Book review

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Book title: Syntax of Dutch, Nouns and Noun Phrases, Vol. 1-2

Book authors:
Volume 1: Hans Broekhuis and Evelien Keizer
Volume 2: Hans Broekhuis and Marcel den Dikken

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According to the blurb by Richard Larson on the back cover of the book(s), "... the *Syntax of Dutch* project (*SoD*) will ultimately become a model for comprehensive grammatical description in the years ahead."

As participants of the Hungarian team responsible for creating a similar book on Hungarian nouns and noun phrases as part of the *Comprehensive Grammar Resources* series (edited by the Dutch Henk van Riemsdijk and the Hungarian István Kenesei), here we aim to answer the following related questions: Is it possible to write an exhaustive comprehensive grammar for a human language—a grammar which can systematically walk all the paths of the intricate labyrinth of an entire syntactic system, one which is based on recent theoretical and empirical advances, and which can both reach sufficient "depth" in defining the necessary grammatical (sub)categories and also retain great enough "breadth" to appeal to a wide audience? Is there a reliable language- and theory-independent way of executing this task? Is it possible to decide on the adequate goals for each section of the book when in each case a fine-cut distinction has to be made between those morphological, semantic and pragmatic factors that are just the right ones for an ideal background to syntactic description and those that are irrelevant for it? Can one draw a clear demarcation line between the realm of descriptive syntax and the realms of contrastive, historical, dialectological, experimental, statistical and "hardcore" theoretical linguistics?

Before reading the book(s) in question, we would have easily said "no" to the above questions as Hungarian seems to differ from Dutch so radically in so many areas of syntactic description... Now our answer is essentially "yes" because the Dutch model *is* suitable to serve as a model for the writing of a comprehensive Hungarian NP-grammar. The logic and structure of the book can be followed subsection by subsection and even point by point in the course of tapping into the intricate realm of Hungarian syntax. The work is agreeably language- and theory-independent while its reliance on the solid basement of theoretical and empirical advances in generative linguistics is palpable throughout the pages. The authors manage to harmonize the demands of depth and breadth, and they draw reasonable demarcation lines around the relevant domains they choose to describe.

As our remarks below will show, we do not consider the Dutch model as a perfect one. The first step, however, is always the hardest one to take. It is much easier to follow in someone else's footsteps, and this is the crucial point here: Hans Broekhuis and his coauthors' work *can* be followed in many senses of the word and in many relevant respects. Hungarian and Romanian, Mandarin and Bask, and in fact, all languages of the world can be described, for the most part, according to this model; and we believe that those future descriptions will have repercussions on the model itself, bringing it to perfection. With our experiences concerning Hungarian, we would like to contribute to this scientific program—which resembles, not at all by accident, the approach to Universal Grammar on the basis of experiences from more and more human languages.

Main objective. The authors' starting point is the infelicitous fact that much valuable descriptive information on Dutch sentences (p. ix) is buried in publications

inaccessible to large groups of readers, given that they are written in Dutch or are embedded in theoretical discussions of interest only for and accessible only to "hardcore" formal linguists. Hence, the authors consider it important to produce a work of reference which is accessible to a larger audience with less training in linguistics and/or training in neighboring disciplines, and which can provide support to all researchers interested in matters relating to the syntax of Dutch.

The same holds true, probably even more so, for the Hungarian community of syntacticians. Many seminal publications are only accessible to generative linguists (e.g. Brody–Szabolcsi 2003, É. Kiss 2002, É. Kiss–Kiefer 1994, É. Kiss–Riemsdijk 2004, Laczkó 1995, Surányi 2011, and papers in the *Approaches to Hungarian* series); other relevant works are only accessible in Hungarian (e.g. Kiefer 1992, 2000, É. Kiss 1998, Szabolcsi 1992, and an exercise book containing constituent trees of hundreds of Hungarian sentences (Alberti–Medve 2002/2005)). It is high time, thus, to present a synthesis of this syntactic knowledge of Hungarian in the form of a comprehensive resource grammar.

