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The Dutch contribution to Universal Grammar¹

1. *Perspectives and foci*

European universities are, in the eyes of American academics uncompetitive, and their institutions fail to stimulate students beyond individual cases (Rosovsky 1990: 30ff.) This is considered to be due to a number of singular factors which can be narrowed down to two main deeper causes (according to Rosovsky): the failure to create competitiveness both among students and staff; the aloofness of professors in the teaching situation caused by hierarchical thinking. That there are other factors too lying at the bottom of what is characterized in Rosovsky's eyes as the crisis of European universities in general is demonstrated by the passage devoted singularly to the Dutch situation (note that the book quoted here appeared in 1990 - the sketch is no doubt meant as a fresh appreciation of the situation):

"In Holland [...] the consequence [of democratization, W.A.] has been an assault on the very notion of excellence in higher education. Professor Isaac Silvera, who taught physics at Leiden for many years, recently wrote: 'The primary function of a university is teaching and research, but what seemed paramount in the Dutch system was to create a democratically structured institute with organization and rules that would promote the social contentment of the employees and students; only then would attention be focused on education and research.' And Nobel laureate Nicholaas Bloembergen added somewhat mordantly: 'In a few years... the Dutch will even be unhappy if their soccer team wins the World Cup - that would imply excellence.' (Rosovsky 1990:34).

What is seen to be behind all this, and held as its cause, is the continental university model : designed to dependence on ministries of education; professors being civil servants subject to a plethora of bureaucratic regulations, among them stifling rules that ensure students' formal rights against overload of work; log-rolling replacing competition, elected bodies consisting of staff, students, and administrative personnel ensuring that leadership is weak: those who are strong (publishing outstanding; advocating qualitative measures among students and staff) and espouse charges are unlikely to be popular, and will never be voted into power and money controlling positions; in short, foremost, political parity and the ensuing

¹ This article has been solicited by Charles Otero (UCLA) to be published in a collection of similar articles on the national contributions to Universal Grammar. The idea behind the choice was to have a linguist appreciative of the national merits, but without a national bias.

mediocrity of academic aspiration.

This general survey, with its special focus on the Netherlands, is meant to set the key for the ensuing sketch of what Dutch modern linguistics has achieved - which has outbalanced most of the other European countries. I will first discuss what appears to be the main contribution to the development of Government and Binding. In an epilogue the general academic setting will be taken up again, and causes will be sought explaining why, under the seemingly adverse academic conditions in Holland, Dutch generative linguistics is going so strong.

2. *The Dutch contribution: a brief history of ideas*²

The following survey will be restricted to what are commonly held to be crucial steps in the development not only of the systematic description of Dutch, but, also and most prominently, real paradigm-advances within the general theory of UG.

2.1. *Dutch (and German) as both SOV- and SVO-languages*

One of the most beriddling phenomena for the analysis of word order and the ensuing problems for case assignment and other licensing questions is the fact that Dutch (together with German) shows both SOV order and SVO order. Bierwisch (1963) and Bach (1962) had assumed that the underlying order for German was to be SOV and that the order of the independent clause was to be derived. This solution was arrived at mainly on the basis of the fact that also in the independent clause with V-2 there were unmistakable V-last positions. See (1).

- (1)a Chomsky hat aus der Philologie eine Naturwissenschaft gemacht.
Chomsky has from the philology a natural science made.
b Chomsky führte die Philologie zu den Naturwissenschaften.
Chomsky lead the philology to the natural sciences hinüber.
over

Note that *hinüberführen* is one lexical item in German. The split of the predicate into a strict V-2 and a V-last had been a well-studied, but poorly understood phenomenon in the traditional grammars of German and Dutch all along. In the German tradition, it had been known, and studied over decades ever since Nordmeyer (1886), Drach (1937), under the term *sentence bracketing* ("Satzklammer"). In other words, there was a framework within which the dependent and the matrix clause could be described systematically: V-second in the matrix clause, whereas V-last in the dependent clause. Bach (1962) and Bierwisch (1963), in retrospect, did

² I have profitted greatly from the insightful evaluation of contemporary Dutch linguistics in van Riemsdijk (1990) as well as critical comments from Jan Koster on a first draft of this article.

not go an awful lot further. What they noted was that the main clause can present both V-2 and V-last traits simultaneously in the case of periphrastic constructions and with separable verbal prefixes (see (1a,b)) above. However, what this descriptive observation left unaccounted for was a series of questions:

- i. How was the dependent clause to be accounted for in terms of "both V-2 and V-last"? In other words, what is the structural prominence of V-2 in dependent clauses? Note that the Satzklammer model, tied as it were to phenomenal categories, had no way to identify an unoccupied position in structural terms.
- ii. How are topicalizations of the verb and the typical distributional restrictions of verbal constituents to be accounted for in a non-ad hoc way? Which movement transformations can be held to do this job, and why are other movements yielding non-structures?
- iii. What is the principled difference in the accounts for English as an SVO-language and Dutch/German showing both SVO and SOV phenomena? What has to be assumed in terms of structural movement transformations beyond the typological assumptions? Is Dutch (and German) both SVO and SOV?
- iv. What is the structural character of the topological space between the V-2 and the V-last positions? Note, again, that while V-last had been recognized within the Satzklammer topology of the clause, there was no principled account possible for the gradually weakening semantic and structural affinity between direct object vs. indirect object, and directional prepositional object vs. adjunct adverbials, to the left of the verb in V-last.

