12

Nominal and prepositional phrases

This chapter discusses some analyses of the structure of Dutch noun phrases (section 12.1), adjective phrases (section 12.2), and preposition phrases (section 12.3).

12.1 Noun phrases

12.1.1 Constituent structure

The structure of the Dutch noun phrase was studied extensively in the pregenerative structuralist tradition (De Groot 1949: 79ff, Van der Lubbe 1958: 110ff, Paardekooper 1986: 436ff).

De Groot (1949: 80) observed that the structure of a noun phrase with three (or more) modifiers, as in (12.1), is not flat.

(12.1)

DEM	NUM	ADJ	N	NP
die	twee	mooi-e	kistje-s	kokosnot-en
DEM.DIST:PL	two	beautiful-PL	box-PL	coconut-PL

'those two beautiful boxes of coconuts'

Based on the interpretation of the phrase, De Groot states that in examples like (12.1) only *kokosnoten* 'coconuts' modifies the head noun *kistjes* 'boxes,' and that the other modifiers do not modify the head noun, but the entire string to their right. Thus, *mooie* 'beautiful' modifies *kistjes kokosnoten* 'boxes of coconuts,' *twee* 'two' modifies *mooie kistjes kokosnoten* 'beautiful boxes of coconuts,' etc., yielding the structure in (12.2).

(12.2) [die [twee [mooie [kistjes kokosnoten]]]]

In this connection, De Groot (1949: 92) formulates the hierarchy of prenominal modifiers in (12.3) and proposes the generalization that the linear order, as illustrated in (12.1), is a function of this hierarchy.

(12.3) DEM > NUM > ADJ

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As for postnominal modifiers, both De Groot (1949: 82) and Van der Lubbe ([1958] 1978: 134), single out complements like *kokosnoten* 'coconuts' in (12.1) as a category by themselves, which they term 'specifying modifiers' (*bepalingen van specificatie*; see (5.23) for more examples). Specifying modifiers are closer to the head noun and hierarchically lower than other postnominal modifiers (including locational or temporal deictic modifiers (5.20), PPs (5.13a), relative clauses (5.14), infinitives (5.15), and complement and adjunct clauses (5.13b)).

The question of the hierarchical order of nonspecifying postnominal modifiers proved difficult to solve. Van der Lubbe ([1958] 1978: 145) observes that postnominal modifiers respect an inverse structure–order correspondence, in the sense that modifiers further to the right modify the entire constituent to their left. This can be illustrated in examples like (12.4), where the relative clause follows the PP *van Tasmanië* 'of Tasmania' and modifies the entire noun phrase *ontdekking van Tasmanië* 'discovery of Tasmania.'

(12.4) de ontdekking van Tasmanië die hem beroemd
DEF.SG discovery of Tasmania REL:CG 3SG:OBJ famous
maak-te
make-PAST.SG
'the discovery of Tasmania that made him famous'

Van der Lubbe ([1958] 1978: 165) suggests that the right-to-left scope of postnominal modifiers is particularly clear when the head noun is preceded by an adjective, as in (12.5), allowing him to make some headway in the determination of the hierarchical relations among pre- and postnominal modifiers.

(12.5) de verrassend-e ontdekking van Tasmanië die hem
DEF.SG surprising-DEF discovery of Tasmania REL:CG 3SG:OBJ
beroemd maak-te
famous make-PAST.SG
'the surprising discovery of Tasmania that made him famous'

In (12.5), the relative clause *die hem beroemd maakte* 'that made him famous' modifies the entire phrase *verrassende ontdekking van Tasmanië* 'surprising discovery of Tasmania.' This leads Van der Lubbe ([1958] 1978: 165) to suggest that postposition is a syntactic sign indicating hierarchical superiority.

On the relative order of adjectives, see section 12.2.

12.1.2 The DP analysis

In his 1987 dissertation, Abney argued that noun phrases are structured like clauses, in the sense that the phrase as a whole is headed by a functional

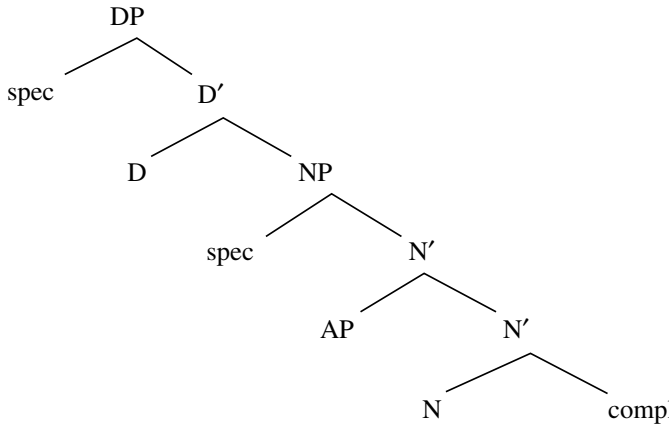
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element taking a lexical projection in its complement domain. In clauses, the lexical projection is the VP, and the functional elements heading the clause as a whole are INFL/T and/or COMP/C. In noun phrases, the lexical projection is the NP, and the functional element heading the noun phrase as a whole is the determiner (D). The position of the Adjective Phrase (AP) in this DP structure is not immediately clear: it could be in the specifier position of the NP, or it could in fact be a structural 'shell' in between the DP and the NP (Abney 1987: chapter 4).

A DP analysis was applied to Dutch first in the tradition of Categorial Grammar (predating Abney's work). Based on the definitions in Vennemann and Harlow (1977), both Jullens (1983: 107f) and Hoeksema (1985: 56f) argued that the determiner is the head of the noun phrase in Dutch. The relevant observation here is that the determiner acts as a functor determining the (type-theoretical) type of the determiner/noun phrase combination. In other words, a determiner is an element that takes a noun and yields a noun phrase.