Delimitation. The goal of *SoD* can be regarded as an attempt to sketch a fine-grained contour of a language based on sophisticated judgments about the grammaticality of potential sentences, as is illustrated in Figure 1 below. This raises at least two unpleasant methodological questions: Which variety of Dutch is (to be) described? And: How can/should one make a decision about two neighboring points on the scale of well-formedness?
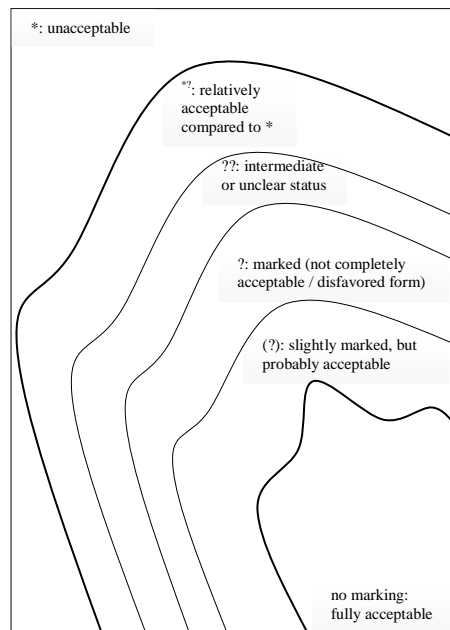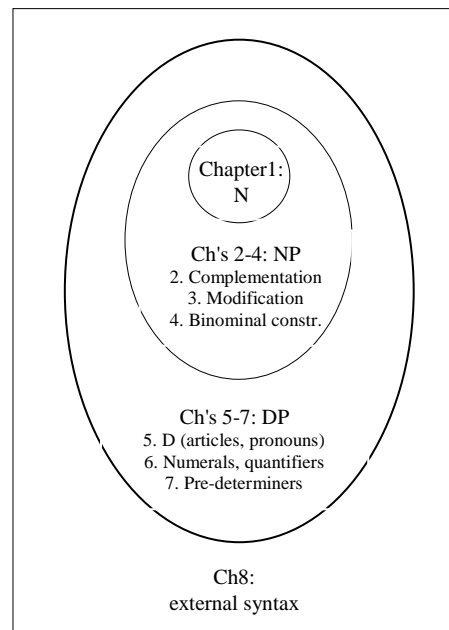

Fig. 1. The contour of a language

Fig. 2. The onion-shell model of the eight chapters

Without hesitation, the authors choose the simplest methodology available to them (pp. xiv-xv): the variety of Dutch they describe is one which they all happen to be native speakers of, and they simply appeal to their own intuitions to establish whether a given sequence of Dutch words constitutes an acceptable or a less acceptable but not totally unacceptable sentence (in the area of description) (see Figure 2, to be further discussed later). It is not part of the authors' goals to use tests, or to search corpora (systematically), or to have recourse to statistical methods, or to look for quotations—as those representatives of an earlier generation did who undertook the job of producing comprehensive grammars (e.g. Hakulinen et al. 2004). In addition, the authors do not relate (at least not in a systematic manner) their decisions and findings to either other varieties of Dutch (dialects, sociolects, earlier stages), or to other languages, or to any norm.

Is this blatantly "ignorant" attitude acceptable?

After reading the more than 1000-page-long discussion on Dutch noun phrases, we should definitely say "yes" to this question (and "no" to our doubts). The attitude of the book coincides with that of mainstream generative syntax. What has been produced here, thus, can be qualified as an (almost) optimal contribution (proportionate to its size) due to the last two decades' generative endeavors to the practical job of linguistic description. This book is a valuable resource grammar which might well serve as an input for further works where one or more of the aspects mentioned in the previous paragraph are utilized.

Delimitation and goal specification, especially in the case of a comprehensive resource grammar, are equally important tasks: the two sides of the same coin. What we find problematic about the book(s) at certain points is mainly the *other* side: the discussion of certain phenomena in a dialect (1) (p. 717), in another language (2-3) (p. 1088, p. 678), comparisons made to the norm / earlier stages of Dutch (4) (p. 407), statements made in "hardcore" generative style (5) (p. 938), or allusions to the consideration of corpus data (6) (p. 963):

(1)   ... Flemish Dutch, ... unlike Standard Dutch ... has different articles for feminine and masculine nouns. The examples in ... only accept the masculine articles, regardless of the gender of both the "implicit" noun and the creator. In ..., the masculine articles *den/nen* (definite/indefinite) are used...

(2)   Note in passing that the agreement facts in Dutch crucially differ from the corresponding ones in English. For example, in English, ...

(3)   Unlike the German articles, the Dutch articles do not decline; apart from some historical relics, their form is invariant in all syntactic environments. This is shown for the definite non-neuter article *de* in ..., but the same thing holds for the other articles. The primed examples give the German translations of the Dutch examples for comparison.

(4)   Describing the use of the relative pronoun *wat* is complicated by the fact that a process of language change seems to be going on, in which the use of *wat* is on the rise ...; many of the uses of *wat* in the examples below seem to be relatively recent innovations in the language, and therefore meet normative opposition.

