WPFG

On the position of Dutch Complementizers
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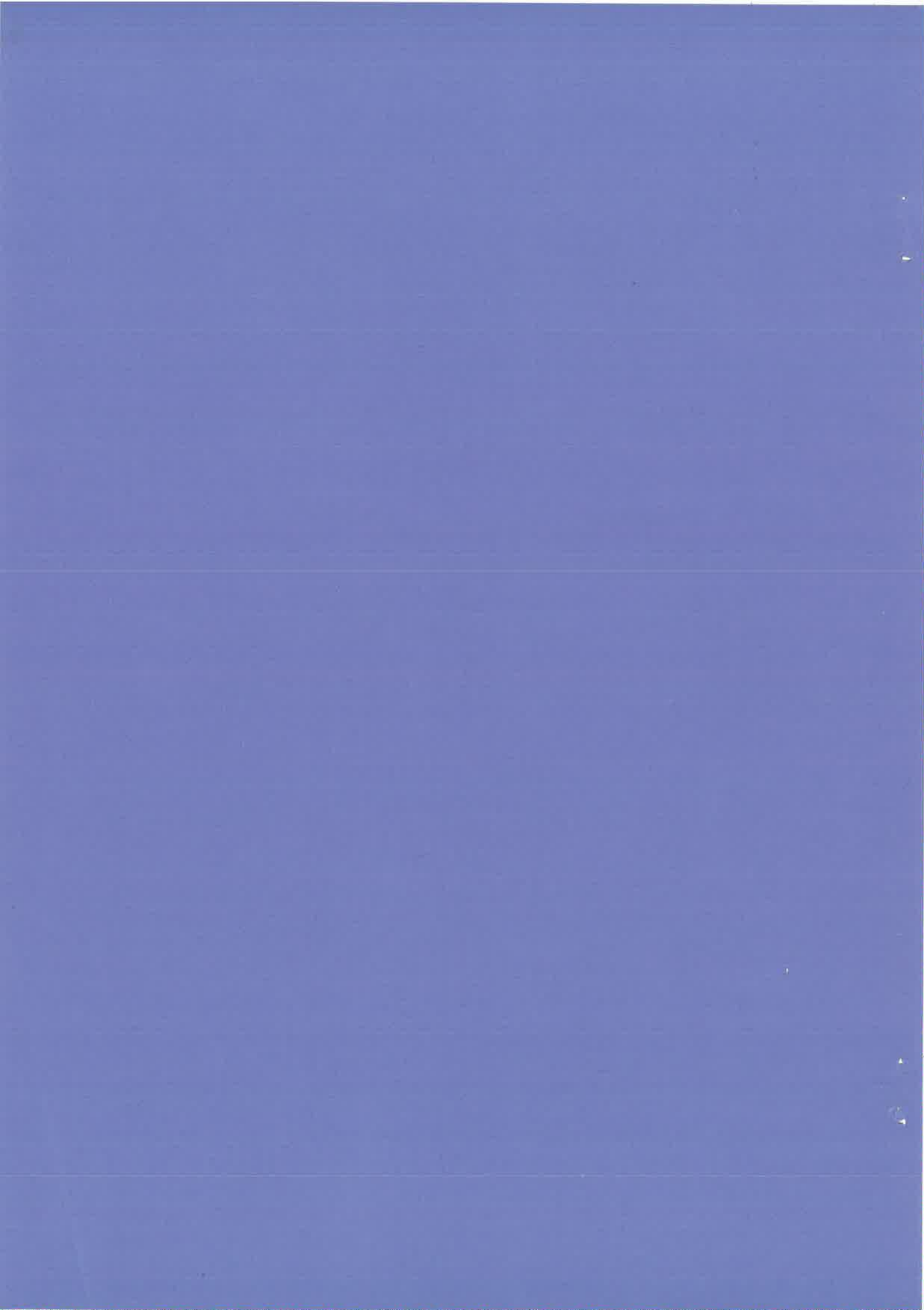
ON THE POSITION OF DUTCH COMPLEMENTIZERS[1]

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1. Introduction.

This paper focuses on the position of Dutch subordinating conjunctions or complementizers ('Comp'[2]). The essential question is whether they take up the same structural position as subordinating WH elements (pronouns and adverbs), which is a clause initial position. I will argue that Dutch Comps are in front of the 'clause proper', that they thus precede subordinating WH elements and do not share their structural position. The claims will be phrased in the theory of Functional Grammar ('FG') (in the sense of Dik 1978).

Though the focus is on Dutch and on FG, I will suggest both cross-linguistic and cross-theoretical relevance. The cross-linguistic dimension concerns the other Germanic languages. The cross-theoretical dimension pertains to the Scandinavian tradition of Diderichsen, Transformational Grammar ('TG'), and German and Dutch structuralism.

2. Functional Grammar and word order.

FG is based on the work of S.C. Dik and associates (Dik 1978, 1980; Dik ed. 1983; Hoekstra et al. eds. 1981; Bolkestein et al. 1981; Nuyts ed. 1985). A good overview of the topics addressed by the theory can be obtained from the proceedings of the biennial Functional Grammar Conferences (Bolkestein et al. 1985a, 1985b; Nuyts & De Schutter 1987; Van der Auwera & Goossens 1987); De Groot (1986) is an exhaustive bibliography.

As a formal theory, FG seeks to be parsimonious in that it strives towards minimal abstractness. This necessarily vague aspiration is made more concrete in two subgoals. First, a grammar should not have transformations, i.e. structure-changing rules that either move, delete, or permute elements, and thus create various levels of description, one at which some element has not been moved, deleted, or permuted, and another one at which it has. This principle does not uniquely characterize FG (cf. e.g. Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar) and it is of interest that latter-day TG has greatly reduced its transformational component. Note that the notion of level of description itself is not objectionable in FG. FG syntax comprises a 'predication formation' component, in which formation rules build up the underlying representation of a sentence ('predication'). They do this in an ordered way and after the application of each formation rule, one can say one has arrived at a different level of description. The point is that such rules can never move, delete, or permute.

Second, a grammar should exercise economy in respect to empty ('null') categories, i.e. elements that are not overtly expressed. TG is most liberal with respect to empty elements: they are called upon e.g. to describe passivization ('NP movement traces') and unbounded dependencies involved in relativization and question formation ('WH movement traces'). Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar, perhaps the most prominent non-TG and non-FG model, only posits empty elements for cross-clausal unbounded dependencies

and clausal non-subject ones (cf. Gazdar et al. 1985:137-168). FG, however, is more constrained still: of the unbounded dependencies only the cross-clausal ones need empty elements.

In another sense, however, FG is a conceptually rich theory. Its syntax allows at least five different types of units:

(i)   phrase or constituent structure categories, such as 'Noun' and 'Noun Phrase';

(ii)   word order slots or structural positions, such as 'P2' and 'P1' (to be explained below);

(iii)   so-called 'semantic functions' such as 'Agent', 'Source', 'Benefactive' (the 'cases' of Case Grammar or the 'thematic roles' of TG);

(iv)   'Subject' and 'Object'; these are called 'syntactic functions';

(v)   'Topic', 'Focus', 'Theme', and 'Tail', which are the so-called 'pragmatic functions'.

These notions are not unique to FG, but the way in which they function in the theory is. The interplay of semantic and syntactic functions is most reminiscent of Relational Grammar and of universalist work such as Comrie (1981).

The underlying representation that is the result of the predication formation rules is a complete categorial and functional description of the sentence - 'categorial' referring to phrase structure categories and 'functional' to semantic, syntactic, and pragmatic functions (see (i), (iii), (iv), and (v) above). The underlying representation does not, however, describe phonology, morphology or word order. This is done in the second major component of the FG model, the 'expression component', in which expression rules relate the underlying representation to the actual surface form and word order.

For the purpose of this paper I can neglect the workings of the predication formation component and the expression rules that take care of phonology and morphology. What interests me here is only word order and then again, only the word order of the clausal left periphery.

