
Radaelli are died within 72 hours

‘a few days before, five patients of the Radaelli Institute for The Elderly had died within 72 hours’

(26) *E di nuovo è intervenuta la polizia*
and again is intervened the police
‘and the police intervened again’

I have to admit, however, that this factor would require a much more detailed analysis, especially if one considers its variability across text types.

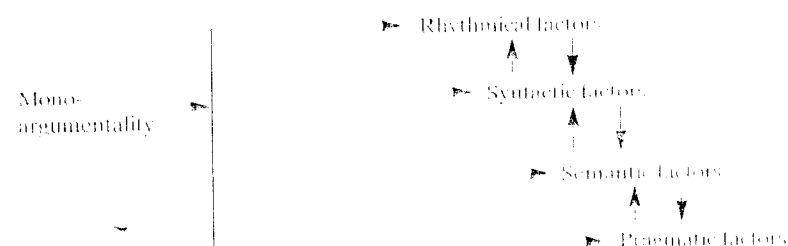
¹² For a presentation of problems concerning Italian cf. Sorrisio et al. (1993a), with a survey of the relevant literature.

¹³ I cannot discuss this problem here due to space limitations, for an overview of theories on the matter, see Sorrisio et al. (1993).

¹⁴ Needless to say, the last couple of examples is differentiated by ‘+’ or ‘–’ value of the feature [Definite]. This can possibly affect theticity conceived as a semantic notion, in that a subject which is [–Definite] is more suitable for absorption as a determination of the verb.

5. What is thematicity?

To summarize what we have said up to this point, mono-argumentality seems to be the most powerful factor in determining VS order in both Italian and Spanish²⁰. It seems to behave like a trigger of the remaining factors investigated; these, in turn, can interact with each other. We can thus obtain the following diagram:



Before drawing some conclusions of a more general nature, it is useful to consider the quantitative data on VS order in Italian and Spanish and the incidence of various factors²¹.

The text type can influence, to a certain extent, the frequency of the order with pre-verbal subject, as well as with post-verbal subject. A surprising result is that both the Italian and Spanish corpora show very similar values for the text types which were analyzed.

Newspaper Reports

<i>Italian</i>	<i>Spanish</i>
SV = 63 %	SV = 63 %
VS = 35 %	VS = 38 %

Spoken Language

<i>Italian</i>	<i>Spanish</i>
SV = 51 %	SV = 53 %
VS = 49 %	VS = 47 %

Both Italian and Spanish spoken texts exhibit frequency values of VS order significantly higher than those obtained for newspaper reports. Even more interesting is the "weight" of the different factors examined regarding VS order.

Here I will confine myself to the presentation of some results on the corpora of newspaper reports from the two languages investigated. In the Italian corpus, 98 % of VS structures (51 cases out of 52) have a one argument verb. The influence of syntactic factors is weak (12 % of mono-argumental VS structures²²).

Semantic features show the following percentages:

Subject = [+Animate] + [+Human]	37 % (19 instances)
Subject = [-Animate] ([+ Abstract])	63 % (32 instances)

The [Given]/[New] features show the following percentages:

Subject = [+New]	47 % (24 instances)
Subject = [+Given]	22 % (11 instances)
The sentence is all new (all in focus)	31 % (16 instances)

An interesting correlation is that, in all the cases of all-new sentences, S (= Subject) is [-Animate].

In the Spanish corpus, 100 % of the VS structures (52 cases out of 52) have a one-argument verb. Syntactic factors show a stronger influence here than in the Italian corpus, as they appear in 21 % of all instances (11 cases out of 52). These differences, of course, cannot be evaluated as the size of the samples is too small.

Semantic features have the following percentages:

Subject = [+Animate] + [+Human]	27 % (14 instances)
Subject = [-Animate] and/or [+Abstract]	73 % (38 instances)

The features [Given]/[New] have the following percentages:

Subject = [+New]:	23 % (12 instances)
Subject = [+Given]:	4 % (2 instances)
The whole sentence contains material which is [+Given] or partially Given:	15 % (8 instances)
The sentence is all new (all in focus):	58 % (30 instances).

In the Spanish corpus the great majority of all-new structures (87 % – if not all of them, as in the Italian corpus – have the features [-Animate] ([+ Abstract])). However, structures with the conjunction of features:

$$\left\{ \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Subject} \\ \hline [-\text{Animate}] \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Sentence} \\ \hline [\text{All-new}] \end{array} \right\} \right\}$$

comprise 50 % of all VS structures.

The various factors discussed so far regarding newspaper reports seem to conform to a hierarchy of influence on VS order. This hierarchy is partly different in the two corpora investigated. In both corpora, the factor occupying the highest position in the hierarchy is mono-argumentality. The feature [-Animate] follows:

	Italian	Spanish
I Mono-argumentality	98 %	100 %
II Non-animateness	63 %	73 %

²⁰ Cf. Sorace et al. (1994), Berman (this vol.) for a more detailed investigation of mono-argumentality in corpora of Italian.

²¹ Cf. Berman (this vol.) for a discussion of results based on other corpora of Italian.

²² All percentages have been calculated on the basis of the whole set of mono-argumental structures.

The Italian and Spanish corpora differ as to the factor occupying the third and fourth position in the hierarchy; they show a reverse order of the features: Subject = [+New] and Sentence = [+All-new]:

Italian	Spanish
III Subject = [+New] = 17%	III Sentence = [+All-new] = 8%
IV Sentence = [+All-new] = 31%	IV Subject = [+New] = 33%

In both corpora, however, syntactic factors occupy a lower position.

