

WPFG

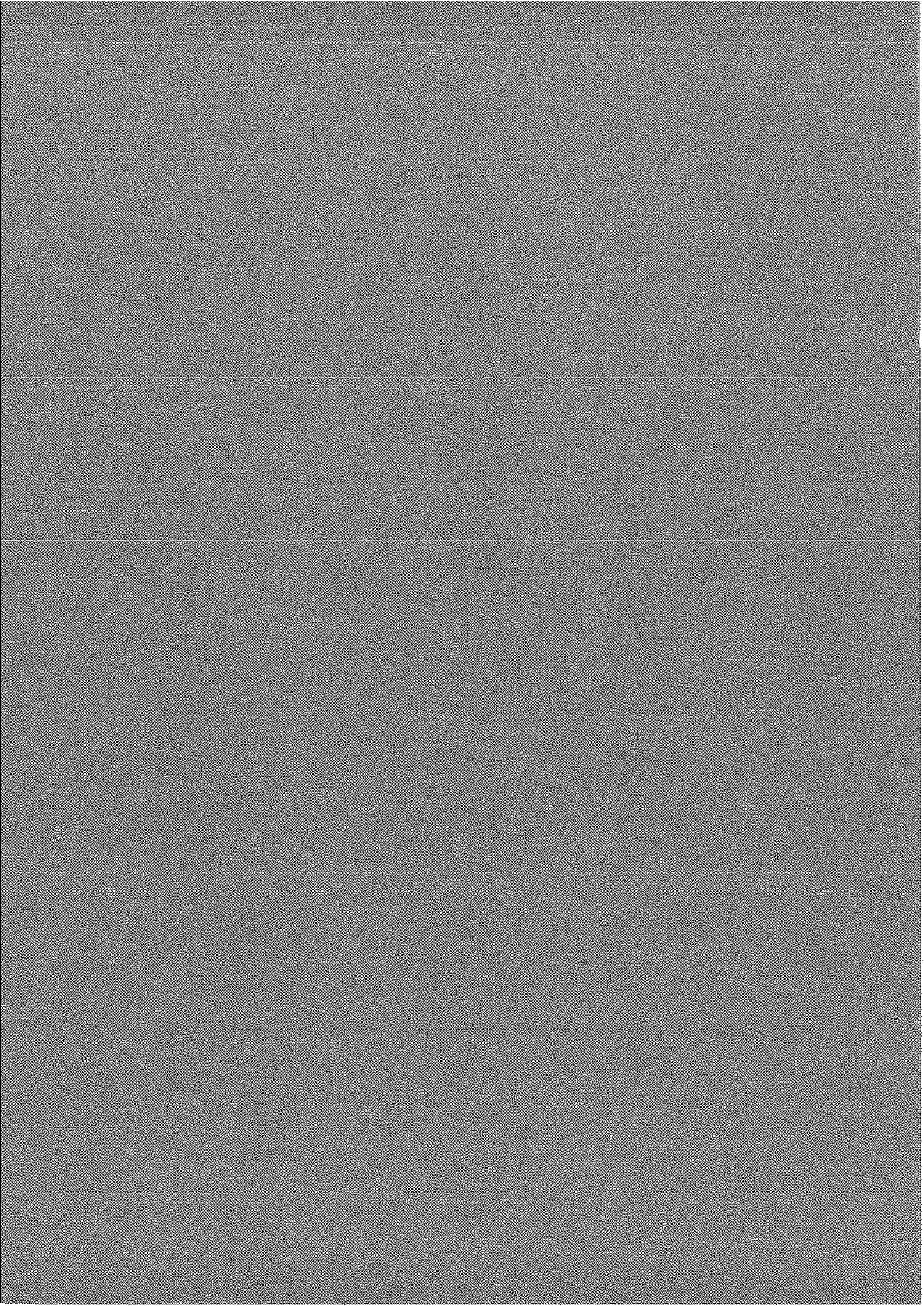
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The Dutch perspectivity particles in FG  
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## 1. INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

### 1.1 The paradigm

Words like *already*, *still*, *only*, *not yet* and *not anymore* (henceforth referred to as particles) have always been neglected throughout linguistic history.<sup>2</sup> Undoubtedly, this has something to do with the fact that such words hardly contribute to the propositional content of a sentence: they can neither refer to concrete entities like *chair*, nor do they have an abstract but conceivable meaning like adverbs, such as *yesterday*. The inconceivability of the meaning of particles has not only led to various conflicting theories in the past, but many present-day linguists also seem to disagree as soon as particles enter the stage.

What all particles have in common is that they relate the propositional content of the sentence in which they occur to aspects of the setting in which communication takes place; particularly the relationship between the Speaker (S) and Addressee (S), their relationship with the propositional content and their common background and knowledge. In other words, they assign a certain place to the rest of the proposition.<sup>3</sup>

With regard to the particles mentioned above, however, it is possible to give a more specific definition: a feature that distinguishes *already*, *still*, etc. from adverbs/other particles is that by means of these particles S relates the State of Affairs (SoA), as represented in the proposition, to a certain point on a time continuum. By relating a SoA to this point, S presents the SoA as being part of a certain sequence. I will call such a point *Reference Point (RP)*.<sup>4</sup>

If one accepts this hypothesis, a new question arises: what is an RP?

(1) John is already sitting, but Peter is still running

A certain kind of temporal location can be detected in sentences in which *already*, *still*, etc. occur. This location, however, is not so much expressed by means of a point of time, but rather by means of a temporal relation: in (1) it is expressed that John has crossed some line, most probably the finishing-line or the borderline of his physical resources, whereas Peter has not. In other words, the moment of stopping marks the transition from a state of running to a state of not running in this particular sentence. This transition point is the RP to which both the first and the second half of the sentence refer, by means of *already* and *still* respectively. In the first case, S is pointing backward to this transition point, in the second case S is pointing forward to the same RP (Fig.1).

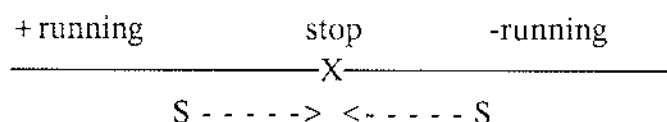


Figure 1 : The relationship SoA <---> transition point

An RP, however, is not always a transition point at which one SoA changes into another. This may become clear if the following sentence is compared to (1):

(2) Jane has only run TWO LAPS

The message in this sentence has nothing to do with, for example, a possible transition between a state of running and a state of not running. It is rather the number of laps that have been run that is the most important information in (2), and in this particular case S indicates that two laps is less than he/she had expected. The SoA, then, is below the implicit 'norm' or expectation of S, who has a higher number, e.g. four, in mind as the number that more or less agrees with his/her expectation. In other words, S's 'standard' can be considered here as the RP (Fig.2).

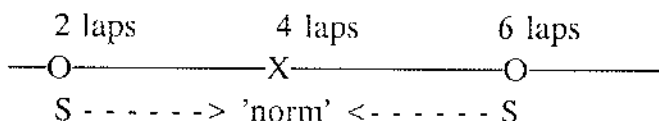


Figure 2 : The relationship SoA <---> S's 'norm'

In this paper, I will focus on the use of these two groups of particles in Dutch; both groups will be considered as constituting two different paradigms:

- I. nog niet - al - nog - niet meer  
     (not yet - already - still - not anymore)
- II. pas/nog maar - al - nog - nog maar/maar .. meer  
     (only - already - still - only .. left)

## 1.2 Different paradigms, different names

The great number of conflicting theories and opinions on the particles mentioned above throughout linguistic history is neatly reflected by the fact

that various linguists have even argued about the labels that should be attached to these paradigms. Most (but not all) linguists agree that the words from both paradigms should be called particles, but - as will be shown in this section - many have introduced new names to indicate these particular sorts of particles. I will not break with this long-standing tradition.

German linguists have enriched their lexicon with the term *Gradpartikeln* (Altmann, 1976), though Altmann himself has attached the label to words like *auch*, *nur* en *sogar*; König's (1979b) translation was *degree particles*. Furthermore, König (1981a,b) uses the term *scalar particles* as distinct from *sentence-ADVERBIALS* like *noch* and *schon*.

Vandeweghe (e.g. 1978a, 1979, 1983, 1986a) also uses the term *degree particle*, not only in order to label *nog*, *al*, *pas* and *niet meer* (i.e. both paradigms), but also particles like *juist* (precisely), *zelfs* (even) en *alleen* (merely); in other words, as a sort of general term, which not only covers both paradigms, but also a number of more or less closely related particles.

Moreover, the term *focus particles* (Ladusaw, 1980) needs to be mentioned, which Ladusaw reserves for particles like *even* and *only*. The function of these particles is to indicate the limits on an upward-implicating scale and a downward-implicating scale respectively (see section 1.3). The term *focus particles* is restricted to *even* and *only*, so that strictly speaking *already* and *still* are not focus particles to Ladusaw. Vandeweghe (1983), however, borrows this term to attach it to paradigm II, i.e. those particles which have S's norm as their RP. When referring to the particles from paradigm I and some other particles, he uses the names *sentence particles* and *logical particles*.

For the sake of uniformity and clarity, I shall restrict myself to three different terms: only the particles that constitute paradigm I will from now on be called *phasal particles*,<sup>5</sup> i.e. referring to the phase in which a SoA is situated in relation to a transition point; furthermore, Ladusaw's term *focus particles*<sup>6</sup> will be borrowed in order to label the particles from paradigm II, as done by Vandeweghe. If any reference is made to both groups at the same time, this will be done by means of the abbreviated form *p-particles*.

### 1.3 Vandeweghe (1983)

In this section, I will briefly discuss Vandeweghe's views on this matter, in particular his dissertation of 1983;<sup>7</sup> not only has this voluminous work been an important contribution to the field of p-particles, but it has also combined the results of many studies that had been published in the

preceding decade.<sup>8</sup>

In the first place, Vandeweghe (1978a) comes up with a number of characteristics of p-particles that distinguish them from temporal adverbs:

- these particles can never be an answer to a *when*-question
- the temporal reference point does not change if one of the p-particles is added to a sentence
- if there is no explicit temporal reference in a sentence, p-particles will not be of any help in creating such a reference

Vandeweghe (1978a) also concludes that p-particles have no influence upon the truth value of a sentence; compare:

(3) I am home

(4) I am home *already*

(5) I am *still* home

It does not make any difference with regard to the truth value whether *already/still* is there or not : S is home anyway. What can be argued, however, is that in (4) and (5) the informative value of the predication has changed as a consequence of the presence of *already/still*: the Addressee's attention is not so much directed towards the fact that there is a SoA in which S is home - this part of the message has become more topical - but rather towards the fact that this SoA occurs IN RELATION TO a certain moment which has been chosen as the point of view. Vandeweghe (1983 : 106 ff) calls this relationship *presuppositional sequence*, in which S assumes that an event can take place before or after a particular moment. This moment is the moment at which a SoA is initiated or completed, and which has been selected by S as the point of view; in other words, it is the transition point between one SoA and another to which the SoA in (4) is related by means of *already*, and in (5) by means of *still*.

The special character of all sentences containing p-particles is, according to Vandeweghe (1978a, 1979 and 1983), provided by the fact that there is always some sort of point of view. This point of view, however, is normally not lexically realised in the SoA, but is implied by S; compare, for example, (3) to (4) and (5), where the point of view coincides with the transition point. In (3) there is no reference whatsoever to any possible transition between being home and not being home: maybe S has never been away from home at all and maybe this will not be the case in the future either. In (4) and (5), on the other hand, there is an (implicit)

transition: in (4) it is suggested that S was *not yet* home some time before the moment of speaking, whereas in (5) it is presupposed that the SoA is *no longer* valid at a later stage. These moments of coming and leaving home, respectively, are the implied transition points in these cases.

In summary, there is an implicit transition point if a sentence contains one of the phasal particles. At this point a SoA is initiated or terminated. In this way, coming home turns a state of not being home into a state of being home, and leaving home works the other way around. It appears - in line with König (1979a), who uses the term 'Suppletivformen' - that these transition points on both sides have complementary forms that are each other's opposites. In other words, arriving at a transition point no longer requires the selection of a phasal particle x, but its complementary, negative form y, or the other way around. If (4) and (5) are taken as examples, (6) and (7) are the suppletive forms that are related to the different transition points, respectively coming and leaving home:

- (6) I am *not* home *yet*
- (7) I am *not* home *anymore*

These suppletive forms, in other words, locate the SoA before or after the transition point. Vandeweghe calls the former situation *Prospective*, because S 'looks' forward from the SoA to the transition point ahead of this SoA, and the latter situation *Retrospective*, because S 'looks' backward from the SoA to the transition point at which this SoA was realised. This conception is called *Perspectivity*, with the aid of which it is not only possible to give a unified account of all p-particles, but also to make a clear distinction between phasal particles on the one hand and focus particles on the other, as will be demonstrated in the rest of this section.

It is possible now to set up a typology of possible prospective and retrospective phasal particles in Dutch:

|     | PROSP    | RETRO     |
|-----|----------|-----------|
| POS | nog      | al        |
| NEG | nog niet | niet meer |

Figure 3 : The typology of Dutch phasal particles

Figure 3 contains the typology of Dutch phasal particles (Vandeweghe's

sentence particles), representing the four possible combinations of a positive/negative SoA on the one hand and a prospective/retrospective perspective on the other. The Figure shows that the positive values consist of one word only, whereas the negative values are expressed by means of two different words; this extra word is not necessarily *niet* (not): in fact, every element with a negative component, e.g. *niemand* (nobody), *geen* (no), *nooit* (never), etc., can replace *niet*; this issue will be dealt with later in this section. On the basis of this distinction, it is possible to put forward the hypothesis that the positive value is the unmarked one, and that the feature POS is normally not expressed in a separate word: as a matter of fact, every sentence that is not negative (i.e. does not contain the feature NEG) is positive.