The FG word order component operates on the as yet unordered constituents of the underlying predication and assigns them a position.[3] This assignment happens in accordance with a variety of factors, two of which are important for the problems addressed in this paper:

(i)   word order templates or 'patterns';

(ii)   'P rules'

Word order patterns may vary between languages both in detail and in number (a language may have more than one pattern). Typically, they specify linear order in

terms of three kinds of entities:

(i)   structural positions (see below),

(ii)   categories, especially verb,

(iii)   functions, in the typical case, syntactic functions (i.e. Subject and Object).

Thus Dik (1978:178,185; 1980:154-155) claims that Dutch has two word order patterns, viz. the verb-late pattern in (1) for subordinate clauses ('SCs'), and the verb-second pattern in (2) for main clauses ('MCs').[4]

(1)   P2 P1 Subj Obj V P3   [SC]

(2)   P2 P1 Vf Subj Obj Vi P3   [MC]

('P' stands for 'Position', 'V' for 'Verb, finite and/or non-finite', 'Vf' and 'Vi' for 'finite verb' and 'non-finite verb' respectively[5])

Before we can make sense of these patterns, we have to explain the P2, P1, and P3 notions. As adumbrated already, they are the special word order slots or structural positions. By definition, P2 is the special position for left periphery elements that precede the 'clause proper'. A typical P2 occupant is the Left Dislocation or, as it is called in FG, the 'Theme'.

(3)   *Die man*, die   heeft het begrepen
        that man that has   it   understood
        'That man, he has understood it'

P3 is the special position for elements that are to the right of the 'clause proper', such as the Right Dislocation or, in FG terminology, the 'Tail' in (4).

(4)   Die heeft het begrepen, *die man*

P1, finally, is a special clause-initial position. Thus for both (3) and (4) it will be said that the *die* in front of *heeft* is in P1.

To claim then that Dutch has the patterns (1) and (2) simply means that Dutch allows material both in front and behind the 'clause proper' (P2 and P3), and that a Dutch 'clause' proper must start off with a special clause-initial position, the properties of which we have not discussed yet, followed by either Subject, Object and verb or by finite verb, Subject, Object, and non-finite verb.

P3 is irrelevant for our problem. With respect to P2 and P1, however, it is useful to emphasize the similarities and the differences. P2 and P1 are similar in that both characterize the left periphery of the clause. They are different in that P1 is in the

'clause proper', while P2 precedes it. Thus P2 also precedes P1. Another difference is that P1 may attract constituents whose category or function would otherwise assign them a later position. Consider (5).

(5)   *Dat hoofdstuk* heb ik begrepen
        that chapter   have I understood
        'That chapter I have understood'

Since (5) is a main clause, we should check the acceptability of (5) in accordance with pattern (2). Pattern (2) requires the Object to follow the Subject. Yet in (5) the Object precedes the Subject. It is allowed simply because the Object constituent is in P1. The Object position in (2), which we now understand better as the position where the Object goes unless it is in P1, is unfilled.

(6)   Dat hoofdstuk - heb - ik   - Ø - begrepen
                        P1   - Vf - Subj - Obj -   Vi

In this view, the 'clause proper' of (3) and (4) is analyzed as shown in (7).

(7)   *Die* - heeft - Ø - het - begrepen
        P1   - Vf - Subj - Obj - Vi

P2, in contrast, may attract Subjects as well as Objects, too, but this cannot result in unfilled positions.

(8) a. *Die man*, - die - heeft - Ø   - het - begrepen
        P2   - P1 -   Vf - Subj - Obj -   Vi

   b. *Dat hoofdstuk*, - ik - heb -   Ø - het - begrepen
        P2   - P1 - Vf - Subj - Obj -   Vi

   c. *Dat hoofdstuk*, - dat - heb - ik   - Ø - begrepen
        P2   - P1 - Vf - Subj - Obj -   Vi

The second factor steering word order rules is the set of 'P rules'. These capture the regularities as to what kind of entity can occupy the P slots. We have already illustrated a P2 rule when we claimed that Themes go to P2. This particular P2 rule probably has universal validity. As an illustration of a language-specific P2 rule, consider the position of coordinating conjunctions. When in Dutch a main clause is coordinated, the ordinary main clause verb-second pattern of (1) is valid, which means that

coordinating conjunctions are in P2 (cf. Basbøll 1986:68). In (9a) and (9b) the earlier example sentences are preceded by *en* 'and'.[6]

(9) a. ... *en* - dat hoofdstuk - heb - ik - Ø - begrepen
P2 - P1 - Vf - Subj - Obj - Vi

   b. ... *en* - die man - heeft - Ø - het - begrepen
P2 - P1 - Vf - Subj - Obj - Vi

To see that coordinating conjunctions do not universally go to P2, consider Slovenian. Slovenian defines its P1 in terms of an obligatorily second position clitic group ('CL').[7]

(10)   P2, P1 CL ...

The Slovenian coordinating conjunction *in* 'and' tends to be in P2 when the conjoined clauses have a different subject, but in P1 when they share subjects.

(11)   a. Jaz se učim zemljepisja in moj brat se ženi
I   REFLstudy geography and my brother REFL marries
'I am studying geography and my brother is getting married'

   b. ... *in* - *moj brat* - se - ženi
P2 - P1 - CL

(12)   a. Poiskati sem si moral torej drug poklic
have found am REFL had-to therefore another profession

in sem se naučil pilotirati
and am REFL learned fly

'I had to find myself another occupation, therefore, and I learned to fly'

   b. ... *in* - sem se - naučil pilotirati
P1 - CL -

So much for P2 rules. As to P1 rules, about which more work has been done, the most important hypothesis says that there are three types, differing in the kinds of entities that are assigned to P1 and in the ordering of the rules (Dik 1980:153).

(13)   *P1 rules*
Rule 1: P1 constituent --> P1

Rule 2: Topic, Focus --> P1

Rule 3: X --> P1

Rule 1 stipulates that P1 accommodates obligatory clause-initial constituents, which are called 'P1 constituents'. If there are no such constituents in the clause, then we go to Rule 2, through which P1 is filled by a constituent that has Topic or Focus function. Finally, if even Rule 2 does not apply, then Rule 3 makes provision for P1 fillers that are neither obligatorily P1, nor Topic or Focus. In their most general formulation, a P1 rule could apply more than once, thus giving rise to a multiply filled P1; yet, in the case of Germanic, the assumption is that such P1s are forbidden.

Rule 3 will not be of concern to us and little work has been done about it anyway (cf. Dik 1978: 21, 153, 158, 163). Rule 2 concerns the optional P1 placement of Topic and Focus, which are respectively the constituent that the clause is about - in a preferred sense of 'aboutness' - and the one that represents the most salient bit of new information.[8] Imagine (14a) as one of many assertions about someone identified earlier in the discourse and as having contrastive stress on *Jan* (represented by capitals). In the terminology of FG, this means that (14a) has *hij* as Topic and *JAN* as Focus.

(14)   a. Hij heeft JAN gezien
              he   has   John seen
            'He has seen JOHN'

        b. Hij   - heeft -   JAN - gezien
            Topic -   - Focus -

In (14) we thus get a Topic in P1.

(14)   c. Hij - heeft - ∅ - JAN- gezien
            P1 - Vf   - Subj - Obj -   Vi

But note that the P1 placement of the Topic is only optional: in (15) it is the Focus *JAN* which goes to P1.

