

# Second thoughts on functional categories and their projections

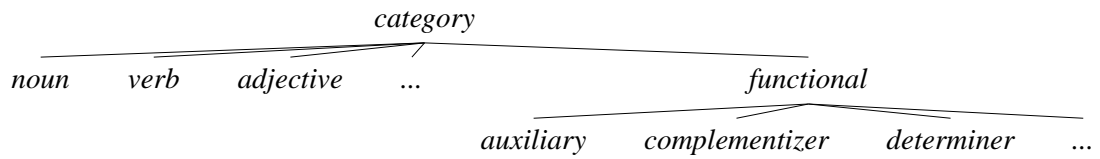
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Ringvorlesung  
Algorithmen und Muster - Strukturen in der Sprache  
Freie Universität Berlin  
June 17, 2009

## Overview

- Syntactic categories and their projections
- Homology vs. analogy in biology
- Determiners
- Auxiliaries
- Complementizers
- Conclusion

# 1 Syntactic categories and their projections



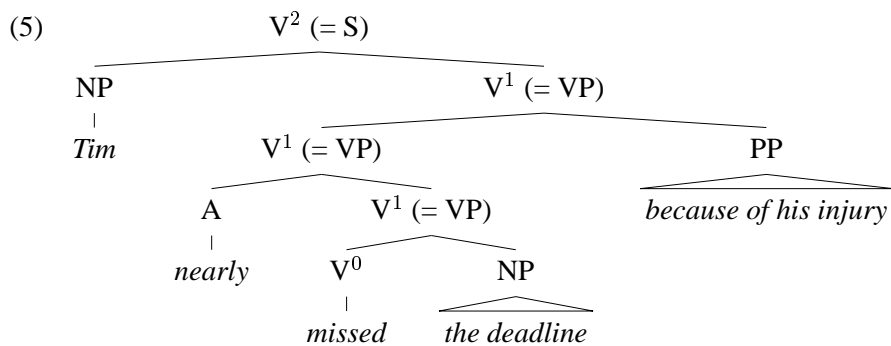
- (1) a.  $S \rightarrow NP \text{ Aux VP}$   
 b.  $\text{Aux} \rightarrow \text{Tense (Modal) (Perfect) (Progressive)}$
- (2) a. The barbarians destroyed Rome in the fifth century.  
 b. Rome's destruction by the barbarians in the fifth century
- (3) a. Richard is eager to please.  
 b. Richard's eagerness to please

Generative semantics vs. autonomous syntax

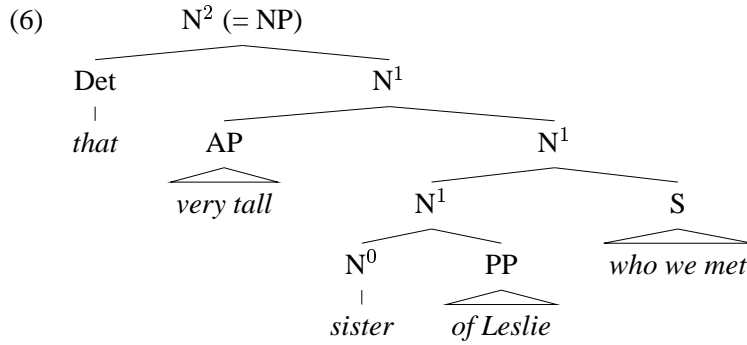
## 1.1 X-bar syntax in the seventies

Remarks on nominalization (Chomsky 1970)

- (4) a.  $X^2 \rightarrow \text{Specifier } X^1$   
 b.  $X^1 \rightarrow \text{Adjunct } X^1$   
 c.  $X^1 \rightarrow X^1 \text{ Adjunct}$   
 d.  $X^1 \rightarrow X^0 \text{ Complement(s)}$

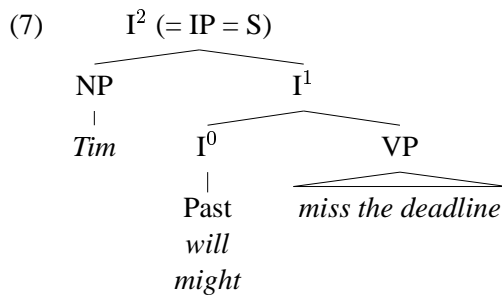


Extension to P in Jackendoff (1977) and Van Riemsdijk (1978)  
 Also adopted in GPSG (Gazdar, Klein, Pullum and Sag 1985, 126)



## 1.2 Extension to the functional categories in the eighties

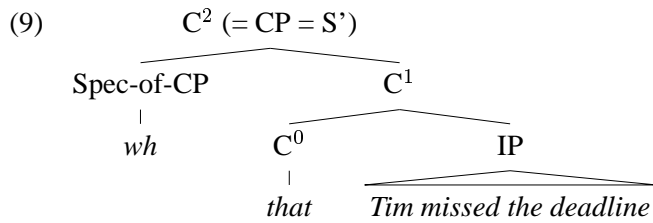
### 1. Auxiliaries in Chomsky (1981)



$X^0$  may be an affix, even a phonetically empty one

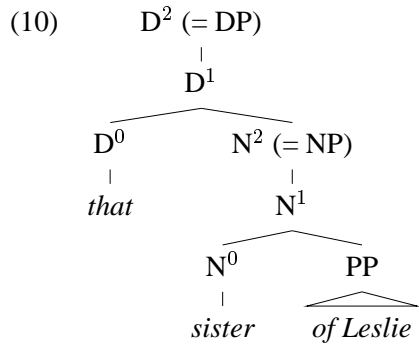
### 2. Complementizers in Chomsky (1986)