An answer to any of these questions could, in fact, only be driven home after Emonds' (1970, 1976) theory of possible and impossible, and structure preserving ("root") versus local, non-structural ("non-root") transformations. It was due to three Dutch linguists that provided (partial) answers to these questions became possible. First, Koster (1975) showed that the finite verb can surface in but three positions in the sentence, viz. V-last as long as it is in VP; in V-2, outside of VP, in the declarative sentence; and in V-1 in questions. In particular, what could be seen to be a VP-initial position in (2) is in fact outside of VP despite the fact that the verb appears to the left of the subject. Cf. (2) and (3).

- (2) De schaatser zoende zijn zusje.
the skater kissed his sister
- (3) Gisteren zoende de schaatser zijn zusje.
yesterday kissed the skater his sister

Note that such distributions allow an answer to an ardent question, and unsolved at that time, namely whether, given both SVO and SOV phenomena in Dutch and German, it was simply an arbitrary decision to assume either SVO or SOV (or even VSO as claimed by MacCawley) as underlying structures. Koster's argument was one of grammatical economy: Since any of the typological positions would have to assume movement rules for V-2 and V-last, the

analytical position subsuming a V-2 rule and SOV would derive all positions of the verb and its verbal partisans at no further cost, while SVO would have to assume V-last movement rules for categorially heterogeneous elements such as verbal particles and auxiliaries/modals. Note that the verbal particle never "strands" in V-2 when its host moves, while it does so in V-last.

- (4)a *De schaatser op belt zijn zusje niet.
 the skater up calls his sister not
 b De schaatser belt zijn zusje niet op.
 c *... dat de schaatser op zijn zusje niet belt
 that the skater up his sister not calls
 d ... dat de schaatser zijn zusje niet opbelt

While it is clear that the verb in independent clauses is outside the VP, its original host, it is not clear what exactly the structural position of the verb is and in how far the dependent clause supplies, in an explanative fashion, a structural position for what in the independent clause is the V-2 position. Note that this question implies another one, namely where the subject goes in the two structurally distinct clauses: Is its place identical in (4b) and (4d)? Note further that where V-2 and V-last as simultaneous structural options are absent as in English, this series of questions becomes meaningless or receives a totally different perspective.

Den Besten (1983) has adduced evidence of several direct and indirect kinds that the verb in V-2 sentences is in the same position as COMP in dependent clauses. His most direct proof is in (5) (den Besten 1983: 62), which can readily be reproduced and extended in German. See (5a-b) and (5c-e).

- (5)a Een platen heeft die! DUTCH
 a record has he
 "Boy, he does have a record!"
 b Een platen dat die heeft
 a records that he has
 "So many records he has"
 c Schön gelacht hat er! GERMAN
 hard laughed has he
 d Gelacht wenn/daß er hat: Das konnte ich nicht ausstehen.
 laughed when/that he has:that could I not take
 e Gelacht wie der hat!
 laughed how he has
 "Incredible, how he laughed!"

Evidence of more recent origin and substantiated from Austrian-Bavarian dialects (Bayer 1982/83) has not only corroborated this claim, but also adduced evidence that the subject in dependent clauses is in Spec-IP, whereas in independent clauses, given the COMP-position for the finite verb, it moves into Spec-CP.

V-2 properties of the strict, non-English sort have also been investigated by Koopman (1984) in West African languages, most prominently in Kru. Her observation that the V-2 rule is not restricted to main clauses appears to gain a new perspective by Diesing's findings and analyses on the very same phenomenon in Yiddish, one of the less well-studied Germanic ver-

naculars.

The last of the four questions above, iv, has interesting implications for the configurationality problem. It has often been held, notably for German (Haider 1984), that the "middle field" between the two sentential brackets, V-2 and V-last, allowing the wide range of movement of objects and adjuncts that it does, is one asset of a VP-less language and, thus, a partially non-configurational language. Scherpenisse (1986) has collected evidence of a refined sort (weak cross-over; binding superiority of subjects; methodological superiority of the VP-position as compared to a flat V-structure; etc.) that also the middle field in German is configurational.

2.2. *Verb (phrase) raising, clause union, and sentential integrity*

I think it is nothing but fair to discuss first what has ancientness within the 4 Dutch contributions: Evers' (1975) dissertation on the structural complexity of verbal clusters in Dutch and German.

With Dutch, German, and Frisian being SOV complex complement structures such as infinitival clauses would be expected to be preferred in extraposition, that is to the right of the matrix verb positions, since this is the side canonically suspending case assignment in SOV-languages. However, infinitival clauses also appear to the left of the embedding verb yielding clause union and undergoing a process that Evers (1975) in his pioneering work described as adjunction of the embedded verb to the main verb called Verb Raising (VR). However, as den Besten/Edmondson (1983) and Haegeman/Van Riemsdijk (1986) have shown, the Germanic languages and their dialects vary greatly with respect to the place of the embedded verb in relation to the main finite verb. See Frisian, German, and Dutch, for example.