If considered by itself, none of the factors discussed so far can be related to the notion of theticity. This is obvious for both syntactic and rhythmical factors, as well as for structures where the subject only exhibits the feature [+New]. It seems important, on the other hand, to justify the previous assumption for factors such as mono-argumentality, non-animacy, as well as the sentence's "all-newness".

As to mono-argumentality, one could argue that if many one-argument verbs have an eventive (or process-oriented) interpretation, this could be related to theticity. This conclusion seems wrong for at least two reasons. First, mono-argumentality, as such, is not a semantic property; it is, in fact, a property of syntactic structure. Closely related to this is the fact that the eventive value of some one-argument verbs is not carried by the verb itself; it is the whole VS structure that determines the value. As a matter of fact, the eventive interpretation can be ascertained more clearly when the Subject has one or more of the features [+Animate], [+Abstract], [-Definite]. On the contrary, it is prevented when the Subject has one or more of the following features: [+Animate], [+Human], [+Definite]. In other words, the hierarchies of animacy and definiteness are crucial for eventive interpretation. (Note, however, that non-animacy in itself is not a factor that can be related to theticity.)

A further confirmation of the view that it is the conjunction of the semantic features of both verb and subject that is responsible for the eventive interpretation is displayed by the fact that such interpretation can be assigned to structures with a one-argument verb and SV order, provided that the Subject satisfies the semantic conditions specified before. Here are a few examples from the Italian and the Spanish corpora, respectively:

- (27) *83 fra panifici e panetterie sono finiti nel mirino della polizia*
83 among bakeries and bakershops are ended up under the control of the police
'A total of 83 bakeries and bakershops ended up under the control of the police'
- (28) *La verità è comunque emersa*
the truth is anyway emerged
'The truth finally emerged'
- (29) *Al menos tres edificios vacíos contiguos ardían*
At least three buildings empty adjoining were burning
'At least three adjoining empty buildings were burning'
- (30) *Hacia las dos de la tarde la circulación comenzó a normalizarse*
At about two o'clock in the afternoon the traffic began to become normal
'At about two o'clock p.m. the traffic began to become normal'

If none of the semantic features of the verb or the subject are responsible for theticity, neither is the pragmatic property of the sentence's "all-newness" (focality). The analysis of Ital-

ian and Spanish newspaper reports shows that it has a strong correlation to the subject's non-animacy. The reverse, however, is not true: in both the Italian and Spanish corpora, a subset of sentences with S = [+Animate] has been identified which are not all-new. In other words, there is no one-to-one relation between the sentence's "all-newness" and eventivity.

We cannot avoid observing, in conclusion, that the very concept of 'theticity' is problematic to grasp, when one tries to check it in real texts. As already mentioned in L. MARTY's idea was that thetic expressions are indivisible. He was aware that this is a property concerning the logical judgement and not linguistic expressions per se. In his view, the asymmetry between the logical and the linguistic levels could be overcome by considering linguistic content; this conforms most closely to the logical property²². More recently, it has been claimed that the pragmatic level is what reflects the theoretical properties of theticity best²³.

Through this study, we have seen that (1) VS order as such is not related to theticity in Romance languages; (2) The semantic concept of 'eventivity' and the pragmatic concept of 'all-newness' should be considered as independently related to the logical notion of theticity; (3) It is not clear how eventivity and "all-newness" are related to each other. A methodological caveat imposes itself: real linguistic data often show that very general principles can only be applied at the expense of a deeper understanding of the facts.

References

- BURZIO, LUIGI (1986): *Italian Syntax*. Dordrecht: Reidel.
- HABERLAND, HARMUT (1993): Thetic/Categorical Distinction, in: ASHUR, R. E. (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*, vol. 9, 4605–4606, Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- KURODA, SUGIYUKI (1972): The Categorical and the Thetic Judgement, in: *Foundations of Language* 9, 153–185.
- MARTY, ANTOINE (1918): Über subjektlose Sätze und das Verhältnis der Grammatik zu Logik und Psychologie, in: Idem, *Gesammelte Schriften*, II, 1, 3–309. Halle: Niemeyer.
- MCALISTER, L. L. (ed.) (1976): *The Philosophy of Brentano*. London: Duckworth.
- SASSI, HANS-JÜRGEN (1987): The Thetic/Categorical Distinction Revisited, in: *Linguistics* 25, 511–580.
- SORNICOLA, ROSANNA (1988): *Pragmalinguistik/Pragmalinguística*, in: HOFFMANN, GÜNTER, METZELTIN, MICHAEL, SCHMIDT, CHRISTIAN (Hrsgg.), *Lexikon der Romanistischen Linguistik*, Band IV: Italienisch, Korsisch, Sardisch, 169–188, Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- (1993): Topic, Focus and Word Order, in: ASHUR, R. E. (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*, vol. 9, 4633–4640, Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- (1994): On Word Order Variability: A Study from a Corpus of Italian, in: *Lingua e Stile* 29, 1, 25–57.
- GRICH, HUBERT (1985): *Thetisch und Kategorisch*. Tübingen: Narr.

ROSANNA SORNICOLA
Dipartimento di Filologia Moderna
Università di Napoli Federico II, Napoli.

²² Cf. MARTY (1918:143).

²³ Cf. GRICH (1985:59).