(8)  $S' \rightarrow \text{Comp } S$



Specifiers may be phonetically empty

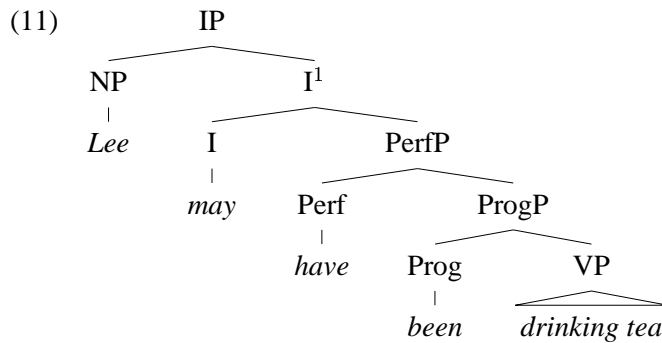
### 3. Determiners in Hellan (1986) and Abney (1987)



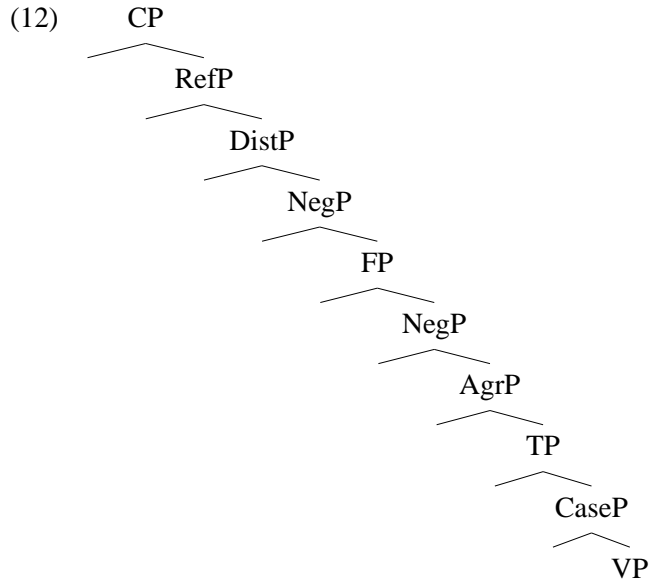
Also adopted in LFG (Bresnan 2000) and in Word Grammar (Hudson 1990)  
 In HPSG: no IP, wavering on CP (Pollard and Sag 1994) vs. (Ginzburg and Sag 2000), a few advocates of DP (Netter 1994).

### 1.3 Proliferation of functional categories in the nineties

Pollock (1989)



“We assume that Hungarian sentences contain at least the functional projections given in (12) ...” (Koopman and Szabolcsi 2000, 7)

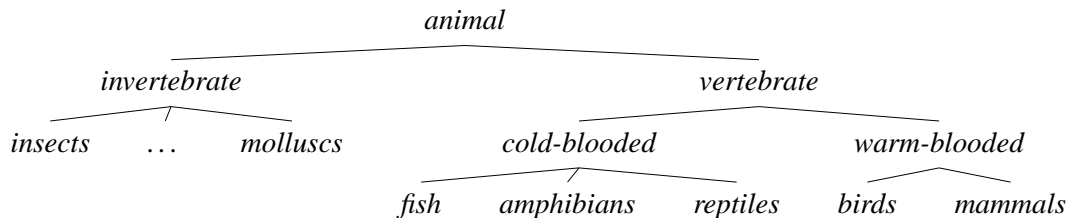


“In chapter 4 this structure will be enriched.”

Little or no adoption of this trend in other frameworks, see Ackerman and Webelhuth (1998)

## 2 Homology vs. analogy in biology

Property sharing can result from homology: in that case there is evidence for the postulation of a higher type from which the subtypes inherit common properties.



Property sharing can also result from analogy, for instance, adaptation to similar circumstances or a similar environment. In that case the properties may be shared by types without a common supertype. For instance, airborne locomotion is a property of subtypes of insects, birds and mammals.

My claim: the distinction between homology and analogy is also relevant for the classification of lexical units in terms of syntactic categories.

### 3 Determiners

The set of determiners is categorially heterogeneous: adjectives, pronouns and common nouns (Van Eynde 2006).

#### 3.1 Adjectival determiners

Adjectival determiners show the same inflectional variation as the adjectives and are subject to the same constraints on morpho-syntactic agreement.

IT	sg-mas	sg-fem	pl-mas	pl-fem	
Adj	<i>caldo</i>	<i>calda</i>	<i>caldi</i>	<i>calde</i>	warm
	<i>forte</i>	<i>forte</i>	<i>forti</i>	<i>forti</i>	strong
Dem	<i>questo</i>	<i>questa</i>	<i>questi</i>	<i>queste</i>	this
Poss	<i>nostro</i>	<i>nostra</i>	<i>nostri</i>	<i>nostre</i>	our
Inter	<i>quale</i>	<i>quale</i>	<i>quali</i>	<i>quali</i>	which

- (13) a. casa                      gialla/\*o/\*i/\*e, venti                      forti/\*e  
house-SG.FEM yellow-SG.FEM, wind-PL.MAS strong-PL.MAS  
‘yellow house, strong winds’
- b. mia/\*o/\*i/\*e casa,                      quali/\*e                      venti  
my-SG.FEM house-SG.FEM, which-PL.MAS wind-PL.MAS  
‘my house, which winds’