- (6)a dat er de bal net goaien hoecht hat
 that he the ball not throw needed has
 b daß er den Ball nicht <hat> werfen müssen <hat>
 c*daß er den Ball nicht hat werfen gemußt
 d dat hij de bal niet heeft hoeven gooien
 e*dat hij de bal niet gooien hoeven heeft

VR is different in each of these closely related West-Germanic languages: Frisian is the only one with the finite AUX in sentence-final position (only with a marked status possible also in Standard German, not, however, in colloquial German or any of its dialects); cf. (6a) and (6b). Dutch and German both do not tolerate the participial form of the matrix AUX, but use the *infinitivus pro participio* ("Ersatzinfinitiv"; surrogate infinitive). German, finally, retains some of the "Frisian inflectional order" (finite AUX-modal-fully lexical verb from right to left) in that it just scrambles the finite auxiliary, while Dutch construes the reverse, analytical logic of order from left to right (finite AUX-modal-fully lexical verb, in this order). What is interesting here is that under VR the complement infinitival clause can lose some of its integrity: see (7) for infinitives with its arguments in ECM-constructions. It is to be noted that

German and Dutch differ considerably as regards clause union. Note that Dutch, but not German, invariably inverts the two verbs involved yielding the disintegrating embedding structure (German: "coherent" vs. "incoherent" infinitival constructions).

- (7)a daß der Lehrer [den Schüler das Buch lesen] sah .. GERMAN
 that the teacher the student the book read saw
 b[?] daß der Lehrer den Schüler das Buch sah lesen
 c[?] dat de leraar [de leerling het boek lezen] zag .. DUTCH
 d dat de leraar de leerling het boek zag lezen
 e daß der Lehrer den Schüler das Buch lesen hat gesehen

The German version in (7b) is stilistically and regionally marked (note that all of Bavaria, Austria, and the Alemannia do not use the synthetic preterite as in (7a,b) in the first place, but the periphrastic instead; viz. (7e). The bracketed orders retain the union of the embedded sentence (German, both Standard and the Upper German colloquial form), the unbracketed ones (Dutch) do not. The order of the infinitival forms, the modal verbs and the auxiliaries is still a matter of heated discussion and, to all appearance, far from solved and parametrized (see as the most recent attempt den Besten/Broekhuis 1990, next to den Besten/Edmondson 1983, who were the first to address this problem). It is perhaps noteworthy that Dutch observes a strict semantically motivated head-final order, whereas German reverses this order according to what might be regarded as an underlying head-initial order, on top of which the tense/mood and agreement carrying auxiliary inverts to the left or even to the cluster-initial position. See (8a-d) as well as (9) below.

- (8)a DUTCH: dat ik de man wel eens [zou [hebben [willen [zien]]]]
 b GERMAN: daß ich den Mann gerne mal [hätte_i [sehen [wollen]]] t_i
 c ... [sehen [hätte_i [wollen]]] t_i
 d HIGH-ALEMANNIC (Montafon): daß dr Hans ge:ra [het [willa [dr ma: [saha]]]]
 (9)a DUTCH: dat hij (hem wel eens) [zou [hebben [willen [zien [durven [blijven [staan [kijken]]]]]]]]
 b GERMAN: daß er ihn gerne mal sich <trauen> stehen bleiben <trauen> hätte sehen wollen

(8c) represents what has become to be analysed as VP-raising (Haegeman/van Riemsdijk 1986). It is not restricted to Alemannic (and in particular not to Züritütsch), but common across colloquial Upper German (Bavarian, Austrian, and Alemannic).

While Evers (1982, 1986) extended his studies on verbal clusters to other languages, den Besten/Rutten (1988) observed yet another remarkable infinitival variant to consequently develop a new analysis: that of the *Third Construction* (next to V-raising and VP-raising). See (10).

- (10) dat de leraar de leerling zag van zijn buurman te spieken
 that the teacher the student saw from his neighbour to pony

The underlying form for (8) is (9a); (9b) shows the double cycle of movements that (8) has undergone.

- (9)a dat de leraar [de leerling van zijn buurman te spieken]_i
zag
b dat de leraar t_i zag [de leerling van zijn buurman te ^{spie-}
^{ken}]_i
c dat de leraar de leerling_j t_i zag [t_j van zijn buurman te
spieken]_i

The evidence for this assumption of a VP-movement and subsequent scrambling of its direct object to the left outside the extraposed VP is the following complementary distribution of perfect participle and the "surrogate infinitive", typical of Dutch and German, but unknown to English and the Scandinavian Germanic languages.

- (10)a dat hij het boek heeft **geprobeerd** te lezen
that he the book has tried to read
b dat hij heeft **geprobeerd** het boek te lezen
(11)a dat hij het boek heeft **proberen** te lezen
that he the book has try-INF. to read
b*dat hij <het boek> heeft **proberen** <het boek> te lezen

Since neither verb raising nor verb-phrase raising is sensitive to this type of distribution the two-staged analysis that den Besten/Rutten (1989) have assumed appears well-motivated.