It should be kept in mind, however, that only one half of the class of p-particles consists of phasal particles. The other half consists of the group of particles that are called *focus particles* by Vandeweghe (1983) and in this paper. Some Dutch examples are:

- (8) Piet is *al* negen jaar  
Peter is already nine years
- (9) De bakker heeft *nog maar* tien gebakjes over  
the baker has only ten cakes left
- (10) Ik ben *pas* twee keer naar de tandarts geweest  
I am only two times to the dentist been  
'Until this moment, I have been to the dentist only twice'

It should be noted that focus particles usually co-occur with different predicational elements (a predicate, a GoObj and a satellite of Frequency in these examples); a general rule is that these elements should be in Focus.

Another feature of these sentences is that the Focus contains a certain quantity, which S can qualify by means of a focus particle. According to Vandeweghe (1979), the quantity that is expressed in the Focus can be abstracted from the predication with the aid of lexically defined parameters; in (8) and (9), for example, these parameters are AGE and QUANTITY, respectively. I would like to add that, in general, these parameters are all variations on one and the same theme: THE POSSIBILITY OF BEING ORDERED IN A SEQUENCE. Such a sequence can consist of only two just as well as an infinite number of elements.

The qualification that focus particles add to these parameters is the



following: these parameters can also contain something like a point of view, albeit not in the form of a transition point, but rather in the form of S's implicit norm, called *comparison point* by Vandeweghe. This means that S judges a certain point in the (continuous) sequence to be in agreement with his/her norm or expectations.<sup>9</sup> A value that is expressed in the SoA can - within a certain parameter - exceed this norm or not even meet this comparison point. In the latter case, S will use *maar* (no more than), and in the former case S can express his/her judgment by means of the unstressed *wel* (no less than).

If these SoAs are considered in a dynamic perspective, as part of a sequence, S will use *al* instead of *wel* and *pas* or *nog maar* instead of *maar*. In other words, since *al* is related to a SoA that has exceeded S's norm, one could say that it is retro-spective, whereas *pas* and *nog maar* are prospective, analogous to phasal particles. However, *al* and *pas/nog maar* are focus particles that are related to increasing quantities only. If there is a decreasing quantity, other focus particles are used:

(11) Jan heeft *nog* TIEN GULDEN (dus we kunnen een ijsje kopen)  
John has still TEN GUILDERS (so we can buy an icecream)

(12) Sorry, ik heb *nog maar* EEN SIGARET (dus ik kan je niets te roken aanbieden)  
Sorry, I have only ONE CIGARETTE left (so I cannot offer you any)

Before treating the typology of Dutch focus particles, I want to give an example in which the distinction between phasal and focal particles emerges:

(13) We zijn *nog* in Brussel  
we are still in Brussels

(14) We zijn *pas* in Brussel  
we are only in Brussels

(15) We zijn *al* in Brussel  
We are already in Brussels

In (13) and (15) reference can be made to the opposition between being in Brussels vs. not yet/anymore being in Brussels, a binary opposition. In (14), however - and in (15), (*al* is ambiguous in this case, because it can either be a phasal particle or a focus particle) being in Brussels is

considered to be part of a larger sequence, which will be the case if someone is on a journey, for example, from Amsterdam to Paris. In this case the Speaker uses *pas* in order to locate Brussels before a particular point (eg. the border between Belgium and France) that would have answered S's expectations at the moment of speaking (comparison point). *Al*, on the other hand, would have been used if S's comparison point were situated, for example, somewhere near the border between The Netherlands and Belgium. However, *al* is not so ambiguous as one might think: the intonation patterns of sentences containing phasal *al* on the one hand and focal *al* on the other are widely divergent; this is the reason why (15a) contains a phasal particle and (15b) a focal particle.

(15a) We zijn al in Utrecht ('neutral' intonation)

(15b) We zijn al in UTRECHT

|          | PROSP           | RETRO                      |
|----------|-----------------|----------------------------|
| (-RESTR) | nog             | al                         |
| RESTR    | pas<br>nog maar | maar .. meer <sup>10</sup> |

Figure 4 : The typology of Dutch focal particles

Although Figure 4 is not clear in this respect, one should bear in mind that *nog maar* can occur in increasing as well as in decreasing sequences. In both cases, however, these particles are prospective: in the case of an increasing sequence *nog maar* is, of course, prospective because S indicates, by means of *nog maar*, that the quantity in the SoA is below his/her norm. Things are more complicated, however, if the sequence is decreasing, but Vandeweghe (135 ff) has convincingly argued that *nog maar* is also prospective in decreasing sequences. His argument is roughly the following: the opposition here is no longer that between relatively low vs. relatively high, but between something and nothing. The norm in such decreasing sequences has shifted, as it were, to zero, so that S - by means of *nog maar* - expresses what quantity there is to be 'gone through' before it is completely exhausted.

Figure 4 also shows that the values POS and NEG have been replaced by -RESTRICTIVE and RESTRICTIVE. Restriction supplants the opposition +/- that is characteristic of POSITIVE and NEGATIVE with a notion

of more/less. Restriction is expressed by means of *maar* (no more than) in Dutch, whereas absence of restriction can optionally be expressed by means of unstressed *wel* (no less than).

For a better understanding of the notion of restriction, it will be helpful to discuss some aspects of the work of Ladusaw (1980) and particularly Zwarts (1981). Ladusaw argues that the quantity that is defined in a sentence is the basis for discriminating between expressions with an upward implicational direction on the one hand and a downward implicational direction on the other; with respect to this, Zwarts has borrowed the mathematical terms 'monotonic rise' and 'monotonic fall'. Two examples will clarify what is meant by these terms:

(16) John is able to live on £50 a week   —>  
      John is able to live on £100 a week

(17) John is not able to live on £100 a week   —>  
      John is not able to live on £50 a week

One can see that (16) and (17) have an opposite implicational direction: £50 in the first sentence in (16) also implies the larger domain of £100, an upward implicational direction (monotonic rise), which is called an *inclusive* relationship. In (17), however, such an inclusive relationship would lead to a wrong conclusion: if John is not able to live on £100 a week, he may be able to do so on £200. On the contrary, with regard to (17) one could say that the larger domain of £100 automatically implies the subset £50, but not the superset £200. This relationship, therefore, has a downward implicational direction (monotonic fall) and is called *exclusive*.

Ladusaw and Zwarts demonstrate that a monotonic fall is a necessary condition for the presence of Negative Polarity Items (NPI's), whereas a monotonic rise conditions Positive Polarity Items (PPI's). Now one is able to account for the complementary distribution between retrospective *al* and *meer* in Figure 3. Interestingly, it appears that this distribution coincides exactly with the distinction between inclusive and exclusive relationships, respectively, which means that *al* as a PPI can only occur in positive sentences/settings; this also means that if a sentence/setting is negative, a different item should be selected: the NPI *meer*. Another example:

(18) *Hoogstens vier mensen verdienen maar minstens een ton*  
      at most four people earn   only at least Dfl.100,000  
      'Only four people at most earn at least Dfl. 100,000'

This (somewhat artificial) sentence shows the following: a PPI like *minstens* is an indication that this sentence has an upward implicational direction: if these people earn AT LEAST 100,000 guilders, this means that they may well have a higher salary than that. This sentence, however, has a counterforce in the NPI *hoogstens*, which is an indication of a downward implicational direction: if the number of people is four AT MOST, this means that this number can also be less than four. Since there are only two quantities in this sentence and one of them is exclusive (*hoogstens vier mensen*) and the other is inclusive (*minstens een ton*), *maar* can only be related to the former: although its position in the sentence is not a good indication, *maar* as a NPI can only co-occur with a monotonic falling quantity, which is the Subject in this case. If *maar* is replaced by the PPI *wel*, it should be related to the Object of this sentence, as this constituent contains a quantity with an upward implicational direction.

In the presence of one or more numbers the mere addition of *maar*, according to Vandeweghe (p.210), is sufficient to make a sentence monotonic falling, which is indeed shown in the following example:

- (19) Mijn buurman heeft maar dertig koeien,  
my neighbour has only thirty cows,
- a. \*als het er niet meer zijn.  
\*or even more.
- b. als het er niet minder zijn.  
or even less.

By making (19) monotonic falling, *maar* can be a trigger for other NPI's, like the Dutch verb *hoeven*; compare (20) to (21):

- (20) Mijn buurman hoeft maar dertig koeien te hebben.  
my neighbour needs only thirty cows to have  
'My neighbour only has to have 30 cows'
- (21) \*Mijn buurman hoeft dertig koeien te hebben.

In this view, restriction is nothing but a special case of exclusivity: only subsets of the set that is mentioned in a predication are possible alternatives, and other sets are impossible. Vandeweghe (210 ff.) immediately adds, however, that negation is the prototypical case of reverting the implicational direction, an example of which has been (17).

On the basis of this, I would like to introduce an ad hoc definition of the notion of restriction:

- restriction is the indication that a quantity expressed in the SoA is a subset of the quantity that S has chosen as his/her reference point

One additional remark should be made, however: one of the differences between negation and restriction is that S is more neutral with regard to this reference point in the former case; this means that the actualisation or non-actualisation of a SoA depends less (or not at all) on the Speaker than the location of such a SoA above or below S's norm, which is, in fact, co-determined by S; after all, S him/herself imposes the norm that a SoA should meet in this case.

#### 1.4. An evaluation of Vandeweghe's theory

Vandeweghe's (1979, 1983) actual conclusions are not fully identical to the representation given in Figure 4. An important difference is Vandeweghe's subdivision into *nog1 maar* and *nog2 maar*, in order to distinguish them as separate forms for rising and falling sequences, respectively. However, these forms are identical, not only formally but also functionally: in the preceding section, it has been shown that Vandeweghe himself has argued that both forms are prospective, so that any distinction with respect to this is not necessary. Moreover, I take the position that the distinction between rising and falling sequences is coded in the SoA itself rather than in the p-particles, if any overt coding can be found at all. In reality, however, it is often impossible to decide whether a SoA is part of a rising or a falling sequence on the basis of a sentence in isolation; in such cases, the Speaker and Addressee have more information at their disposal, such as, for example, the context of their communication. This may become clear in (22):

- (22) John heeft alles bij elkaar *nog maar* 12 gulden  
John has all-taken-together only(left) 12 guilders  
'John has in all only 12 guilders (left)'

This sentence deals with either a rising or a falling sequence, but it gives no further clues at all. However, if (22) is located in a context in which John is collecting money for a good cause, only then will it become clear

that this SoA is part of a rising sequence; vice versa, within a context in which John has just returned from his weekly shopping, it is clear that (22) is part of a rising sequence. This shows that the parameter  $\pm$ RISING is not even a necessary feature of a predication, but that this feature can be deduced by the Addressee if he/she is taking part in a larger conversational framework. For this reason, a representation like the one given in Figure 4 is necessary and sufficient to describe the Dutch focal particles in an adequate manner.

In a similar fashion, Vandeweghe has made a distinction between *nog* on the one hand and *nog(N,M)* on the other; the former is regarded as the bare form (PPI), whereas the latter is considered as the form that can be combined with *niet* or *maar* (NPI). However, if it is assumed that *nog* is the sole representative of prospectivity, which may be combined with negation/ restriction, only this form will suffice to capture the different manifestations *nog*, *nog niet* en *nog maar*.

Moreover, Vandeweghe (1978a,1983) regards prospectivity as an operation on a sentence, like polarity; he, therefore, considers p-particles to be manifestations of prospective/retrospective operators. This view will be extensively discussed in the next chapter, but one remark should be made in advance: the terminology used by Vandeweghe seems to be confusing if the notions of prospectivity and retrospectivity are compared with the same notions as they are used by Comrie (1981) and Dik (1985). Although the next chapter will be partly devoted to this issue, I will continue to use Vandeweghe's terminology throughout this paper for want of any better terms.

One final remark with respect to Vandeweghe is that, if one compares Figure 4 with Figure 3, -RESTR can be considered as the unmarked value, similar to POS. Therefore, -RESTR is normally not expressed. This, however, can easily be a source of confusion: if these unmarked values are unspecified, it would seem that the difference between sentences with a phasal particle and those with a focus particle has disappeared. Therefore, there has to be a more fundamental distinction between POS and -RESTR, or, in general, between phasal and focal particles, in order to account for the different status of (15a) and (15b). In other words, a (simplified) representation like (23) would be insufficient:

(23) RETRO (we zijn in Utrecht)

Such a representation could underlie (15a) as well as (15b), whereas both sentences are clearly distinct. This issue will be discussed in Chapter 2.

In general, Chapter 2 is an attempt at combining the issues presented in this chapter with the framework of FG (Dik, 1989), in particular with the modifications proposed by Hengeveld (1988). In Chapter 3, I will discuss some problems that may arise along with some problematical cases of p-particles already in existence that may be solved as a result of this combination. Chapter 4, finally, is a brief summary of the main issues that have emerged from the preceding chapters.

## 2. P-PARTICLES AND FG

### 2.1 Operators versus satellites

In this section, I will try to answer the question whether p-particles show a high degree of grammaticalisation and, as such, can be called operators or whether they show a low degree of grammaticalisation and, therefore, should be regarded as satellites on a particular level within the clause.<sup>11</sup>

This discussion concentrates on a study by Goossens (1985a), who - on the basis of Lehmann (1982) - has measured the degree of grammaticalisation of the English modal verbs. His basic assumption was that modal operators show a high degree of grammaticalisation. He uses six criteria:

Paradigmatic factors:

1. *integrity*: phonological: - monosyllabicity  
                                    - strong/weak forms  
                                    semantic: increase of abstract meaning
2. *paradigmaticity*: the size of the paradigm; in this case a set of 9 English modals, which is slightly too much
3. *paradigmatic variability*: increasing grammaticalisation means an increasing obligatory use

Syntagmatic factors:

4. *scope*: decreases with grammaticalisation
5. *boundedness*: the degree of boundedness to other signs to which a sign is syntagmatically related increases with grammaticalisation
6. *syntagmatic variability*: the degree of movability of a sign decreases with grammaticalisation

Although Goossens has used these criteria to discriminate between English modal verbs, his study may very well serve as a guideline in using these six criteria with respect to Dutch p-particles. This yields the following results:

1. *phonological integrity*: p-particles consist of monosyllabic words,



although one could argue that NEG and RESTR are expressed separately; an exception is *pas*, which combines RESTR and PROSP. There are no strong/weak forms, but as a rule the particles are unstressed.<sup>12</sup>

*semantic integrity*: the original meaning of these words is almost completely lost; it is difficult to define a lexical meaning of any of the p-particles.