(15)   JAN- heeft - hij   - ∅ - gezien
        P1 - Vf - Subj - Obj -   Vi

Rule 1, finally, takes care of those constituents that have to go to P1, constituents that are given the name of 'P1 constituents'. The class is usually taken to have three kinds of members:[9]

(i)   WH-questioned constituents

(ii)   relativized constituents

(iii)   Comps

This can be illustrated as follows:

(16)   a. *Wie* heb je gezien?
           who have you seen
           'Who have you seen?'

        b. Wie - heb - je - Ø - gezien
           P1 - Vf - Subj - Obj - Vi

(17)   a. De man *die*   ik gezien heb ...
           the man whom I seen   have
           'The man whom I have seen ...'

        b. De man- die - ik - Ø - gezien heb
                  - P1 - Subj - Obj -   V

(18)   a. Ik geloof *dat* ik die man gezien heb
           I believe that I that man seen   have
           'I believe that I have seen that man'

        b. Ik geloof - dat - ik   - die man- gezien heb
                     - P1 - Subj -   Obj -   V

The above should suffice as a presentation of FG in general and of the FG approach to word order. I should also point out that not all of the hypotheses presented above are uncontroversial. The biggest challenge has come from De Schutter (1985a, 1985b, but also 1967, 1970, 1971, 1976 and De Schutter & Van Hauwermeiren 1983), who contends that a main clause finite verb is a P1 constituent. More particularly, he proposes that the P1 of an assertive MC is doubly filled, the rightmost occupant being the Vf. Using 'P1$_2$' for the leftmost P1 slot and 'P1$_1$' for the rightmost one, clause (5) is thus analyzed as (19):

(19)   Dat hoofdstuk - heb - ik   - Ø - Ø begrepen
        P1$_2$ - P1$_1$ - Subj - Obj -   V

This proposal must be seen in connection with De Schutter's further claim that Dutch only has one functional pattern, viz. (20), in contrast with Dik's claim that Dutch has

two.

(20)   P2 P1 Subj Obj V P3

Dik accepts (20), but only for SCs. In De Schutter's view, a special main clause pattern, differing from (20) only in that it has a Vf immediately following P1 (see (1) above) is unnecessary, because this Vf is in P1.

So either one gives Dutch two functional patterns, each having a well defined domain of application, or one provides both domains with just one pattern, but then one accepts an obligatory Vf - to - P1 rule applying in one domain, and not in the other. I do not see any reason to prefer one proposal over the other. First, for the truly Vf-first structures in imperatives and yes-no questions, Dik and De Schutter seem to fare equally well (cf. Dik 1978:185 and De Schutter 1985a:140). Both posit a Vf - to - P1 rule, the only difference being that Dik's Vf comes from a second position and that of de Schutter's from a last position. Second, in terms of cross-categorial harmony, i.e. the choice of dependent-head vs. head-dependent (Hawkins 1983) or prefield vs. postfield ordering (Dik 1983), Dutch and German are mixed (Kooij 1973; Godin 1980:238-253; Abraham & Scherpenisse 1983). This fact is eminently compatible with the two pattern proposal, but as we are beginning to understand how cross-categorial harmony interacts with other principles (Dik 1983, De Schutter 1985b, Hawkins 1985), the one pattern hypothesis may be able to deal with it, too. For the time being and unless stated otherwise, I will adopt Dik's position, but only for the practical reason that it is the majority view.

3. The position of Comps: P2 or P1.

We have just seen that FG takes Comps to be P1 constituents. In this paper, I will analyze this position for Dutch and, since there is no indication that Dutch differs in this respect from any other Germanic language, I assume that this analysis will be valid for all Germanic languages.

Positions analogous to the FG view are also found in the German Positional Fields tradition (Drach 1939; Boost 1955; Engel 1977; Höhle 1983, 1986) and corresponding work on Dutch (De Schutter 1967, De Schutter & Van Hauwermeiren 1983; ANS 1985), as well as in TG (Reis 1985, Scherpenisse 1986, or Thráinsson 1986). In these theories, Comps are in the first position of the clause proper,[10] i.e. in what corresponds to an FG P1. In some recent TG proposals, however, the Comp is put in a kind of second position, which I will call 'post-P1' (e.g. Platzack 1983, 1986a, 1986b; Chomsky 1986; Taraldsen 1986). Except for these recent TG proposals, all the theories stress the similarity of Comps to subordinating WH pronouns and adverbs, henceforth 'SC WHs',[11]

for both Comps and SC WHs end up in the first position of the clause - in the divergent TG views, only SC WHs do.

A linguistic tradition that does not take the Comp to be part of the clause proper is that of the Danish linguist Diderichsen. In his view (cf. Diderichsen 1946:185-186, 1966:52-63, 364-386, 1986:11), Comps precede the clause proper. If I may translate Diderichsen's notion of 'Forbinderfelt' as P2, then he ends up saying that Comps go to P2. Interestingly, Diderichsen stresses the similarity between Comps and SC WHs, too: the latter are also put in P2.[12]

In this paper I will steer the middle course, going along with FG, TG, German and Dutch structuralism and putting SC WHs in P1, but taking the Diderichsen view of assigning Comps to P2. The differences between the two linguistic traditions can be schematized as follows:

(21)

	SC WHs	Comps
Diderichsen:	P2	P2
Gm/Dt struct, FG, some TG:	P1	P1
other TG proposals:	P1	post-P1
new proposal:	P1	P2

When compared with the previous proposals, my argumentative burden can be described as follows:

(i)   Diderichsen as well as German and Dutch structuralism, FG, and some TG assign SC WHs and Comps to the same position (albeit P2 in the first case and P1 in the second); I disagree and will have to argue for why I think Diderichsen is right for Comps and the others for SC WHs (section 5 and 7), but I agree that the similarity that the said proposals reflect is real and I will reflect it in a different way (section 6);

(ii)   I agree with those TG proposals that put SC WHs and Comps in P1 and post-P1 respectively that SC WHs and Comps go to a different position, but I disagree as to which comes first (section 7).

Before I come to these arguments, however, I will make a preliminary point. In the next section I will claim that if it is true that Comps go to P2 instead of P1, the P1 rules allow an interesting generalization.

4. A P1 generalization.

As mentioned in section 2, the first of the ordered P1 rules concerns the obligatory P1

fillers or P1 constituents, which are standardly either WH-questioned constituents, relativized constituents, or Comps. The second P1 rule stipulates that Topics and Foci are optional P1 fillers.

(22)   *P1 rules*
        Rule 1: WH-questioned constituent, relativized constituent, Comp -> P1
        Rule 2: Topic, Focus -> P1

The suspicious feature of Rule 1 is that two of the three P1 constituents are specifiable by Rule 2 as well. Under the standard FG analysis, WH-questioned constituents are Foci (Dik 1978:149-150) and, under an analysis which is at least compatible with FG - there is no 'standard' FG analysis here - relativized constituents are Topics.[13] Comps, however, are never Topic or Focus. As this paper argues that Comps are not P1 fillers, we can simply subsume rule 1 under rule 2. This yields the generalization that P1 is a 'landing site' for Topics and Foci. The fact that P1 attracts relativized and WH-questioned constituents is merely the consequence of the fact that the former are Topics and the latter Foci.

An apparent problem is that Dik defines P1 constituents as obligatory P1 fillers, while Topics and Foci are only optional. Yet a unification of rules 1 and 2 remains possible. First, if in any language P1 placement is obligatory for relativized and WH-questioned elements, and only optional for non-relativized Topics or non-questioned Foci, one can unify the rules to form one complex rule stipulating that Topics and Foci go to P1, WH-questioned Foci and relativized Topics obligatorily so. Second, the unification of the two rules is not only possible but desirable. Consider the questions in (23).

(23)   a. *What* did you see?
        b. You saw *what*?

(23a) and (23b) differ in that (23a) is the ordinary question and (23b) the echo question, but in both *what* is the WH-questioned constituent. In (23a) *what* is in P1 as expected, but in (23b) it is not. This means that a category which was thought to be an obligatory P1 filler is in fact only optional. The opposite situation, that of a non-relativized Topic or non-questioned Focus being a necessary P1 constituent is also found. In Hungarian, a Focus must go to P1 (De Groot 1981a,b). Focus is a category that the original P1 rules would bring us to expect is relevant for the rule governing optional P1 placement, but it is actually relevant for obligatory P1 placement.

To conclude, if the elimination of Comps as P1 fillers is successful, it is both possible and profitable to collapse the first and the second P1 rules and to say that

(i)   P1 is a pragmatic clause-internal position for Topics and Foci;

(ii)   the P1 placement of a Topic or Focus is optional or obligatory;

(iii)   whether P1 placement is optional or obligatory is dependent on the type of Topic and Focus (e.g. relativized vs. non-relativized Topic) and on the language (e.g. Hungarian vs. English).