The DP hypothesis in the sense of Abney (1987) was first applied to Dutch in Corver (1989, 1990), mainly because it made it possible to explain conditions on extraction out of the noun phrase in terms of the *Barriers* framework of Chomsky (1986a) (see section 12.1.3). In Corver's analysis, the AP is in a left-branch position inside the noun phrase:

(12.6)



Corver (1990: 37f) showed that the initial field in the noun phrase (i.e. the predeterminer position; see (5.4)) could be occupied by elements that are arguably moved there from an NP-internal position, using examples like (12.7).

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(12.7) en [$_{DP}$ **daar** de [$_{NP}$ vader [$_{PP}$ van **[e]**]]] is
and DEM.DIST:LOC DEF.CG father of be:3SG
voorzitter van het Tasman-kabinet
president of DEF.N.SG Tasman Cabinet
'and *her* father is president of the Tasman Museum'
(*daar* is the locative variant of the distal demonstrative *dat* 'that,' also used as the locative variant for personal pronouns)

In examples like (12.7), the movement of the fronted pronoun *daar*, similar to topicalization in clauses (cf. (7.186a)), suggests the presence of a specifier position to the left of the determiner, as provided by the DP analysis in (12.6).

Corver (1990: 39) also used a coordination test to show that the complement of the determiner in Dutch noun phrases is a maximal projection (as predicted by the DP hypothesis). Neijt (1979: 5) had found that polysyndetic coordination (of the type *en … en* 'and … and' or *zowel … als* 'both … and,' see (4.24b)) can be used only to conjoin maximal projections (see also Hendriks and Zwart 2001: 111). The polysyndetic coordination in (12.8) then shows that the complement of the determiner *een* 'a' must be a maximal projection (NP).

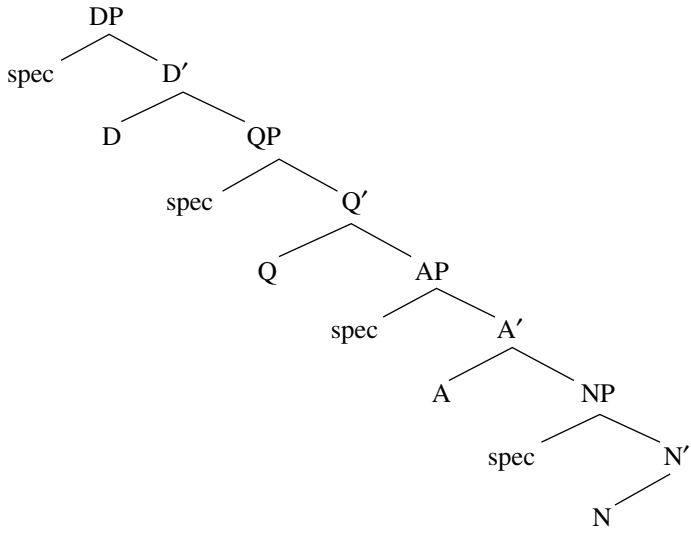
(12.8) Jan heeft [$_{DP}$ een [zowel [$_{NP}$ mooi boek] als
John have:3SG INDF.SG both beautiful book as
[$_{NP}$ spannend boek]]] ge-schrev-en
thrilling book GE-write:PAST-N
'John wrote a book that is at the same time beautiful and thrilling.'

Finally, Corver (1990: 40) notes that the structure of nominalizations in Dutch (see section 5.4), where the determiner is combined with what looks like a verb phrase, also supports the DP analysis. On the DP hypothesis, nominalizations can be described as DPs where D takes a VP-complement instead of an NP-complement.

Further developing the DP analysis for Dutch, Barbiers (1992) argued that the adjective phrase (AP) should not be thought of as a specifier of the NP, but as a separate functional projection between NP and DP (see also Abney 1987: 327). The argument was based on a theory of adjectival agreement, which Barbiers took to be mediated by an empty pronoun (*pro*) moving from specifier to specifier inside the noun phrase. As this movement would be impossible if the AP itself were a specifier to NP, the AP must be part of the main projection line, as in (12.9) (QP is the projection for numerals, likewise on the main projection line in this analysis).

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(12.9)



Corver (1990, 1991, 1997) added to the DP analysis by arguing for a Degree Phrase (DegP) on top of AP, headed by degree elements such as *te* 'too' (see section 2.3) and hosting measure phrases in its specifier slot:

(12.10) [$_{\text{DegP}}$ [$_{\text{MeasureP}}$ zes mijl] te [$_{\text{AP}}$ ver]]]
six mile too far
'six miles too far'

Corver showed that the DegP analysis in (12.10) is supported by various observations, among which the extraction asymmetry in (12.11):

(12.11) a. Hoe-veel mijl zei je dat het eiland
how-many mile said:PAST.SG 2SG C DEF.N.SG island
te ver was?
too far be:PAST.SG
'How many miles did you say that the island was too far off?'

b. *Hoe-veel mijl te zei je dat het eiland
how-many mile too said:PAST.SG 2SG C DEF.N.SG island
ver was?
far be:PAST.SG
(intended: same as a.)

In (12.11), extraction of the measure phrase *hoeveel mijl* 'how many miles' needs to strand the degree element *te* 'too.' On the DegP hypothesis, *hoeveel mijl* 'how

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many miles' and *te* 'too' are not a constituent, explaining the ungrammaticality of (12.11b) as a case of nonconstituent movement. On the alternative analysis, where the DegP is in the specifier position of AP, *hoeveel mijl* 'how many miles' and *te* 'too' form a constituent, so that the ungrammaticality of (12.11b) is unexplained.