2. *paradigmaticity*: 4 particles (*al, nog, pas, meer*) are the results of the presence of PROSP/RETRO, sometimes in combination with NEG or RESTR.
3. *paradigmatic variability*: this is still very great; perspectivity is an optional procedure, so that p-particles can always remain unspecified. This criterion is not met at all.
4. *scope*: has narrowed down in all cases of constituent-modification; *pas*, for example, was originally an independent constituent (satellite of Time) with a different meaning, which still exists.
5. *boundedness*: not strong, although many native speakers regard e.g. *allang* (= *al + lang*, for a long time already) en *algauw* (*al + gauw*, already at short notice) as one word.
6. *syntagmatic variability*: still rather great, although *meer* prefers the end of a sentence or constituent, and *nog* in combination with negation (not yet) preferably opens a sentence or constituent.

As Goossens has shown, the English modals meet a number of these criteria, and so do the Dutch p-particles. All English modals, for example, show phonological integrity, boundedness and syntagmatic variability. For this reason, Goossens considers paradigmatic variability and desemantici-sation to be the distinctive features on which a scale of grammaticalisation concerning the English modals could be based. One of his conclusions is that the modals that occur in a conditional subsentence, for example, are highly grammaticalised and should, therefore, be considered to be pure operators.

Although I immediately admit that particles are quite different from modal verbs, Goossens' approach may to some extent prove fruitful with respect to p-particles as well. Dutch p-particles, for example, meet the criteria of semantic integrity and paradigmaticity. Furthermore, indications of grammaticalisation can be found with respect to phonological integrity, scope, boundedness and syntagmatic variability. On this basis, there are good reasons to assume that p-particles are the expressions of operators.

If this assumption is correct, an interpretation of these operators within the Dutch language system is needed. This interpretation can be derived from the following specification:

- a) Which operators are relevant, and what are their values?
- b) Where do they belong in the structure of a language, and what is their scope?
- c) What is their semantic interpretation, i.e. what is their contribution to the total semantic content of a sentence?
- d) What are the formal consequences for the expression of the sentence?

The specification of the Dutch p-particles is as follows:

- a) Perspectiveity : { Prospective, Retrospective }
- b) This issue will be dealt with in 2.4, 2.6 and Chapter 3.
- c) The following scheme is expressed in different perspectives:  
SoA X < Reference Point < SoA Y
- d) This issue will be dealt with in Chapter 3.

## 2.2 Negation

According to Hengeveld (1988 : 10), negation can occur on different levels within a FG-predication. One distinction is that between predicate negation and predication negation.

(24) John is not unintelligent.

In the case of predication negation this sentence is equivalent to:

(25) It is not the case that John is unintelligent.

In the case of predicate negation the following circumscription applies, indicating that being not unintelligent is one of John's characteristics:

(26) John is not-unintelligent.

Furthermore, terms can be negated, Dutch examples of which are (27) and (28):

(27) Ik heb *niemand* gezien.  
I have nobody seen  
'I saw nobody'

(28) *Geen mens* kon hem tegenhouden.  
No human could him stop  
'There was nobody to stop him'

What two forms of negation, viz. predication negation and term negation, have in common is that they trigger an inversion of the implicational direction. In other words, they create a negative setting, in which NPI's can occur. However, this is less likely in the case of predicate negation. This can be demonstrated with the aid of the NPI *meer*. Both term negation and predication negation are a sufficient condition for the use of this NPI, which can be seen if *meer* is added to (27)/(28) and to (24) in its meaning of (25), respectively. In (26), however, such a procedure is impossible; the sentence

(29) Jan is niet-onintelligent *meer*.  
John is not-unintelligent anymore

is either ungrammatical, or *niet* should be considered as separated from *onintelligent*, in which case it is called predication negation. And if the complex form *niet-onintelligent* is replaced by an inseparable unit like *niemand* - which allows for the addition of *meer* - it can no longer be called a predicate negation, but it has turned into a term negation. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that - with the exception of all instances of term negation - the negation operator that can co-occur with phasal particles is a predication operator, and not a predicate operator.

### 2.3 Perspectivity related to Negation

In the preceding chapter, it has become clear that there is a close relationship between negation on the one hand and perspectivity on the other. It will, therefore, be interesting to have a closer look at this

relationship, which will mainly concentrate on the issue of their respective scopes. In other words, does one of these operators fall within the scope of the other?

This question is essential with respect to two conflicting views, one of which has been propagated by Vandeweghe (1983) and the other by van Baar (1988). According to Vandeweghe, PROSP and RETRO fall within the scope of negation; for the sake of the argument, therefore, it will be assumed that PROSP and RETRO are predicate operators, as it has been argued that negation is a predication operator. If *nog* is considered as the realisation of the predicate operator PROSP, then this yields the following (oversimplified) scheme:

- (30) PROSP [ Jan slaapt ]  
      PROSP [John is asleep]

The addition of the predication operator NEG yields (31):

- (31) NEG ( PROSP [ Jan slaapt ] )  
      NEG ( PROSP [John is asleep] )

Scheme (31) can be paraphrased as (32):

- (32) It is not the case that John is still asleep.

In other words, the addition of a predication negation to a prospective predication could yield a reading of a terminated SoA, which leads to (33):

- (33) Jan slaapt niet meer.  
      John is asleep not anymore  
      'John is no longer asleep'

If this is the correct procedure, a number of problems arise. One of them is related to term negation.<sup>13</sup> If, for example, *Jan* and *niet* are replaced by *niemand* (nobody), predication negation is automatically replaced by term negation. There are, however, two possible Dutch sentences in this case, both having the same meaning:

- (34) Niemand slaapt nog.  
      Nobody is asleep still

- (35) Niemand slaapt meer.  
 Nobody is asleep anymore

Sentence (34) is quite predictable in the sense that it can be compared to (30): this means that the sentence is inherently positive in spite of the fact that it contains the negative element *niemand*; this is, according to Kahrel (1987), an exact reflection of the functioning of term negation, i.e. it operates on a local level. In (35), perspectivity is expressed in a way analogous to predication negation (cf. (33)); in other words, the term negation in (35) functions like a predication negation, which means that this sentence is inherently negative, so that the negation should have the perspectivity operator in its scope: negation of prospectivity yields the form *meer*. This, however, is not in agreement with the nature of term negation, where negation is only a local operation.

Vandeweghe (1983 : 128) also claims that combinations of operators lead to new operators, in which negation and restriction are again realised as *niet* and *maar*, but perspectivity appears in a different form:

- niet + al ---> nog niet
- maar + al ---> nog maar, pas
- niet + nog ---> niet meer
- maar + nog ---> maar meer, nog maar

However, one may wonder whether p-particles are simply the results of such additions: focal *al*, for example, indicates that a certain point above the norm has been reached in a sequence with a rising quantity; it would be very strange indeed if this word had to be combined with RESTR in order to indicate a point below the norm.

Another claim that has been made by Vandeweghe (1983 : 74) is that paraphrases are indicative of the scope of negation over perspectivity; compare:

- (36) Jan slaapt nog niet ---> Het is niet zo dat Jan al slaapt  
 John is asleep not yet It is not so that " already "

- (37) Jan is er niet meer ---> Het is niet zo dat Jan er nog is  
 John is there no longer It is not so that " " still "

One could argue - solely on the basis of this argument - that negation has a larger scope than perspectivity. However, this would leave a few other problems to be solved. A more radical solution would be to abandon the

whole idea, and to assume that perspectivity has a larger scope than negation. Even the potential counterargument concerning the paraphrases in (36-37) would prove to be no counterargument at all:

(38) Het is nog zo dat Jan niet slaapt.  
It is still so that John not is asleep

(39) Het is al zo dat Jan er niet is.  
It is already so that John there not is

These sentences also qualify as paraphrases of (36) and (37), but in these cases the scopes of both operators have been switched. Moreover, there seems to be a different point of view with regard to the SoA: in (39), for example, S indicates that something is not the case, before linking this to a preceding transition point, whereas in (37) S indicates that the SoA before the transition point does not apply.

Remarkably, Vandeweghe (1983 : 131ff) is inclined to consider restriction to fall within the scope of the perspectivity operator; he gives a few examples to illustrate his view:

|                  |          |                |
|------------------|----------|----------------|
| (40) (Ik heb er) | 10       | maar 10        |
|                  | nog 10   | nog maar 10    |
| (I have of.them) | 10       | only 10        |
|                  | still 10 | only 10 (left) |

This leads to the additional question whether negation should or should not be treated in the same way as restriction, particularly with regard to the similarities that have been discussed in the preceding chapter. There is certainly a striking analogy:

|               |            |                    |
|---------------|------------|--------------------|
| (41) (Ik ben) | thuis      | niet thuis         |
|               | nog thuis  | nog niet thuis     |
| (I am)        | home       | not home           |
|               | still home | still not home     |
|               |            | (or: not home yet) |

Such a parallelism can be exploited by assuming that perspectivity has a wider scope than negation, as has been done by van Baar (1988); in this case, the following representation can be given:

|      |                       |     |   |           |
|------|-----------------------|-----|---|-----------|
| (42) | RETRO [ SoA ]         | --- | > | al        |
|      | RETRO ( NEG [ SoA ] ) | --- | > | niet meer |
|      | PRO [ SoA ]           | --- | > | nog       |
|      | PRO ( NEG [ SoA ] )   | --- | > | nog niet  |

This proposal encounters none of the objections that can be raised against Vandeweghe's views. However, (34) and (35) are problematic for this view as well, as it is clear that only one of the two sentences can be accounted for within this scheme. Since a sentence containing one or more term negations is inherently positive, it is (34) that can be represented according to the third line of scheme (42). Sentence (35) is more problematic: since this sentence has only a term negation, it is inherently positive; this, however, leaves the use of *meer* unexplained, because (35) also corresponds to the third line of the scheme in (42). In summary, (35) remains not only unexplained if negation has a wider scope than perspectivity but also in the opposite case. In practice, this can only lead to either of the following conclusions:

- either the concept of term negation as presented by Kahrel (1987) is untenable
- or a completely different solution is required in order to account for the combination of perspectivity and term negation, thereby doing justice to the special nature of term negation

Since I see no reason to doubt the correctness of Kahrel's hypothesis, a solution for sentences like (35) must be found. Such a solution can be very simple: if term negation is a local operation, the closely related perspectivity operator can have a similarly narrow scope as well; this leads to the following (simplified) FG-representation of (35):

|      |                     |   |
|------|---------------------|---|
| (43) | slapen <sub>V</sub> | (RETRO NEG $x_i$ ; iemand ( $x_i$ )) <sub>g</sub> |
|------|---------------------|---|

The result is an inherently positive sentence; moreover, this representation rightly reflects the strong parallelism between the functioning of a retrospective negation on predicational level on the one hand and term level on the other. The same holds for the contrastive pair *al/nog niet*.

There are some other advantages to this approach. It is possible now to account for differences in word order:

(44a) Niemand is (er) nog ziek.  
nobody is (there) still ill  
'Nobody is ill yet' or 'Nobody is ill any longer'

(45a) Niemand is (er) al ziek.  
nobody is (there) already ill  
'Nobody is ill yet'

(46a) Niemand is (er) meer ziek.  
nobody is there anymore ill  
'Nobody is ill any longer'

(44b) Nog niemand is (er) ziek.

(45b) \*Al niemand / \*niemand al is (er) ziek.

(46b) ?Niemand meer is (er) ziek.

Sentences (44a) and (45a) could be heard from a relieved manager at hearing the news of the outbreak of a large-scale epidemic. Sentence (44a), however, is ambiguous, because it can also be uttered - like (46a) - by the very same manager when the epidemic is almost over. This ambiguity can be captured by means of this proposal.

Moreover, the closely related sentences (44b)-(46b) are deviant in two different ways: firstly, (45b) is not possible; secondly, the meaning of (44b) is unambiguous, because it can only relate to the beginning of the epidemic. This means that the only two meanings that can be attached to sentences in which the negated term is adjacent to a p-particle - although (46b) is marginally acceptable - are those in which this perspectivity operator is represented at term level. This seems to be a confirmation of the hypothesis presented above.<sup>14</sup>

The solution with respect to sentences like (35), however, has not solved the other issue, viz. the relationship between perspectivity and negation: neither of the approaches offered by Vandeweghe (1983) or van Baar (1988) seems to offer a complete account of all instances of phasal particles. It will be demonstrated, however, that both approaches are two different aspects of one and the same phenomenon.