The amount of energy, both in terms of number of divergent solutions and time investment (all along since Evers 1975), devoted to the verbal sequence is well-invested nevertheless. Note that the depth of embedding (both nesting and right-branching, i.e. overlapping) in Continental Westgermanic (Dutch, German, partially also Friasian, as well as all of their dialects) is unequalled. See (12) as an example often quoted in traditional grammar.

- (12)a DUTCH: dat ik hem wel eens zou hebben willen zien durven
blijven staan kijken 'that I him once would-have-want-see-
dare-stay-stand-look' = "that once I would have liked to see
him dare to stand and look"
b GERMAN: daß ich ihn gerne einmal hätte sehen wollen sich
trauen stehen bleiben zu schauen

Note again that what should be a perfect participle according to normal tense assignment (*zou hebben gewild; hätte gewollt*) surfaces without exception in the infinitival form (*zou hebben willen; hätte wollen*). No doubt, in other contexts such as in (13) below only the participial form is acceptable. What is its exact distribution as opposed to the surrogate infinitive, and what would its explanation be in terms of a formal account. This question takes us to the following important step in the recent history of linguistic analysis in the Netherlands.

2.3. Tense linking and verb raising

The structural integration of agreement and tense into the sentential structure by Pollock 1988 and Chomsky 1988 has had a parallel in Bennis/Hoekstra (1988, 1989). Their analyses are of particular importance for SOV-languages and, equally so, for those languages that sport longer sequences of embedded verbs such as Dutch and German. See (12) above. The tensing theory of Bennis/Hoekstra has been developed with a keen eye for the description and explanation of the phenomena discussed briefly in the foregoing section: verb raising, VP-raising and extraposition. In fact, it is the explicit claim of the authors that their theory of tense linking and tense composition, which are necessary in themselves to account for temporal reference of a verb, yield accounts of VR, VPR and extraposition in a very natural way and without any extra stipulation. They further hold that their theory takes care of the very same phenomena in languages other than Dutch on the strength of very simple parameters.³

For reasons of brevity I will constrain my presentation of Bennis/Hoekstra's tensing theory to what is of relevance for the explanation of the untensed surrogate infinitive. The requirement of verbal tensing as part of finiteness of the main predicate is realised through two mechanisms: tense indexication and verb movement. The required temporal identification of the deepest verb can be brought about along two ways: by movement of the verb up to the Tense operator (which, in the case of the Germanic V-2 languages, is generated in COMP); or else, by percolation of T down to the deepest verbal node. The former case takes place in the case of *verb raising* (VR) (and verbal clustering on account of reanalysis). We shall see that not all of the Continental Westgermanic languages undergo VR. In those latter cases, T connects with the deepest verb to establish the required predicate tensing.

What is important now are the variants of serialization of the verbal elements across the Continental Westgermanic languages and the distribution between perfect participle (PP) and the surrogate infinitive (IPP=infinativus pro participio). See (13) (from den Besten/Edmondson 1983).

- (13) a dat hij het boek heeft kunnen lezen (DUTCH)
 b daß er das Buch hat lesen können (HIGH GERMAN)
 c daß er das Buch lesen gekonnt hat (HIGH GERMAN; OBSOLETE)
 d daß er das Buch hat können lesen (COLLOQUIAL GERMAN)
 e daß er hat wollen das Buch lesen (UPPER GERMAN, DIALECTS)
 f dat he dat boek lesen kunnt hett/*hett lesen künn'n (LOW GERMAN; DIALECTS)
 g dat er it boek lêze kent hat (WEST FRISIAN)
 h dat hij het boek lezen gekund heeft (WEST FLEMISH)

Only (13c,f,g,h) present participles, the remainder of the ex-

³ For a number of well-argued modifications of subparts of their theory see, for example, den Besten/Broekhuis 1991 as well as den Dikken 1990.

amples construing the surrogate infinitive. The first observational generalization is that in (14).

- (14) IPP-representations collocate with a deviation from the logical order of the verbal sequence. The relevant deviation is that of VR (verbal clustering) or VPR.

See the logical sequence in (13c,f) with the deepest verb tense-linked (PP): GERMAN *gekonnt hat*, LOW GERMAN *kunnt hett*, FRISIAN *kent hat*, and WEST FLEMISH *gekund heeft*. In these base-generated cases T percolates down to the head of the verbal sequence, the modal verb, and realizes the participial form of the modal verb (*gekonnt*; *kunnt*; *kent*; *gekund*). In all other cases, where the VR or VPR has applied, the deepest verb qualifying as head of the verbal sequence is the main verb, which, however, has been inflectionally marked already and thus does not qualify as a host of the T-marker. With T finding no host and with the modal verb not qualifying structurally as a non-head, the modal adopts the least marked inflection, the infinitive by default (den Dikken 1989). As will readily be noted this IPP-mechanism works only under the assumption that VR and VPR are structure-final adjunctions (extrapositions) of IP (Vanden Wyngaerd 1989) or VP (den Dikken 1989).

In order to cover infinitival cases of CP-extraposition such as in (15), Bennis/Hoekstra (1988, 1989) postulate a compositional rule of T-linking.