DE		sg-mas	sg-neu	sg-fem	pl
Adj	Nom	<i>guter</i>	<i>gutes</i>	<i>gute</i>	<i>gute</i>
	Acc	<i>guten</i>	<i>gutes</i>	<i>gute</i>	<i>gute</i>
	Dat	<i>gutem</i>	<i>gutem</i>	<i>guter</i>	<i>guten</i>
	Gen	<i>guten</i>	<i>guten</i>	<i>guter</i>	<i>guter</i>
Inter	Nom	<i>welcher</i>	<i>welches</i>	<i>welche</i>	<i>welche</i>
	Acc	<i>welchen</i>	<i>welches</i>	<i>welche</i>	<i>welche</i>
	Dat	<i>welchem</i>	<i>welchem</i>	<i>welcher</i>	<i>welchen</i>
	Gen	<i>welches/n</i>	<i>welches/n</i>	<i>welcher</i>	<i>welcher</i>
Quant	Nom	<i>jeder</i>	<i>jedes</i>	<i>jede</i>	
	Acc	<i>jeden</i>	<i>jedes</i>	<i>jede</i>	
	Dat	<i>jedem</i>	<i>jedem</i>	<i>jeder</i>	
	Gen	<i>jedes/n</i>	<i>jedes/n</i>	<i>jeder</i>	

- (14) a. guter/\*es/\*e Wein  
 b. welcher/\*es/\*e Wein  
 c. jeder/\*es/\*e Tag
- (15) a. mit gelben/\*em/\*er Tischen  
 b. mit welchen/\*em/\*er Tischen

Morpho-syntactic agreement vs. index agreement; the German *jeder* and its English equivalent *every* require a singular count nominal, but only the German determiner also requires morpho-syntactic agreement.

### 3.2 Pronominal determiners

Pronominal determiners show the same variation as the pronouns and are not subject to morpho-syntactic agreement.

- (16) a. il loro cane,            i loro cani  
 the their dog-SG.MAS, the their dog-PL.MAS  
 ‘their dog, their dogs’
- b. la loro casa,            le loro case  
 the their house-SG.FEM, the their house-PL.FEM  
 ‘their house, their houses’
- c. sono loro, sto con loro  
 are they, I-stay with them  
 ‘it is them, I’m staying with them’
- (17) a. che libro,            che libri  
 what book-SG.MAS, what book-PL.MAS  
 ‘which book, which books’
- b. che casa,            che case  
 what house-SG.FEM, what house-PL.FEM  
 ‘which house, which houses’
- c. che scegliamo, che c’è  
 what we-choose, what it-is  
 ‘what do we choose, what’s the matter’

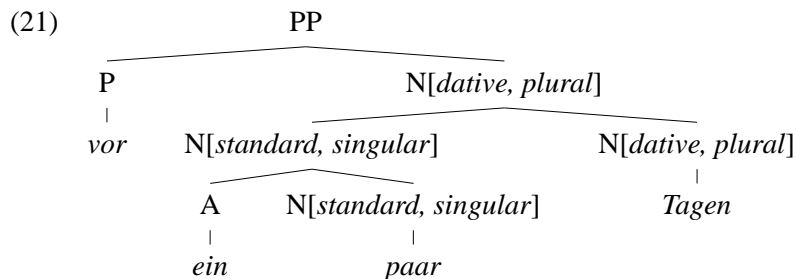
		nominative	accusative	dative	genitive
Dem	sg-mas	<i>der</i>	<i>den</i>	<i>dem</i>	<i>dessen</i>
	sg-fem	<i>die</i>	<i>die</i>	<i>der</i>	<i>deren/r</i>
	sg-neu	<i>das</i>	<i>das</i>	<i>dem</i>	<i>dessen</i>
	pl	<i>die</i>	<i>die</i>	<i>denen</i>	<i>deren/r</i>
Inter	sg-nn	<i>wer</i>	<i>wen</i>	<i>wem</i>	<i>wessen</i>
	sg-neu	<i>was</i>	<i>was</i>	<i>(was)</i>	<i>wessen</i>
Quant	sg-nn	<i>jemand</i>	<i>jemand(en)</i>	<i>jemand(em)</i>	<i>jemandes</i>
	sg-neu	<i>etwas</i>	<i>etwas</i>	<i>etwas</i>	

- (18) a. Da ist/\*sind (et)was passiert.  
b. Möchtest du noch was Trauben ?  
c. Wessen Haus/Häuser will er kaufen ?
- (19) a. What comes/\*come next ?  
b. What books have you read about it ?  
c. What big teeth you have !

### 3.3 CNP determiners

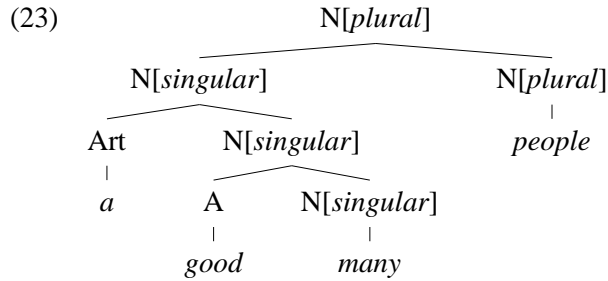
CNP determiners are phrasal and contain a common noun. They may show index agreement, but not morpho-syntactic agreement.

- (20) a. Vor ein paar Tagen war er noch gesund.  
b. Aus ein wenig aufgetautem Fleisch kan ich noch kein essen für sechs machen.  
c. Ein paar Türe sind/\*ist schon geöffnet.



- (22) a. A good many people have/\*has disappeared.  
b. A few houses have/\*has been sold already.  
c. Every few weeks there is a party.





The English numerals in (24) are also CNPs.

- (24)
- a. One hundred years after Einstein's discovery
  - b. A good forty pages are/\*is still missing.
  - c. For every fifteen soldiers there is one sergeant.