As demonstrated by Löbner (1986a,b), logic has offered a solution to this problem, which is represented in the following figure:



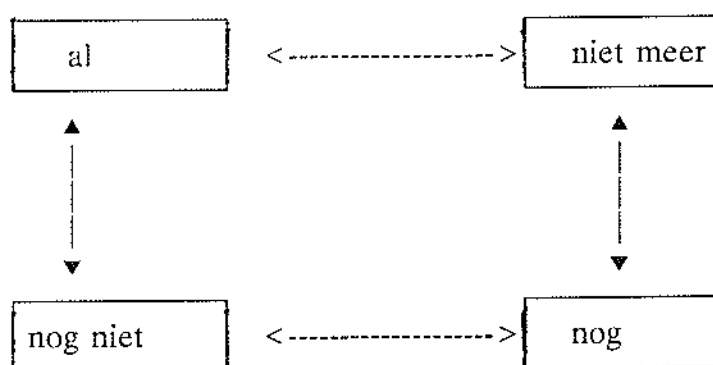
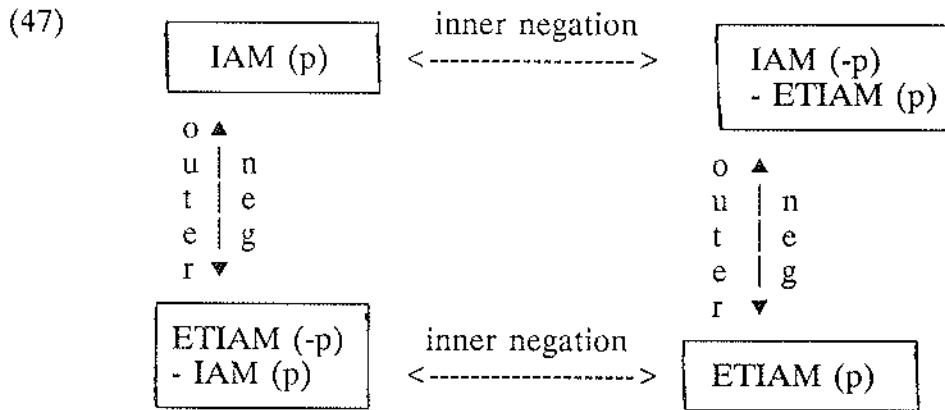


Figure 5 : Löbner's view on phasal particles

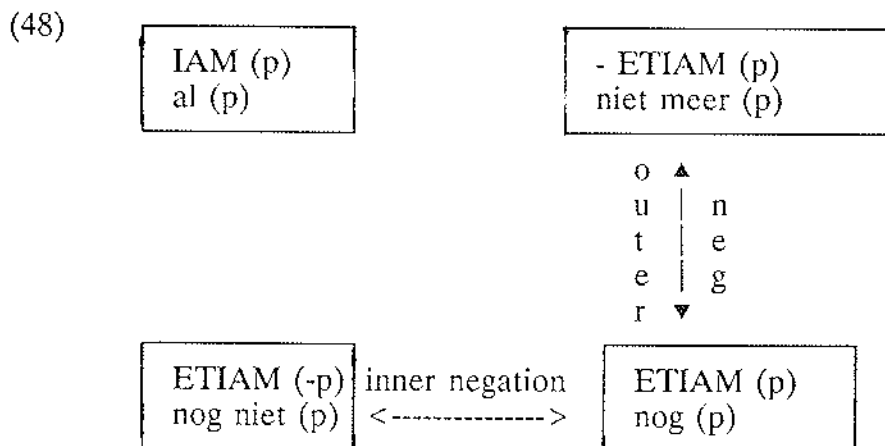
Of course, this figure requires some explanation. If *al* is taken as the point of departure, this particle can, according to Löbner, be negated in two different ways:  $-al(p)$  or  $al(-p)$ , in which  $p$  represents a predicate. The former kind of negation is called *external* negation, and the latter *internal* negation, which are represented by the vertical and horizontal arrows, respectively. This means that the external negation of *al*,  $-al(p)$  leads to *nog niet*, whereas the internal negation of *al*,  $al(-p)$ , is *niet meer*. The very same principle also applies to the other three boxes in this figure, which means that the arrows are bi-directional. Furthermore, Löbner has defined *al* and *nog* as each other's dual forms, i.e. as the inner negation of each other's outer negation.

In my opinion, then, Löbner's model is a neat reflection of the combinatorial possibilities that a language has with respect to phasal particles, combining Vandeweghe's views (1983, concerning external negation) with internal negation. If the two PPI's *al* and *nog* - which are replaced here by the metalinguistic notions IAM and ETIAM, as Vandeweghe (1986b) did - are considered as basic,<sup>15</sup> six main types of combinations may be found in all languages:



One should bear in mind, however, that there will be hardly any language that fully exploits this scheme by making use of each of these possibilities. I think that a language only needs four of them in order to be able to make all of the relevant distinctions: the two basic values IAM and ETIAM, one of the values - IAM (p) or ETIAM (-p), and one of the values IAM (-p) or - ETIAM (p).

In my view, the actual realisations in the surface structure of a language are direct reflections of these values. In practice, this means that the scope of negation plays a crucial role: if negation falls within the scope of perspectivity, this will result in IAM (-p) and ETIAM (-p), and if perspectivity falls within the scope of negation, - ETIAM (p) and - IAM (p) are the resultant forms. It should be noted, however, that the latter two forms are not always literally reflected in a language, because the inherently positive forms IAM and ETIAM may be replaced by alternative NPI's. A good example is Dutch:



Example (48) shows that Dutch offers a mixture of two types of relation-

ship between perspectivity and negation. In the case of external negation, the positive form ETIAM is replaced here by the NPI *meer*. If compared to other Indo-European languages, it appears that Dutch takes an intermediate position. Languages in which only internal negation can be found are Spanish and the Slavonic languages, whereas English is a language that only makes use of external negation.<sup>16</sup>

In terms of FG, this means that the Dutch phasal particles should be represented as in (49); this representation is a minor modification of (42), in which *niet meer* has a different form:

- (49) RETRO [ SoA ]            ---> al  
       NEG ( PRO [ SoA ] )    ---> niet meer  
       PRO [ SoA ]            ---> nog  
       PRO ( NEG [ SoA ] ) ---> nog niet

## 2.4 Perspectivity versus Aspect

Both Comrie (1981 : 66) and Dik (1985 : 9) and Vandeweghe (1983) have referred to the notions of Prospectivity en Retrospectivity. This section will discuss the different conceptions of these notions to be found in Comrie and Dik on the one hand and Vandeweghe on the other.

Comrie and Dik consider prospectivity and retrospectivity as certain forms of Aspect, viz. the forms in which a link is made between the SoA expressed in the predication and a point outside this SoA. Such a form of Aspect seems to differ from SoA-internal Aspect, which is related to the beginning, continuation and end of a SoA. SoA-internal Aspect, therefore, operates on the predicate level, which means that it is part of the SoA and as such able to change it. By contrast, SoA-external Aspect cannot have such a direct influence upon the SoA, which is an indication that this kind of Aspect operates on a higher level, the predication level. For example, a non-telic SoA will always be -TEL, regardless of the presence or absence of SoA-external Aspect. Dik's as well as Comrie's Prospectivity, therefore, should be regarded as SoA-external Aspect, an example of which is (50):

- (50) Jan *gaat* binnen die partij de eerste viool *spelen*.  
       John goes within that party the first fiddle play  
       'John is going to play first fiddle within that party'

In Vandeweghe's conception, the sentence *Jan speelt binnen die partij*

*de eerste viool* becomes (51) if a prospective operation has taken place:

- (51) Jan speelt binnen die partij *nog* de eerste viool.  
John plays within that party still the first fiddle  
'John is still playing first fiddle within that party'

It is clear that both notions of prospectivity differ. The next question is in what respect they are different.

The basic predicate-frame of (50) and (51) contains the SoA *Jan speelt binnen die partij de eerste viool*. However, Dik's conception of prospectivity is that S looks forward to the moment at which the SoA WILL BECOME ACTUAL from a certain point of view; this point of view, in (50) coinciding with the moment of speaking, lies OUTSIDE the SoA proper. Vandeweghe's conception of prospectivity is that S looks forward to the moment at which the SoA WILL END from a certain point of view; this point of view, also in (51) coinciding with the moment of speaking, lies WITHIN this SoA. In this way both the similarities and the differences between the two notions of prospectivity have been captured. However, both sentences become closer in meaning if (51) is slightly altered:

- (52) Jan speelt binnen die partij *nog niet* de eerste viool.  
John plays within that party not yet the first fiddle  
'John is not yet playing first fiddle within that party'

The sentences (50) and (52) have become similar in that in both S's point of view is outside the SoA and S looks forward to the beginning of this SoA; the similarity can be visualised as follows:

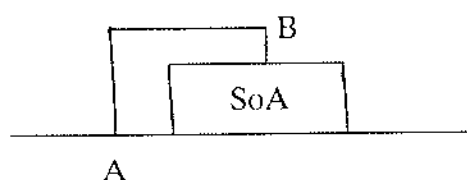


Figure 6 : Perspective and SoA-external Aspect

This scheme suggests that (50) and (52) are identical. However, there is a crucial difference in the emphasis put by S on both sentences:

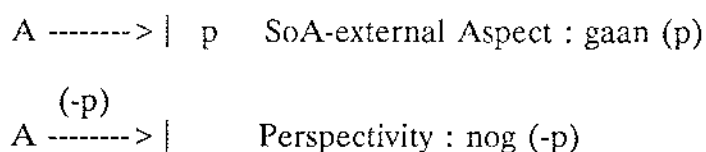


Figure 7 : Perspectivity versus SoA-external Aspect

In the case of SoA-external Aspect, p is emphasized (i.e. the region on the right of the transition point), whereas S puts emphasis on (-p) in the case of Perspectivity (i.e. the region on the left of the transition point).

It should also be noted that in the latter case negation is in the scope of perspectivity. However, this is not so in the case of SoA-external Aspect; compare, for example, (53):

- (53) Jan gaat binnen die partij niet de eerste viool spelen.  
       John goes within that party not the first fiddle play  
       'John is not going to play first fiddle within that party'

If it is assumed that this sentence has a 'neutral' intonation pattern, there are two possible representations:

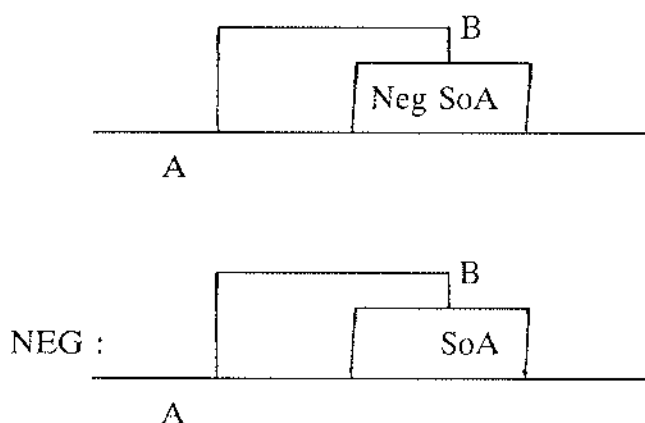


Figure 8 : Two representations of SoA-external Aspect

The paraphrase of the first possibility is: John is going to do something (namely, not play first fiddle). The paraphrase of the second possibility is: it is not the case that John is going to do something (namely, play first fiddle). It is obvious that the second possibility is a true reflection of the message in (53); this means that negation has a wider scope than SoA-external Aspect. In Section 2.3, however, it was shown that perspectivity can have negation in its scope, which is an extra argument that Perspec-

tivity is not the same as SoA-external Aspect.

In summary, the conclusion can be drawn that the notions of Prospectivity and Retrospectivity can be related to different parts of the grammatical system of a language. In this respect, the relation with negation plays a crucial role: taking Prospectivity and Retrospectivity in the sense of Comrie (1981) and Dik (1985) implies that they are instances of SoA-external Aspect within the scope of negation; taking Prospectivity and Retrospectivity in the sense of Vandeweghe (1983) implies that they can possibly fall outside the scope of negation. The latter are referred to as instances of Perspective.

## 2.5 Restriction

One aspect of focus particles is that they are related to quantities that belong to different levels within the predication; some examples are:

- (54) Peter heeft *nog maar twee sigaretten*. (Goal)  
Peter has only two cigarettes
- (55) Ze is *pas drie*. (Predicate)  
She is only three
- (56) Ik ben daar *al vijf keer* geweest. (Frequency)  
I am there already five times been  
'I've been there five times already'

The diversity of these few examples gives a good indication of the different links that may connect focus particles to all sorts of quantities. However, I cannot think of any quantities that go beyond the limits of the predicational level, which means that focus particles - like phasal particles - are part of the predication.<sup>17</sup> Another similarity between phasal and focus particles is that they are both indicators of a perspective operation, related to negation and restriction respectively:

- (57a) Jan is *niet* thuis      (57b) Jan is *nog niet* thuis  
John is not home              John is not yet home
- (58a) Jan is *maar* 2 jaar.      (58b) Jan is *nog maar* 2 jaar.  
John is only 2 years              John is only 2 years

On analogy with *nog niet* in (57), it is probable that prospectivity has a wider scope than restriction; this assumption is confirmed if (58b) is

paraphrased:

- (59) Het is nog het geval dat Jan maar 2 jaar is.  
It is still the case that John only 2 years is
- (60) \*Het is maar het geval dat Jan nog 2 jaar is.  
It is only the case that John still 2 years is

This issue will be dealt with in greater detail in the next section, after a short discussion of focality.

## 2.6 Focus

Vandeweghe (1983 : 89ff) regards focus particles as focus-seeking, which means that these particles do not assign focus to a certain constituent but 'seek' a constituent that is in focus. After all, focus particles can be left out of a sentence without affecting the focality of the constituent to which it was related. On the other hand, the general rule is that a constituent + focus particle is always in focus. How can these principles be represented in an underlying FG-structure?

The most obvious representation would be one in which - on the basis of their similarities - restriction occupies the same position as negation, i.e. the position of a predication operator; this would lead to the (simplified) scheme:

- (61) PERSP RESTR [ SoA ]

The procedure would then be as follows: the restrictive operator seeks a constituent that is in focus and makes this constituent downward-implicating; after this, a perspectivity operation can take place, if such an operator is specified.