12.1.3 Movement phenomena

The general opacity of noun phrases (see section 7.6.2), stipulated by the Noun Phrase Constraint of Bach and Horn (1976), is called into question by Dutch examples like (12.12c) (cf. (7.211)).

(12.12) a. Hij heeft een roman van Vestdijk ge-lez-en
3SG.M.NOM have:3SG INDF.SG novel of Vestdijk GE-read-N
'He read a novel by Vestdijk.'

b. Een roman van Vestdijk heeft hij ge-lez-en
INDF.SG novel of Vestdijk have:3SG 3SG.M.NOM GE-read-N
(same as a.)

c. Van Vestdijk heeft hij een roman ge-lez-en
of Vestdijk have:3SG 3SG.M.NOM INDF.SG novel GE-read-N
'Of Vestdijk['s works], he read a novel.'

(12.12b) shows that the string *een roman van Vestdijk* 'a novel by Vestdijk' is or can be a constituent. This suggests that in (12.12c), the PP *van Vestdijk* 'by Vestdijk' is extracted out of the noun phrase *een roman van Vestdijk* 'a novel by Vestdijk.'

The status of examples like (12.12c) triggered a prolonged discussion between Kooij and Wiers (1977, 1978) and Klein and Van den Toorn (1978, 1979), with Kooij and Wiers arguing for extraction in (12.12c) (following Paardekooper 1968) and relaxation of the NP-constraint, and Klein and Van den Toorn arguing against extraction and for generalizing the NP-constraint to an XP-constraint (barring subextraction from NP, PP, and AP). The key issue, whether the fronted PP is generated as an adnominal or adverbial modifier, proved difficult to settle, although De Haan (1979b: 334) was able to prove that Kooij and Wiers' concrete proposal (that the fronted PP is generated as a sister to N) was false. De Haan's argument utilizes Blom's (1977) generalization that noun ellipsis leaving a PP-remnant is only possible with peripheral (noncomplement) PPs (12.13–14). Noun ellipsis in Dutch involves the locative pronoun *er* 'there' (see section 6.4.2).

(12.13) *Ellipsis with complement PP*

a. Ze heb-ben twee artikel-en tegen die stelling ge-lez-en
3PL have-PL two article-PL against DEM.DIST:CG hypothesis GE-read-N
'They read two articles against that hypothesis.'

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b. *Ze heb-ben er twee tegen die stelling ge-lez-en
3PL have-PL LOC two against DEM.DIST:CG hypothesis GE-read-N
(intended) 'They read two [articles] against that hypothesis.'

(12.14) *Ellipsis with adjunct PP*

a. Ze heb-ben twee hengel-s van kunststof zie-n lig-gen
3PL have-PL two fishing.rod-PL of fiberglass see-INF lie-INF
'They saw two fiberglass fishing rods lying there.'

b. Ze heb-ben er twee van kunststof zie-n lig-gen
3PL have-PL LOC two of fiberglass see-INF lie-INF
'They saw two [fishing rods] of fiberglass lying there.'

Since noun ellipsis leaving a remnant PP is possible in (12.12) (cf. (12.15)), *van Vestdijk* 'by Vestdijk' in (12.12a) cannot (or need not always) be a complement PP.

(12.15) Hij heeft er twee van Vestdijk ge-lez-en
3SG.M.NOM have:3SG LOC two of Vestdijk GE-read-N
'He read two [novels] by Vestdijk.'

What emerged from the discussion is that PP-fronting is possible only where a meaningful three-way relation exists among the PP, the noun phrase, and the verb (Klein 1983: 46). In *read a book about/by X*, such a three-way relation exists, whereas in *tear up a book about/by X*, no meaningful relation exists between the verb *tear up* and the PP *about/by X*. Consequently, fronting is possible with *read* but impossible with *tear up* (cf. (7.214)). This suggests that the PP in (12.12c) is not a noun phrase constituent, but a more independent verb phrase constituent.

Corver (1990) is a comprehensive study of potential cases of left-branch extraction in Dutch, mostly out of noun phrases. These include (a) comparative subdeletion (subcomparatives), (b) *wat*-exclamatives, and (c) *wat voor*-split. Corver concludes that subcomparatives and *wat*-exclamatives do not involve wh-movement, and that *wat* in *wat voor*-split is not a specifier left-branch element, but the head of the *wat voor*-phrase.

Subcomparatives are illustrated in (12.16).

(12.16) Tasman heeft meer eiland-en ontdek-t dan Cook
Tasman have:3SG more island-PL GE:discover-D than Cook
continent-en ontdek-t heeft
continent-PL GE-discover-D have:3SG
'Tasman discovered more islands than Cook discovered continents.'

The noun phrase *continenten* 'continents' in the comparative clause lacks a quantifier element which might be taken to be the trace of a wh-moved quantifier (cf. Chomsky 1977: 120). Corver (1990: 83f) shows that it is unlikely that subcomparatives involve wh-movement, because there can be multiple subcomparatives

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(whereas Dutch lacks multiple wh-movement) (12.17), and subcomparatives appear in fronted VPs, which lack a COMP/Spec,CP needed for wh-movement (12.18).

(12.17) *Multiple subcomparatives*

Tasman	heeft	meer	Maori-s	meer	kral-en	ge-gev-en	dan
Tasman	have:3SG	more	Maori-PL	more	bead-PL	GE-give-N	than
Cook	Hawaïan-en	spiegel-s	verkocht	heeft			
Cook	Hawaiian-PL	mirror-PL	GE:sell:D	have:3SG			

'Tasman gave more Maoris more beads than Cook sold Hawaiians mirrors.'