(5)   a.   The interpretative gap is the result of deletion: er ... [Num/Q [~~... N~~]]
       b.   The interpretative gap is base-generated as a pronominal element, which must be licensed/bound by quantitive *er*: er_i ... [Num/Q [pro_i]]
       c.   The interpretative gap is the result of movement: er_i ... [Num/Q [t_i]]

(6)   A rough search on the internet has shown that in examples like ..., with *allebei*

            and *alle twee/drie/vier*, use of the article *de* is clearly preferred. In cases like ...,

            with *alle vijf/zes* both options have about the same frequency.

Undoubtedly, all these types of examples are valuable and useful because they shed illuminating light on certain phenomena in Dutch; it is understandable why they are included. Moreover, we are going to mention below three problems where a generative-linguist reader would appreciate specific analyses. In the preparatory phase of the writing of the book, the authors had most probably collected numerous observations which – even though many specialists would appreciate it – the final version of the book(s) does not contain, exactly because of the above-discussed reason of delimitation.

    The major problem lies with the fact that the seemingly homogeneous editing of the text veils the heterogeneousity (in the above sense) of the content. It would have been useful to insert, say, shorter footnotes for beginners, which could provide, for instance, the motivation behind certain tests (e.g. behind the complement tests that play a central role in Chapter 2 on complementation), and longer endnotes for specialists in different fields of linguistics.

    Subsection 4.1.1.2., for example, provides a thorough demonstration of the fact that it is often not clear all at once whether it is N_1 or N_2 that constitutes the head of certain binominal constructions (e.g. *een kilo appels* 'a kilo [of] apples'). There is claimed to be an ambiguity between a purely quantificational and a more referential reading. In a language like Hungarian, however, the case marking of the DP is explicit and is unequivocally found on N_2, (*egy kiló almát* 'a kilo apple-Acc'). Here,

reference to specific structural proposals would have led to an interesting comparison.

It would also be instructive to see in an endnote the constituent structure that the c-command hierarchy on page 809 relies on: subject > direct object > indirect object > PP-complement > adjunct.

The third issue pertains to complex noun phrases and proper nouns marked with the genitive ending *-s* (normally referring to [+HUMAN] entities), which may alternate with the possessive pronouns (7a). The authors claim (p. 825) that "... these noun phrases do not function as determiners in the same sense as the possessive pronoun: they are phrases and not just words, and therefore cannot be placed in the D-position of the DP". Here, we miss some solution to this structural incompatibility, especially in view of the decisive importance of data like those those in (7b-c) from Szabolcsi's (1992) theory of the Hungarian DP. (NB. Although É. Kiss (1998:84) and Bartos (2000:751) sketch out solutions to essentially the same problem, those are not comprehensive.) (7c) shows that in Hungarian the demonstrative pronoun, the possessor and the definite article (seem to) occupy three distinct positions.

(7)   a.   *Jans boek* 'Jan's book'
      b.   Jani / [a Jani] / [az ő] / *[ő] könyve
          Jani / the Jani / the he / he book-Poss3Sg
          'Jani's / Jani's / his / – book'
      c.   az a te két híres   barátod
          that the you two famous friend-Poss3Sg
          'those two famous friends of yours' (pejorative)

Method. The reason why we believe that *SoD* can serve as an appropriate model for comprehensive grammatical description is because of the following four methodological pillars (I-IV).

I. Universal Semantics as a Background. At first glance, on page 10, there can be no obvious role assigned to the semantic representation the book mentions—even more so that a Montagovian (Dowty et al. 1981) compositional semantics does clearly not constitute a goal of syntactic projects like this one.
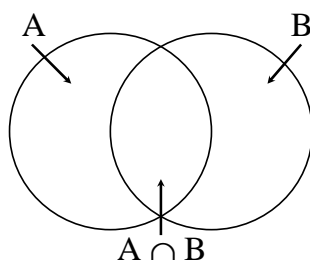

Figure3: Set-theoretic representation of the subject-predicate relation

This semantic representation, however, reappears again and again throughout the subsections until it becomes clear that its role is to ensure that the discussion of the linguistic area is conducted in a universal manner. The language-dependent

syntactic description thus relies on a (sufficiently) language-independent (pragmatico-) semantic basis. Let us look at an example as regards number.

It is argued (p. 683) that the singular marking expresses that $|A \cap B| = 1$, which is not surprising, and that the plural marking expresses that $|A \cap B| \geq 1$, instead of $|A \cap B| > 1$, which is somewhat unexpected. As an explanation, the authors cite a situation in which Jan is in hospital with a fractured leg. He's bored stiff so his friend Peter always brings him something to read when he is visiting: the number of books varies depending on size. One day Peter enters the hospital ward empty-handed, i.e. $|A \cap B| = 0$, as in (8a). In this case Jan will probably ask the question in (8a) with *boeken* 'books' in the plural and not with *boek* 'book' in the singular, given that the latter option presupposes that Peter normally brings only one book. The plural marking thus expresses the presupposition that $|A \cap B| \geq 1$.