However, many objections can be raised against such a procedure. Firstly, there are sentences in which both negation and restriction can occur:

- (62) Maar twee mensen kenden Jan niet.  
only two persons knew John not  
'Only two persons didn't know John'

This example raises the question whether or not negation and restriction can co-occur in one and the same representation and if so, what this

representation would be.

Secondly, there are sentences in which more than one constituent is restricted; an example is (63):

- (63) *pas* 4% van de leerlingen hoeft *nog maar* 1 som te maken.  
only 4% of the pupils needs only 1 sum to make  
'Only 4% of the pupils have only one more sum to do'

Now the question is whether or not both cases of restriction (and perspectivity) should be represented by a separate operator and, if so, whether it is allowed to have two restrictive and two perspective operators side by side in this representation.

Thirdly, there may be more focus-constituents that qualify for restriction; this is the case in (64):

- (64) 4% van de leerlingen is op de helft.  
4% of the pupils is halfway  
'4% of the pupils are halfway'

If only one restrictive operator is specified, the question arises how this operator can 'make a choice' from among the options presented, a question that is even more difficult to answer if a perspectivity operator is involved as well.

Fourthly, the notion 'focus-seeking' is not reliable in all cases; this may become apparent in the following dialogue:

- (65)A: ..., en hij heeft pas TWEE BOEKEN.  
B: Sorry, ik luisterde niet, WIE heeft er pas twee boeken?  
A: JAN heeft pas twee boeken.  
  
A: ..., and he has only TWO BOOKS.  
B: Sorry, I didn't listen, WHO has only two books?  
A: JOHN has only two books.

Within this dialogue, focus has shifted from the books to their possessor. In spite of this, *pas* is linked to *twee boeken*, in this case a constituent with a normal, completive Focus. The question is why the restrictive operation has not shifted towards the more prominent, contrastive Focus on *wie/Jan*. It is difficult to answer this question.

In short, the questions raised above make it highly doubtful that restriction is represented on such a high level within the FG-represen-



tation; there are simply too many procedural problems that cannot easily be solved.

These problems, however, no longer exist if restriction is represented on a different level within the predication, namely on the level of the focus-constituent to which it is related, which boils down to the assumption that restriction is a term operator. Compare (66) and (67), which are represented in (68) and (69) respectively:

(66) Maar twee mensen kennen Jan niet.  
only two persons know John not  
'Only two persons do not know John'

(67) Pas 4% van de leerlingen is al op de helft.  
only 4% of the pupils is already halfway  
'Only 4% of the pupils have already got halfway'

(68) NEG [ kennen<sub>v</sub> (RESTR 2 mensen) (Jan) ]

(69) [ { (RETRO op de helft) } (PROSP RESTR 4% van de  
leerlingen) ]

Within these predications, not only restriction but also perspectivity is represented at term level. There are two good reasons for doing this. In the first place, a double representation of perspectivity on the predicational level - which could follow from (67) - is avoided. In the second place, (69) is only one possible representation of (67); the other representation would represent RETRO as a predication operator. The former stipulates *al* as a focus particle (opposing *pas*), the latter as a phasal particle (opposing *nog niet*). This solution, therefore, is the only one that is able to deal with the ambiguity of (67) in a proper way.

This approach is similar to the representation of perspectivity + term negation (section 2.3), another instance of perspectivity at term level. Some evidence in support of such a similar representation may be found in a parallelism in the distribution of restrictive *maar* and negative *geen* (no), where *niet* is impossible, and vice versa. In (70) and (71), all possible variants of the term operators *maar* and *geen* are given; the predication operator *niet* is left out of consideration.

(70a) Maar TWEE vrouwen zijn dokter.  
only two women are doctor  
'Only TWO women are doctors'

(70b) ?Maar twee VROUWEN zijn dokter.

(70c) \*Maar twee vrouwen zijn DOKTER.

(71a) Geen TWEE vrouwen zijn dokter.

no two women are doctor

'Not TWO women are doctors'

(71b) ?Geen twee VROUWEN zijn dokter.

(71c) \*Geen twee vrouwen zijn DOKTER.

In these examples, restrictive *maar* and negative *geen* can only be related to the adjacent constituent. Both c-sentences, therefore, are only acceptable if *maar* and *geen* are adjacent to the focalised constituent *dokter*. This is not to say, however, that the a- and b-sentences are unacceptable in the latter case. There are even cases in which such a shift to a nominal constituent is a necessary condition for *maar* and *geen* in order to yield grammatical sentences. Two examples will illustrate this:

(72) PETER maakte hiervan maar melding.

Peter made of.this only reference

'It was only PETER who made reference to this'

(73) PETER maakte hiervan geen melding.

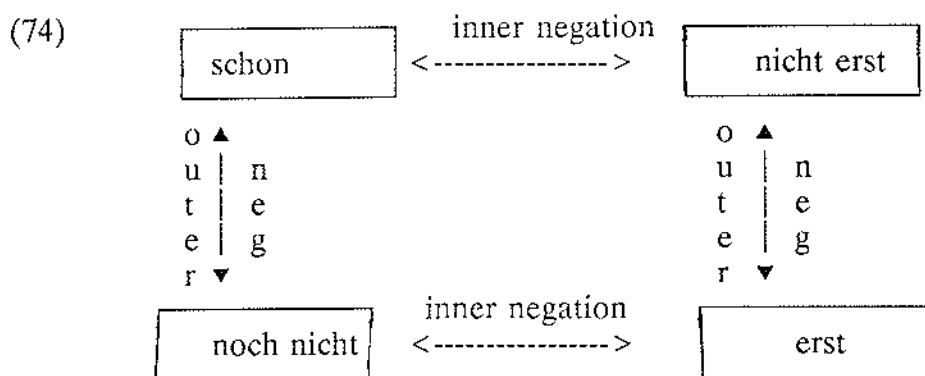
Peter made of.this no reference

'It wasn't PETER who made reference to this'

Restriction and negation can only be related to the focalised PETER, who is contrasted to other entities from a set; this opposition can be visualised by adding, for example, 'so I'm glad that it was not the boss' to (72) or 'but it was the boss who did it' to (73). Therefore, the restrictive and the negative operator must be related to *Peter* in the underlying representation, and not to *melding*, which would even lead to a quite different interpretation in the former case.

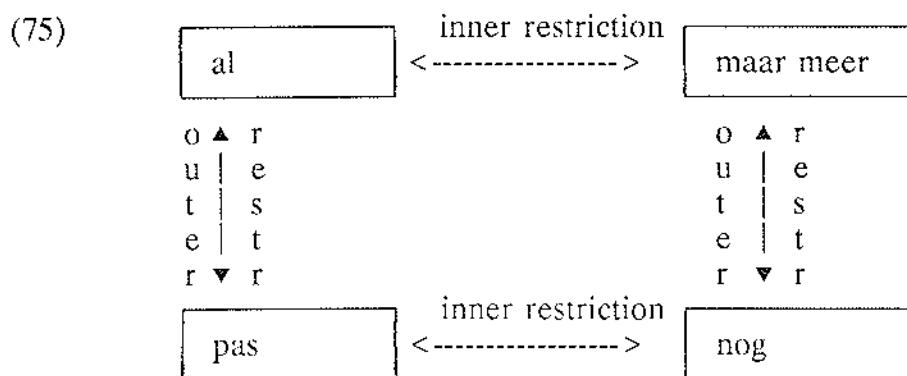
## 2.7 The representation of focus particles in FG

Focus particles can be represented by means of the same sort of scheme as was given for phasal particles; Löbner's (1986b) representation of German focus particles is the following:



I will not follow Löbner here; on the basis of the preceding sections, it will be clear that focus particles are the results of different forms of interaction between perspectivity and restriction. Although it has been argued (2.3) that restriction is a special case of negation, I do not see how this can account for the representation given in (74). Firstly, it is not clear in which cases the inner negation of e.g. *noch nicht* is *erst* and in which cases it is *noch*. Secondly, it has been argued in the preceding sections that negation is in principle a predication operation, except for a few cases of term negation; this means that Löbner's scheme is a confusing mixture between predication operations and term operations. Thirdly, Löbner's scheme is incomplete with regard to the Dutch focus particles: *nog*, *nog maar*, *pas* en *maar meer* remain unspecified.

For these reasons, it is desirable to set up a different scheme. This is, however, a rather problematic procedure. Compare (74) to the following scheme, in which restriction should be read as restrictive negation:



Although this alternative solution avoids some of the objections raised above, a few things remain unexplained: firstly, if ~ is used to indicate restrictive negation, the form *maar meer* is in fact ~ ETIAM (p), similar

to *niet meer*, which is - ETIAM (p); however, it is not clear how the form *pas* should be analysed. Secondly, *nog maar* is problematic: it can easily be inserted into the same box as *pas*, having the same meaning and being the representation of ETIAM (~p); but it has also the same meaning as *maar meer*, which would lead to the strange situation that *nog maar* is a dual of itself. Furthermore, *nog maar* in the top righthand box cannot be related to either of the forms that would be expected there: it is neither IAM (~p) nor ~ ETIAM (p).

For these reasons, a scheme similar to the one given by Löbner is not easy to construct with respect to focus particles. I will, therefore, not try to do so. It is, however, possible to give a FG-representation of focus particles, thereby avoiding most of the controversial issues mentioned above:

- (76) ( RETRO ( $x_i$ ))            ---> al  
      ( PROSP RESTR ( $x_i$ )) ---> nog maar, pas  
      ( RESTR RETRO ( $x_i$ )) ---> maar meer  
      ( PROSP ( $x_i$ ))            ---> nog

In this view, *pas* is provisionally treated in the same way as Vandeweghe (1983) has done, which means that perspectivity has a wider scope than restriction in this case; furthermore, *nog maar* is no longer problematic: it is prospective in all cases (cf. 1.4).

After having established both phasal and focus particles in a format that is compatible with the theory of FG, I will apply this new tool to a number of related issues in the next chapter.

### 3. SOME PROBLEMATIC CASES

#### 3.0 Introduction

Now that the outline of a treatment of Dutch p-particles in terms of FG has been sketched, a more specific approach to a number of issues can be given. This will be done by discussing some of the most problematic cases of p-particles, for which an adequate solution has not yet been found in the linguistic literature. Focus particles, for example, seem to behave differently in certain environments (3.4); phasal particles can be combined in some cases (3.5); there are sentences containing two temporal satellites in which p-particles can be involved (3.6); and there are instances in which the sentence accent seems to be confusing (3.7). I will, however, first propose a number of refinements of the theory of FG that are necessary in order to deal with the proposals of the preceding chapter. Firstly, the status of phasal particles as predication operators will be discussed (3.1). I will also deal with a number of limitations on the SoA that can be imposed by p-particles (3.2); it will be demonstrated that a substantial number of these limitations results from the interaction between p-particles and satellites (3.3).

#### 3.1 The scope of phasal particles

In the preceding Chapter (section 2.4), it has been demonstrated that it is possible to distinguish between operators on one and the same level on the basis of their respective scopes, so that various sublevels can be distinguished. Such a distinction is even a necessary procedure if more than one operator on the same level is to be assigned a place within the FG-representation of a sentence.

On the predicational level, Hengeveld (1988 : 6) makes a distinction between the operators Tense, Quantificational Aspect, Objective Modality and Negation. Examples of the second category are Iterative, Semelfactive and Habitual, whereas Objective Modality is expressed in constructions like 'It is necessary / certain that ...'. However, Hengeveld hardly discusses the order in which these operators are to be represented in a FG-model; in other words, the question of their respective scopes has not been answered.

With respect to this matter, Foley & Van Valin (1984 : 208 ff) have given some clues. They tentatively conclude that Tense falls outside Objective Modality ('Status', 216 ff). It is also demonstrated that both SoA-internal and SoA-external Aspect are in the scope of Objective Modality

(235 ff). In the case of SoA-internal Aspect, this is evident because this form of aspect is regarded as a predicate operation in FG (Dik 1989 : 189 ff). On the basis of Foley & Van Valin, therefore, the following hierarchy on predication level can be established, in which the scope is increasingly narrowed down from left to right:

(77) Tense - Objective Modality - SoA-external Aspect

This model, however, still leaves Negation and Quantificational Aspect unaccounted for. Foley & Van Valin (p. 232) consider Negation as 'status' (Objective Modality), without any further explanation. Moreover, Quantificational Aspect is not accounted for at all.

I will tentatively locate Negation between Tense and Objective Modality, which means that it is separated from Objective Modality: it is indeed possible to deny an Objective Modality in terms of 'It is not necessary/certain that ...'. With regard to Quantificational Aspect, the FG-representation will provisionally be based upon a few examples given by Hengeveld (1988 : 12). On the basis of these minimal data Quantificational Aspect is tentatively located in the scope of Objective Modality.

This will in no way clarify the relationship between Quantificational Aspect and SoA-external Aspect, which will remain undiscussed, however, because it is irrelevant to the discussion that follows. Hence, my tentative hypothesis concerning the scope of the predication operators is the following:

(78) Tense - Negation - Obj. Mod. - Quant./SoA-external Aspect

This representation makes it possible to assign Perspectivity a place. With its close relationship to Negation in mind, it is in fact fully predictable that this operator is adjacent to Negation within this representation; in the case of Dutch, usually to the left, but sometimes to the right of negation. That Perspectivity must be adjacent to negation can be demonstrated by relating Perspectivity to Tense.<sup>18</sup> There are three possibilities:

1. Perspectivity is in the scope of Tense
2. Perspectivity is not in the scope of Tense
3. = 2 + Perspectivity is located outside the predication

In short, the first possibility implies that Tense has a wider scope, the second and third imply that Perspectivity has Tense in its scope. Both options can be compared by means of (79):

- (79) Jan woonde nog thuis.  
John lived still home  
'John was still living with his parents'

This sentence contains both the operator PAST and the operator PROSP. Possibility 1 results in a SoA in which John still lives with his parents, and this SoA is located in the past. The other two possibilities result in a SoA in which John was living with his parents in the past, this SoA still being realized. This is inconsistent, which can be demonstrated if (79) is paraphrased along the lines of both possibilities:

- (80) Het *was* het geval dat Jan nog thuis woonde.  
it was the case that John still home lived
- (81) \*Het is *nog* het geval dat Jan thuis woonde.  
it is still the case that John home lived

This proves that the location of *nog* is dependent on a temporal location, and not vice versa. Or, stated in a different manner and from a different point of view, the first step is to indicate whether a SoA is the case or not; the second (optional) step is to relate this SoA to a transition point, and only the final step is to locate this construction in the past, present or future. This results, then, in the order of predication operators given in (82):

- (82) TENSE - PERSP/NEG - MOD - QUANT/SoA-ext. ASP

### 3.2 The relationship between p-particles and States of Affairs

It appears that p-particles can impose certain restrictions upon a SoA. Before going into this matter, it is necessary, however, to determine which operators are able to bring about a change in the SoA and, hence, are part of it.