5. SCs have no V/2 P1.

To support the hypothesis that Comps go to P2 rather than to P1, we will us look at the types of P1s in Dutch MCs. At a high level of abstraction, one can claim that Dutch MCs have two types of P1. First, there is the P1 that is followed by the finite verb, which we will call 'V/2 P1'. A second type of P1 is the one that contains a WH constituent; we will call it 'WH P1'. The former is illustrated in (24a), the latter in (24b), and (24c) shows how something can be both V/2 P1 and WH P1.

(24)   a. *Gisteren* heeft Jan   het boek gelezen
           yesterday has   John the book read
           'Yesterday John read the book'

        b. *Waarom* zijn boek lezen?
           why   his   book read
           'Why read his book?'

        c. *Wie* heeft het boek gelezen?
           who has   the book read
           'Who has read the book?'

Starting from these notions, it is obvious that in Dutch Comp or WH headed SCs, only WH P1s occur. (25a) shows that there is no way to keep the *gisteren* of (24a) in the P1 of a SC. (25b-c) are the SC counterparts to (24b-c), and (25d) illustrates a relative WH P1.

(25)   a. *Hij zei dat *gisteren*   had Jan   het boek gelezen
           he said that yesterday   had John the book read
           'He said that yesterday John had read the book'

        b. Hij weet niet *waar* naar toe te gaan
           he knows not   where to   to go
           'He doesn't know where to go to'

    c. Ik weet niet *wie* het boek gelezen heeft
       I know not who the book read has
      'I don't know who has read the book'

    d. Alles *wat* ik heb, heb ik van een ander
       all what I have have I from an other
      'Everything I have is from someone else'

(26) illustrates the impossibility of a V/2 P1 with a Comp in P1.

(26)   *Hij zei *dat* had Jan het boek gelezen

At this point, there are two possible ways to describe Dutch Comp headed SCs: either one accepts a third type of P1, say a 'Comp P1' (standard FG) or, under the proposal that Comps are in P2, one holds that Comp headed SCs do not have a P1 at all.[14] Consider (27):

(27)   Hij zei dat Jan het boek gelezen had

In standard FG, (i) the SC has *dat* in P1, (ii) it is a P1 that is neither of the V/2 nor of the WH type, and (iii) the P2 position of the SC is unfilled. Under the new proposal, (i) *dat* is in the SC P2, and (ii) the SC P1 is unfilled. Schematically:

(28)   P2   P1
      standard FG: ... Ø   *dat* Jan ...
      new proposal: ... *dat* Ø   Jan ...

Note that the two proposals are equally successful in ruling out (25a). Under the standard analysis, (25a) would have a doubly filled P1, which is taken to be impossible in Germanic (Dik 1978:180, see also Dik 1981:119, and, for a corresponding TG claim, Scherpenisse 1986:46), and under the new analysis, (25a) would have a SC P1, which is also impossible.

    There is one complication: Dutch Comp headed SCs do allow Topic or Focus assignment and consecutive 'left periphery' placement.

(29)   a. ... dat een groot aantal mensen hem volgde
          that a great number people him followed
     '... that a great number of people followed him'

     b. ... dat *hem* een groot aantal mensen volgde

(30) a. ... dat tien commentaren de coördinator bereikten
        that ten comments the coordinator reached
    '... that ten comments reached the coordinator'

b. ... dat *de coördinator* tien commentarenbereikten

Both in (29b) and in (30b) the word order deviates from the SC pattern of (2): the Object should follow the Subject, yet instead the Object precedes the Subject. Given anybody's present assumptions about P1, this phenomenon cannot be P1 placement. The position of the preposed Object is neither a V/2 P1 (the Vf stays at the end of the clause), nor a WH P1 (neither Object is a WH constituent), nor even, accepting Comp P1 for the sake of the argument, a Comp P1 (Objects are not Comps). Accepting the position as a new type of P1 is, in the standard FG analysis, impossible, too, for then the P1 in (29b) and (30b) would be doubly filled, which is held to be impossible. If the Object preposing illustrated above has to be admitted as a new type of P1 placement, then only our new proposal preserves the ban on multiply filled P1s. Of course, if one is willing to let go of this restriction, like De Schutter, then the preposed Objects are less of a problem: but even De Schutter would have to accept the position of the preposed Objects as a new kind of P1. The doubly filled P1s he has considered thus far always have a Vf as rightmost filler.

(31)   dat - hem - een groot aantal mensen - ...

    new proposal: P2 - P1   Subj

    De Schutter: $P1_2$ - $P1_1$ Subj

    standard FG: cannot deal with the Obj - Subj order in terms of P1 placement

However, it remains far from obvious that the preposed Object should be discussed in terms of P1 placement. It is a fact that Comp and Subject can be separated by more than just the one constituent of (29b) or (30b). In (32) there are no less than five.

(32) a. Ik dacht dat er gisteren tegen alle verwachtingen in
     I thought that there yesterday against all expectations in

    toch nog iemand opgebeld had
    still yet someone phoned had

    'I thought that against all expectations someone still phoned up yesterday.'

b. ... dat - er - gisteren - tegen alle verwachtingen in - toch - nog -
          - $P1_5$ - $P1_4$ - $P1_3$ - $P1_2$ - $P1_1$ -

iemand - opgebeld had

Subj - V

To account for the multiple pre-Subj positioning in (32), a P1 proposal is presumably technically feasible. But it is incomplete - it does not explain the P1 internal order, and, more importantly, the very concept of P1 as the first clause-internal left position has lost much intuitive backing. So I retain the claim that Dutch SCs do not have a P1.

I also retain the standard FG analysis for WH SCs.[15] That is to say that Dutch WH SCs have the WH constituent in P1 and that their P2 is unfilled. The left periphery of a WH SC is thus a kind of mirror image of the left periphery of a Comp SC. Schematically:

(33)   P2   P1

    WH SCs: ...   Ø   WH1...

    Comp SCs: ...   Comp Ø   ...

The schema in (33) represents the difference between WH SCs and Comp SCs in a clear way, but it also represents the similarity. If I merely speak about a left P and leave it vague whether this left P is a P1 or a P2, then, of course, WH and Comp elements are most similar in that they both go to a left P, and prevent anything else from going there.

6. Similarities between SC WHs and Comps.

There are a number of facts that clearly demonstrate the similarity between Dutch Comps and SC WHs. These facts are used by the supporters of the claim that Comps and SC WHs go to the same structural position, which is P1 for standard FG, German and Dutch structuralism, and some TG, but P2 for the Diderichsen tradition. We interpret 'same structural position' here as 'left P', i.e. either P2 or P1.

(34)   same structural position

    standard FG, Gm/Dtstruct, some TG: P1

    Diderichsen: P2

    new proposal: left P

We will now discuss this similarity in six points. The basic claim throughout this discussion is that each of the three hypotheses of (34), each of the three ways of

interpreting 'same structural position' can handle the similarity. At least in one case, we will also detect a difference, which supports our proposal that the left P of Comps is the P2.

6.1. Comps and SC WHs as subordinators.

Since the left periphery where WHs and Comps go is the left periphery of an SC, it can be said to mark the beginning of the SC, as well as the type of connection or relation between the SC and the MC. Thus both WHs and Comps have been considered subordinators, as well as clause connectors (in a wide sense of 'connector' - De Schutter 1967:49; De Schutter & Van Hauwermeiren 1983:194), and relators (in the sense of Dik 1983).

6.2. Comps and SC WHs as pragmatic value indicators.

De Schutter (1985a:139, 1985b:81) proposes to consider P1 as a 'possible indicator of the pragmatic value of clauses (declarative, interrogative, imperative, hypothetical ...)' and he further argues that the lexical content of Dutch WHs and Comps is 'always sufficient to indicate the clause's pragmatic function conclusively'. Thus Dutch uses *dat* for declarative complement clauses, but *of* 'whether' for interrogative ones. A relative clause is necessarily declarative, so a WH such as *die* 'who(m)' is also unambiguously declarative. And if a WH such as *wie* 'who(m)' introduces an embedded interrogative, it seems that *wie* indicates the interrogativity.