(8)　　a.　　Heb je　geen boeken / #boek voor me　meegenomen?
　　　　　　　did you　no books /　book for me　　prt-.taken
　　　　b.　　Nem hoztál nekem [könyvet] / #[egy könyvet] / #[könyveket]?
　　　　　　　not　took-2Sg to_me book-Acc　a book-Acc　　books-Acc
　　　　　　　Intended reading: 'Didn't you bring me any books?'

In Hungarian, the plural marking simply expresses that $|A \cap B| > 1$. However, if we use semantics as our starting point, we can see that $|A \cap B| \geq 1$ is expressed by the bare form of the NP (which can be used in Hungarian with countable nouns as well), as is illustrated in (8b) above.

In addition, semantic classifications contribute to the application of a universal background in comprehensive syntactic description. In Chapter 2, for instance, where the distinction between NP-internal arguments and adjuncts are discussed, the authors refer to three classes of nouns (states of affairs, relational nouns, *story/picture* nouns) which, based on various syntactic tests, are claimed to bear subcategorized arguments in the complement of the N head (in three different ways).

Note in passing that contrary to the reasonable classification above, Table 4 (p. 17) provides a more traditional classification of common nouns (with such classes as proposition nouns, speech-act nouns, property nouns, emotion nouns), which remains *ad hoc* since no systematic syntactic differences are shown to rest upon its classes. A more *perfect* model for a comprehensive grammatical description would require an improved version of this classification, which should be supported by a system of morphological and syntactic tests. The same holds for the discussion of specificity (see pp. 154, 387, 688, 754, 950), which, too, is lacking in systematic distinction between the (at least) three meanings of this interesting pragmatico-semantic concept and the multifold syntactic analysis of those ("known by the speaker" / "member of a known set" / "having a wide scope").

II. The Syntactic Minimum. The authors – seeking the favor of non-formal-linguists – limit themselves to highly underspecified labeled constituent structures and they provide simple structures, but the fact that they retain underspecification instead of committing themselves to any one researcher's specified variants may

also win the favor of formal linguists. The entire NP-model rests upon the simple structure in (9a), which is inspected from within outwards, according to the onion-shell model shown in Figure 2 above:

(9)   a.   [$_{DP}$ ... D ... [$_{NP}$ ... N ...]]

        b.   az   a [$_{NP}$ te két [$_{NP}$ híres   cikked   a főnevekről]]
             that the   you two   famous paper-Poss3Sg the nouns-Del
             'those two famous papers of yours on nouns' (pejorative)

        c.   [$_{DP}$ ... D [$_{NP}$... [... N ...] ...]]

        d.   Jan is [een vriend *van Peter*]
             Jan is a friend   of Peter

        e.   Szabolcsi's DP structure in Kiefer (1992:291, (6)): [$_{DP}$ ... D [$_{NP}$ (DP) ... N]]]

Even this simple structure signals definite commitment to a recent approach where determiners, quantifiers and numerals are generally assumed to be external to the NP-domain, and are taken to function as the head of a projection containing the NP-domain. This implies that elements such as a determiner or quantifier are assumed to be the head of the full noun phrase, and it is these elements that determine the referential and/or the quantificational properties of the noun phrase.

Owing to Szabolcsi's work (e.g. 1992), this approach is now broadly accepted in Hungarian generative literature. Unfortunately, however, as is illustrated in (7c) and (9b), it does not hold for Hungarian that a possessive pronoun should occupy the D position. Hence, what seemingly corresponds to the NP in Dutch ("semantically speaking, the denotation of the complete noun phrase", p. 9) is a proper subpart of the NP in Hungarian; see (9c).

By the application of (9a), the Dutch authors also commit themselves to another non-trivial approach (p. x): "Although this is often less conspicuous with nouns, adjectives and prepositions, it is possible to describe examples like (9d) ... [as follows]. The phrases between straight brackets can be seen as predicates that are predicated of the noun phrase *Jan*, which we may therefore call their logical SUBJECT (...). Furthermore, ... the noun *vriend* may combine with a PP-complement that explicates with whom the SUBJECT *Jan* is in a relation of friendship..." As (9e) shows, standard Hungarian generative literature accepts no postnominal complement domain.

The reason for this lies with the practice of using the focus construction in Hungarian as a constituency test (see p. 1121 in the second Dutch NP-volume), illustrated in (10a). In contrast, however, we claim that the focus construction is not suitable for this task as it refuses all sorts of "right branching" from the head. In (10b), for instance, ill-formedness is caused by the DP-internal phonetic presence of the subordinate clause in the postnominal domain. The subordinate clause in question must leave the focused DP (10b').