Goossens (1985b) and Hengeveld (1988) argue that the operators Progressive, Perfect and Habitual are able to make a SoA -Dynamic. This is more or less true, but these facts should be interpreted in a different way. In Chapter 2, I mentioned those operators that are able to change a SoA *SoA-internal*, which means that they should be represented as predicate operators. Every other operator is SoA-external, to be found on

one of the higher levels. In this sense, the predication operators PERF and HAB are SoA-external, which means that they should not be able to change the internal structure of a SoA. This seems to run counter to the views advocated by Hengeveld and Goossens.

However, Negation may help to clarify the nature of this opposition: Negation is not SoA-internal, but it does change the SoA in a certain manner. The dynamism of 'John is walking', for example, has completely disappeared after the addition of *not*: there is, after all, no act of walking. Such a conclusion, however, is wrong, because the dynamic SoA in itself is still +DYN and the negation operation must be regarded as an unrelated phenomenon. The same applies to PERF and HAB. Although both operators make a dynamic SoA look like a -DYN SoA, such operations are of a different nature: the SoA in itself is still +DYN. In the case of PERF, for example, this means that the fact that the SoA is finished at the reference point does not make any difference for the dynamism of the SoA at all. In other words, the question whether a SoA is +DYN or -DYN after the addition of a SoA-external operator is irrelevant.

The examples (83)-(85) will support this view; with respect to these, it is necessary to discuss a generalization made by Vandeweghe (1983 : 335 ff). Vandeweghe has argued that *al* and *nog* in principle cannot co-occur with a +Momentaneous SoA. This is, of course, logical because p-particles imply that at moment  $t^0$  there is only one RP just to the left or to the right, and an open interval at the opposite side of  $t^0$ . A +MOM SoA, on the other hand, implies that  $t^0$  is immediately adjacent to a RP on either side; this means that the SoAs accompanied by p-particles and momentaneous SoAs are incompatible.

(83a) Jan is thuis.

John is home

(83b) Jan is al thuis.

John is already home

(84a) Jan doodt de vlieg.

John kills the fly

(84b)?Jan doodt de vlieg al.

John kills the fly already

(85a) Jan heeft de vlieg gedood.

John has the fly killed

'John has killed the fly'



- (85b) Jan heeft de vlieg al gedood.  
John has the fly already killed  
'John has already killed the fly'

Example (83) is -MOM; (83a) has not even a RP in the vicinity of  $t^0$  at all, which changes after the insertion of *al*, which implies a RP on the lefthand side of  $t^0$  (83b). In this respect, the informative value of *al* in (85b) is less than in (83b), because 'PERF kill the fly' is an explicit way of indicating a transition of one SoA into another, so that the implicit reference of *al* to the very same RP more or less boils down to saying the same thing twice.

It is more interesting, however, to compare (84) to (85). Since p-particles are incompatible with +MOM SoAs, there is a problem in the b-sentences. In (85b) it is the addition of the PERF-operator which seems to have an 'intermediate' function between the two incompatible features PERSP and +MOM. With respect to (84b), there are two possibilities: the first is to consider this sentence ungrammatical on the basis of the incompatibility of a +MOM SoA with a p-particle; it is (marginally) possible, however, to assign a different interpretation to this sentence: John has begun a sort of ritual in which the fly will be killed; in this interpretation, however, the SoA is no longer +MOM. In general, the co-occurrence of PERSP and +MOM without an 'intermediate' PERF-operator either should be considered as odd or the Addressee should make use of special interpretation strategies; among these strategies are interpreting the momentaneous act of killing as a ritual with some duration, or assigning a generic reading (= assigning a HAB-operator) to -PERF SoAs with a PERSP operator.<sup>19</sup>

Since PERF and HAB are considered SoA-external, the various combinations of PERSP and +MOM that are possible should be described by a general rule of the following form:

PERSP ---> [ -MOM ]  
          ---> [ +MOM , HAB/PERF ]

### 3.3 The relationship between p-particles and satellites

In the standard FG-theory (Dik 1989), it is assumed that the operators on level x and the satellites belonging to the same level cover the same semantic domain; in fact, the only difference between these two items is that operators are grammatic-alized, and satellites lexical. In this section,

the interaction between p-particles and satellites will be discussed; it will be demonstrated that such interactions can have repercussions in the SoA.

First, I will briefly discuss the two possible representations of satellites. Hengeveld (1988 : 28 ff) distinguishes between restrictive and non-restrictive adverbials; the representation of the former group is based upon the proposals made by Vet (1986), whereas the latter group is represented on the basis of proposals made by Hannay & Vester (1987).

With respect to restrictive adverbials, I will confine myself to the level that is most relevant to p-particles, viz. the predicational level. Vet and Hengeveld regard the predicational satellites of Time and Location as specifiers of the e-variable; in other words, in spite of their different position in the underlying representation, they are quite similar to the predication operators, which have the same function. The representation of Time and Location is the following:

(86) Ik zag hem gisteren.

I saw him yesterday

(87) (PAST  $e_i$ : [Ik zie hem] ( $e_i$ ) : gisteren ( $e_i$ ))

(88) I saw him in the garden.

(89) (PAST  $e_i$ : [I see him] ( $e_i$ ) : [ ( $x_i$ :garden( $x_i$ ))<sub>Loc</sub> ] ( $e_i$ ))

In this view, restrictive satellites on the predicational level (e-level) are regarded as extra restrictors (apart from the nuclear predication *I see him*) on the e-variable. This procedure is the same on the other levels.

Non-restrictive adverbials, on the other hand, have a quite different status. In Hengeveld's representation, they are simply added to the underlying nuclear predication by means of a comma, linking such a satellite to the appropriate level; an example:

(90) Being ill, John went home.

(91)  $X_i$ : [ (PAST  $e_i$ : [John go home] ( $e_i$ )) ,  
(SIM  $e_i$ : [John be ill] ( $e_i$ ))<sub>Circ</sub> ] ( $X_i$ )

In this representation, the satellite of Circumstance is added to the predicational level: both the nuclear predication and the non-restrictive satellite are values of the proposition variable X, which exactly reflects their relationship. In this way, every non-restrictive satellite is somehow related to the 'basis'.<sup>20</sup> If p-particles are to be added to representations like (87) and (91), there seem to be no problems at first sight. Both phasal and focus particles can easily be integrated into these sentences: in

(91), perspectivity is expressed by means of a term operator in the case of focus particles, or by means of a predication operator (adjacent to PAST or SIM) in the case of phasal particles. In the case of restrictive adverbials (87), the same principles can be applied, leading to the representation in (92) in the case of focus particles (eg. *al* + *gisteren*):

(92) (PAST  $e_i$ : [pred] ( $e_i$ ) : [ (RETRO *gisteren*)<sub>Time</sub> ] ( $e_i$ ))

It is possible now to apply a similar procedure to a number of different semantic functions; I will restrict myself to only four of them, viz. Time, Duration, Frequency and a function that I will provisionally call Interval.<sup>21</sup> Since an FG-representation of perspectivity + Time is in principle unproblematic (cf (92)), it is also possible to account for a phenomenon described by Vandeweghe (1983 : 435) by means of the very same underlying representation. This phenomenon manifests itself in sentences of the following type:

- (93) Hij zat *nog laat* te werken.  
he sat still late to work  
'He was still working at a late hour'  
(94) Hij zat *pas laat* te werken.  
he sat only late to work  
'He was only working at a late hour'

In spite of the superficial similarities between (93) and (94), it must be concluded that (93) contains a phasal particle and (94) a focus particle. This can be demonstrated by the omission of *laat* in (93), which has no influence upon the rest of the sentence (including *nog*), whereas the omission of *laat* in (94) is only possible if *pas* is deleted as well.

There are, however, more complicated cases; for example, the relation between *al* and the Time-adverbial in (95) is ambiguous:

- (95) Hij is *al* tien jaar geleden gestorven.  
he is already ten years ago died  
'He died already ten years ago'

The first option is to relate *al* to *tien (jaar)*; in this interpretation, *al* modifies the amount of time that has elapsed, thus contrasting with *pas/nog maar*, as this quantity can only increase. In the second case, *al* is related to the whole constituent *tien jaar geleden*, which allows for the substitution by *toen al* (then already); in other words, *al* has the complete

satellite in its scope in the latter case, whereas *al* has only part of the satellite in its scope in the former case. This distinction accounts for two peculiarities: the second interpretation only allows the opposition with *pas* (*nog maar* is ungrammatical), and it is only in this interpretation that the reversed sequence *tien jaar geleden al* is possible. Therefore, both interpretations must be due to differences in the underlying representation. With respect to this, an additional handicap is the fact that it is rather difficult to construct a satisfactory FG-representation of the constituent *x time ago*. However, it seems reasonable to assume that *ago* is the head of such a constituent, which is then further specified by *x time*.<sup>22</sup> Such a construct is given in (96):

(96) ( *geleden : tien jaar* )<sub>Time</sub>

Although I readily admit that this is an oversimplified FG-representation, it is concrete enough to be capable of distinguishing between both interpretations of (95); the distinction is represented as follows:

(97) ( *geleden : RETRO tien jaar* )<sub>Time</sub>

(98) ( *RETRO geleden : tien jaar* )<sub>Time</sub>

It can be seen that the operators have the right scope in both cases. The question why (97) does and (98) does not allow for an opposition with *nog maar* will be extensively discussed in 3.4.

Duration and Frequency will be treated in a nice example of Frequency that is also representative for Frequency and similar satellites. This example consists of the following sentences:

(99) Het gaat *nog niet vaak* mis  
it goes still not often wrong  
'It does not often go wrong yet'

(100) Het gaat *nog vaak niet* mis.  
'It often still does not go wrong'

(101) Het gaat *vaak nog niet* mis.  
'It often does not go wrong yet'

(102) Het gaat *niet vaak nog* mis.  
'It does not often still go wrong'

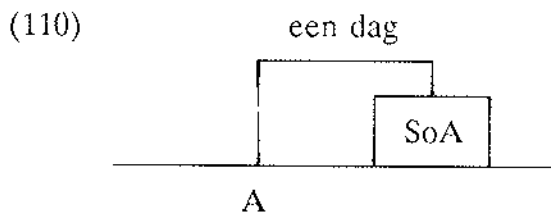
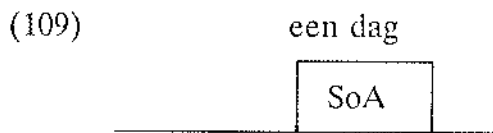
Each of these sentences has a different meaning, which is due to the word order; this is an indication of the different scopes of *nog*, *niet* and *vaak* in (99)-(102). Their FG-representations are (103)-(106), respectively:

- (103)  $e_i$ : [pred] ( $e_i$ ) : [ (PROSP NEG vaak)<sub>freq</sub> ] ( $e_i$ )  
 (104) NEG  $e_i$ : [pred] ( $e_i$ ) : [ (PROSP vaak)<sub>freq</sub> ] ( $e_i$ )  
 (105) PROSP NEG  $e_i$ : [pred] ( $e_i$ ) : [ (vaak)<sub>freq</sub> ] ( $e_i$ )  
 (106) PROSP  $e_i$ : [pred] ( $e_i$ ) : [ (NEG vaak)<sub>freq</sub> ] ( $e_i$ )

These different representations may look somewhat odd at first sight, but they exactly reflect the meanings of (99)-(102): (104), for example, seems odd because NEG has PROSP in its scope, which normally results in *niet meer*. However, perspectivity is expressed by means of a focus particle: this can be demonstrated by replacing *nog* by *al*, which is normally impossible in the presence of *niet*, but which is possible in this case; or by replacing *vaak* by *zelden* (seldom), which conditions the use of *nog maar* or *pas*.

It can be demonstrated that a separate semantic function Interval should be distinguished; a comparison with a pure example of Duration will show this:

- (107) Jan was een dag ziek. (Dur)  
 John was a day ill  
 'John was ill for one day'  
 (108) Jan was binnen een dag ziek. (Int)  
 John was within a day ill  
 'John was (fell) is within one day'



The semantic representations of (107) and (108) are (109) and (110) respectively; if these representations are compared to Figure 6 (section

2.4), it must be concluded that similar distinctions can be made between different semantic functions:

Duration, for example, INTERNALLY specifies a SoA, whereas Interval - analogous to PROSP and PERF (Comrie and Dik) - relates a SoA to a point OUTSIDE this SoA. The only difference is that in the case of PROSP/PERF the Speaker's point of view is the external point A, which is then related to the SoA, whereas an Interval locates S's point of view inside the SoA, from which reference is made to A.

Another example of Interval can be found in the word-combination *al(-)gauw*, the FG-representation of which is (113):

(111) Sommigen begrepen Hitler's bedoelingen al gauw.  
some understood H's intentions already soon

(112) Anderen begrepen H's bedoelingen pas langzamerhand.  
others understood H's intentions only gradually

(113)  $e_i$ : [pred] ( $e_i$ ) : [ (RETRO gauw)<sub>Int</sub> ] ( $e_i$ )

Perspectivity is represented by means of a focus particle (113), because it functions at constituent level: this means that there is an opposition with *pas + langzamerhand*, for example (112).