(35)   a. Ik weet *dat* hij komt
         I know that he comes
         'I know that he's coming'

    b. Ik vraag je *of* hij komt
       I ask you whether he comes
       'I'm asking you whether he's coming'

(36)   De man *die* ik gezien heb ...
        the man whom I seen have
        'The man whom I have seen ...'

(37)   Ik vraag me af *wie* je gezien hebt
        I ask me off whom you seen have
        'I wonder whom you've seen'

Thus, De Schutter implies, when Dutch WHs and Comps occur in the left periphery of

the SC, it stands to reason to put both in P1.

I submit that the above proposal is inadequate. Notice, first, the vagueness of the term 'possible' in the phrase 'possible indicator of the pragmatic value'. In the context of De Schutter's argument, the term is meant to exclude MCs, for Dutch is claimed to have MCs without a P1, such as (38), or with a P1 that fails to indicate the pragmatic value, as in (39).

(38)   En wij dus maar de hele tijd op je wachten
         and we thus only the whole time on you wait
         'And during that entire period we were simply waiting for you'

(39)   a. Peter komt wanneer?
          Peter comes when
          'Peter comes when?'

       b. Peter komt morgen   ook?
          Peter comes tomorrow too
          'Peter is coming tomorrow, too?'

       c. Peter komt morgen   zeker?
          Peter comes tomorrow surely
          'Surely Peter is coming tomorrow'

However, De Schutter's analysis of (38) and (39) is controversial. Under an alternative analysis, more in line with De Schutter's earlier work (1971:105), Daalder (1983), and Bossuyt (1985:25), even an MC P1 or, better, left periphery - when there is no P1, as is arguably the case in (38) - carries at least some indication of the clause's pragmatic value. More precisely, an MC non-Vf and non-WH vs. Vf or WH left periphery would be strongly associated with assertion vs. non-assertion (imperative, yes-no question, WH-question). To take the clauses in (38) and (39), all of which have a non-Vf and non-WH left periphery, one could suggest that they have assertion as a default value. That none of the clauses in (39) actually function as assertions is due to intonation, a non-P1 placement of the WH, and a clause-final question particle.

Be that as it may, if it is true that the P1 of at least the SC must be indicative of a clause's pragmatic value, then there is cross-linguistic evidence for not putting Comp in P1. The Hungarian Comp *hogy* introduces complement clauses, as well as embedded questions, both of the yes-no and the WH word type (examples taken from Ackerman 1981; De Groot 1981b; De Mey & Marácz 1984).

(40)   a. Péter azt   mondta, *hogy* Éva téged vart
          Péter that said   Comp Éva you   waited
          'Péter said that Éva waited for you'

    b. Megkérdeztem, *hogy* Péter otthon van-e
       I-asked   Comp Péter at-home is-Y/N
       'I asked whether Péter was at home'

    c. Azt tudom *hogy* ki jön
       that I-know Comp who comes
       'I know who will come'

Ackerman (1981:40-41) shows that this is also true for colloquial Romanian and the Bantu language Duala. Of course, one can continue to put Dutch *dat* in P1 while agreeing that *hogy* does not go there. One then merely accepts that there is cross-linguistic variation in the placement of Comps.

    Thus far I have accepted De Schutter's claim that the lexical content of Dutch P1 fillers is 'always sufficient to indicate the clause's pragmatic function conclusively'. But this claim is wrong. In Dutch, as in many languages, there is homonymy between interrogative and relative WHs. Thus (41) is unambiguously subordinate, but fully vague between a declarative relative use and an interrogative one.

(41)   ... *wat* er   in het boek stond
           what there in the book stood
     '...   what was in the book'

In (42a) and (42b) the SC is a relative clause, in (42c) it is an embedded question, and in (42d) it could be either.

(42)   a. Alles *wat* er   in het boek stond bleek fout
         all   what there in the book stood proved wrong
         'Everything that was in the book proved wrong'

    b. *Wat* er in het boek stond bleek fout
       'What was in the book proved wrong'

    c. Ik vraag me af *wat* er   in het boek stond
       I   ask   me off what there in the book stood
       'I wonder what was in the book.'

    d. Nou begreep   hij *wat* er   in het boek stond
       Now understood he what there in the book stood
       'Now he understood what was in the book'

So if a P1 filler's indication of the pragmatic value of its clause is not a necessary feature of the SC P1, then the presence or absence of such indication in a Comp cannot

be used for or against P1 placement.

Somewhat paradoxically, the discussion has now given us a new similarity: left periphery Comps and WHs can, yet need not be indicative of a clause's pragmatic value.

6.3. The connection with Vf-lateness.

SCs starting with a WH or Comp generally have the Vf in a late position. The examples in (43) contain SCs without WH or Comp, and with the Vf in an early position.

(43)   a. *Was ik in Parijs*, ik zou   naar de Marais gaan
               Were I in Paris   I should to   the Marais go
               'If I were in Paris, I would go to the Marais'

        b. Ik dacht,   *ik ga naar Parijs*
            I   thought I go to   Paris
            'I thought I'd go Paris'

        c. Als je in P bent en *je ziet de Seine*, dan ...
            if   you in P are and you see the Seine then
            'If you're in P and you see the Seine, then ...'

It appears then that if the SC does not start with either a WH or a Comp, then the Vf can or must be in the first or second position.

Note that the similarity between Comps and WH SCs is not absolute. Comps differ from WHs in that some Comps do not allow Vf-lateness. This is the case for *als* 'as if' and *al* 'even if/though'.

(44)   a. Als   had hij het zelf gevonden ...
             as if had he it   self found
            'As if he had found it himself ...'

        b. Al   zijn hier veel lui ...
            even if/though are   here many people
            'Even if/though   there are many people here ...'

Note that in an account that puts Comps in P2, the SCs are V-1 clauses, which has been argued independently (cf. Van Es 1949, 1951; König & Van der Auwera 1987).

6.4. Clitic -ie.

Both WHs and Comps can be followed by the clitic 3rd person Subj Pronoun *-ie*.

(45)   a. Ik vraag me af wat *-ie* gedaan heeft
              I   ask   me   what-he done   has
              'I wonder what he has done'

        b. Ik zag wat *-ie* gedaan had
              I   saw what-he done   had
              'I saw what he had done'

        c. Ik geloof   dat *-ie* iets   gedaan heeft
              I   believe that-he something done   has
              'I believe that he has done something'

What complicates the picture considerably is that Comps and SC WHs are not the only categories that can be followed by *-ie*. There are two more, and given that the facts of (45) are used to justify putting SC WHs and Comps in the same structural position, one would want to put the two other categories in this structural position, too.

The first other category, at least for some speakers, is the coordinating conjunction, a fact discussed by Schuurmans (1975:12-14), but which has otherwise received no attention. (46) is an example from a contemporary novel (Wim Kleine, 1982, *De baron*, Utrecht: Bruna, p. 126).

(46)   ... omdat z'n arm in mekaar zat en-*ie*   nooit meer zou   kunnen schilderen
                because his arm in itself   sat and-he never more should can   paint
       '...   because his arm was broken and he would never be able to paint again'

Since a coordinating conjunction goes to P2, (46) discredits the hypothesis that the possibility of being followed by *-ie* is an exclusive property of P1.

The second other category is a P1 or post-P1 Vf.

(47)   a. Heeft-*ie* het toch   gedaan?
             has   -he it   anyway done
             'Has he done it anyway?'

        b. Gisteren   heeft-*ie*   het gedaan
             yesterday has   -he it   done
             'Yesterday he did it'

The facts of (47) have long been used to argue for a categorial or positional similarity between Vf and Comp (e.g. Paardekooper 1955:97, 1961; Evers 1982:15; Den Besten 1983:57-58). In the FG discussion between De Schutter and Dik on whether a second position Vf is in P1 or not, the acceptability of (47b) seems to support De Schutter. One would, of course, want a unifying account of the position of *-ie*. If one considers

the *heeft* in (47b) to be in P1, one can claim that *-ie* follows

(i)   a P1, as in (45a), (45b), (47), and, on the assumption that Comps go to P1, (45c) , or

(ii)   a conjunction filled P2, as in (46) and, on the assumption that Comps go to P2, (45c)

Alternatively, one would have to claim that *-ie* follows

(i)   a left Vf, as in (47),

(ii)   a SC P1, as in (45a), (45b), and, on the assumption that Comps go to P1, (45c) or

(iii)   conjunction filled P2, as in (46) and, on the assumption that Comps go to P2, (45c)

The latter account seems more complicated, in that it enumerates three conditions instead of the two conditions of the former. Yet the three condition account can be economized. In terms of word order, the area following a MC left Vf follows exactly the same rules as the area following a SC P1 or Comp. Positional Fields theorists have given both the same name, viz. 'Middle Field'. Accepting this notion, one can hold that a second position Vf is not in P1 and yet end up with a two condition account. One will then claim that that *-ie* appears in

(i)   the first Middle Field slot, as in (45) and (47), or

(ii)   a P1 following a conjunction filled P2, as in (46)

So the De Schutter - Dik controversy remains unsettled.