(12.18) *Subcomparative in a fronted VP*

Meer	sted-en	ge-sticht	dan	land-en	ontdek-t	heeft	
more	city-PL	GE-found:D	than	land-PL	GE:discover-D	have:3SG	
Tasman	niet						
Tasman	NEG						

'Tasman did not found more cities than he discovered lands.'

The *wat*-exclamative construction (see Krijgsman 1982) is illustrated in (12.19).

(12.19) Wat-*exclamative*

a. Wat een eiland-en heeft Tasman ontdek-t!
Q:INAN INDF.SG island-PL have:3SG Tasman GE:discover-D
'What islands Tasman discovered!'

b. Wat heeft Tasman een eiland-en ontdek-t!
Q:INAN have:3SG Tasman INDF.SG island-PL GE:discover-D
(same as a.)

Corver (1990: 98) takes *wat* in (12.19a) to be a degree element occupying a specifier position in the DP, while *een* is an exclamative article occupying the D-position (cf. Droste 1970). On these assumptions, one might think that (12.19b) is the result of subextraction of *wat* out of the noun phrase, but Corver (1990: 106f) shows that no island effects obtain:

(12.20) *No island effect with split* wat-*exclamatives*

a. Wat is Tasman tot ver voorbij Tasmanië door ge-var-en!
Q:INAN be:3SG Tasman to far beyond Tasmania through GE-sail-N
'How far beyond Tasmania did Tasman sail on!'

b. *Hoe (ver) is Tasman tot (ver) voorbij Tasmanië door
how far be:3SG Tasman to far beyond Tasmania through
ge-var-en?
GE-sail-N
(intended) 'How far did Tasman sail on beyond Tasmania?'

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In (12.20a), exclamative *wat* is construed with *ver* 'far,' so the amazement is directed towards the extent that Tasman sailed on beyond Tasmania. As (12.20b) shows, wh-movement of a modifier of *ver* (or even of *hoe ver* as a whole) out of the PP *tot X ver voorbij Tasmanië* 'to X far beyond Tasmania' is not allowed. This suggests that *wat* in (12.20a) and (12.19b) is a base-generated exclamative marker, so that no movement out of the object noun phrase in (12.19b) needs to be assumed.

The *wat voor*-split construction is illustrated in (7.228), repeated here as (12.21).

(12.21) a. **Wat** **voor** **(een)** **journaal** had Cook **[e]**
Q:INAN for INDF:SG log have:PAST.SG Cook GAP
ge-lez-en?
GE-read-N
'What kind of log had Cook read?'

b. **Wat** had Cook **[e]** voor (een) journaal
Q:INAN have:PAST.SG Cook GAP for INDF:SG log
ge-lez-en?
GE-read-N
(same as a.)

Corver (1990: 134) takes *wat* 'what' to be the head of a DP, taking the *voor*-PP as its complement (optional *een* 'a' is the head of the DP *een journaal* 'a log' in the complement of *voor* 'for'). On this analysis, the movement of *wat* yielding (12.21b) is a case of subextraction from the noun phrase, but, as Corver shows, one that does not violate any conditions on movement as detailed in Chomsky (1986a).

Movement internal to the noun phrase in Dutch was proposed by Den Dikken (1998), Bennis *et al*. (1998), and Corver (2003) for partitives (see (5.23a)) and for pseudo-partitives of the type in (12.22) (cf. Paardekooper 1956).

(12.22) een schat van een kind
INDF.SG darling of INFD.SG child
'a darling child'

In the analyses proposed, the first of the two nouns (*troep* 'bunch' in (5.23a), *schat* 'darling' in (12.22)) is a predicate of the second (*Maori's* in (5.23a), *kind* 'child' in (12.22)), and the two noun phrases are generated in a small-clause configuration in which the predicate follows its subject ([*kind schat*]). The surface order then results from leftward movement of the predicate across its subject. (Note that *een* in (12.22) is of the spurious type illustrated above in (5.11); see Bennis *et al*. 1998 for extensive discussion of its status, suggesting that it

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functions as the head of the small clause in the predicate movement analysis contemplated there.)

12.2 Adjective phrases

12.2.1 Order and interpretation

Den Hertog ([1896] 1973, vol. 3: 109–110) noted that when a noun is preceded by more than one (attributive) adjective, the adjectives can be joined by coordination (12.23a) or subordination (12.23b).

(12.23) a. een lang-e (en) moeizam-e reis
INDF.SG long-CG and arduous-CG voyage
'a long and arduous trip'

b. een lang-e (*en) hout-en roeispaan
INDF.SG long-CG and wood-MAT oar
'a long wooden oar'
(MAT = a derivational suffix creating adjectives from material nouns, obfuscating gender agreement morphology; see Kester 1996: 166f)

Den Hertog's discussion of the contrast makes clear that he is aware of the structural difference between coordination and subordination: in the case of subordination, the final of the two adjectives forms a unit with the noun, and the first of the two adjectives modifies that unit. As Den Hertog notes, the order of adjectives is not strictly determined in the case of coordination, but it is in the case of subordination, where the final of the two adjectives is 'objective' (referring to properties relying solely on observation) whereas the first of the two adjectives is 'subjective' (referring to properties relying on judgment and comparison).