### 3.4 Consequences for the NP vs. DP debate

- If the adjectival determiners are not treated as adjectives, one misses generalizations in the treatment of inflection and morpho-syntactic agreement;
- If the pronominal determiners are not treated as pronouns, one misses generalizations about the organisation of pronominal paradigms;
- If the adjectival, pronominal and CNP determiners are all treated as members of the same category (Det), one has to find other ways to account for the fact that only the adjectival ones are subject to morpho-syntactic agreement.

If the determiner is the head of the nominal,

- the nominal will be an AP when it is introduced by an adjectival determiner, and an NP otherwise;
- a nominal with a pronominal determiner is predicted to share the case, number and gender values of the pronoun; this gives inappropriate results for *whose book*, *what books*, *wessen Bücher*, *(et)was Trauben*.
- a nominal with a CNP determiner is predicted to share the case, number and gender values of the CNP; this gives inappropriate results for *a good many people*, *a few people*, *vor ein paar Tagen*, *aus ein wenig aufgetautem Fleisch*.

If the noun is the head of the nominal,

- the nominal will be an NP, no matter whether it is introduced by an adjectival determiner, a pronominal determiner, a CNP determiner or no determiner;
- a nominal with a pronominal determiner is predicted to share the case, number and gender values of the nominal; this gives the right results for *whose book, what books, wessen Bücher, was Trauben*.
- a nominal with a CNP determiner is predicted to share the case, number and gender values of the rightmost nominal; this gives the right results for *a good many pages, a few people, vor ein paar Tagen, aus ein wenig aufgetautem Fleisch*.

If the noun is the head of the nominal, then what is the determiner ?

### 3.5 The specifier treatment of determiners

- (25) a. N: *whose/those/which/some* houses, *a few* houses  
 b. A: *so/too/how* tall, *five foot* tall  
 c. P: *long/just/right* after the party, *two days* after the party  
 d. V: *cats* eat mice, *the dogs* ate the meat  
 e. V: they will *never/often/always* miss the target  
 f. V: they will *all/both/each* receive a present

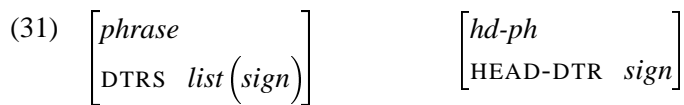
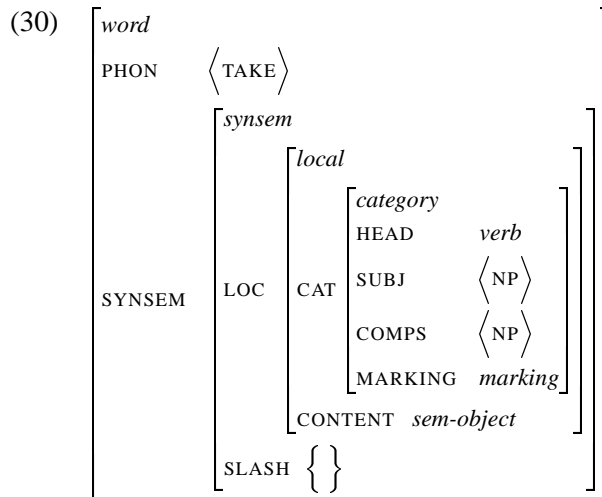
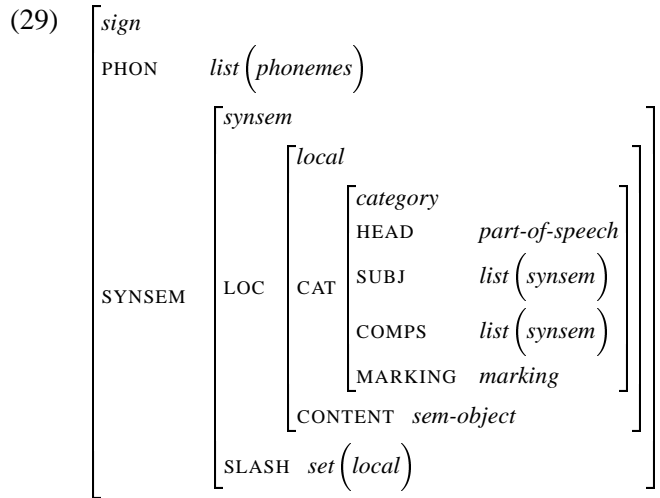
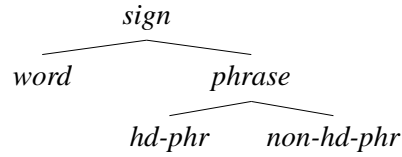
What are the properties that are common to specifiers and that distinguish them from the adjuncts ?