- (15)a dat [_{IP1} Jan [_{CP} om [_{IP2} PRO te fietsen]] probeerde
 that Jan for to ride bicycle attempted
 b dat [_{IP1} Jan t_i probeerde [_{CP} om [_{IP2} PRO te fietsen]]

(16) **T-(chain)composition**

If C₁ is the chain of a dependent T and C₂ is the chain of the governing T, then C₁ and C₂ can be composed iff some link of C₁ is a sister to some link of C₂.

In (15a) the embedded T-chain can be locally composed with the matrix chain by adjoining the constituent with the embedded T-chain (the infinitive construction) to the matrix IP containing the matrix T-operator, which has percolated down from COMP. This yields (15b). Thus, there is T-linking (tensing) also in the case of extraposition as in (15b).

(17), finally, sketches the mechanisms responsible for the surface forms of infinitival embeddings in the Continental West-germanic languages (partly following den Dikken 1989: 72).

(17)		VR	VPR	3rd Const.	IPP
	Frisian	-	-	-	-
	Low German	-	-	-	-
	Dutch	+	-	+	+
	West Flemish	+	+	+	+
	Upper German	+	+	+	+
	German	-(+)	+	+	+

Upper German comprizes the dialects of Austria, Bavaria, and the Alemannia.

2.4. Ergativity, specificity, and VP-internal subjects

For German, it has been claimed that it is either non-configurational since some of the crucial evidence for a VP is absent (see, for example, Haider 1981, 1984) or that it is partially non-configurational since, most ostensibly, the VP and, most prominently, the position left-adjacent to V^0 are open for all types of categories (Abraham 1986 with respect to the so-called "middlefield"). Interestingly enough, no such claim has ever been launched for Dutch (except for Weerman 1988), although the evidence is overwhelmingly the same as in German. The question whether or not German or Dutch are (partially) non-configurational can be decided, along with other types of tests, on two types of evidence: first, whether or not there are subject-object asymmetries to be found; and, second, how scrambling characteristics in the "middle field" of German and Dutch can be decided in structural terms such that the conclusion that part of the German and/or Dutch sentence is non-configurational can be shown to be legitimate or not.

While one of the evidence regarded to be crucial for the first question above, the so-called *that*-trace effect (see (18) below), proves English and German/Dutch to be crucially different and, as one would be inclined to conclude, showing German to be (partially) non-configurational, there is new evidence of similar, though innovative character that is held to be counter-evidence to Haider's inference. See (18) and den Besten's (19) below.

- (18) a Who do you think has come?
 b*Who do you think *that* has come?
 c Wer glaubst du, daß das Huhn geschlachtet hat
 who believe you that the chicken slaughtered has
 "Who do you believe has slaughtered the chicken?"
 d Wen glaubst du, daß er geschlachtet hat?
 whom believe you that he slaughtered has
- (19) a [Was für ein Tier] hat er geschlachtet?
 what for an animal has he slaughtered?
 "What kind of an animal has he slaughtered?"
 GERMAN:
 b Was glaubst du, daß er für ein Tier geschlachtet hat?
 what believe you that he for an animal slaughtered has
 c*Was glaubst du, daß für ein Tier am besten schmeckt?
 what believe you that for an animal the best tastes
- DUTCH:
 d Wat dacht je dat ik voor 'n boek gelezen heb?
 e*Wat dacht je dat voor 'n boek het beste beviel?

If the asymmetry displayed in English, (18a,b), is absent in German the conclusion as to the required asymmetry between subject and object and, further, to the existence of a VP-constituent becomes weaker too (Haider 1981, 1984). As den Besten (1985) has shown, however, the asymmetry is preserved under *was für/wat voor*-extractions - admittedly, only for colloquial German. If we further assume that the distribution in (18) can be explained in a quite different context (Reuland 1985, Bennis 1986) an important claim as to the non-configurational status of

German is dispelled.⁴

Departing from insightful discussions on the syntactic and morphological status of infinitives and gerunds in sundry languages, notably in Dutch, English and Frisian (1983, 1985, 1987), Reuland (1988) notes the following distributions.

- (20) a *Judith dacht dat een man arriveerde
 b Judy thought that a man arrived
 c *Fred denkt dat een koe in de tuin is
 d Fred believed that a cow was in the garden

As soon as the subject-NP are specific the grammaticality distinction between Dutch and English disappears.

- (21) a Fred denkt dat twee koeien in de tuin zijn
 b Fred thinks that two cows are in the garden

This raises the questions how the differences between Dutch and English are to be accounted for and what the structural reason should be for the distributional distinctions of specific and non-specific subjects in existential sentences.