(10)   a. *[A kalap-ja$_N$ Péter-nek]$_{Focus}$ veszett el.   (Szabolcsi and Laczkó (1992:190, (10b))

     the hat-Poss3Sg Peter-Dat lost away
     intended meaning: 'It is Peter's hat that has been lost.'
  b. Ki hívott meg? *[Az a lány$_N$, akivel tegnap találkoztunk]$_{Focus}$, hívott meg.
     who invited prt. that the girl who-Ins yesterday met-1Pl   invited prt.
  b'. Ki hívott meg? [Az a lány$_N$ $\varnothing_i$]$_{Focus}$ hívott meg, [akivel tegnap találkoztunk]$_i$.
     who invited prt. that the girl   invited prt. who-Ins yesterday met-1Pl
     'Who has invited you?' 'Who has invited me is the girl we met yesterday.'
  b". [Az a lány$_N$, akivel tegnap találkoztunk]$_{Topic}$ nagyon tetszett nekem.
     that the girl who-Ins yesterday met-1Pl very pleased to_me
     'As for the girl we met yesterday, I liked her very much.'
  c. $^{(?)}$[Az a vicces kalap-ja$_N$ annak a kissé részeg barátodnak]$_{Topic}$ nagyon tetszett nekem.
      that the funny hat-Poss3Sg that-Dat the quite drinken friend-Sg2-Dat very pleased to_me
     'As for that funny hat of that somewhat drunken friend of yours, I liked it very much.'
  c'. Na például [az a régi cikke$_N$ Szabolcsinak a főnevekről], az nagyon tetszett nekem.
      well for_example that the old paper-Poss3Sg Sz-Dat the nouns-Del that very liked to_me
     'Well, as for that old paper by Szabolcsi on nouns, I liked that very much.'

  A topic construction, however, does not (obligatorily) trigger a split like this, as is shown by (10b") above. Neither does it trigger a split for a DP which has an argument of the N-head appearing postnominally (10c). On the basis of this observation, we will use the contrastive topic construction demonstrated in (10c') for a constituency test in the Hungarian NP-volume. Similar to the focus construction, this construction, too, is an answer to a question on a participant (which is, hence, expected to form a constituent), but here there is no danger of splitting because of the phonetic refusal of right branching. Therefore, the basic structure in (9a) with the postnominal N-complement can be adopted for Hungarian as well, with the difference shown in (9c).

  We conclude this point with two short remarks on the onion-shell model of the eight-chapter-long Dutch NP-volume (again, see Figure 2 above). Chapter 1 does not seem uniform and consistent enough, which might be due to the fact that the description of the "innermost circle", i.e. the N-head itself, is fused with the introductory description of the whole model. Otherwise, however, the overall structure of this comprehensive description of the DP is uniform and consistent enough to dispense with the conventional constituent tree graphs (before reading the book, one might doubt the sufficiency of underspecified labeled formulas).

  III. Combinations, permutations, variations. The authors are aware of the fact that creating a model for comprehensive grammatical description requires systematic methods in the strictest mathematical sense.

  Describing the syntactic classification of deverbal nouns, for instance, requires the inspection of all the 25 combinations of the practically five nominalization types with the five basic types of input verbs:

Table 1: The basic syntactic classification of deverbal nouns

TYPE OF DEVERBAL NOUN	TYPE OF INPUT VERB	VARIATIONS
2.2.3.1. Agentive ER-nominalizations 2.2.3.2. INF-nominalizations (2 types) 2.2.3.3. ING-nominalizations 2.2.3.4. GE-nominalizations	I. Intransitive verbs II. Transitive verbs III. Ditransitive verbs IV. Verbs selecting a PP-theme V. Verbs taking a complementive	Subsections $X^1, X^2, ..., X^W$ where $W = \binom{n}{k}$: nominalization with certain k arguments expressed out of the n arguments of the input verb

Inspection of mathematical variations occurs when an input verb with n arguments is nominalized and the output deverbal noun has k remaining arguments expressed. A ditransitive verb (with an agent, a theme and a recipient), for instance, may yield three sorts of deverbal nouns with two expressed arguments. In the particular case discussed on pages 210-211, the following two pairs are said to occur: {agent, theme}, and {theme, recipient}.

The example below (11) illustrates permutation (p. 1079): in the last chapter on the external syntax of noun phrases, different orders of arguments and adjuncts occurring between the auxiliary and the verb are judged (see Figure 1 above).