This distinction between objective and subjective adjectives was further refined in Roose (1956), who distinguishes four classes of adjectives on the basis of three distinctive features (subjective, relative, and objective):

(12.24) *Classes of adjectives in Roose (1956)*

+ subjective	*mooi*	'beautiful'
− subjective, + relative	*klein*	'small'
− subjective, − relative, + objective	*rood*	'red'
− subjective, − relative, − objective	*houten*	'wooden'

The linear order is a function of the features in (12.24), with adjectives with a positive feature value preceding adjectives with a negative feature value. The result is consistent with the universal adjective hierarchy of Vendler (1968) (see (5.34)),

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on the understanding that the subjective adjectives include those of quality, the relative adjectives include those of size, the objective categories include those of shape and color (the Vendler hierarchy is unclear about adjectives of matter and the Roose hierarchy is unclear about adjectives of origin):

(12.25) Roose hierarchy: SUBJECTIVE > RELATIVE > OBJECTIVE > OTHER
Vendler hierarchy: QUALITY > SIZE > SHAPE > COLOR > ORIGIN

In discussing exceptions, Roose (1956: 482–483) comes close to formulating the distinction between direct and indirect modifying adjectives (see section 5.2 and references cited there), where he notes that *red* in examples like *red pepper* does not behave like a color adjective and has to follow material adjectives in examples like *a marble red pepper* (a sculpture) and in fact regular color adjectives in *a yellow red pepper* (a red pepper painted yellow). The special property of *red* in these examples is that it refers to an inherent property of the entity referred to by the noun, much like the 'epitheton ornans' (like *scarlet* in *scarlet Pimpernel*) that Roose also mentions in this connection as requiring a position to the immediate left of the noun (see also (5.35–36)).

In this connection, Van der Lubbe (1958: 120) proposed to replace Roose's three features by a graded feature INHERENT, such that the property referred to by the adjective can be more or less inherent to the entity referred to by the noun, with less inherent adjectives being further removed from the noun in the linear order. Van der Lubbe (1958: 115) also noted that distinctive stress on an adjective affects word order according to a rule that says:

(12.26) *Van der Lubbe's generalization* (Van der Lubbe 1958: 115)
A distinctive adjective is ranked higher than a descriptive adjective.
(where 'ranked higher' implies 'ordered before'; cf. De Groot 1949: 92)

The logic here appears to be that when an adjective is used to refer to a distinctive property of the noun, that property is not presented as inherent but as one of a range of alternatives. In other words, the adjective is used predicatively or intersectively, and then the adjective precedes other adjectives not so used. Though Van der Lubbe gives no decisive examples, the idea is captured by (12.27), where *rode* 'red' is used to refer to a distinctive rather than an inherent property (cf. (5.36)).

(12.27) Geef mij maar een ROD-e Hongaars-e wijn
give 1SG.OBJ just INDF.SG red-CG Hungarian-CG wine
'I'll have a RED Hungarian wine, please.'

These observations suggest that the hierarchy in (12.25) is to be supplemented by the hierarchy in (12.28), and that the order of attributive adjectives (in Dutch) is a function of the interaction between the two types of hierarchy.

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(12.28) INDIRECT MODIFYING > DIRECT MODIFYING

In a recent implementation of this idea, Corver and Van Koppen (2009: 4) take the distribution of stressed, distinctive adjectives to suggest that the DP structure contains a high Focus Phrase attracting the stressed adjective to its specifier position.

12.2.2 Ellipsis and the -e *suffix*

Recall from section 6.4 that Dutch allows ellipsis of the noun stranding the adjective, without insertion of a pro-form like English *one*:

(12.29) een snel-le (boot)
INDF.SG fast-CG boat_{CG}
'a fast boat, a fast one'

The observation that Dutch, unlike English, can do noun ellipsis without inserting a dummy element like *one* has been related to the presence of adjectival agreement in Dutch (and its absence in English). For example, Muysken (1983: 201) suggests that the adjectival inflection ensures that the elliptic noun phrase satisfies the Case Filter of Chomsky (1981: 49), requiring overt noun phrases to carry Case. Muysken's idea is that Case is a feature assigned to the noun phrase and percolating down to a lexical element. In case of noun ellipsis, such a lexical element must be provided (e.g. English *one*) unless the adjectival inflection may count as a suitable recipient for the Case feature. Similarly, Bennis and Hoekstra (1989a: 32) propose that the adjectival agreement in Dutch locally identifies the empty noun head (see also Kester 1996: 240).

These analyses of noun ellipsis in Dutch receive support from the observation that in an indefinite noun phrase with a neuter head noun, where no adjectival agreement occurs, ellipsis is not possible (cf. (6.102)):

(12.30) een snel *(schip)
INDF.SG fast:INDF.N.SG ship_{N}
'a fast ship, (intended) a fast one'

As we saw in example (6.102), speakers tend to salvage the ellipsis in (12.30) by adding a schwa ending to the adjective:

(12.31) een snel schip > een snel-le
INDF.SG fast:INDF.N.SG ship_{N} INDF.SG fast-E
'a fast ship' 'a fast one'

While this fact supports Muysken's (1983) analysis, it is problematic for the idea that ellipsis is licensed by agreement morphology, as the schwa ending on *snelle*

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in (12.31) is clearly not present for agreement reasons (see Kester 1996: 242, Corver and Van Koppen 2009: 8).