6.5. Subordinator inflection.

In some non-standard variants of Dutch (Van Haeringen 1939; Vanacker 1949; Goeman 1980), Comps and SC WHs can take Vf endings, agreeing with the SC Subject and Vf. Thus *dat* 'that', *wat* 'what', and *die* 'who' in (48) have plural forms in *-e*.

(48)   a. Ze   zegge *datte*   ze   ziek benne
           they say   that-pl they sick   are
           'They say that they're sick'

        b. Weet ik *watte*   ze   wulle
           know I   what-sg they want
           'How should I know what they want?'

c. Jonges *dieë* werke wille ...
   boys who-pl work want
   'Boys who want to work ...'

This phenomenon is more outspoken in German (Kufner 1982; Bayer 1984; Reis 1985:301). Below are examples with substandard forms of *daß*, *den*, and *warum*, which have 2nd person singular forms in *ste* or *sd*.

(49)   a. ... *daßte* endlich kommst...
               that-2sg-you finally come
       '... that you are finally coming ...'

       b. ... *denste* kennst ...
               whom-2sg-you know
       '... whom you know ...'

       c. ... *warumsd* auf die weil bisd ...
               why-2sg-you on the world are
       '... why you are in this world ...'

Interestingly, just like the *-ie* phenomenon, the appearance of Vf inflection on WHs and Comps has been interpreted as evidence for a categorial or positional similarity between WHs, Comps, and Vfs (e.g. Paardekooper 1955:97, 1964; Den Besten 1983:119-120; Bayer 1984; Reis 1985:301). In the context of the De Schutter - Dik debate on the place of the Vf in MCs, the above inflection can thus be seen as evidence for De Schutter. With the Vf in P1, we would have yet another Vf inflecting P1 filler. But, again, there is an alternative analysis, which considers the Vf inflection in (48) and (49) as occupying a second position, following a left P. In this view, subordinator inflection is a kind of V/2 effect.[16]

6.6. Comp and SC WH coordination.

SC WHs and Comps can be coordinated.

(50)   Ik heb vernomen *dat en waarom* hij wegliep
       I have heard that and why he ran away
       'I have heard that and why he ran away'

This presupposes some kind of categorial identity and it appears from (50) that identity of place category is sufficient.

6.7. Conclusion.

Each of the above similarities makes it plausible that Comps and SC WHs take up the same structural position and that this is a left periphery position. To that extent, I agree with the existing FG, structuralist, TG, and Diderichsen analyses. But I do not agree that the similarities prove that this position is anything more specific than left P, i.e. P1, as FG, some TG and German and Dutch structuralism have it, or P2, as is the Diderichsen view. To a small extent, the preceding discussion has furthermore weakened the hypothesis that the specific left position of Comps is P1. This hypothesis does not allow a straightforward account of the Comp headed SCs in (44), which have a Vf immediately following the Comp. Only the P2 hypothesis is directly compatible with the independently reached hypothesis that such SCs has the Vf in P1.

7. Forbidden P1 - P2 orders.

Some variants of Dutch allow apparent SC WH + Comp combinations. Thus relative or interrogative WH + *dat* is typical for sub-standard Southern Dutch (Belgium), while interrogative WH + *of* 'whether' is typical for Northern Dutch (The Netherlands).

(51)   a. De mannen *die dat* bijeengekomen waren ...
          the men   who that come = together were
          'The men that had come together ...'

        b. Ik weet niet *wat dat* ik eerst moet doen
          I know not what that I first must do
          'I don't know what I must do first'

        c. Hij vroeg me *wie of* hem gezien had
          he asked me who whether him seen   had
          'He asked me who had seen him'

The problem for the claim that a Comp goes to P2 is that if WH is in P1 and the *dat* and *of* of (51) are in P2, then the SCs in (51) exhibit P1 -P2 orders, which should be impossible (as a matter of definition, P2 must precede P1).

To solve this problem, let me start by arguing that the *dat* and *of* facts of (51) are only superficially similar. Different from the *of* of (51c), the *dat* of (51a) and (51b), I claim, is not a Comp. It still marks subordination, just like the Comp *dat*, but it does not have constituent status. Rather, it joins with a WH element to form one complex WH constituent. I offer five considerations in support.

First, if the *dat* of (51a) and (51b) is still a subordination marker, yet not a complementizer, then we have to accept the existence of two subordinating *dat*'s, one that

is a Comp, and one that is not. But this is a conclusion that is forced upon us by the existence of forms like *omdat* 'because', *voordat* 'before', *zonder dat* 'without that' and *terwijl dat* 'while'. Historically, these constructions result from prepositions or adverbials combining with what was probably the Comp *dat*. In present-day Dutch, however, it is entirely uncontroversial to say that they form one constituent rather than two and that their complexity is morphological rather than syntactic.

Second, the conclusion that there are two different subordinating *dat*'s can also be supported cross-linguistically, especially by Scandinavian data. Thus Danish, for example, has one ordinary complementizer *at* as well as pleonastic *at*, the latter being similar to the *dat* of WH + *dat* (cf. Heltoft 1986a, 1986b).[17]

Third, if the *dat* of (51a) and (51b) does not have constituent status, it means that we do not take the spelling conventions seriously. Evidence for this is the spelling of the prepositional and adverbial Comps with subordinating *dat* mentioned above. Some of these are spelled as one word, such as *omdat* 'because' and *voordat* 'before', but sometimes as two, such as *zonder dat* 'without that' and *terwijl dat* 'while'. It is of further interest that the two word forms are or at least tend to be sub-standard and the one word forms standard, and this is in full conformity with the sub-standard status of the two word forms in WH + *dat*.

Fourth, *dat* also combines with the Comp *of* to give the complex Comp *of dat*, synonymous with the Comp *of* 'whether'. If this *dat* were the Comp, then *of dat* would represent an otherwise untestified double Comp formation.

Fifth, even under the hypothesis that Comps belong in P1, there is an indication that the *dat* of (51a) and (51b) is not the Comp. If this *that* were a Comp, then every WH + *dat* sequence would represent a doubly filled P1. Either this is altogether impossible, using Dik's assumption that a Germanic P1 can only have one constituent, or it should not have *dat* as second filler, using De Schutter's assumption that a P1 may contain a Vf as second filler.

The *of* in (51c), however, is a true Comp. The deceptive feature of the WH + *of* combination, I claim, is not so much the *of*, but the WH. It is not in P1, as it 'should' be, but it is 'attracted' into the MC. Four arguments support this analysis.

First, there is the Danish so-called 'idiot comma' (cf. Heltoft 1986:2-3). This is a comma found between the WH constituent of an embedded question and the rest of the question. This comma is taken to be reprehensible - hence the name - because it marks the WH constituent as belonging to the MC, which traditional grammar considers to be wrong.

(52) Jeg ved ikke hvilken af de tre   muligheder,   du vil   foretrække
      I   know not which of the three possibilities you want prefer
      'I don't know which of the three possibilities you   prefer'

I admit that one cannot prove anything about Dutch with data from Danish, but the cross-linguistic data is at least suggestive. Dutch would not be the only Germanic language in which the WH constituent of an embedded question can be attracted into the MC.