(11) a.   Jan heeft twee boeken al   drie keer   niet kunnen lenen.
            Jan has   two books   already three times not can   borrow
            'Already three times Jan couldn't borrow two books.'
      b.   ^{??}Jan heeft al drie keer twee boeken niet kunnen lenen.
      c.   * Jan heeft al drie keer niet twee boeken kunnen lenen.

Not only can strictly systematic methods like the one in (11) help to (re-)consider, complete or shed new light on cases which have <mark>already</mark> been examined in the literature, but they can also help to discover new cases for future research.

The authors are not consistent, however, when, in connection with the variations of binding in (12) below, they say (p. 811) – without giving a specific reason – that "other predictions that follow from the binding conditions ... in tandem with the c-command hierarchy ... are also on the right track, but we will not discuss this here". Knowing how hard it is to create examples with arguments other than the subject or the direct object as the binder, we would have been interested in seeing some examples.

(12)   • Direct object antecedents
      c.   Hij speelde *de meisjes* tegen [$]*zichzelf*/*elkaar*   uit.
            He   played   the girls   against themselves/each.other prt.
            'He played the girls off against themselves/each other.'
      d.   Ik   waarschuwde *de meisjes* voor *zichzelf*/*elkaar.*
            I   warned   the girls   for themselves/each.other
            'I warned the girls about themselves/each other.'

We conclude this point by observing another inconsistency: translations are missing from several examples (e.g. (1.6), (1.185b), (8.9-11), (8.67)).

IV. Prototypical Case. The book is written in casual style, and – as we see it – one secret of this casualness lies with the authors' strategy to start each new topic with the prototypical case rather than with an attempt at an all-encompassing definition that would be true for each and every instance of the given phenomenon.

It is not easy at all, for instance, to define the concept of a proper noun (p. 17): "Proper nouns like *Jan*, on the other hand [compared to common nouns], have little or no descriptive content. Typically, they form noun phrases all by themselves and lack modifiers and complements." The reason why the words *little* and *typically* are needed – however suspicious they are – is because of the exceptional uses of proper nouns. This, however, lends too much vagueness to the two sentences cited above, which makes the definition problematic as a theoretical one. True, it is a general tendency of all linguistic concepts to become more and more intricate and chaotic as one tries to take into account more and more of the subcases.

It seems, nevertheless, that "starting with the prototypical" proves to be a good strategy to systematically review the different cases from the more to the less typical and then to the exceptional, while also retaining optimism. The authors can afford this opportunism because what really counts at the end of the day is the data evaluated; this system of description can later give way to new findings brought about by new researches. Furthermore, this strategy may capture a decisive property of UG: Hungarian translations often prove to reflect the same gradual movement away from the prototypical case.

The same strategy is applied to the concept of complements (*versus* adjuncts) (p. 136): "As with verbs, complements of nouns are (in principle at least) obligatory elements: they fill the argument slots in the argument structure of the noun and are therefore needed to complete the denotation of the noun." As for this obligatoriness, an alternative approach is accepted in the Hungarian literature following Komlósy (Kiefer 1992), according to which a head (predicate) determines the obligatory or optional status of its complements (arguments).

Full elaboration of this topic would require another paper; here we only sketch out the authors' long route from subsection 2.2.1.2, which declares that "complements are obligatory elements, whereas adjuncts are optional". It is already admitted in 2.2.3.4.2 (p. 261) that there may be optional complements: "... recipients and agentive *door*-phrases are normally also optional in verbal constructions ...; we will therefore assume that they have a similar status as the theme, which clearly does behave as an argument". Subsection 2.2.5.2.1 says the same about "picture nouns [which] can be used quite felicitously without any complements in most cases".

Subsection 2.2.6 reaches the following conclusion: "The discussion [e.g. the numerous different complement tests in Chapter 2] provided us with interesting new material for further research. At the same time, the fact that it is often not possible to give a clear-cut answer to the question whether a certain constituent functions as an adjunct or as a complement raises the question of how real this distinction is. ...

Although the agent is an obligatory argument in the verbal domain [for instance], agents do not behave as obligatory complements in the nominal domain."

As for the concepts of complement and adjunct, we prefer a terminological approach according to which a head is furnished with a complement in a syntactic sense; the complement, thus, is a syntactic domain which can accommodate both arguments and adjuncts of the predicate occupying the head. In light of what was quoted in the previous paragraphs, the syntactic model of two syntactic layers (distinguishing adjuncts from arguments) as it is proposed by the Dutch authors and is shown in (13a) below, can best qualify as an idealized standpoint rather than a reliably provable syntactic configuration either in Dutch or in Hungarian.