Furthermore, it should be noted that the four semantic functions Time, Frequency, Duration and Interval impose several restrictions upon the SoA and some operators. Let us discuss a few examples. Analogous to PERSP + +MOM SoAs (3.2), a predication in which *al* and Frequency co-occur must also have one of the operators PERF or HAB in order to be grammatical; compare (114)-(116):

(114) Dit experiment gaat vaak mis.  
this experiment goes often wrong

(115) Dit experiment is al vaak misgegaan.  
this experiment is already often gone wrong  
'This experiment has gone wrong many times already'

(116)?Dit experiment gaat al vaak mis.

The second example shows that the introduction of perspectivity requires the introduction of the PERF-operator. If PERF is not triggered (116), the sentence is only marginally interpretable, by assuming that the complete failure of experiments is the ultimate goal. This interpretation, however,

presupposes the operation of HAB.

A similar restriction is involved in sentences in which Duration is modified by means of perspectivity. However, in this case it is not PERF (HAB) that is triggered, but IMPERF: this means that sentences with a perspectivized Duration-satellite are necessarily Simple Past or Simple Present. This is demonstrated in the following examples:

(117) Ze is een dag ziek (geweest).  
she is a day ill (been)  
'She is (has been) ill for one day'

(118) Ze is *pas* een dag ziek.  
'Right now, she has been ill for only one day'

(119)\*Ze is *pas* een dag ziek geweest.<sup>23</sup>

(120) Ze is *pas één* dag ziek geweest.  
'She has been ill no more than one day'

The reason for (119) being ungrammatical is that it is not Imperfective; neither is (120), but this sentence is acceptable. The reason is that - instead of the whole satellite of Duration ((118)-(119)) - only the quantity within this satellite is perspectivized. This means that there is a rule similar to (121):

(121) (PERSP DUR) ---> IMPERF (= -PERF/-HAB)

This rule, in its turn, allows for the explanation of the following case: also within the SoA itself, there are elements that can contribute to a different interpretation of the whole sentence; (122), for example, can have a generic interpretation (so, HAB is added), due to the indefinite plural *romans*. This interpretation is impossible in the presence of *al*, which is shown in (123).

(122) Hij leest de hele dag romans.  
he reads the whole day novels  
1. 'He is reading novels all day' (today)  
2. 'He reads novels all day' (habitual)

(123) Hij leest *al* de hele dag romans.  
1. 'He's been reading novels for the whole day already'

The semantic function Interval, finally, can also be captured in a similar rule:

(124) (PERSP INT) ---> PERF/HAB (= -IMPERF)

(125) Jan bouwt al in drie maanden een huis. (INT)  
John builds already in three months a house  
'John builds a house within three months'

(126) Jan bouwt al drie maanden (aan) een huis. (DUR)  
John builds already three months at a house  
'John has been building a house for three months already'

Apart from the fact that the SoA in (125) is +Telic, whereas it is -Telic in (126), (125) can only be generic.

### 3.4 Caesar-particles

In the preceding section, I already hinted at the fact that focus particles can behave in a different manner in particular circumstances: there are cases in which the focus particle *pas* is allowed, but not its synonym *nog maar*. This is strange, indeed, as one would expect that synonyms are freely interchangeable. Vandeweghe (1983 : 318) gives a list of semantic functions that can be involved in this phenomenon, on the basis of a study by Allerton & Cruttenden (1978). The latter authors call these semantic functions 'Qualitative adverbials', which include the satellites of Time, Location and Condition (Circumstance).

(127) Ze kwamen pas (\*nog maar) om tien uur.  
they came only at ten o'clock  
'They didn't come until ten o'clock'

(128) We stoppen pas bij de grens.  
we stop only at the border  
'We don't stop until we are at the border'

(129) Pas bij zestig graden gaat het alarm af.  
only at sixty degrees goes the alarm off  
'The alarm does not go off below sixty degrees'

These adverbials are contrasted to Allerton & Cruttenden's 'Quantitative adverbials', like Frequency and Duration. The most important difference



between the two groups of adverbials is that quantitative adverbials can be left unspecified without really affecting the content of the message: in other words, they only give additional information. Qualitative adverbials, on the other hand, have a more prominent position in the clause, in the sense that their presence specifies a necessary (with *pas*) or sufficient (with *al*) condition for the whole sentence to be true (Vandeweghe 1983 : 347ff); in (129), for example, this means that *pas bij zestig graden* is a necessary condition for the alarm to go off; if this condition is not met (59 degrees), the alarm does not go off, which means that the SoA is not established.

However, I refer to this phenomenon by using the name *caesar-particles* for a quite different reason: apart from those cases referred to as 'Qualitative adverbials', there are other circumstances in which focus particles behave differently, the most significant of them being (130):

- (130) Reeds/pas Caesar gebruikte duiven als boodschappers.  
already/only C. used pigeons as messengers  
'Even C. / Caesar was the first to use ...'

This means that caesar-particles can co-occur not only with quantitative adverbials, but also with arguments in some cases. In an attempt to give an answer to the question why it is just these constituents that allow the use of caesar-particles, I turn to Vandeweghe (1983 : 360ff) first. He demonstrates that there is a difference between *al* and *pas* with respect to their capability of including or excluding certain elements (cf 1.3). For this reason, *al* 'covers' as many variables as possible (and *pas* as few variables as possible), which is demonstrated in (131) and (132):

- (131) Jan stopt al in Karlsruhe. (caesar-particle)  
John stops already in K.  
  
(132) Jan is al in Karlsruhe. (ordinary focus particle)  
John is already in K.

The implication for a situation in which John departs from Holland is that the highest degree of 'coverage' (= *al*) is as close to (131) and as far off from Holland (132) as possible: if he has stopped in Karlsruhe, John has also stopped in all subsequent places (in the case of an ongoing train); in (132), however, someone who is *already* in Karlsruhe has travelled through a relatively high number of places in comparison to the number of places that lie ahead of him. This means that (131) has the implication that the included variables are ahead, whereas (132) has the implication that the

included variables are located and qualified respectively by the predicates 'having stopped' and 'having been': if someone stops in A he has also stopped in B, and if someone is in B he has also been in A, assuming that both points are part of a continuous sequence and  $A > B$ .

Another part of the answer is given by Allerton & Cruttenden, who define qualitative adverbials as follows: 'some adverbials provide a kind of information that is qualitative in nature, giving further details of the setting, scenery and props, as it were'. If this definition is applied to (131), this means that the moment of stopping creates the setting in which the rest of the sentence is embedded. This is also true in the other cases of caesar-particles: in (127) it is the temporal location that assigns the SoA a place in a sequence of SoAs, in (128) and (131) the spatial location and in (129) the description of the circumstances. In fact, (130) functions according to the same principle: a name that can somehow be located by the Speaker and the Addressee defines a temporal location, from which moment on the SoA is established.

In summary: elements that create a setting in fact create the conditions for SoAs to be established. In this connection, Vandeweghe (1983 : 348) calls *pas* the indicator of a necessary/ minimal condition and *al* the indicator of a sufficient condition; thus, *al* in (133) indicates that in order to establish the SoA MORE IS NOT NECESSARY (sufficient condition), and *pas* in (134) that LESS IS NOT SUFFICIENT (necessary condition):

- (133) Zo'n flutartikel zou *door de redactie van een schoolkrant* al geweigerd worden.  
'Such a rubbishy article would even be refused *by the editors of a school magazine*'
- (134) Zo'n flutartikel zou *pas* worden geplaatst *als de hoofdredakteur is omgekocht*.  
'Such a rubbishy article would only be placed *if the editor-in-chief were bribed*'

This may lead to the tentative conclusion that - in spite of their focalised status - the underlined constituents probably have the function of NewTopic. After all, they specify a condition that the SoA must meet in order to be established, although this condition itself has not been introduced either. If this conclusion is justified, the distinction between ordinary focus particles and caesar-particles is represented by means of constituents with a different pragmatic status.

### 3.5 P-particles in combination with a double temporal location

There are Dutch sentences that allow two temporal locations;<sup>24</sup> an example is (135):

- (135) Ik stond *vanmorgen al vroeg* op.  
I stood this morning already early up  
'I got up (already) early this morning'

A first reaction could be to consider *vroeg* as part of *vanmorgen*, yielding the combination *vanmorgen vroeg*. This is not very probable, however, because *vanmorgen* can also be moved to the beginning of the sentence; moreover, such a link is not possible at all in a sentence like (136):

- (136) 'Al bij al is het een overdonderend sukses. Het was echt niet gepland, we dachten er ruim twee jaar over te doen om B-omroep te worden. Als alles goed zit, zijn we dat *nu volgend jaar al*.'  
(Humo, 22.7.82)

'All in all, it is an overwhelming success. Really, it wasn't planned, we thought that it would take more than two years to become a broadcasting organisation with over 300,000 subscribers. If I'm correct, we will be one this coming year.'

In this case, it is even impossible for *volgend jaar* and *nu* to form one close-knit unit: they have incompatible meanings. The main difference between (135) and (136), then, is that the stretch of time covered by *vroeg* is a subset of *vanmorgen*, whereas *nu* and *volgend jaar* cannot be related in this way.

With respect to FG, I do not know of any proposal in which such 'double' temporal locations are represented. It is possible, however, to make a few preliminary remarks on the basis of (135) and (136):

- *vroeg* and *volgend jaar* are more 'sentence-internal' than *vanmorgen* and *nu*
- *vroeg* and *volgend jaar* function as purely temporal satellites, although *vanmorgen* may have the same function; *nu*, however, not: compare, for example, (136) to the same sentence without *volgend jaar*
- this means that at least *nu* (but possibly *vanmorgen* also) is of a

different nature than the purely temporal satellites

The representation of (135) without 'external' temporal location is given in (137):

$$(137) e_i: [\text{pred}] (e_i) : [ (\text{RETRO vroeg})_{\text{Time}} ] (e_i)$$

If the external temporal is added, there are two possibilities:

- the external temporal location is non-restrictive
- the external temporal location is restrictive

Since the internal temporal location is fully integrated into the 'basic sentence', in which it can occupy, for example, P1-position, the first possibility is ruled out. This means that the external temporal location should be equated with a restrictor of the 'basic' sentence. This conclusion, combined with the preliminary remarks mentioned above, yields the following possible representation of (135):

$$(138) e_j: [ (137) ] (e_j) : [ (\text{vanmorgen})_{\text{Time}} ] (e_j)$$

In this way, *vanmorgen* is represented both as an external temporal location and as an extra restrictor of the predication; moreover, the fact that *vroeg* is part of the domain of *vanmorgen* is exactly reflected.

The variant of external temporal location that has been represented by *nu* in (136) is of a quite different nature, for *volgend jaar* is not part of the domain of *nu*. It seems that something completely different is expressed in this sentence: *nu* seems to indicate a moment at which it BECOMES EVIDENT that the SoA (including the temporal location *volgend jaar*) is established, which can be referred to as the Evidential Moment. Since Evidentiality operates on a higher level than the predicational level (in fact, it operates on the propositional level), the following representation of (136) is the most obvious:

$$(139) X_j: [e_i] (X_j) : [ (\text{nu})_{\text{EvMom}} ] (X_j)$$

This representation implies that *nu* functions as a restrictive satellite, not on the predicational but on the propositional level. It also expresses that *volgend jaar* is not in the domain of *nu*. There is some evidence for the correctness of the representations given in (138) and (139): as I have

argued before, perspectivity seems to be an operation on the predicational level; this implies that *al* cannot be related to entities belonging to the propositional/illocutionary level. This is in agreement with the facts presented above: in (138), *vanmorgen* is capable of being perspectivized, whereas *nu* in (139) is not.

### 3.6 Polar predicates and the combination of two p-particles

The borderline between phasal and focus particles cannot always be drawn so clearly as has been suggested thus far. Although phasal particles are always related to a binary system and focus particles to a scalar system, there is a class of predicates that seem to belong to both systems: the so-called polar predicates. These are predicates that not only have a binary opposition with other predicates, like *early* vs. *late* or *young* vs. *old*, but they can also indicate certain points on a scale, in terms of 'earlier than x', 'older than y'. It seems problematic for the theory outlined in this paper that these predicates specify a setting that allows the use of phasal particles ((140) and (141)), whereas the predicate is clearly scalar (142).

(140) Het is nog vroeg.  
it is still early

(141) Het is al laat.  
it is already late

(142) Het is pas vroeg  
it is only early

In practice, however, it seems that the use of phasal particles is the unmarked case, whereas the use of focus particles in these cases is an indication of the special function of the predicate. An example is (143):

(143) Dat stuk zeep is al erg klein, neem maar een ander  
that piece soap is already very small, take just another  
'That piece of soap is very small (already), just take another'

If *al* were a focus particle here, its opposite would have been *pas*; however, the use of *pas* is either ungrammatical (144) or only possible in a different sequence (145):

(144)\*Dit stukje zeep is pas erg groot.  
this piece soap is only very big

- (145) Dit stukje zeep is pas erg klein. (wordt dus groter)  
this piece soap is only very small (it grows bigger)

If *al* were a phasal particle, there would be no such problem: (144) with *nog* instead of *pas* is grammatical, and so are the alternatives *nog niet klein* and *niet klein meer* in (143). A marked scalar interpretation is possible in the case of *nog maar klein* (shrinking size), in which the size at that moment represents a certain phase in a sequence of different sizes.