The range of data turns out to be richer yet, however. See

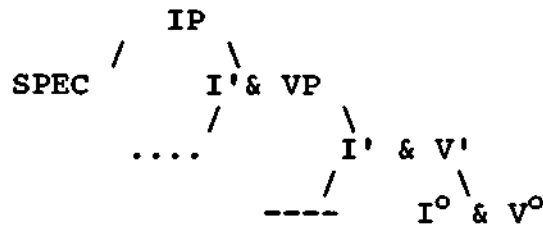
- (22). (DO = direct object)
 (22) a *Rudi hoopt dat Onno brieven[-spec] morgen verscheurt
 Rudi hopes that O. letters[DO] tomorrow tears up
 b R. hoopt dat O. zes brieven[+spec] morgen verscheurt
 R. hopes that O. six letters[DO] tomorrow tears up
 c Rudi hoopt dat Onno morgen brieven[-spec] verscheurt

The specificity effect observed above for subjects thus extends to direct objects. Note that what is common to the structural position of the subjects in (20)/(21) and objects in (22) is that both subjects and objects are VP-external positions in that an adverbial is closer to the verb in final position. The crucial generalization drawn by Reuland is that non-specific NP-readings in Dutch are licensed only in argument positions, i.e. inside of VP. See (22c) as opposed to (22a). This restriction as to the structural position of non-specific NPs is parametrically distinct. German, for example, licenses such VP-external, non-

⁴ Pro configurationality in German are, among others, Fanselow 1985, Grewendorf 1988, 1989, Webelhuth 1989. To the best of my knowledge, Haider (1981, 1984, 1988) is not so much an unrelenting defender of the non-configurationality of German as, much rather, someone who keeps cautioning against the zeal with which mechanisms and results obtained for English and/or other (alleged) configurational languages are seen to carry over to German - often, as he claims, sight unseen. I would doubt, however, that he would be willing to go that far as to regard German, or any other language, as a deep-structure configurational language with traces of non-configurationality in its surface structure. The latter nowadays has been claimed for one of the most long-lasting strongholds of the configurational distinction, namely for Dyirbal (by Kenneth Hale (1990) himself).

argumental positions under contrastive stress (Abraham 1989/1991: chapter 8).

(23)



Assuming (23) as the underlying structure for German and Dutch (Kosmeijer/Reuland 1987/89: 107 et passim) there is no sister position of I^0 outside of VP. VP counts as a maximal projection, and the argument position outside of VP is governed only by INFL. Since, as observed by Reuland, the position "++++", directly dominated by I' , does not license non-specific indefinites, the ungrammaticality of non-specific subjects in intransitive sentences can be accounted in a straightforward way. Our examples demonstrate that it is indeed the VP-external position which is sensitive to non-specificity.

The further, at first sight bewildering, fact that non-specific subjects of transitive verbs are licensed outside of VP receives a natural explanation under Burzio's assumption that transitive subjects are theta-theoretically licensed: objective case is assigned by V inside VP, which in turn licenses an external theta-role assigned by the transitive VP. Compare (24) and (20a)/(22a).

- (24) Rudi sah, wie Männer[-spec] die Briefe(DO) (gestern)
zerrissen
"Rudi saw how men tore up the letters yesterday"

Other than Dutch and German, English does provide a VP-external argument position irrespective of the (in)transitivity of the governing verb. This is the reason why English licenses as grammatical (20b,d) and (21b). For a discussion of the facts in German, which stand between those in Dutch and those in English, see Abraham (1989/1991, ch. 8).

2.5.6. *Ambipositions, particle verbs, and stranding: the re-sounding of bounding conditions*

The first Conference of GLOW (an invention and initiative of the leading Dutch linguists, among them foremost Henk van Riemsdijk; see Mascaro/Nespor (1990) on the occasion of van Riemsdijk's 11th year of GLOW-chairship) in Amsterdam highlighted a long-standing controversy in generative linguistics, namely the question whether or not transformations were constrained by locality conditions as opposed to long distance deletion rules which were not subject to locality constraints. The stand that Dutch linguists (den Besten 1978, Koster 1978b, Vat 1978) took was that "unbounded" transformations did not exist and that all

transformational rules were subject to locality constraints. Departing from Chomsky (1973), the concept of "boundedness" was developed by Koster (1978a) as a term fusing two previous locality constraints, namely that of subjacency and that of the binding conditions, into one single condition on the islandship for transformational dependencies of all phrasal categories. The position that Koster took facing the obvious exceptions to his principle of local bounding, i.e. the occurrence of dependencies across phrasal boundaries, was to assign those phenomena a marked status or to allow such exceptions only under well-defined conditions. Bounding conditions can be defined along two paths: (1) all X'-categories (all X-max categories) can be bounding nodes; or (2) only one X-max category is a bounding node. This choice was further explored and developed in Koster (1987).

The same question was taken up and further generalized in van Riemsdijk (1978) in his study on the phrasal nature of prepositional phrases in Dutch and English. Generally speaking, the assumption was that the PP is structurally organized similar to the sentence in that it has equivalents to purely functional categories serving as landing sites and as peripheral escape hatches for movement out of the prepositional phrase. Dutch qualifies particularly well for such generalizations in that it sports fleeting pronominal and adverbial clitics such as *er* (historically derived from the adverbial pronominal *daar* "there"). The idea was that PPs, much like a sentence, have COMP allowing long extraction out of the phrase as soon an element has moved into the COMP of PP. See (24b) as opposed to (25c).