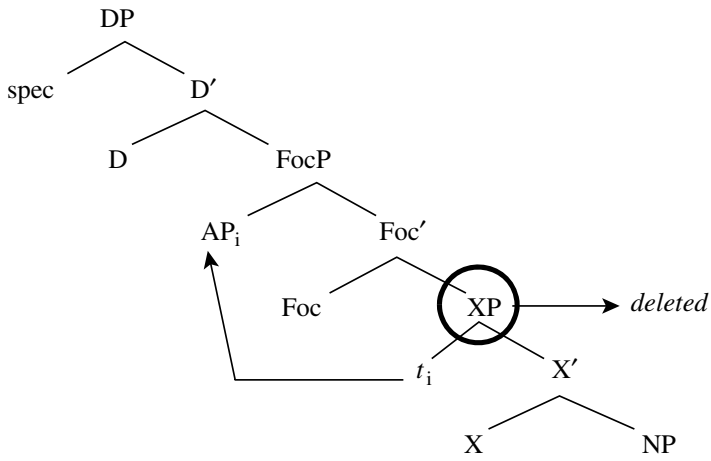
Corver and Van Koppen (2009) propose to relate the schwa ending in (12.31) to the schwa appearing in the emphatic forms illustrated in the righthand column in (12.32) (cf. Corver 2004).

(12.32)

	Standard form	*Emphatic form*
a.	ik	ik-**ke**
	1SG.NOM	1SG.NOM-EMP
	'I'	'Me!'
b.	dat	dat-**te**
	DEM.DIST.INAN:SG	DEM.DIST.INAN:SG-EMP
	'that (thing)'	'that thing over there'
c.	verdomd lekker	verdomd-**e** lekker
	damned tasty	damned-EMP tasty
d.	'n kist törref	'n kist-**e** törref (Katwijk dialect)
	a box peat	a box-EMP peat
	'a box with peat'	'a whole/gigantic box with peat'

This leads them to propose that the schwa element appearing in ellipsis constructions is the head of a Focus Phrase attracting the adjective phrase to its specifier position (see the end of section 12.2.1). Noun ellipsis, on this analysis, is simply deletion of the sister of the focus head:

(12.33)



The connection with focus was also exploited in an earlier analysis by Barbiers (2005: 160), who points to ellipsis with *one*-insertion in dialects of Dutch, illustrated in (6.103), and argues that *one* in these cases has a focus feature and

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occupies a high functional head position in the noun phrase attracting the adjective phrase to its specifier position (i.e. dialect Dutch *one* is Standard Dutch schwa).

In this context, Barbiers (2005) argues that *één* 'one' in Dutch is not a numeral but an indefinite quantifier, sharing many properties with *veel* 'many.'

12.2.3 Movement phenomena

Nothing can be extracted from adjective phrases in attributive (prenominal) position, but Corver (1990: chapter 8) was able to show that the opacity of adjective phrases is not absolute. Adjective phrases in predicative position do allow extraction of left-branch modifiers, suggesting that the opacity of attributive adjective phrases is a function of the general opacity of noun phrases.

Examples showing transparency of predicative adjective phrases are given below (adapted from Corver 1990: 229–230).

(12.34) a. **Hoe** **goed** is dat eiland [**[e]** bereikbaar]?
how well be:3SG DEM.DIST.N island GAP reachable
'How well can that island be reached?'

b. **Hoe** **zeer** waren de Maori-s [**[e]** belust
how much be:PAST.PL DEF.PL Maori-PL GAP keen
op wraak]?
on revenge
'How keen on revenge were the Maoris?'

In arguing for the extraction indicated in (12.34), Corver (1990) shows that the fronted constituent cannot have been generated outside the adjective phrase. This would predict pronominalization of the adjective phrase, leaving the modifier as a remnant, to be possible, contrary to fact:

(12.35) … dat Nauru goed bereikbaar was en dat Tuvalu …
C Nauru well reachable be:PAST.SG and C Tuvalu

a. … dat niet was. (*dat* = *goed bereikbaar*)
DEM.DIST.SG NEG be:PAST.SG
'… that Nauru was easily reachable while Tuvalu was not.'

b. *… dat slecht was. (*dat* = *bereikbaar*)
DEM.DIST.SG poorly be:PAST.SG
(intended) '… that Nauru was easily reachable while Tuvalu was poorly reachable.'

If *(hoe) goed* '(how) well' in (12.34a) were generated outside the adjective phrase *bereikbaar* 'reachable,' one would expect pronominalization of *bereikbaar*

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'reachable' leaving the modifier as a remant to be possible, contrary to fact (12.35b).

The transparency of predicate adjective phrases is furthermore shown by preposition stranding, in examples like (12.36).

(12.36) De Maori-s waren **er** niet [erg belust op **[e]**]
DEF.PL Maori-PL be:PAST.PL LOC NEG very keen on GAP
'The Maoris were not very keen on that.'
(*er* is the locative variant of *het* 'it')

12.3 Preposition phrases

12.3.1 Internal structure

Detailed study of the internal structure of preposition phrases (PP) in Dutch was not undertaken before Van Riemsdijk's (1978) application of X-bar theory to the adpositional domain. De Groot (1949: 66), who did not accept exocentric syntactic structures, argued that the preposition is the head of the preposition phrase (contra Bloomfield 1933: 194), but Van der Lubbe (1958: 73f) stuck with the traditional view according to which the preposition is a modifier within a headless preposition phrase.

Van der Lubbe (1958: 251) did make some headway in determining the internal structure of prepositional phrases, in that he allowed a prepositional phrase as a whole to act as the head (*kern* 'core') of a larger phrase, the constituents of which act as pre- or postmodifiers to the core PP. This yields the layered structure of examples like:

(12.37) *Premodifiers of the PP*
a. [**hoog** [in de lucht]]
high in DEF.SG sky
'high up in the sky'

b. [**honderd-en meter-s** [beneden de zeespiegel]]
hundred-PL meter-PL below DEF.SG surface
'hundreds of meters below the surface'

(12.38) *Postmodifier of the PP*
[[bij Tasman] **aan** **boord**]
by Tasman on board
'on board with Tasman'

Van der Lubbe (1958: 259) also observed that a distinction must be made between the types in (12.39a) and (12.39b).