(13)   a. $[_{NP}$ [N PP-complement] PP-modifier]   ((2.5b), p120)
       b. $[_{DP}$ D ... $[_{NP}$ [... N ...] MOD$_{restrictive}$]]   ((3.10a), p363)
       c. $[_{DP}$ D ... $[_{NP}$ ... N ...] MOD$_{non\text{-}restrictive}$]   ((3.10b), p363)
       d. $[_{NP}$ AP-modifier [NP/PP-complement N]]   ((2.5a), p120)

A similar question arises in connection with other NP-layers. It is claimed, for instance (p. 363) that the differences in function and scope between restrictive and non-restrictive modifiers must follow from the fact that they are attached at different levels within the noun phrase. Given that current generative grammar distinguishes several functional layers within the noun phrase in between DP and N, there will be ample opportunity to do this. The authors provide the (underspecified) structural representations shown in (13b-c) above. We do not intend to question this particular analysis concerning postmodifiers, but we do wish to point at the following theoretical problem: restrictive and non-restrictive AP-modifiers in the prenominal domain do not at all seem to verify the approach according to which semantic relations (function and scope) are truly reflected in syntax via structural layers/levels.

Let us consider the Hungarian data below in (14). As there are two DP-internal prenominal positions for the possessor in a Hungarian DP—one preceding the definite article and one preceded by it—we can test on Hungarian sentences the hypothesis whether there exists an NP-internal restrictive AP position distinguished from an NP-external non-restrictive AP position (13b-c). (14a), with the possessor preceding the determiner position, demonstrates one potential syntactic structure in conformity with the hypothesis. Everything seems to be all right. The problem arises in the other version, where the determiner position precedes the possessor because, as is illustrated by (14a'), this version is also perfectly acceptable.

(14)   a. $[_{DP}$ Péternek a$_D$ türelmes$_{-rest}$ $[_{NP}$ apai$_{+rest}$ [nagyapja$_N$]]]

Péter-Dat the patient   paternal grandfather
 a'. [DP aD [NP Péter türelmes−rest apai+rest [nagyapjaN]]]
          the   Péter patient   paternal grandfather
      'Peter's patient paternal grandfather'
 b.   [DP ~~az~~D [NP [a konferenciánkra elsőként érkező]+rest [kissé flúgos]−rest [résztvevőN]]]
          the   the conference-Poss1Pl-Sub first-Form arrived   fairly dim   participant
      'the participant who was the first to arrive at the conference and was a little nutty'

Thus, no evidence is gained in favor of the idealized standpoint as for the connection between syntax and semantics. Example (14b), where the restrictive modifier precedes the non-restrictive one, also suggests that the two kinds of modifiers should share the same syntactic level.

Let us return to the problem of arguments and adjuncts. Chapter 2 identifies three types of nominal heads as argument-taking ones: deverbal nominals (which inherit the input verbs' arguments; (15a)), *story/picture* nouns (which are claimed to take an Agent and a Theme as arguments besides a frequently occurring adjunct, the owner; (15b)), and relational nouns (15c). We have designed a test for the purposes of our Hungarian NP-volume which we based upon the scrutiny of scope relations in order to decide whether these "dependents" of nominal heads behave as verbal arguments, or as adjuncts, or as members of a structure called a conceptual frame by Laczkó (2000:303), which could serve as an intermediary status between argument-hood and adjuncthood.

What the pairings of meanings with the sentences that illustrate the possessor's DP-internal / DP-external position (primeless / primed examples) show first and foremost is a bidirectional scopal interaction between the DP's and the verb's syntactic domain—giving a new meaning and significance to the discussion on external syntax (cf. the discussion on page xiii about its "useful redundancy"). On the one hand, the DP-internal possessor as a quantifier can take scope over the matrix verb (15a&b&c.1), and on the other hand, the DP-external possessor, in spite of its syntactic position above the matrix verb, will take the narrowest sentence scope if it is given a special rising intonation contour typical of contrastive topic (15a'). As could be seen, however, this latter possibility is only available in the case of deverbal nominals (see also (15b'&c')). This observation then leads to the following conclusions. A deverbal nominal has (that is, inherits) a "real" argument structure which is capable of perfect scopal interaction with the verb's argument structure, whilst a non-deverbal nominal has no argument structure. The verb, however, readily ensures a high position in its own scopal hierarchy to the possessor belonging to the nominal head, independent of its DP-internal/external syntactic standing (15b-c').