(24) DUTCH:

a dat zij niet [_{PP} van hem] houdt
that she not of him loves
"that she does not love him"

b*dat zij niet [hem van] houdt
c*dat zij hem niet van houdt

GERMAN:

d daß sie nichts von ihm hält
e*daß sie ihm nichts von hält

(25) DUTCH:

a dat zij niet [_{PP} ervan] houdt
b dat zij er niet van houdt

GERMAN:

c daß sie nichts davon hält
d daß sie da nichts von hält (Northern German)

Extraction of *er/da* in (25b,d) is thus allowed because of the peripheral position adopted by the pronominal elements in (25a, c), which cannot be obtained by non-clitic elements in (24). Note that COMP-adjunction is the preferred position for sentential clitics as well, both in Dutch and in German (Bayer 19882/83).

It is in this vein that van Riemsdijk (1990) analyses post- and circumpositional PPs in German. According to his analysis lexical Ps are always head-initial and right-governing, although their maximal projection is selected by a functional head-final head. See (26).

(26) [_{PP} [_{PP} P NP] F]

Postpositions in German, under this view, are prepositions raising to F, while circumpositions are cases of base-generated Ps in both P and F. See also Abraham (1991, chapter 7). Note that this would seem to create a dilemma with respect to the following observational facts: first, there is a large class of verbal particles separable from the simple verb under movement of the verbal stem and attracting INFL in sentence-final position. These verbal particles always carry normal (rhematic) sentential stress. It may be unclear under the view developed above whether *entlang* "alongside" is a verbal particle or a postposition. See (27).

- | | | |
|-------|---|-------------------------------------|
| (27)a | Er lief entlang des Flusses
he ran alongside the river-GEN. | Preposition |
| b | Er lief den Fluß entlang | Postposition or
verbal particle? |
| c | den Fluß ENTLANG laufen | infinitival cita-
tive form |

Separable particles (caps denoting obligatory default stress) such as in (27c), however, obligatorily carry grammatical (= default, context-free) focal stress. Since they separate from the verb they cannot be treated as being part of a complex **lexical unity**. In other words, **ENTLANG**laufen "run alongside" in (23) (as opposed to [_{VP} [_{PP} den **FLUSS** [_P entlang] [_V laufen]]) as well as **ANKommen** "arrive" in (28) are just as much complex words as they aren't lexical units. How is this janus-faced element to be described? Van Riemsdijk (1988) captures both properties by taking the verbal particle as heads of intransitive PPs selected by the V.

- (28)a Wann werden wir [_{PP} [_P AN]] [_V kommen] ?
 when will we ar- -rive
- b Wann kommen_i wir [_{PP} [_P AN]] [_V t_i]?
 "When do we arrive?"

Note that this permits another non-trivial generalization. Since in cases of infinitival embedding the verbal particle moves to INFL, as is clearly the case in (29a), and since in all other cases the focal prominence is on the deepest embedded element under left-branching (see (29b-d) below) there is a simple generalization with respect to the grammatical distribution of focus (and, simultaneously, of the discourse function of the rheme):

- (29) The rheme is on the structurally deepest node in a left-branching verbal complex that is selected by the verb.

The deepest node will be INFL as a left sister to V⁰ as in (30a-c), a bare direct object as in (30d) below, or any NP within a PP selected by the verb (as in the case of directional verbs).

because the verb governs from right-to-left, whereas the preposition has the inverse governing direction. Consequently, a domain extension across the PP-boundary is impossible.

- b The NP-island constraint should never be violated in SOV-languages since the governing directions of N and V are inverse. Thus, domain extensions beyond the NP-boundary should not be allowed.

As Grewendorf (1989:39f.) illustrates both predictions bear out for the relevant data in German. Note that this confirms indirectly van Riemsdijk's (1990) assumption that a minor part of the German adpositions appear as postpositions and, more prominently even, that adverbial adpositions appear in postpositional form, as in [_{pp} da- [_p mit]] "there-with" or [_{pp} wo- [_p gegen]] "where-against", which allow P-stranding, as opposed to [_{pp} [_p mit] wem]] "with whom" or [_{pp} [_p gegen] wen]] "against whom", which do not allow P-stranding.

It is essential to see what the impact of the discussion of bounding was to the further development of generative linguistics. Two paths lead further from the inceptive idea and categorial generalization of bounding: one concentrating on the categorial property leading to the barrier, or categorial blocking, concept more fully developed by Chomsky 1986, and another one of quantity or distance further delineated as minimality concept by Rizzi 1990.

3. *Possible reasons for the success of transformational grammar in The Netherlands*

The discussion in section 2, though succinct and somewhat perfunctory, yields a picture of success for academic linguistics in Holland. There can be no doubt that the small country has contributed valuable, creative ideas to the history of generative grammatical theory. That this is not only my very personal conviction, but it is easily confirmed by objective evidence: The number of international journals of Dutch make devoted to linguistics; the fact that GLOW was, and is, a Dutch baby; the fact that generative linguistics in the German-speaking countries has been helped, to some degree, to come off the ground through direct organizing initiatives in Holland (*Groningen Grammar Talks*; *Groninger Arbeiten zur germanistischen Linguistik*) and indirectly through the ease with which perspectives developed for Dutch could be pursued for German as well; the fact that publishing houses (Foris; Reidel; Benjamins; de Ridder) stood open for modern linguistic topics from the very beginning; the merit that Dutch modern and formal linguistics is given for the development of linguistic ideas in the books by Chomsky and other master minds of the field; and, finally, the direct contribution that Dutch linguistic books make for the market. The level of the dissertations is on a high unknown in other countries. How is all this to be understood against the unfavourable background of Dutch academic life that Rosovsky (1990) has sketched (see the introductory remarks to this essay)?