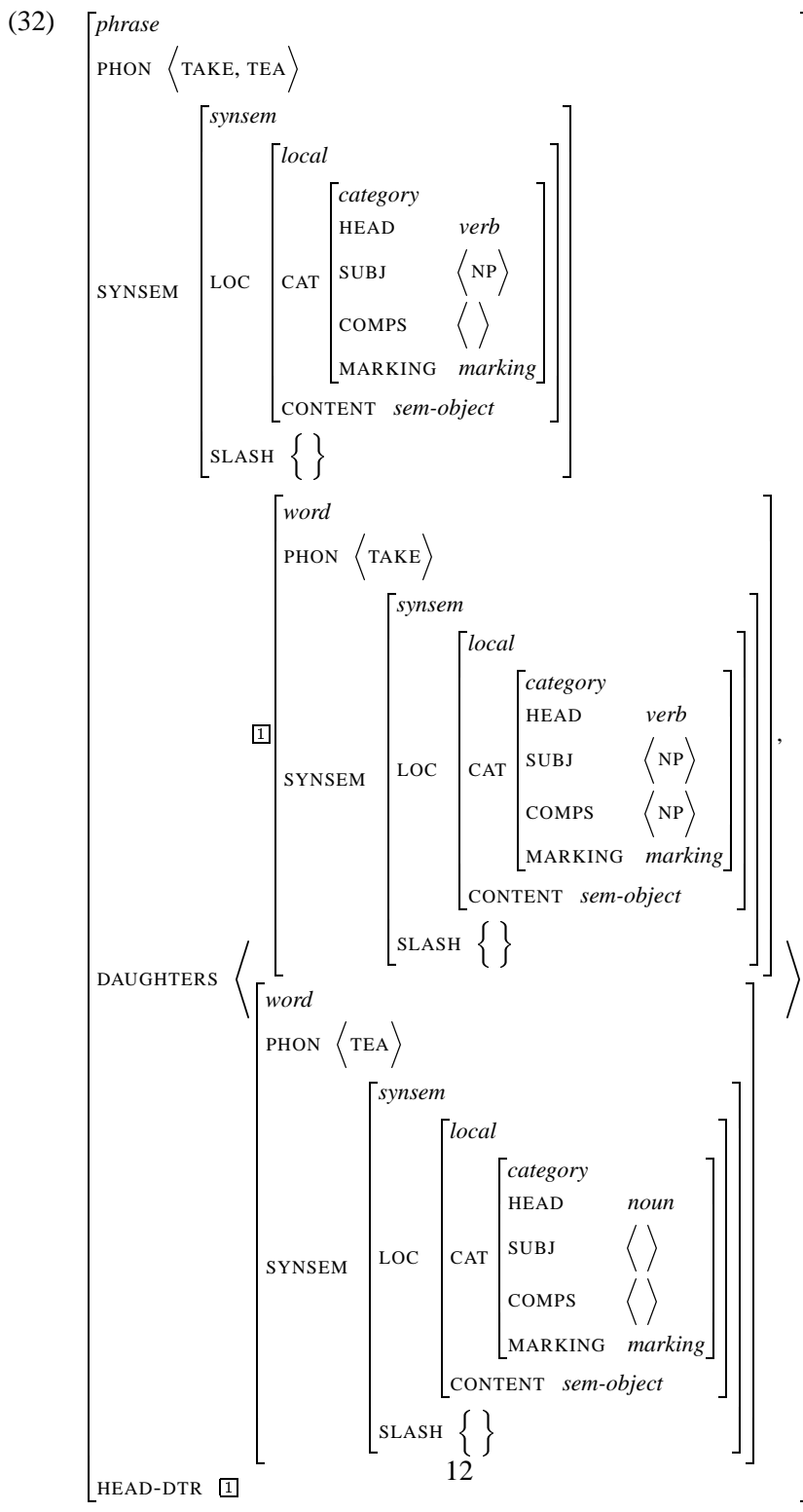
- Obligatoriness vs. optionality ?
- Iterability ?
- Word order ?

- (26) a. N: his every move, his many houses  
 b. N: la mia proposta, una mia amica
- (27) a. N: half *his* salary, twice *my* size, so big *a* house  
 b. A: far *too* big, much *too* tall  
 c. V: for lunch *cats* eat mice, perhaps *the dogs* ate the meat  
 d. V: they will not *always* miss the train, they probably *never* met
- (28) a. N: mamma *mia*, casa *sua*  
 b. A: big *enough*

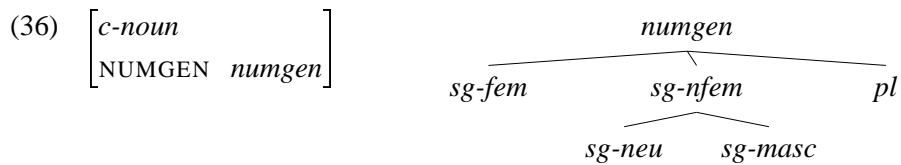
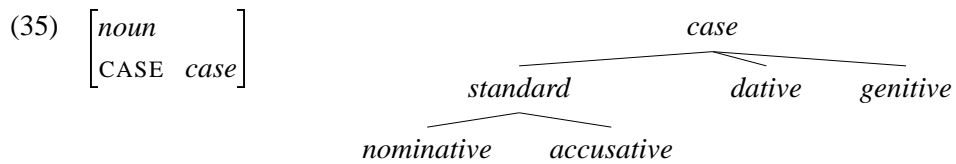
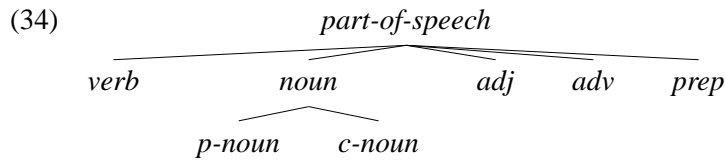
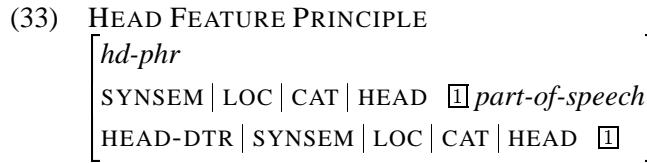
The distinction between specifiers and adjuncts lacks empirical motivation.

### 3.6 The functor treatment of determiners

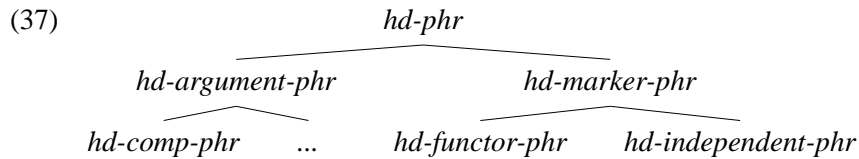




1. The HEAD feature



2. The valence features



In head-argument phrases, the head daughter selects its sister(s); the selection is modeled in terms of the list valued valence features (Müller 2002).