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(12.39) a. tot in de nacht
to in DEF.SG night
'into the night'

b. van-uit Tasmanië
of-out Tasmania
'out of Tasmania'

In (12.39a), the preposition *tot* has another PP as its complement, as can be shown by the position of elements premodifying that PP:

(12.40) tot **diep** in de nacht
to deep in DEF.SG night
'deep into the night'

In (12.39b), the two prepositions are inseparable, suggesting they form a 'prepositional compound.'

Van Riemsdijk (1978: chapter 2) applied the X-bar structure of Chomsky (1970) and Jackendoff (1977) to the analysis of the Dutch PP, assigning the premodifiers (see (12.37)) to the specifier position of the PP, with slots on each side of the premodifier as landing sites for the locative variants of pronominal complements to the adposition (Van Riemsdijk 1978: 122). Recall (from sections 2.2 and 5.5) that inanimate pronouns in Dutch, when selected by a preposition, are turned into locatives and preposed. As shown in (12.41), the locative pronouns may appear before or after a premodifier:

(12.41) *vlak na **het** > (**er**) vlak (**er**) na
right after 3SG.INAN LOC right LOC after
'right after it'

Regarding postpositional PPs in Dutch (see (5.63b) and appendix 2), Van Riemsdijk (1978: 120) tentatively concludes that these are derived from an underlying prepositional structure.

In Van Riemsdijk's (1978) analysis, locative pronouns are first generated as regular pronouns (i.e. noun phrases) in the complement position of the preposition, then turned into locatives, and moved into the specifier position. Bennis and Hoekstra (1984: 40) argued for a different kind of analysis, where the locative pronouns are generated as such as complements to the left of the adposition. Recall from section 7.6.3 that locative pronouns in parasitic gap constructions cannot be related to a noun phrase gap (see (7.246)). Bennis and Hoekstra (1984: 61) took this to indicate that movement of a locative pronoun out of a noun phrase position into the specifier position of PP, as proposed by Van Riemsdijk, could not be right.

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However, if parasitic gaps are bound not by the antecedent directly, but by an empty operator, as proposed in Chomsky (1986a: 56), the ungrammaticality of (7.246) indicates that the chains linking the locative pronoun to the real gap and the operator to the parasitic gap must be of the same categorial type, and Bennis and Hoekstra's conclusion is invalid.

Given that the Dutch PP can be prepositional, postpositional, or circumpositional (see (5.62–63)), Kayne's (1994) theory of the antisymmetry of syntax, which allows only head-initial structure (see section 9.3), led to a renewed interest in the internal structure of the Dutch PP (Zwart 1993a, Koopman 2000, Helmantel 2002, Den Dikken 2006). Recall that no adjacency holds between a postposition and its complement (cf. (5.68)), suggesting to Zwart (1993a: 361) that the complement is in a derived position in postpositional PPs, and in its base position in prepositional PPs.

Circumpositional PPs (see (5.62)) were analyzed by Van Riemsdijk (1978: 111) as head-initial PPs with a postmodifying particle. Revisiting this analysis, Van Riemsdijk (1990: 239) proposed to identify the particle as a functional preposition (*p* in (12.42)) taking the head-initial PP as a complement to its left (see also Rooryck 1996: 241).

(12.42) *Circumpositions (Van Riemsdijk 1990: 239)*

[$_{pP}$	[$_{PP}$	P	NP]	*p*]	
		tegen	iets	aan	(= (5.62a))
		against	sth.	on	

'against something, touching something'

This analysis led Van Riemsdijk (1990: 240) to propose that postpositional PPs result from rightward head movement from P to *p*. However, this leaves the non-adjacency in postpositional (5.68) and circumpositional (12.43) PPs unaccounted for (see Zwart 1993a: 361).

(12.43)

van	de	tafel	weer	af
of	DEF.SG.CG	table	again	off

'off the table again'

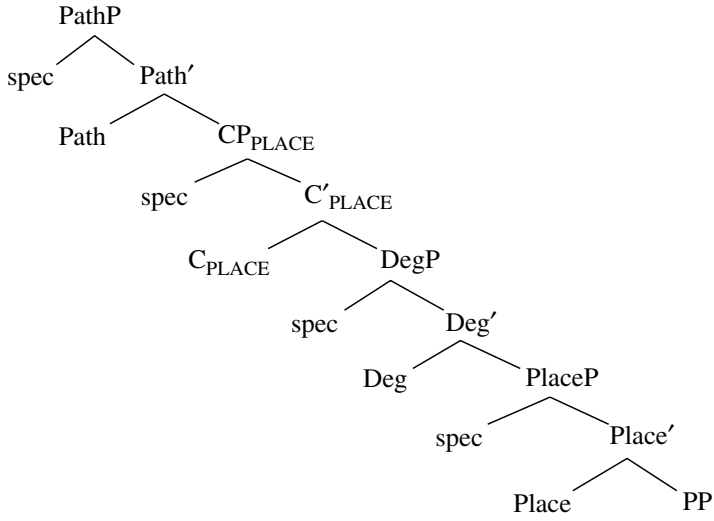
Also, discussion by Zwarts (1995: 237, 1997: 1101), Den Dikken (2006), and Zwart (2005b) bears out that it would be incorrect to identify the postpositions in circumpositional PPs in Dutch as functional elements (i.e. the core adpositions of (5.57) are not functional elements).