Second, in the same spirit one could refer to the fact that when in mainland Scandinavian the WH of the embedded question has Subject function, it must be followed by the word *som*, in Swedish and Norwegian (cf. Taraldsen 1983), and *som* or *der*, in Danish. (53) is a Norwegian illustration.

(53) Vi vet ikke hvem *som* snakker med Marit
      we know not who that talks with Mary
      'We don't know who's talking to Mary'

This *som* is closely related to the invariant relativizer, and along the lines of the analyses of English *that* and Serbo-Croatian *što* (Van der Auwera 1985, Van der Auwera & Kučanda 1985), I maintain that the *som* of (53) is a pronoun. The reason for its obligatory presence in (53) is then that *hvem* is considered to belong to the MC and that the SC requires an explicit Subject. Again, with respect to Dutch, the *som* data can only be suggestive. Note also that if these proposals for WH + *dat* and WH + *som* are correct, and neither the Dutch WH Subject in (51c) nor the Norwegian one in (53) thus belong to the SC, we can also explain why only the Norwegian SC still requires a Subject: Norwegian is less 'prodroppy' than Dutch.[18]

Third, why is it that WH + *of* SCs are at least strange when the verb immediately follows *of*?

(54) Hij vroeg me *wie of*   ?*(er) toegekeken had
      he asked me who whether there watched had
      'He asked me who had watched'

Answer: because the *of* of WH + *of* really is the Comp *of*, about which we have the independent evidence that it cannot (ordinarily?) be followed by a verb, not even when it is possible for the Comp *dat*.

(55) a. *De man die ik me afvroeg *of*   weggelopen was ...
         the man who I me asked whether run=away was
         'The man about whom I wondered whether he had run away ...'

      b. De man die ik dacht   *dat* weggelopen was ...
         the man who I thought that run=away was
         'The man that I thought had run away ...'

As expected, (54) is fully acceptable when *of* is absent: in that case, the WH constitu-

ent does belong to the SC.

(56)   Hij vroeg me wie toegekeken had

Fourth, the WH + *of* combinations are actually problematic for the P1 hypothesis, too, at least under the assumption that the WH is in P1. In that case, the P1 would be doubly filled, which is either altogether impossible (Dik) or impossible under just that form (De Schutter).

Conclusion: despite appearances, the WH + *dat* or *of* structures of (51) do not exhibit P1 - P2 orders. While the WH + *dat* structures are complex P1 forms that go in P1, the WH + *of* structures consist of a P2 *of* preceded by a WH element that belongs to the MC and is not, therefore, in a position of the SC.

(57)   a. De mannen- *die dat* - ∅   - bijeengekomen waren ...
                    -    P1   - Subj -   V

         c. Hij - vroeg - me- *wie* - *of* - ∅   - hem- gezien had
                              - P2 - Subj - Obj -   V

So much for the P1 - P2 order problem involving apparent or real WH - Comp coocurrences. The problem further also appears with the embedded Theme construction, typical of spoken Dutch. It has been argued by Dik (1981) that embedded Themes occur in two forms: either the Comp is repeated or the SC has MC order.[19]

(58)   a. Ik geloof *dat die man, dat die* ziek is
            I believe that that man that that sick is
            'I believe that that man, that he's sick'

         b. Ik geloof *dat die   man, die* is ziek
            'I believe that that man, he's sick'

Under the hypothesis that a Comp goes to P1, (58) represents an impossible P1 - P2-P1 sequence (cf. De Schutter 1985b:151-152).

(59)   a. ... dat - die man, - dat - die   ...
                  P1 -   P2   - P1 - Subj

         b. ... dat - die man, - die   ...
                  P1 -   P2   - P1

Under the hypothesis that a Comp goes to P2, however, one obtains a multiply filled

P2 sequence, a phenomenon for which there is independent evidence (cf. note 6).

(60)   a. ...   dat - die man, - dat - die   ...
                P2 -   P2   - P2 - Subj

    b. ...   dat - die man, - die   ...
                P2 -   P2   - P1

Further evidence for the correctness of this analysis is that embedded Themes are fully impossible after SC WHs.

(61)   a. *De man die dat boek, dat gelezen heeft, is weggelopen
           the man who that book that read   has   is run away
           *'The man who that book, that has read, has run away'

    b. *De man die dat boek, dat heeft gelezen, is weggelopen

The prediction that (61a) and (61b) are impossible follows from the ordinary claims that SC WHs are in P1 and Themes in P2, for (61) would then contain impossible P1-P2 orders.

(62)   a....   - die_1 - dat boek, - dat_2 - $\emptyset_1$ - $\emptyset_2$ - gelezen heeft
                - P1   - P2   - P1 - Subj - Obj -   V

    b. ...   - die_1 - dat boek, - dat_2 - heeft - $\emptyset_1$ - $\emptyset_2$ - gelezen
                - P1   - P2   - P1 - Vf - Subj - Obj - Vi

8. Languages with SC V/2 P1.

All Germanic languages except Dutch, German, and Afrikaans allow V/2 in Comp headed complement clauses (cf. Maling 1980, Maling & Zaenen 1981, Platzack 1983, 1985, Rögnvaldsson 1984, Thráinsson 1986, Holmberg 1985, and Sigurdsson 1985 on Scandinavian; DeHaan & Weerman 1986 on West Frisian; Lowenstamm 1977 on Yiddish; and Waher 1982 on Afrikaans). The position in front of the finite verb is thus a V/2 P1. Consider English (63) and Swedish (64).

(63)   I exclaimed that *never in my life* had I seen such a crowd

(64)   Hansa att *den där boken* ska   han inte köpa

he said that that there book shall he not buy
'He said that he wouldn't buy that book'

This SC V/2 phenomenon is a problem for the hypothesis that Germanic Comps go to P1. First, it yields a doubly filled P1. Second, it leads one to expect that a doubly filled P1 would be equally acceptable with a WH P1, which is either impossible (Dik) or impossible with anything other than a Vf in $P1_1$ (De Schutter).[20]

(65)   *The crowd that *never in his life* had he seen ...

(66)   *En bok som   *i morgon* ska   han köpa ...
         a   book which tomorrow shall he buy
         'A book which he will   buy tomorrow ...'

Under the hypothesis that Comps go to P2, the P1 single constituent constraint can be kept, and one rightly predicts that (65) and (66) are unacceptable.[21]

One could object and claim that (63) and (64) do not really illustrate a subordinate V/2 (cf. Kosmeijer 1986) and that *never in his life* and *den där boken* are not really in P1. In that case, one can hold on to the single constituent constraint and put the Comp in P1. However, this proposal has no explanatory value with respect to the ungrammaticality of (65) and (66), and there is no independent reason for thinking that the apparent V/2 of (63) and (64) is not also a true V/2.

It is true that SC V/2 is a marked phenomenon. In German and Dutch it is most marked, in English less so, in Mainland Scandinavian still less, and it seems to be least marked in Insular Scandinavian. This has to be explained, of course. At this stage, we can only offer speculations. Part of the explanation may be very general: SCs are typically backgrounded and have less of a need for a Topic or Focus arrangement such as typically results from a P1 placement (Hooper & Thompson 1973; Givón 1979). The rest of the answer may be language-specific. Perhaps a language is more tolerant of SC V/2 order

(i)   if it does not have SC V-late order (English, Scandinavian),
(ii)   if it also has V/2 as the dominant MC order (Scandinavian),
(iii)   and if it, on top of (i) and (ii), has a rich case and agreement marking system (Insular Scandinavian)

9. Conclusion.

The basic claim of the paper is that the position of Dutch Comps is P2, rather than P1, which has been the standard assumption up to now. The analysis allows one to express the similarity between Comps and

(i)   coordinating conjunctions: both are 'outside of the clause proper'

(ii)   SC WHs: both are 'on the left periphery' - both P1, the position of SC WHs, and P2 are special left periphery positions

Furthermore the proposal allows one

(i)   to formulate a P1 generalization: the most important function of P1 is to accommodate Topics (including relative WHs) and Foci (including interrogative WHs)

(ii)   to maintain the view that Germanic P1s obey a one constituent only constraint

Apparent counterexamples, WH + *dat* and WH + *of* constructions, are countered with the hypothesis that the *dat* of WH + *dat* is not a C2omp, and the WH of WH + *of* is not in P1.