In a similar assessment, van Riemsdijk (1990: 150) calls attention to the following favourable factors: the fact that structuralism never took a firm hold in the country and thus was not a threshold to the generative school of thinking; the ideological liberalism as a consequence of the democratization of the universities; the country's traditional openness to international bonds and contacts. To these factors I would like to add: the fact that, unlike in the German, French, and Russian academic traditions, the young Ph. D. researcher has never been bound to write a second dissertation (*Habilitationsschrift* in the German tradition; *second thèse* in the French academic tradition; or the status of *opus magnum* of the dissertation in Russia); a healthy lack of hermeneutic thinking which forces the researcher to summarize dutifully everything the literature has had to say about the particular topic to date and which is so characteristic of German, French, and Russian dissertations. All this contributes in a healthy way to the time and energy that the young Dutch researcher can devote to his topic. No doubt, the liberal, non-oppressive atmosphere has helped to create a favourable research climate.

But all this does not seem to me to be sufficient for the specific success that generative linguistics has had in Holland. Note that a wide variety of linguistic enterprises are poorly represented in this country: Indoeuropean philology; all non-Western languages except for Leyden; language typology; second language acquisition for a variety of target groups, among them alien guest workers; machine translation and parsing; the philosophy of language; linguistic pathology and theory-inspired remedies; communicative linguistics for a wide market of target groups - enterprises that the neighbouring Germany has developed on a considerable scale. Note, second, that the Dutch academic student in the humane fields is clearly inferior to his fellows in the French or German speaking academiae in terms of broad erudition and intellectual-cultural flair. Rosovsky's somewhat black picture is not a distortion - it is just not true for modern and, in particular, generative linguistics. The fact that the linguistics student concentrates on just one field of interest - a drawback to the intellectual inspiration of the student in the humaniora otherwise - as well as the fact that he can pursue his interests without the historical and hermeneutic overload of work is highly supportive - not to forget, in a field that is so new. Beyond that, Dutch linguistics has succeeded to organize excellent graduate schools, extra muros of the individual universities, with regular intensive courses at varying pooling centers - taking advantage of the smallness of the country. These are the ingredients of a successful academic innovation that has come to life in the Dutch academic system within the past 8 years.

Among other factors that have supported the concentration on modern linguistics may have been the fact that, other than e.g. Germany and France, post-war political and cultural interests of Dutch were attracted by the United States. Eminent Dutch Ph.D. students went to the States to pick up modern linguistics at prominent U.S. academic institutions, among which M.I.T.. The Dutch, with their eclectic national character, thus evaded the influx of European structuralism, and learned to

overcome it at their American academic institutions, far less painfully and a lot faster than any German or French post-war student generation. The student revolution against procrustic academic hierarchies in the sixties shaped an ideal institutional academic liberalism for an eminent generation of young linguists in terms of freedom from whatever their academic priors believed in.⁵

Personally, as a foreigner who has lived in this country for more than 20 years, fully integrated into the academic linguistic circles, who is nevertheless not blind towards the ingroup biases of a small country and a grossly mercantile culture, I believe that there is yet another factor to be addressed. In every country, there is a certain balance between antagonist cultural forces. The Dutch are overwhelmingly positivistic. Hardly any kind of idealism of the French or German philosophical traditions has gained firm and lasting ground in this country. The political, economic, and cultural traditions have an overwhelmingly positivistic⁶, surface-data oriented component. The body of written law is small by comparison with countries whose jurisdictions resolutely try to foresee inequalities and inconsistencies in the practice of law. Generative linguistics is idealistic; it is Cartesian in its speculative philosophical and methodological approach - just the very opposite of the methodological mainstream that pervades Holland. I strongly believe that generative linguistics is the counterweight to the Dutch open-ended positivism, which has made the country so successful economically and politically. And it is its minority and underdog position against the general cultural background from which generative linguistics derives the inspiration and energy that has made it so successful.

⁵ That this gulf of demoncratization and thorough breach of hierachical relations has lead to a new imperialism of beaurocratism on all administrative levels, which is not equalled by adequate attention on cultural and scholarly-academic values, is perhaps even to be seen as a logical consequence. But this is another page to opened. See Abraham 1989 for an evaluative attempt. Note, however, that my emphasis is on the fact that this liberalism has resulted in the type of linguistic excellence unequalled in the rest of Europe in width and depth.

⁶ This term was much to the dislike of Jan Koster's, who browsed through the first draft of this paper. Its use here is purely reminiscent of the positivistic school of thinking with its focus on non-idealism, non-metaphysical philosophical and cultural sobriety, much in distinction to the Cartesian metaphysical, speculative, but logical mode of philosophical thinking.

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