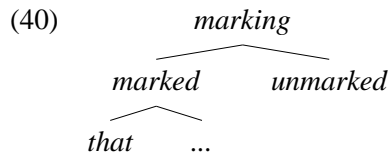
$$(38) \left[ \begin{array}{l} \textit{hd-comp-phr} \\ \text{SYNSEM} \mid \text{LOC} \mid \text{CAT} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{SUBJ} \quad \boxed{A} \\ \text{COMPS} \quad \boxed{B} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{DTRS} \langle \boxed{2} \rangle \oplus \left\langle \left[ \text{SYNSEM} \quad \boxed{1} \right] \right\rangle \\ \text{HEAD-DTR} \quad \boxed{2} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{SYNSEM} \mid \text{LOC} \mid \text{CAT} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{SUBJ} \quad \boxed{A} \\ \text{COMPS} \quad \boxed{B} \oplus \langle \boxed{1} \rangle \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

In head-marker phrases, the head daughter does not select its sister(s); the values of the head daughter's valence features are unchanged.

### 3.1. The MARKING feature

#### (39) GENERALIZED MARKING FEATURE PRINCIPLE

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{a.} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \textit{hd-marker-phr} \\ \text{SYNSEM} \mid \text{LOC} \mid \text{CAT} \mid \text{MARKING} \quad \boxed{1} \textit{marking} \\ \text{DTRS} \langle \boxed{2} \rangle \oplus \left\langle \left[ \text{SYNSEM} \mid \text{LOC} \mid \text{CAT} \mid \text{MARKING} \quad \boxed{1} \right] \right\rangle \\ \text{HEAD-DTR} \quad \boxed{2} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{b.} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \textit{hd-argument-phr} \\ \text{SYNSEM} \mid \text{LOC} \mid \text{CAT} \mid \text{MARKING} \quad \boxed{1} \textit{marking} \\ \text{HEAD-DTR} \mid \text{SYNSEM} \mid \text{LOC} \mid \text{CAT} \mid \text{MARKING} \quad \boxed{1} \end{array} \right] \end{array}$$



### 3.2. The SELECT feature

In head-functor phrases the non-head daughter selects the head daughter.

$$(41) \left[ \begin{array}{l} \textit{part-of-speech} \\ \text{SELECT} \quad \textit{synsem} \vee \textit{none} \end{array} \right]$$

(42) SELECTOR PRINCIPLE

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{hd-functor-phr} \\ \text{DTRS } \langle [2] \rangle \oplus \langle [ \text{SYNSEM} | \text{LOC} | \text{CAT} | \text{HEAD} | \text{SELECT } [1] ] \rangle \\ \text{HEAD-DTR } [2] [ \text{SYNSEM } [1] \text{synsem} ] \end{array} \right]$$

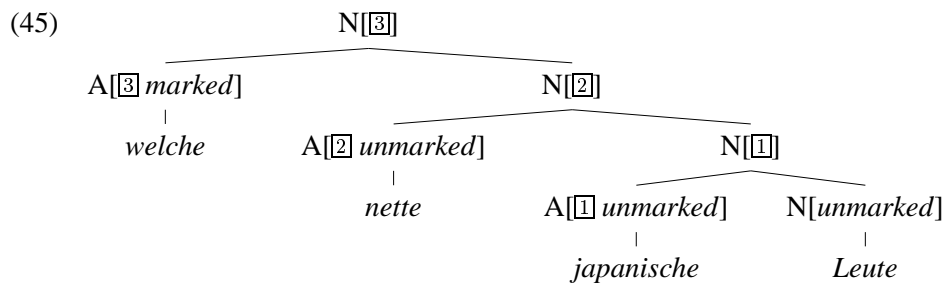
(Allegranza 1998) and (Van Eynde 1998)

4. Application to the noun phrase

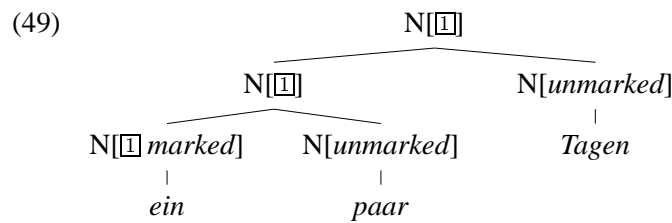
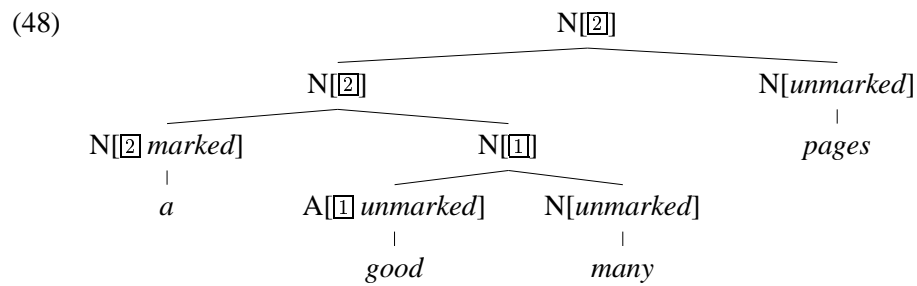
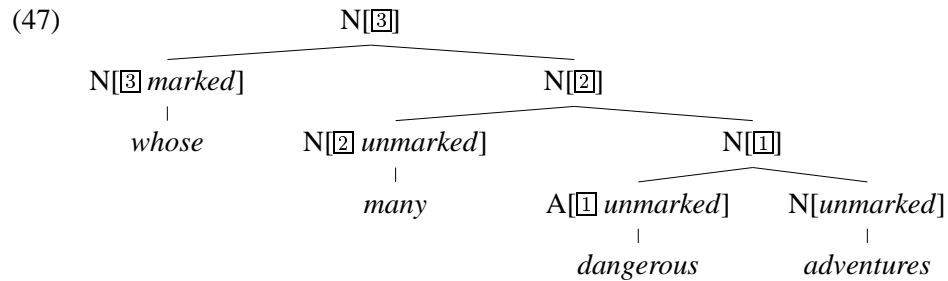
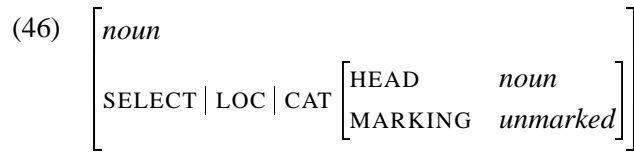
- (43) a.  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD } p\text{-noun} \\ \text{MARKING } \textit{marked} \end{array} \right]$
- b.  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD } c\text{-noun} \\ \text{MARKING } \textit{unmarked} \end{array} \right]$