Another example: compare (140) to (142). In the latter case, an implicit time-scale is evoked on which the SoA realized in (142) represents a RELATIVELY early stage. In the former case, there is no such implicit time-scale and (140) only states that the SoA in which it is early is still actual, which is the normal usage of polar predicates. With regard to this, (141) is opposed to both (140) and (142), and it is the sentence accent which is decisive in this respect; if not, i.e. in the case of a neutral sentence accent, the interpretation in which *al* is a phasal particle is to be preferred.

Something similar happens in a construction in which two p-particles are combined, viz. *al + niet meer*, the only possible combination of two p-particles. This combination seems to be possible because - as with binary predicates - something can still or no longer be the case:

- (146) Hij is nog jong, maar zij is niet (zo) jong meer.  
he is still young, but she is not (so) young anymore

In this case, the binary opposition *al oud* (already old) is equivalent to *niet jong meer*, and it appears that - like normal polarity items - *al* is capable of modifying this compound. Like constructions with polar particles, this construction may give rise to some doubt whether *al* is a phasal or a focus particle; however, the interpretation in which *al* is a phasal particle must be preferred. A few examples:

- (147) Piet is al niet meer wakker.  
Pete is already no longer awake  
'Pete is no longer awake'

- (148) Jan stopt met zijn studie: hij gaat al niet meer naar college.  
John stops with his study he goes already no longer to lectures  
'John is giving up his studies: he's already not attending lectures anymore'

The interpretation of these sentences is as follows: a certain point has been

reached on which the specified SoA (*niet meer x*) is actual. This combination of phasal particles must somehow be represented in a FG-model. There is one major problem, however, which can be visualized if a general representation of (147) and (148) without *al* is given:

(149) RETRO NEG  $e_i$ : [pred] ( $e_i$ )

As has already been demonstrated in section 2.6, the addition of *al* as an extra predication operator would lead to a messy representation, in this case RETRO-RETRO-NEG. This implies not only a double specification of the operator RETRO, but also a representation that is not in agreement with the actual content of (147) and (148): the different scopes of *al* and *niet meer* have been neutralized. Therefore, it is necessary to represent both sentences in a different manner. Since there is a certain kind of embedding of a predication + one or more operators involved, the analogy with the representation of double temporal locations is evident:

(150) RETRO  $e_j$ : [ (149) ] ( $e_j$ )

This scheme embeds the representation of a world in which it is no longer the case that the SoA expressed in the predicate is still actualized. The reason why only RETRO qualifies for the status of operator of such a scheme, however, can only be given on the basis of the individual meanings of the different operators involved.

### 3.7 Different sentence accents

This paper contains several examples in which intonation is an important factor in determining the status of a p-particle: phasal particles are involved in the case of a 'neutral' sentence accent, whereas clearly prominent constituents are ideal settings for focus particles. Good examples can be found in (151), where *al* is a phasal particle, and in (152), where *al* is a focus particle; with respect to these sentences, however, it should be added that - apart from sentence accent - word order can also play an important role. Compare:

(151) Hij is nu waarschijnlijk al in TeneRife.  
he is now probably already in TeneRife  
'Right now, he is probably already in Tenerife'

- (152) Hij is waarschijnlijk NU al in Tenerife.  
he is probably NOW already in Tenerife  
'He is probably in Tenerife already at this very moment'

Numerous exceptions to this principle, however, confirm that this is a tendency rather than a hard and fast rule; compare (153):

- (153) WIE heeft er nog een BLAADJE voor me?  
WHO has there still a SHEET for me  
'Is there anybody who has a sheet for me?'

In this example, *nog* is a phasal particle in spite of one or two prominent accents in its vicinity. A different case that has been extensively discussed by Vandeweghe (1983 : 402) concerns the construction of *eerder* (before) + *p*-particle. This construction allows for different combinations, each with a different meaning, caused by a shift of the sentence accent:

- (154a) Ik had dat *nog niet* eerder opgemerkt.  
I had that NOT yet before noticed  
'I had NOT (yet) noticed that before'
- (154b) \*Ik had dat AL eerder opgemerkt.
- (155a) Ik had dat nog niet EERDER opgemerkt.  
'I had not (yet) noticed that BEFORE'
- (155b) Ik had dat al EERDER opgemerkt.

The only visible (and for that matter, audible) difference between (154) and (155) lies in their intonation patterns. The effect is that - because of its prominent accent - the negation in (154a) functions independently of *eerder*: *eerder* can occupy different positions in the sentence or even be omitted. Therefore, the perspectivity expressed by means of *nog niet* is an operation on the predicational level. Since *al* can never be stressed, this criterion is not relevant with regard to this particle. Consequently, (155b) can be analysed in two different ways, corresponding to (154a) and (155a), particularly because *eerder* seems the most obvious candidate for receiving the stress that cannot be put on *al*. Hence, the only useful criterion for distinguishing between *al* as a phasal particle and *al* as a focus particle is to move *eerder* to a different position in the sentence. If this is possible without affecting the position of *al*, it is a phasal particle; if not, it is a



focus particle. This also implies that *nog niet* in (155a) is a focus particle, because it is always 'drawn' to the stressed constituent *eerder*, regardless of the position of this stressed constituent. Other temporal locations that seem confusing are *nu* (now) and *meteen* (instantly); compare:

(156) A: Ga je 't hem vertellen?  
go you it him tell  
'Are you going to tell him?'

B: Ja, maar NU nog niet / nog niet METEEN.  
yes, but NOW not yet / not yet RIGHT NOW  
'Yes, but not now / not right now'

Such heavily accentuated adverbs seem to be ideal settings for focus particles. Instead of these, however, (156) contains the phasal particle *not yet*. Vandeweghe (1983 : 399ff) has rightly pointed out that this is due to the fact that *NU* and *METEEN* do not have the normal, completive Focus to which focus particles are usually attached, but a heavier contrastive Focus. Somehow, the satellite of Time in (156) is the temporal location that is most natural in the light of the context or a certain expectation, but it is emphatically rejected by the Speaker.

Finally, a specific use of *pas* may give rise to problems. This issue has been touched upon by Devos & Vandeweghe (1985 : 75ff), who discuss some examples similar to (157)-(159):

(157) Dan BEGINNEN de moeilijkheden pas.  
then BEGIN the difficulties only  
'The problems only BEGIN then'

(158) Dan beginnen de moeilijkheden pas GOED.  
then begin the difficulties only WELL  
'The problems only REALLY begin then'

(159) Nu weet hij pas ECHT wat werken is.  
now knows he only TRUE what work is  
'Now he TRULY knows what labour means'

In all of these cases, one feels heavily tempted to relate *dan/nu* to *pas*. This seems impossible, however, because the temporal adverbs have no Focus. In (157), Focus is assigned to the predicate: *pas* is a focus particle modifying this predicate, by contrasting it to *to end*, *to be halfway*, etc. Hence, *pas* can be replaced by *nog maar*. Things are more complicated in

(158) and (159). Firstly, *pas* cannot be replaced by *nog maar*, which seems to indicate that *pas* is a caesar-particle. Secondly, the most prominent constituents are *goed* and *echt*, respectively; in general, however, these constituents cannot be related to *pas*, due to their status of Positive Polarity Item; this means that *al* instead of *pas* should be linked to *goed* and *echt*. Both problems can be solved by adopting either of the following views:

- negatively-oriented *pas* is related to a positively-oriented predicate
- *pas* is related to a constituent that is not focalised

In each of these cases, a seemingly hard and fast rule is offended, which makes it difficult to follow either of these strategies. It is, however, more sensible to consider *pas* in (158) and (159) to relate to *dan* and *nu*, respectively, which a native speaker of Dutch would immediately agree to; some evidence may be found in the fact that *pas* can easily be moved to a position adjacent to *dan* and *nu*. The implication is that *pas* is neither focus-seeking here, nor can it be replaced by *nog maar*. This immediately raises a comparison with caesar-particles, which are rather related to a NewTopic than to a Focus. The only difference seems to be that the Topic has already been introduced into the discourse in (158) and (159): anaphoric *dan* and deictic *nu* no longer have a prominent intonation.

#### 4. SUMMARY

Vandeweghe (1983) has distinguished two paradigms:

- *phasal particles*: reference point is transition point between SoA x and SoA y; negation is an important contributing factor
- *focus particles*: reference point is S's (the Speaker's) 'norm' to which a scalar item is related; restriction is crucial

S refers to such reference points by looking forward (Prospective) or backward (Retrospective) from the point of view of (the quantity in) the SoA: Vandeweghe's notion of Perspectivity.

In chapter 2, I have tried to integrate Vandeweghe's views into FG:

- P-particles should be regarded as perspectivity operators (2.1)
- phasal particles are predication operators; according to Löbner (1986a,b), *al* and *nog* are basic, the other forms are derived by means of outer negation or inner negation of these forms; with respect to Dutch, this leads to the following representation:

|                                     |     |   |                              |
|-------------------------------------|-----|---|------------------------------|
| RETRO $e_i$ : [ SoA ] ( $e_i$ )     | --- | > | <i>al</i>                    |
| NEG PROSP $e_i$ : [ SoA ] ( $e_i$ ) | --- | > | <i>niet meer</i> (outer neg) |
| PROSP $e_i$ : [ SoA ] ( $e_i$ )     | --- | > | <i>nog</i>                   |
| PROSP NEG $e_i$ : [ SoA ] ( $e_i$ ) | --- | > | <i>nog niet</i> (inner neg)  |

- in the case of term negation, however, phasal particles are represented at term level
- focus particles are always instances of term modification and, as such, represented at term level:

|                         |     |   |                      |
|-------------------------|-----|---|----------------------|
| (RETRO ( $x_i$ ))       | --- | > | <i>al</i>            |
| (PROSP RESTR ( $x_i$ )) | --- | > | <i>nog maar, pas</i> |
| (RESTR RETRO ( $x_i$ )) | --- | > | <i>maar meer</i>     |
| (PROSP ( $x_i$ ))       | --- | > | <i>nog</i>           |

Finally, Chapter 3 gives a number of rules and representations in order to capture those cases in which perspectivity is a problem:

1. The scope order of predication operators is  
Tense > Persp./Neg. > Obj. Modality > Quant./SoA-external Asp.

2.  $\text{PERSP} \rightarrow [ -\text{MOM} ]$   
 $\rightarrow [ +\text{MOM} , \text{HAB/PERF} ]$
3. In Duration-satellites:  $(\text{PERSP } x_i)_{\text{Dur}} \rightarrow \text{IMPERF} (-\text{PERF}/-\text{HAB})$   
In Interval-satellites:  $(\text{PERSP } x_i)_{\text{Int}} \rightarrow \text{PERF/HAB} (-\text{IMPERF})$
4.  $(\text{PERSP } x_i)_{\text{NewTopic}} \rightarrow \text{al/pas}$
5.  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{vanmorgen vroeg (2 satellites of Time) } \\ \text{al niet meer (2 predication operators) } \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow e_j: [e_i] (e_j)$
6.  $\text{nu volgend jaar (2 satellites of a different level)} \rightarrow X_T: [e_i] (X_T)$

NOTES

1. I would like to thank Simon Dik, Kees Hengeveld, J. Lachlan Mackenzie, Harm Pinkster, Rodie Risselada and Willy Vandeweghe for their valuable comments on (earlier versions of) this paper.
2. See van Baar (1988: 12ff).
3. See Vandeweghe (1983: 58ff).
4. This translation captures both Vandeweghe's *Vergelijkingspunt* (Comparison Point) and his *Beschouwingpunt* (Point of View).
5. This name was suggested to me by Simon Dik.
6. In fact, it would be better to speak of *phasal focus particles*, in order to distinguish this particular group from other focus particles; however, since this paper is only concerned with this particular kind of focus particles, there is no reason to emphasize this opposition.
7. Since I will often refer to Vandeweghe (1983) in this paper, the year of publication is left out in most cases except, of course, in those in which reference is made to one of his other works.
8. Most contributions are from German linguists, the most important of whom are: Weydt (1969), Kriwonossow (1977), Altmann (1976,1978), and König (1977a/b,1979a/b,1981a/b).
9. One could make an interesting comparison here between this type of norm and the norm that is involved in the so-called relative adjectives as have been described e.g. by Dik (1969):  
  
The elephant is small  
  
In this sentence, *small* is a relative notion, not only with respect to the notion of *elephant*, but also in S's mind, because small elephants are still big animals.
10. This is a regional variant (Flemish and northern-Dutch).
11. Van Baar (1988 : 39 ff) gives a more detailed description of the nature of this problem.
12. A notable exception is *nog* in  
  
Deze wantoestand bestaat NOG (= nog STEEDS)  
this bad situation exists still  
'This bad situation STILL hasn't changed'  
  
There is a strong suggestion of an ongoing situation, which in the Speaker's opinion has gone on too long.
13. See Kahrel (1987) for a description of term negation within the framework of FG.
14. Van Baar (1988 : 51ff) gives more examples of perspective term modification, in particular with regard to different semantic functions.
15. Compare Löbner (1986b) and Vandeweghe (1986b) for a discussion.
16. See Vandeweghe (1986b) for a discussion.

17. In terms of Hengeveld (1988), this implies that they are part of the *representational level* (as opposed to the *interpersonal level*, at which the broader context of an utterance is represented, e.g. the speech situation).
18. The same sort of comparison can be made between Perspectivity and Objective Modality; in the case of Dutch, however, such a comparison is not so easy to make because of the limited number of possible constructions with Objective Modality.
19. See van Baar (1988: 72) for an example with a short discussion.
20. In several respects, this approach is quite similar to the approach advocated by Foley & Van Valin (1984: 188).
21. These four semantic functions have been discussed in great detail by Vandeweghe (1983).
22. J. Lachlan Mackenzie has brought a different analysis under my attention, in which *geleden* is treated as a postposition. However, with regard to Perspectivity the analysis is roughly the same.
23. In this example, *pas* must be translated by *only*; another possible translation (not intended here) would be *recently*, in which case this sentence is grammatical.
24. See Pinkster (1972 : 93-95) for triple(!) temporal locations in Latin.

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