By choosing FG as the theory in which to phrase the new proposals, I have furthermore attempted to show that FG offers an interesting alternative to more widely known frameworks. Simultaneously, I hope to have suggested that the proposals have a cross-theoretical relevance.

Notes.

1. This paper elaborates on Van der Auwera (1987). Thanks are due to Wayles Browne, Georges De Schutter, Louis Goossens, Hartmut Haberland, Peter Kahrel, J. Lachlan Mackenzie, Jan Nuyts, Marc van de Velde and Willy Vandeweghe.

2. The term 'Comp' is potentially confusing. In Transformational Grammar, 'Comp' has been used as a name for the left peripheral position that is typically occupied by complementizers. In this paper, 'Comp' is an abbreviation of 'complementizer' and, unless explicitly mentioned, it will only refer to Germanic complementizers. The position categories will be 'P0', 'P1', 'P2', and 'P3' (see below).

3. Note that an FG word order rule is not a movement rule. It does not change positions, but only assigns them.

4. De Schutter (1985a, 1985b) has convincingly argued for the existence of a special position between V or Vi and P3. Because this paper focuses on the left periphery, we will neglect this adjustment.

5. In the original formulations P2 and P3 are separated from the rest by commas. This comma is to represent an orthographic comma as well as a comma intonation. But at least with respect to P2, the comma cannot be considered a necessary feature. Not even the 'Theme' or 'Left Dislocation' construction, illustrated in (3) and (8) below, requires it, as has been shown for Arabic (Moutaouakil 1985:85), Dutch (Lalleman 1985:70; Jansen 1980:142, 1981:150-152 and the references therein), English (Geluykens 1986), German (Altmann 1981:193-194), Hungarian (De Groot 1981a), and Japanese (Dik 1978:144-149). This probably hangs together with the question whether there are two

types of Themes, viz. Cinque's (1977) 'left dislocations' proper vs. 'hanging topics'. These types would differ in many ways, one of them being the presence of comma intonation (cf. also Altmann 1981:47-50, 193-194; Jansen 1981:175-185).

6. This is an appropriate place to point out that there is no a priori restriction on the number of constituents that can fill up a P slot. Thus the Dutch P2 rule should say that P2 can be filled by both a Theme and a coordinating conjunction and that the order is necessarily conjunction - Theme. We will use 'P2$_2$' for the leftmost filler of a doubly filled P2, and 'P2$_1$' for the rightmost one.

(a)   ... *en* - *die man,* - die - heeft - *0* - het - begrepen
            P2$_2$ -   P2$_1$ - P1 -   Vf - Subj - Obj -   Vi

(b)   ... *en* - *dat hoofdstuk,* - dat - heb - ik - *0* - begrepen
            P2$_2$ -   P2$_1$ - P1 - Vf - Subj - Obj -   Vi

Instead of allowing doubly filled P2s, one can also grant coordinating conjunctions a position of their own, to the left of P2 (cf. Höhle 1983:11).

7. Though Slovenian has not been studied from the FG point of view, closely related Serbo Croatian has (Dik 1980:131). The point we are making in the text is based on Bennett (1986, 1987) and esp. Browne (1986).

8. The definitions of Topic and Focus are necessarily vague. Cf. example (14), section 4, as well as Dik et al. (1981) and Hannay (1983, 1985).

9. Dik (1980:155) supplies a longer list, comprising question particles, tense and aspect markers, and 'various types of subordinators'. But these possibilities are only rarely discussed or illustrated.

10. Within TG, the notion of 'clause proper' is best understood as the maximal projection of S. It is not clear, however, whether this maximal S projection is S' (e.g. Chomsky 1981:140, 1986, Thráinsson 1986) or S" (e.g. Holmberg 1985), and it has furthermore been suggested that this is a language-specific decision.
11. The term 'SC WH' is unavoidably infelicitous because of the existence of *whether*: *whether* happens to start with *wh*, but it is a Comp.

12. The Theme, the most intensively studied P2 filler in FG, goes to what Diderichsen calls 'Ekstraposition'. So 'P2' translates both 'Forbinderfelt' and 'Ekstraposition'. This still respects Diderichsen, for he explicitly says that both are outside the clause proper (cf. Diderichsen 1986:11, 13; cf. also Basbøll 1986:66). Diderichsen's term for 'P1' is 'Fundamentfelt'.

13. More precisely, the claim is that the pronominal, adjectival, or adverbial relativizer represents the antecedent as the Topic of the RC (Van der Auwera & Kučanda 1985, Van der Auwera 1988). For some theory-internal FG statements on this matter, see Dik (1978:139-140, 147-148).

14. Here I follow Diderichsen (1946, 1966) again. In the Diderichsen framework, SCs lack a 'Fundamentfelt'.

15. It is only valid for ordinary SC WHs, however. Special SC WHs will be discussed in section 7.

16. This is a variation on the classical explanation offered by Van Haeringen (1939:176). He claimed that subordinator inflection is a means to avoid V-lateness (embraciation) and that it puts the verbal inflection closer to the subject. I claim that subordinator

inflection does indeed serve to avoid V-lateness, but that it creates a form of V/2-ness.

17. Heltoft (1986a, 1986b) actually stresses the similarity of these two *at*'s and claims that neither is a Comp. Nevertheless, he admits that the ordinary *at* stands in the position that is reserved for ordinary Comps, and that pleonastic *at* does not.

18. Example (55b) below, for instance, does not have a literal translation in Norwegian.

19. Braecke (1984) has drawn attention to a third type: Comp follows Theme.

(a)   Ik geloof die man, dat die ziek is

This type is unproblematic for either hypothesis.

(b)   ... die man - dat - die ...
       P2   - P1 - Subj

(c)   ... die man - dat - die ...
       $P2_2$ - $P2_1$ - Subj

For Scandinavian examples of the double Comp structure of (58a), see Jörgensen (1978:50).

20. *Pace* Hooper & Thompson (1973:489-490), I doubt whether 'Negative Preposing' is acceptable in non-restrictive and in indefinite head restrictive RCs.

(a)   *This car, which only rarely did I drive, is in excellent condition

(b)   *I saw a dress which under no circumstances would I have bought

21. An interesting test case is a language that puts Comps in P2 , SC WHs in P1 but lacks the ban on doubly filled P1s. One would predict that this language does have V/2 in relative clauses and embedded interrogatives. Such a language is Hungarian. Hungarian arguably has a P1 - V - X order, where P1 consists of a $P1_2$ for one or more Topics and a $P1_1$ for Focus (De Groot 1981b).

(a)   Péter Marinak   adott könyvet
       Peter Mari-Recipient gave book-Goal
       'Peter gave Mary a book'

(a)'   Péter - Marinak - adott - könyvet
       $P1_2$ - $P1_1$ - V   - X

(b)   Péter melyik könyvet   adott Marinak?
       Peter which book-Goal gave Mari-Recipient
       'Which book did Peter give to Mary?'

(b)'   Péter - melyik könyvet - adott - Marinak?
       $P1_2$ - $P1_1$ - V   - X

The following examples, from De Groot (1981b) and Horvath (1986) illustrate SC V/2-in (d) and (e) P1 contains a WH element.

(c)   Péter azt   mondta, hogy Éva téged   vart
       Peter that said   Comp Éva you-Goal waited
       'Peter said that Éva waited for you'

(c)' ... mondta, - hogy - Éva - téged - várt
                 - P2 - P1$_1$ - P1$_2$ - V

(d) Ki az, aki csak szerdan   dolgozik?
     who that who only Wednesday-onworks
     'Who is it that only works on Wednesday?'

(d)' ... az, - aki - csak szerdan - dolgozik?
              - P1$_1$ - P1$_2$ - V

(e) Nememlékszem hogy Attila mennyi pénzt vett
     not remember Comp Attila how much money took
     'I don't know how much money Attila took'

(e)' ... emlékszem - hogy - Attila - mennyi pénzt - vett
                     - P2 - P1$_1$ -   P1$_2$ - V

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