Adjectival determiners

- (44) a.  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD } \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{adj} \\ \text{SELECT} | \text{LOC} | \text{CAT} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD } \textit{noun} \\ \text{MARKING } [1] \textit{unmarked} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \\ \text{MARKING } [1] \end{array} \right]$
- b.  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD } \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{adj} \\ \text{SELECT} | \text{LOC} | \text{CAT} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD } \textit{noun} \\ \text{MARKING } \textit{unmarked} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \\ \text{MARKING } \textit{marked} \end{array} \right]$



The selecting adjective can also require specific case, number or gender values.  
Nominal determiners



### 3.7 Summing up

- the class of determiners is categorially heterogeneous (adjectives, pronouns, CNPs)
- the sharing of properties among the determiners is due to analogy, not to homology
- for capturing the syntactic properties which give rise to homology the HEAD feature is the appropriate place



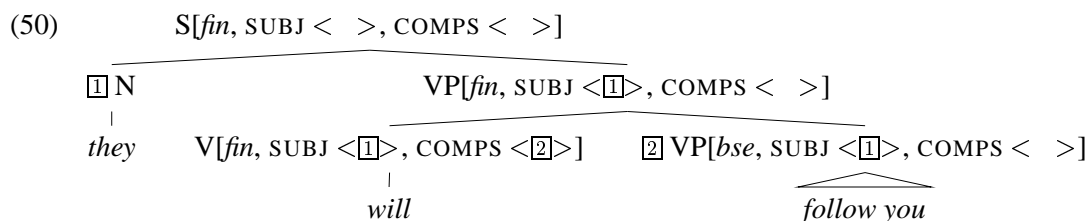
- for capturing the syntactic properties which give rise to analogy the MARKING feature is a plausible candidate
- addition of a feature to capture definiteness, see Van Eynde (2006)
- distinction between two subtypes of *unmarked* (bare and incomplete) to deal with the contrast between weak and strong declension in Dutch and German

## 4 Auxiliaries

Auxiliaries do not belong to a separate functional category (Aux, Infl, Mod, Perf, Prog, ...); instead they belong to the substantive category of the verbs, see Pullum and Wilson (1977), Gazdar, Pullum and Sag (1982), Gazdar et al. (1985).

### 4.1 Auxiliaries as raising verbs

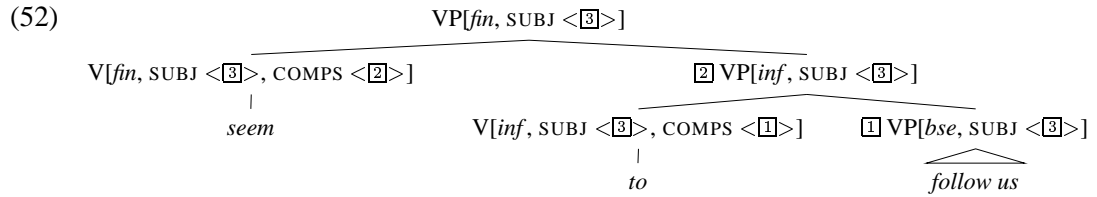
Raising verbs select an unsaturated verbal projection and inherit its valence requirements



- (51)
- a. They could not see us.
  - b. Will she come?
  - c. That won't happen again.
  - d. They don't want to pay, but they must.

In Dutch and German, all finite verbs may precede the subject and the wide scope negation marker. The incorporation of non-verbal material also affects non-auxiliary verbs (*wanna, gonna*) and is very common in the Romance languages with pronominal clitics (*dammelo* 'give-me-it').

## 4.2 The infinitival *to*



The infinitival *to* is an auxiliary with a deficient morphological paradigm (Pullum 1982). No finite forms (*\*toes*, *\*tid*), no participles (*\*toing*, *\*tone*), no base form (*\*to to*); the only form it can take is one that no other verb has, i.e. *infinitive*.

The positive evidence for V[+ AUX] status is flimsy: because of the lack of finite forms *to* cannot precede the subject or wide scope negation markers, and it lacks contracted negatives (*\*ton't*, *\*toesn't*, *\*tidn't*). The only property it shares with the auxiliaries is that it allows VP ellipsis, but that need not mean that it is a verb.