Later analyses of the internal structure of the Dutch PPs (Koopman 2000, Helmantel 2002, Den Dikken 2006) are characterized by uniform head-initial structure and leftward movement, as in Zwart (1993a), though with a more detailed structure and a richer feature inventory. Koopman (2000: 220) in particular

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assumes the layered PP structure in (12.44), where the locative pronouns are attracted to the specifier position of a locative projection (PLACEP).

(12.44)



In (12.44), DegP hosts the premodifiers of (12.37), and CP is the category that moves under PP extraposition or topicalization. PathP is involved in directional PPs, attracting either the entire CP (in case of prepositional directional PPs; see (5.65)), or just the noun phrase complement of P (with P itself moving to PATH, yielding a postpositional directional PP; see (5.66b)). Koopman's analysis was further fleshed out in unpublished work by Den Dikken, establishing a striking similarity between the functional domain of P and V, and affirming the status of P as basically a lexical category (Den Dikken 2006).

12.3.2 Movement phenomena

As illustrated in (7.217–219), preposition phrases (PP) in Dutch are islands for extraction, unless the moved category assumes locative morphology. In Van Riemsdijk's (1978: 192) analysis, PP is an island for direct movement of the preposition's complement, but not for stepwise movement using the specifier of the PP as an escape hatch. As discussed in section 12.3.1, this analysis takes locative morphology to be a precondition for movement into the specifier of PP, and hence for extraction out of PP.

Van Riemsdijk (1978: 210f) also argued that PP is a bounding node for the Subjacency Condition as reformulated in Chomsky (1977). His argument was based on the observation that locative pronouns moving out of the PP cannot be

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fronted without making an intermediate landing in the middle field. Consider the pattern in (12.45–46).

(12.45) a. Tasman heeft {in Batavia / er} zelden Gronings
Tasman have:3SG in Batavia / LOC rarely Gronings
ge-sprok-en
GE-speak-N
'Tasman rarely spoke the Groningen dialect { in Batavia / over there }.'

b. Tasman heeft {in Batavia / er} zelden over
Tasman have:3SG in Batavia / LOC rarely about
Lutjegast ge-sprok-en
Lutjegast GE-speak-N
'Tasman rarely talked about Lutjegast { in Batavia / over there }.'

(12.46) a. **Wat** heeft Tasman {in Batavia / er} zelden
Q.INAN have:3SG Tasman in Batavia / LOC rarely
[e] ge-sprok-en?
GAP GE-speak-N
'What did Tasman rarely speak {in Batavia / over there}?

b. **Waar** heeft Tasman {in Batavia / *er} zelden
Q.LOC have:3SG Tasman in Batavia / LOC rarely
[e] over ge-sprok-en?
GAP about GE-speak-N
'What did Tasman rarely speak about {in Batavia / (intended) over there}?

In all examples, the locative adjunct is shown as a PP (*in Batavia*) and as a pronoun (*er*). As can be seen in (12.46b), fronting of the locative pronoun *waar* 'where' across *er* 'there' is blocked, while similar fronting of the nonlocative pronoun *wat* 'what' is not. Assuming a single locative pronoun position ('R-position') in the middle field, Van Riemsdijk (1978: 210f) explained the ungrammaticality in (12.46b) as caused by the circumstance that *er* 'there' occupies an intermediate landing site for the movement of *waar* 'where,' forcing *waar* 'where' to move to the left periphery in a single step. The ungrammaticality of (12.46b) with *er* 'there' then follows if PP is one of the bounding nodes for Subjacency (a condition blocking movement across two bounding nodes, the other one being the clausal node S in this particular analysis).

The existence of the R-position was called into question by Bennis (1986: 205ff), who observed that the ungrammaticality of (12.46b) with *er* is too weak for it to count as a Subjacency violation, and provided counterexamples like the ones in (12.47).

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(12.47) a. **Waar** heb jij er twee **[e]** over
Q.LOC have:2SG.INV 2SG:NOM LOC two GAP about
ge-lez-en?
GE-read-N
'What did you read two (e.g. books) about?'

b. het onderwerp **waar** ik er een lezing
DEF.N.SG topic REL.LOC 1SG.NOM LOC INDF.SG lecture
[e] over zal gev-en
GAP about AUX:SG give-INF
'the topic that I will give a lecture on over there'

In (12.47a), *er* 'there' accompanies noun ellipsis as discussed in section 6.4.2 (cf. (6.98b)) and it does not block fronting of *waar* 'where'; in (12.47b) *waar* 'where' is fronted as a relative pronoun and *er* 'there' has the same locative adverbial function as in (12.46). Moreover, the two locative elements (the one extracted from PP and the other a locative adverb) can cooccur in the middle field (12.48), suggesting that the degraded nature of (12.46b) with *er* must be explained without recourse to a single locative pronoun position in the middle field.

(12.48)
Tasman heeft er **daar** zelden **[e]** over ge-sprok-en
Tasman have:3SG LOC DEM.DIST.LOC rarely GAP about GE-speak-N
'Tasman rarely talked about it over there.'

This removes the evidence for the bounding nature of PP in Dutch.

In line with this conclusion, left-branch extraction out of PPs in Dutch is possible, in examples like (12.49) (Zwarts 1978: 314, De Haan 1979a: 97 and Corver 1990: chapter 9).

(12.49)
Hoe-veel **mijl** lig-t Nieuw Zeeland [$_{PP}$ **[e]** voorbij Tasmanië]?
how-many mile lie-3SG New Zealand GAP beyond Tasmania
'How many miles beyond Tasmania does New Zealand lie?'

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