(15) a.   Elleneztem [DP mindkettőtök meghívását].

disagreed-1Sg both-Poss2Pl invitation-Poss3Sg-Acc
　　　　1. 'As for both of you, I was against the idea of your invitation.' /
　　　　2. 'I was against the idea of inviting you two together.'
　　　　✓MEANING1: disagree > both > invite;　　✓MEANING2: both > disagree > invite

a'.　Mindkettőtöknek$_{Quant/CTopic}$ elleneztem [$_{DP}$ a meghívását].
　　　both-Poss2Pl-Dat　　　　　　disagreed-1Sg the invitation-Poss3Sg-Acc
　　　Version$_{Quant}$: *MEANING1 / ✓MEANING2;　　Version$_{CTopic}$: ✓MEANING1 / *MEANING2

b.　Elfogadtam [$_{DP}$ mindkettőtök cikkét].
　　accepted-1Sg both-Poss2Pl　　paper-Poss3Sg-Acc
　　1. 'As for both of you, I accepted your paper.' /
　　2. intended meaning: 'I accepted the paper you wrote together.'
　　*MEANING1: accept > both > paper;　　✓MEANING2: both > accept > paper

b'.　Mindkettőtöknek$_{Quant/CTopic}$ elfogadtam [$_{DP}$ a cikkét].
　　　both-Poss2Pl-Dat　　　　　　accepted-1Sg　　the paper-Poss3Sg-Acc
　　　Version$_{Quant}$: *MEANING1 / ✓MEANING2;　　Version$_{CTopic}$: *MEANING1 / *MEANING2

c.　Imádom [$_{DP}$ mindkettőtök nagyszüleit].
　　admire-1Sg both-Poss2Pl　　grandparents-Poss3Sg-Acc
　　1. 'As for both of you, I admire your grandparents.' /
　　2. intended meaning: 'I admire the persons who are your mutual grandparents.'
　　*MEANING1: admire > both > grandparents;　　✓MEANING2: both > admire > grandparents

c'.　Mindkettőtöknek$_{Quant/CTopic}$ imádom [$_{DP}$ a nagyszüleit].
　　　both-Poss2Pl-Dat　　　　　　admire-1Sg the grandparents-Poss3Sg-Acc
　　　Version$_{Quant}$: *MEANING1 / ✓MEANING2;　　Version$_{CTopic}$: *MEANING1 / *MEANING2

Nevertheless, we prefer a hypothesis, in harmony with what we said in connection with the Dutch authors' standpoint shown in (13a), according to which verbs and nouns are furnished with the same syntactic domains which are to be called their complements, and these domains accommodate, in the case of verbs and deverbal nouns, an argument structure, or, in the case of non-deverbal nominals, a conceptual frame.

　　　The distribution of the possible readings in the last example below suggests that in the case of deverbal nouns, both the verbal and the nominal character can appear: the patient behaves as a verbal argument (in a "complex event" as in the sense used by Laczkó (2000:298-303)), whilst the agent proves to behave as a "conceptual argument".

(16)　a.　Elutasítom [$_{DP}$ mindkettőtök$^{Patient/Agent}$ kezelését].
　　　　　refuse-1Sg　　both-Poss2Pl　　　　　　　treatment-Poss3Sg-Acc
　　　　　1. 'As for the both of you, I refuse to [treat] / [be treated by] you.' /
　　　　　2. 'I refuse to [treat] / [be treated by] both of you at the same time.'
　　　　　Version^{Patient}: ✓MEANING1: refuse > both > treat; ✓MEANING2: both > refuse > treat
　　　　　Version^{Agent}: *MEANING1: refuse > both > treat; ✓MEANING2: both > refuse > treat
　　　b.　Mindkettőtöknek$^{Pat/Ag}$$_{Quant/CTopic}$ elutasítom [$_{DP}$ a kezelését].
　　　　　both-Poss2Pl-Dat　　　　　　　　　refuse-1Sg　　the treatment-Poss3Sg-Acc
　　　　　Version^{Patient}$_{Quant}$: *MEANING1 / ✓MEANING2; Version^{Patient}$_{CTopic}$: ✓MEANING1 / *MEANING2
　　　　　Version^{Agent}$_{Quant}$: *MEANING1 / ✓MEANING2; Version^{Agent}$_{CTopic}$: *MEANING1 / *MEANING2

Conclusion. We think that hundreds of further fascinating questions could be raised on the basis of this Dutch NP-syntax, and we are urged to create even more elaborate analyses in innumerable topics, including the problem of an adequate pragmatico-semantic and morphological basis, as well as that of a perfect

methodology... The *Syntax of Dutch* project, *thus*, has definitely become a model for comprehensive grammatical description, by virtue of its clear main objective, which is worth following, the proposed delimitation, which is reasonable, and its firm and reliable four-pillar method discussed above (universal pragmatico-semantics, adequately underspecified syntax, meticulous systematicity, and casual discussion with the prototypical in the center).

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