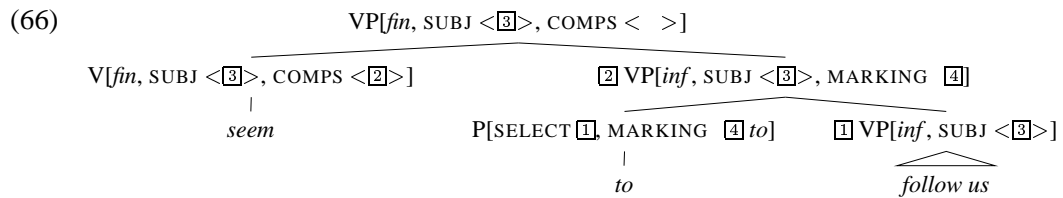
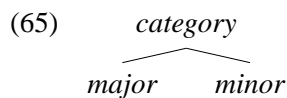
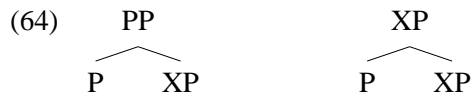
- (53) a. They don't want to pay, but they have to.  
 b. They wanted to come, but they could not.

Pullum's main argument is the lack of a plausible alternative. Suppose, for instance, that *to* is a preposition.

1. no other preposition takes a VP[base] complement
2. verbs which require a PP[*to*] object do not take a VP[*to*] complement
3. verbs which require a VP[*to*] complement do not take a PP[*to*] object
4. specifiers of PPs are not compatible with VP[*to*]
5. the infinitival *to* can be separated from its complement by an adjunct, the homonymous preposition cannot
6. VP[*to*] can be used as a subject, PP[*to*] cannot
7. PP[*to*] can be used in elliptical exclamatives, VP[*to*] cannot
8. to generate *for-to* clauses, one would need  $S \rightarrow NP PP$
9. the infinitival *to* can be incorporated, the preposition cannot
10. the preposition may be stressed when stranded, the infinitival *to* may not

- (54) a. to/for/against/on/in swimming  
b. to/\*for/\*against/\*on/\*in swim
- (55) a. relate it to his lack of vision  
b. \* relate it to see better
- (56) a. want to go home  
b. \* want to my home planet
- (57) a. went right to the captain  
b. wish (\*right) to see the captain
- (58) a. agree to boldly go where no man has gone before  
b. \* agree to boldly transportation to strange new worlds
- (59) a. to survive an ion storm will be tough  
b. \* to within a thousand miles of a black hole will be tough
- (60) a. to the transporter room with him  
b. \* to get out of my sight with him
- (61) we are all hoping for the winter to finish
- (62) a. I'm gonna explore strange new worlds  
b. \* I'm gonna Epsilon Delta TV
- (63) a. who did you give it TO  
b. \* proceed I intend TO, Mr. Sulu

The argumentation takes it for granted that prepositions are always head of a PP. Suppose that (some of the) prepositions can be functors.



- Objections 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 no longer hold.
- Objections 1 and 9 are weak: every language has prepositions with idiosyncratic valence requirements and/or idiosyncratic incorporation possibilities.
- Objection 10 is an argument in favor of the functor treatment: minor prepositions cannot be stressed.

### 4.3 Summing up

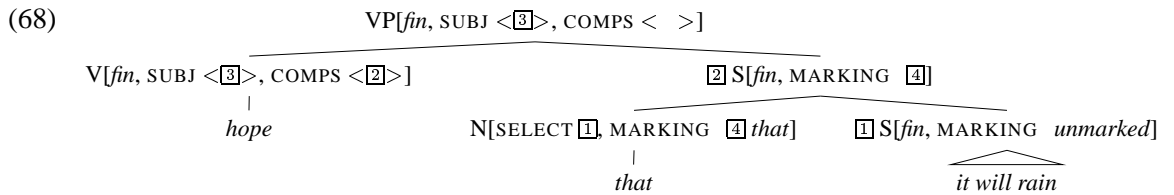
- the auxiliaries are raising verbs
- the infinitival *to* is not an auxiliary verb but a minor preposition

## 5 Complementizers

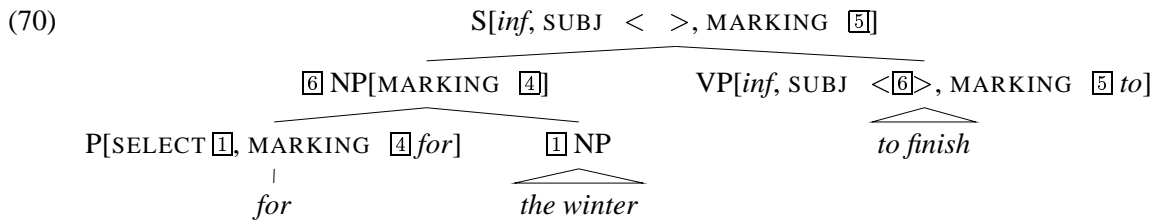
Complementizers do not belong to a separate functional category, but are categorially heterogeneous.

- (67) a. We all hope that she will succeed.  
 b. Do you like that hat?  
 c. He is not that tall.  
 d. Do you like that?

It is the same demonstrative pronoun with different selection properties.



- (69) We are all hoping for the winter to finish.



## 6 Conclusion

- The extension of the X-bar principles to functional categories leads to a proliferation of nodes and projections, and is empirically unmotivated.
- What members of the same ‘functional category’ have in common is due to analogy, not to homology, whence the categorial heterogeneity of the determiners, the complementizers and the auxiliaries.
- To capture what they have in common we need other devices than those which are provided by X-bar syntax and its counterparts in other frameworks, such as the Head Feature Principle and the Valence Principles.
- The devices I propose are the Generalized Marking Principle and the Selector Principle
- The resulting functor treatment is empirically more plausible than the analysis in terms of functional categories.

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